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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF IMMIGRANT HOUSING, NEIGHBOURHOODS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS IN TORONTO AND MONTRÉAL

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January 1998

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the relationships that exist between housing, neighbourhoods and social networks among visible minority immigrants living in metropolitan Toronto and Montréal. The importance of comparative research between cities and immigrant groups in order to dismantle the ideas of a singular 'immigrant experience' is emphasized, as is the importance of intra-urban housing and neighbourhood-based processes *within* our largest cities in understanding the nature of settlement. The study focuses on Jamaican, Central American and Vietnamese immigrants living in Toronto, and the same groups, substituting Haitians for Jamaican immigrants, in Montréal. The objectives of the study are five-fold: 1) to examine where individual immigrant groups live in Toronto and Montréal and their degree of segregation; 2) to survey differences in housing conditions (tenure, dwelling type, cost, quality) between visible minority groups and to investigate factors which may account for such differentials; 3) to test the hypothesis that vertical immigrant enclaves in high- and low-rise buildings are replacing older inner city neighbourhoods as reception areas for immigrants; 4) to compare and contrast the housing experiences, residential satisfaction, perceptions of the city and neighbourhoods, and types of neighbouring between different immigrant groups; and 5) to probe the development of community through an examination of the ways in which immigrants have developed, use and gain support from social networks of kin and friends. The study draws upon two data sources: the 1991 Canadian census and a questionnaire survey of 173 individuals. Among the study's major findings are: significant suburbanization of some immigrant groups in a variety of styles of housing with important variations between the two cities; somewhat poorer housing conditions for immigrants relative to British/French Canadians and that these differences in status are not simply a function of time of arrival, household income or family type; generally strong levels of satisfaction with housing and neighbourhoods among individuals in both cities; and the critical roles played by friends and family in facilitating post-arrival settlement over a period of years.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study examines the relationships between housing, neighbourhoods and social networks among visible minority immigrants living in metropolitan Toronto and Montréal. In each city, immigrants constitute approximately 40% and 17% of the total population respectively, and their social significance matches, if not exceeds, their obvious numerical importance. The study emphasizes the need for comparative research between cities and immigrant groups in order to dismantle the ideas of a singular 'immigrant experience'. To that end, the study focuses on Jamaican, Central American and Vietnamese immigrants living in Toronto, and the same groups, substituting Haitian immigrants for Jamaican immigrants, in Montréal. The objectives of the study are five-fold:

> 1) to examine where individual immigrant groups live in Toronto and Montréal and their degree of segregation from the British/French Canadian-born population;

> 2) to survey differences in housing conditions (tenure, dwelling type, cost, quality) between visible minority groups living in both cities and to investigate factors which may account for differentials in housing status;

> 3) to test the hypothesis that vertical immigrant enclaves in high- and low-rise buildings are replacing older inner city neighbourhoods as reception areas for immigrants and that such buildings are differentiated from each other by ethnicity;

> 4) to examine the 'home' as more than just a dwelling but something that extends into the neighbourhood and other parts of the city. To this end, substantial attention is given to the housing experiences, residential satisfaction, perceptions of the city and neighbourhoods among individuals in each of the immigrant groups; and

> 5) to probe the development of community at both the local neighbourhood and metropolitan scales through an examination of the ways in which immigrants have developed, use and gain support from social networks of kin and friends.

These are large topics, but the scope is limited by a theoretical interest in the intersections between housing, neighbourhoods, and kinship/friendship in different urban places. Although stereotypes of immigrant 'ghettos' and inner city ethnic enclaves abound in popular rhetoric and some academic writing, relatively little attention has been focused on the ways in which immigrants actually settle *within* contemporary cities, their perceptions of housing and neighbourhoods, or how they build communities of friends and family at specific geographic scales.

The focus of the study is on 'visible minority' immigrants with particular emphasis given to the groups mentioned above. The groups were selected because they are fairly large immigrant

communities, each is culturally distinct, and earlier research has suggested that they are more likely to experience problems in the housing market due to a lack of resources, limited information or language abilities, discrimination or restricted social networks. Long-established and recent immigrant groups aside from the four mentioned above are profiled to a more limited extent, and substantial attention is given to the British/French Canadian-born population whose housing conditions and status are often used as benchmarks against which those of immigrant groups are judged.

The study draws upon two basic data sources: the 1991 Canadian census and a questionnaire survey. The census materials include data in the public domain, as well as housing and socio-economic data from special tabulations of the 1991 census organized at an intra-urban level for Toronto and Montréal. The second data set, derived from a survey of 173 immigrants conducted between 1995 and 1996 in both cities, examines housing and neighbourhood conditions, residential satisfaction and social networks in greater depth than is possible using either standard or special tabulation census data. The census data enable investigation of place of residence, basic housing conditions and demographic characteristics for immigrants and the Canadian-born population in Toronto and Montréal, while the survey allows for a richer, albeit based on a much smaller sample size, examination of housing conditions and status, as well as social life, networks and community development among immigrants.

The study emphasizes the roles which housing and neighbourhood conditions play in differentiating the experiences of immigrant groups both within and between cities. The suburban rather than inner city character of immigrant settlement is discussed, as well as the slightly higher levels of residential segregation in Montréal relative to Toronto. The suburban character of settlement is most notable in Toronto, particularly among Jamaicans, Guyanese and Chinese immigrants. In contrast, Montréal's suburbs, particularly those off of the Island of Montréal, are dominated by French/British Canadians which in part explains the somewhat higher levels of segregation. These geographies are in part a function of housing availability and demand, and the remainder of the report examines the housing conditions of immigrants in order to shed more light on these patterns and the process of settlement.

The immigrant groups differ in terms of the types of housing occupied and quality, affordability problems and tenure. A number of socio-economic characteristics, such as household income and type, age, marital status and period of immigration are identified as influencing housing status, but they do not negate the influence of immigrant status or ethnicity. Furthermore, analysis of housing conditions at the intra-urban scale between birthplace groups emphasizes that immigrant groups are often highly differentiated from the British/French Canadian norm; much more so than either spatial location or segregation would suggest. A sizable proportion of visible minority immigrants live in high- and low-rise apartment housing in Toronto and Montréal, and in many suburban and inner city areas of Toronto one can identify the emergence of 'vertical immigrant enclaves.' It should be emphasized, however, that such apartments are only one important source of housing. Immigrants truly live throughout these cities and in various kinds of housing. Indeed, the type of housing occupied often can divide a single immigrant group into distinct areas of a metropolitan

region. Furthermore, different birthplace groups may live in close *spatial* proximity to one another, but the housing they occupy can often be quite different. Housing is far from an inconspicuous or unimportant form of status and it can play an important role in structuring the nature of social relations and segregation. In this regard, the preponderance of some immigrant groups in high- and low-rise rental housing in Toronto and low-rise housing in Montréal takes on new significance. Their concentration in housing that holds little status value for many British/French Canadians clearly sets them 'apart', particularly in suburban locales where such housing is often surrounded by single-detached dwellings.

Even in light of below average housing conditions, most immigrants surveyed express satisfaction with their city, housing and neighbourhoods. But experiences and perceptions of housing and neighbourhoods between groups are often quite different, and do not necessarily disappear with time. Even among Afro-Caribbean and Haitian immigrants, who have long been in Canada, housing status does not approximate that of the British/French Canadians and, although many aspire to the norm of single-detached housing, relatively few have reached this goal. In fact, all four of the principal immigrant groups are more likely to be renters, with Latin Americans standing out as both the newest immigrants and the most poorly housed by measure of conventional standards of tenure, dwelling type and age, and number of rooms. Significantly, the housing conditions of all of the groups reflect a series of choices and constraints that arise out of particular migration experiences, objectives and life circumstances; factors that persist for years after arrival and continue to influence status to the present.

In this respect, networks of friends and family are exceedingly important. There is considerable diversity within, and especially between, immigrant groups in terms of network complexity and the relative importance of kin, friends and acquaintances. The analysis shows, for instance, that Latin Americans in both Toronto and Montréal are somewhat more weakly supported than their Afro-Caribbean and Haitian counterparts, and overall have network associates who are more spatially proximate. In many ways, the Latin Americans are beginning the process of building subcultures in that they have more limited sets of kin and friendship ties and are more likely to report wanting more associates of all kinds - helpers, companions and counsellors. But in subtle as well as obvious ways, differences between all *four* groups indicate that time of arrival is not the sole factor at work. For instance, even after some years, if not decades, of settlement in Montréal, family ties among Haitian immigrants are much more oriented toward the local neighbourhood and district than are those of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Toronto. In addition, Haitians are more likely to name a family member rather than a friend as a companion for social activities. Friends instead are more important as counsellors than companions for Haitians, as well as for a large number of Latin Americans in both cities. In contrast, Afro-Caribbeans are much more likely to confide in family members. The diversity that exists between Haitians, Afro-Caribbeans and Latin Americans in terms of the form of social networks and types of associates used again suggests the importance of cultural norms, values and attitudes in regard to family, friends and neighbours. Among individuals from each group, social networks of kin and friends prove to be important keys in understanding housing and neighbourhood conditions, as well as the ways in which a sense of community develops.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude examine les liens qui existent entre le logement, les quartiers et les réseaux sociaux que l'on rencontre chez les groupes d'immigrants des minorités visibles vivant dans les agglomérations urbaines de Toronto et de Montréal. Dans chaque ville, les immigrants représentent respectivement 40 % et 17 % de la population totale et leur impact social concorde avec, et même dépasse, leur importance numérique évidente. L'étude a fait ressortir le besoin d'effectuer des recherches comparatives entre les villes et les groupes d'immigrants, afin de prouver que les immigrants ne vivent pas tous la même expérience. À cette fin, nous avons examiné la situation des immigrants de la Jamaïque, de l'Amérique centrale et du Vietnam qui habitent à Toronto, et les mêmes groupes d'immigrants à Montréal, sauf que l'on a remplacé les Jamaïcains par des Haïtiens. Voici les cinq objectifs visés par l'étude :

1) examiner où chaque groupe d'immigrants s'est établi à Montréal et à Toronto, et examiner leur degré de diversification par rapport à la population canadienne-française et canadienne-anglaise;

2) relever les différences dans les conditions de logement (mode d'occupation, type de logement, coût, qualité) entre les groupes de minorités visibles des deux villes et tenter de découvrir les facteurs qui peuvent expliquer les écarts par rapport à la situation relative au logement;

3) mettre à l'épreuve l'hypothèse selon laquelle les enclaves ethniques verticales que constituent les tours d'habitation et les petits immeubles sont en train de remplacer les quartiers centraux comme lieu d'accueil des immigrants et que ces immeubles sont eux-mêmes stratifiés par groupes ethniques.

4) examiner comment le «foyer» représente plus qu'un logement, mais quelque chose qui se prolonge jusque dans le voisinage et d'autres parties de la ville. À cette fin, on a prêté une attention particulière aux expériences concernant le logement, au degré de satisfaction résidentielle, et aux perceptions de la ville et des quartiers qu'ont les membres de chaque groupe d'immigrants; et

5) découvrir les éléments de développement communautaire, à l'échelle du quartier et de l'agglomération, en examinant les façons dont les immigrants ont établi et utilisent les réseaux sociaux et d'amis, et l'importance qu'ils accordent à ces réseaux pour les soutenir.

Il s'agit là de sujets vastes, mais nous en avons délimité la portée pour examiner l'interface entre le logement, les quartiers et les réseaux familiaux et sociaux dans divers secteurs urbains. Bien que la rhétorique populaire et certains écrits académiques fassent abondamment mention de stéréotypes de «ghettos» d'immigrants et d'enclaves ethniques dans les centres-villes, il y a eu relativement peu de recherches sur la façon dont les immigrants s'établissent *à l'intérieur* des villes contemporaines, sur leurs perceptions du logement et des quartiers, et comment ils créent des réseaux familiaux et d'amis à des échelles géographiques spécifiques.

Notre étude se concentre sur les immigrants des «minorités visibles», et met un accent particulier sur les groupes susmentionnés. Ces groupes ont été choisis parce qu'ils représentent des collectivités assez nombreuses, chacune de culture distincte, et parce que des recherches antérieures avaient suggéré que ces groupes étaient plus susceptibles d'avoir de la difficulté à se

loger à cause d'un manque de ressources et d'un manque de renseignements et d'habiletés linguistiques, et aussi à cause de la discrimination ou de réseaux sociaux restreints. On a également dressé un profil de moindre envergure des groupes d'immigrants établis depuis longtemps et ceux récemment arrivés, à part ceux qui sont mentionnés ci-dessus; on a également porté une attention particulière à la population canadienne-française et canadienne-anglaise dont les conditions de logement et types de logement servent souvent de points de repère pour évaluer les conditions de logement des groupes d'immigrants.

Deux sources de données fondamentales ont servi aux fins de l'étude : le recensement canadien de 1991 et une enquête par questionnaire. Le matériel du recensement comporte des données qui font partie du domaine public ainsi que des données socio-économiques et de logement tirées de compilations spéciales du recensement de 1991, regroupées à un niveau intra-urbain pour Montréal et Toronto. Le deuxième ensemble de données, tiré d'une enquête effectuée entre 1995 et 1996 auprès de 173 immigrants des deux villes, permet d'examiner plus en profondeur les conditions de logement et des quartiers, la satisfaction résidentielle et les réseaux sociaux. Les données de recensement permettent d'examiner les lieux de résidence, les conditions fondamentales de logement et les caractéristiques démographiques des immigrants et de la population canadienne de Toronto et de Montréal, tandis que les données de l'enquête permettent un examen plus étoffé, malgré l'échantillon plus petit, des conditions de logement et du type d'occupation, de la vie sociale, de l'établissement de réseaux et du développement communautaire chez les immigrants.

L'étude fait ressortir l'importance des conditions de logement et des quartiers pour différencier les expériences vécues par les groupes d'immigrants à l'intérieur des villes et établit une comparaison entre les villes. On y discute notamment du choix des immigrants d'aller s'établir en banlieue plutôt qu'à l'intérieur des villes, et on parle des niveaux légèrement plus élevés de ségrégation résidentielle rencontrés à Montréal par rapport à Toronto. Le fait de s'établir en banlieue est surtout remarquable à Toronto, particulièrement chez les immigrants de la Jamaïque, de la Guyane et de Chine. Par contre, les banlieues de Montréal, surtout celles qui se détachent de l'Île de Montréal, sont dominées par des Canadiens français et des Canadiens anglais, ce qui explique en partie le niveau quelque peu plus élevé de ségrégation. Ces répartitions géographiques sont en partie une fonction de l'offre et de la demande de logements, et le reste du rapport examine les conditions de logement des immigrants afin de jeter plus de lumière sur ces modes et méthodes d'établissement.

Les groupes d'immigrants affichent des différences au niveau de la qualité et des types de logements occupés, de même qu'au niveau des problèmes d'abordabilité et du mode d'occupation. Un certain nombre de facteurs socio-économiques, comme le revenu du ménage et le type, l'âge, l'état matrimonial et la période d'immigration, sont reconnus comme ayant une influence sur la situation du logement, mais il faut aussi tenir compte de l'influence du statut d'immigrant et de l'ethnicité. De plus, l'analyse des conditions de logement à l'échelle intra-urbaine entre les groupes nés ici, met en relief le fait que les groupes d'immigrants sont souvent hautement différenciés par rapport à la norme canadienne-française ou canadienne-anglaise, beaucoup plus en fait, que si on ne se fonde que sur le lieu ou la ségrégation. Un pourcentage non négligeable d'immigrants des minorités visibles habitent dans des tours d'habitation et des petits immeubles locatifs à Toronto et à Montréal; en outre, dans plusieurs secteurs de banlieue et du centre-ville de Toronto, on peut voir

apparaître des «enclaves ethniques verticales». Il faut cependant souligner que ces immeubles d'appartements ne représentent qu'une seule source importante de logements. En réalité, les immigrants sont répartis à travers ces villes et vivent dans toutes sortes de logements. En effet, le type de logement occupé peut souvent diviser tel groupe d'immigrants dans des secteurs distincts d'une région métropolitaine. De plus, plusieurs groupes d'origines différentes peuvent vivre à proximité dans un même milieu, mais les logements qu'ils occupent peuvent souvent être très différents. Le logement est loin d'être un élément secondaire ou peu visible du statut et il peut jouer un rôle important dans la structure des relations sociales et de la ségrégation. À cet égard, la prépondérance de certains groupes d'immigrants dans des tours d'habitation et des petits immeubles locatifs à Toronto, et dans les petits immeubles locatifs à Montréal, prend une nouvelle signification. Leur concentration dans des logements qui, aux yeux des Canadiens français et des Canadiens anglais ne pèsent pas beaucoup dans la balance pour reconnaître le statut, contribue à les «distinguer» des autres, particulièrement dans les banlieues où ce type de logement est entouré de maisons individuelles.

Même à la lumière de conditions de logement inférieures à la moyenne, la plupart des immigrants interrogés ont exprimé leur satisfaction face à leur ville, à leur logement et à leur quartier. Mais souvent, les expériences et les perceptions entre les groupes à l'égard du logement et des quartiers sont très différentes et ces différences ne disparaissent pas nécessairement avec le temps. Même chez les immigrants des Caraïbes et d'Haïti qui sont au Canada depuis longtemps, le statut en matière de logement est très loin de celui des Canadiens français et des Canadiens anglais et, bien que plusieurs aspirent à la norme de la maison individuelle, il y en a relativement peu qui ont atteint cet objectif. En fait, les quatre principaux groupes d'immigrants sont plus susceptibles d'être locataires et ce sont les Latino-Américains qui ressortent comme les plus récents immigrants et ceux qui sont les moins bien logés par rapport aux normes conventionnelles de mode d'occupation, type de logement et âge du bâtiment, et nombre de pièces. Fait à souligner, les conditions de logement de tous les groupes tiennent compte de divers choix et contraintes qui découlent des expériences particulières de migration, des objectifs et des circonstances de vie; des facteurs qui persistent plusieurs années après l'arrivée et qui continuent d'influencer le statut jusqu'à maintenant.

À cet égard, les réseaux familiaux et d'amis sont extrêmement importants. Il y a une importante diversité au sein des groupes d'immigrants et entre eux, en ce qui concerne la complexité des réseaux et l'importance relative de la parenté, des amis et des connaissances. L'analyse démontre par exemple, que les Latino-Américains qui vivent à Toronto et à Montréal n'ont pas autant de soutien que les immigrants des Caraïbes et les Haïtiens, mais dans l'ensemble, leurs associés de réseau se trouvent plus proches. De plusieurs façons, les Latino-Américains sont aux premières étapes du processus d'établissement de sous-cultures, en ce sens qu'ils ont moins de liens parentaux et amicaux, et ils sont plus susceptibles d'indiquer qu'ils veulent plus d'associés de toutes sortes - aides, compagnons, conseillers. Mais, de façon subtile et de façon évidente, les différences entre les *quatre* groupes indiquent que le moment d'arrivée n'est pas le seul facteur qui entre en ligne de compte. Par exemple, même après être établis à Montréal depuis plusieurs années, voire des décennies, les immigrants haïtiens à Montréal ont des liens familiaux qui sont beaucoup plus orientés vers le quartier immédiat et le voisinage, comparativement aux immigrants des Caraïbes habitant Toronto. De plus, les Haïtiens sont plus susceptibles de donner le nom d'un membre de la famille plutôt que d'un ami pour les accompagner lors d'activités sociales. Les amis sont plus

importants comme conseillers pour les Haïtiens, et pour un grand nombre de Latino-Américains des deux villes. Par contre, les immigrants des Caraïbes sont plus enclins à se confier à des membres de leur famille. La diversité qui existe entre les Haïtiens, les Antillais et les Latino-Américains en ce qui a trait aux réseaux sociaux et aux types d'associés, suggère encore l'importance des normes culturelles, des valeurs et des attitudes face à la famille, aux amis et aux voisins. Parmi les membres de chaque groupe, les réseaux familiaux et d'amis se sont révélés des facteurs déterminants pour comprendre les conditions de logement et les situations de quartiers, et pour expliquer comment se développe un sens communautaire.

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CHAPTER I:
INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

Toronto and Montréal are two of the leading Canadian destinations for immigrants and each city is a complex web of communities defined by culture, language and ethnicity (Lemon 1996; Germain 1995; McNicoll 1994; Ray 1992). In some neighbourhoods this cultural diversity seems to be everywhere; in essence, multiculturalism given expression in physical and social space. For instance, walking through Côte-des-Neiges, an older inner suburban neighbourhood on the west side of Montréal, one cannot help but be struck by the diversity of signs, symbols and characters on storefronts, the number of different goods available from various parts of the world, and the range of languages spoken. The side streets of this neighbourhood also team with children who live in the 1950s and 1960s block style low-rise apartment buildings that dominate the residential landscape. This once francophone, eastern European and Jewish neighbourhood is now one of the most culturally diverse places in Montréal, dominated by immigrants from the Developing World whose presence in Canada can be largely attributed to reforms made to immigration policy beginning in the 1960s (Blanc and Auclair 1995). The same scene could be described in neighbourhoods like Kensington Market, St. James Town and Jane-Finch in Toronto, and likewise these areas are integral to this city's cultural landscapes.

These neighbourhoods are intriguing in part because the signs of diversity speak so loudly and can be easily observed from the streets. This report, however, focuses on housing conditions and social networks that exist among different immigrant groups across the metropolitan areas of Toronto and Montréal, thereby including those places where cultural diversity is somewhat less apparent but nevertheless still important. The linkages between housing, neighbourhoods and social networks among visible minority immigrant groups living in metropolitan Toronto and Montréal are the central foci of this study. In each city, immigrants constitute approximately 40% and 17% respectively of the total population, and their social significance matches, if not exceeds, their obvious numeric importance. The research is fundamentally premised on a belief that housing conditions among different immigrant groups reflect a complex set of processes that implicate immigrant cultures and attitudes, as well as economic, social and cultural factors within the 'host' society. These factors, of course, change over time and, as Sarre *et al.* (1989) have argued in the British context, "They work differently in different places as a result of differences in the supply of and demand for housing, and in response to different local policies and styles of intervention"

(1989, xix). Consequently, this report places up front the importance of comparative research between cities and immigrant groups in order to dismantle the idea of a singular 'immigrant experience' in Canada.

Immigrant housing conditions, status and social networks are examined here in slices of ever finer spatial and social resolution. The focus in general is upon 'visible minority' immigrants with particular emphasis given to the situations of four groups: Jamaicans, Haitians, Vietnamese and Central Americans.[1] Underlying the choice of these groups is the way in which Canadian society has generally divided up visible minority populations. Consequently, Jamaicans and Haitians represent 'blacks', Vietnamese 'Asians' and Central Americans 'Latinos'. Such large scale categories, aside from just simply replicating categories premised on notions of 'race', mask considerable cultural diversity and therefore our focus is on these much smaller birthplace groups. The groups were also selected because they are fairly large immigrant communities, each is culturally distinct, and earlier research has suggested that they are more likely to experience problems in the housing market due to a lack of resources, limited information or language abilities, discrimination or restricted social networks. We certainly discuss other long-established and recent immigrant groups, and substantial attention is given to the British/French Canadian-born population whose housing conditions and status are often used as benchmarks against which to judge the relative conditions of the immigrant groups. While the report most certainly emphasizes the conditions, status, experiences and perceptions of Jamaicans, Haitians, Vietnamese and Central Americans, it is in no way limited to only these groups and one will find a significant amount of information about a variety of minority groups, both visible and non-visible.

The objectives of this study are five-fold:

1) to examine where individual immigrant groups live in Toronto and Montréal and their degrees of segregation from the British/French Canadian-born population. To what degree do the various groups share space in these two cities? Are there differences between the cities? Are immigrants suburbanizing?

2) to examine differences in housing conditions (tenure, dwelling type, cost, quality)

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[1] Reflecting patterns of migration to Canadian cities, there are a small number of Jamaicans living in Montréal and virtually no Haitians living in Toronto. Consequently, Haitian immigrants are only discussed in the Montréal context and, for the most part, Jamaicans are only discussed in the context of Toronto.

between visible minority immigrant groups living in Toronto and Montréal;

3) to test the hypothesis that vertical immigrant enclaves in high and low-rise housing are replacing older inner city neighbourhoods as reception areas for immigrants and that such buildings are differentiated from each other by ethnicity;

4) to examine the 'home' as more than just the dwelling but something that extends into the neighbourhood and other parts of the city. To this end, substantial attention is given to housing experiences, residential satisfaction, perceptions of the city and neighbourhood, and types of neighbouring; and

5) to explore the development of community at both the local neighbourhood and metropolitan scales through an examination of the ways in which immigrants have developed, use and gain support from social networks of kin and friends.

These are large topics, but the scope is limited by a theoretical interest in the intersections between housing, neighbourhood and the social construction of immigration in different urban places. The growth of visible minority populations in major Canadian cities has fostered public debate about the 'problems' posed by immigrant populations concentrating in particular areas of cities and has renewed, if in somewhat more muted terms, notions that some immigrant groups are 'different' and outside of the Canadian mainstream (Ray *et al.* 1997). In such discourse, essentialist notions of 'race' often come to the fore, with the type of housing occupied, form of tenure, neighbourhood 'concentration', and family/household composition being appropriated as evidence of both 'difference' and the 'dangers' which immigration poses for urban life, particularly at the neighbourhood level. Like most racist discourse, the argument largely functions in the abstract with little evidence of actual immigrant socio-economic characteristics, housing conditions, or settlement patterns, especially at a geographic scale that is finer than the metropolitan area. Furthermore, almost no academic or popular attention has been devoted to the ways in which immigrants settle in contemporary cities, their perceptions of housing and neighbourhoods, or how they build communities of friends and family and at what geographic scales. In short, to investigate these questions demands that human relations and socialization be studied in context, hence this research focuses on the significance of housing and neighbourhood-based processes *within* our largest cities. Place is more than a setting in which immigrants find housing, raise families and interact with friends and kin; it is constitutive of their lives (Agnew and Duncan 1989).

The Urban and Immigration Contexts

The cities in which immigrants settle have distinctive housing histories and experiences with immigration, and therefore it is necessary to recognize variations in housing and neighbourhood conditions within and between cities. Montréal and Toronto have been selected because each has a large and diverse immigrant population, and the inner city and suburbs of each have undergone significant physical and social changes in the post-war decades, in turn creating urban environments which poorly resemble those of the nineteenth century from which so much of our understanding of immigrant urban settlement is derived (Thernstrom 1973; Olson 1991; Zunz 1982; Lees 1979; Handlin 1951; Conzen 1976). Equally important, Montréal and Toronto have quite dissimilar housing stocks and tenure patterns. Within North America, Montréal stands out as a city with a very low rate of home ownership and distinctive culture of property based on a large number of small-scale landlords, and a large and diverse stock of low-rise rental housing (duplexes, triplexes and low-rise apartment buildings (Choko and Harris 1990; Soloman and Vandell, 1982). In contrast, Toronto has a much higher rate of home ownership and a much larger proportion of high-rise apartments scattered across the city's suburbs which are owned mostly by large-scale landlords (Bourne 1968; Clayton Research Associates 1984b).

The social milieu of immigrant settlement is also quite different in the two cities. It has been demonstrated that in Montréal, relative to other Canadian cities, ethnicity is an ever present factor structuring the social composition of many neighbourhoods (Balakrishnan and Kralt 1987). Furthermore, the institutions managing immigration are also quite different in Québec, the provincial government exercising a much more direct role in immigrant selection and post-settlement services. Most importantly, Montréal is a city with a predominantly Québécois population in the process of redefining the basis of its own identity, which in itself poses a new set of reciprocal relationships and potential conflicts for immigrant settlement and community relations. In terms of housing stock, neighbourhood composition and the social context of settlement, Montréal is an unmatched foil to Toronto.

The dynamism of urban physical and social environments in the post-war period has been matched by significant changes in immigration policy. For the first sixty years of this century, Canada deliberately constructed its immigration policy around the notion of 'race' and a pervasive belief that the country's future lay in maintaining a 'white' population of British ancestry. Policy changes which sought to eliminate the most blatantly racist aspects of this policy were first introduced in 1962, followed by additional changes in 1967 and 1976 which

removed, at least in terms of regulations, any remaining advantages Europeans enjoyed over individuals from Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America and Africa in sponsoring relatives.[2] The effect of these changes has been to dramatically change the composition of immigration to Canada. Since 1970 the number of immigrants from Asia and the Caribbean has increased significantly, and there has been a concomitant drop in the proportion from the United Kingdom and western Europe. Euphemistically labeled as 'non-traditional' immigrants and defined as culturally different from earlier migrations, these non-European immigrants further departed from the 'norm' by settling in Canada's largest cities, not the rural frontier. As a result, in Toronto and Montréal approximately 24% and 10% respectively of the adult population has been defined as a 'visible minority'[3] and public debate about immigration issues has developed a distinctly urban focus.

Housing and Immigrants: Existing Research

This project contributes to research on the social significance of housing, neighbourhoods and social networks, especially as these pertain to the daily lives of immigrants in our largest cities. By examining these questions, it is also our intent to participate in somewhat larger debates about the nature of a multicultural urban society in which a celebration of cultural pluralism and discrimination often co-exist (Goldberg 1993; Anderson 1991). Far from the only way in which to investigate the complexity of urban immigration, housing and neighbourhoods, by virtue of their societal significance and personal meanings (Cooper 1995, 1976; Adams 1984), can contribute important insights not provided by more conventional research avenues such as occupational segmentation or labour force participation.

Housing, over and above being a basic need, is often a deeply personal commitment

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[2] Clauses removing restriction on entry due to 'race' or ethnicity were introduced in 1962, as well as a series of measures that emphasized skills and education as the main criteria in the selection of independent immigrants. However, Europeans retained the privilege of being able to sponsor a wider range of relatives than non-Europeans largely because of fear of an influx of relations from India, Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. These early immigration policy reforms introduced also had a limited affect due to considerable bureaucratic lethargy in implementing the new regulations. For instance, there were no Canadian immigration offices in the Caribbean to process applications until 1967 when bureaus were opened in Kingston, Jamaica and Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. The 1967 changes had far greater practical significance, and effectively marked the beginning of large scale non-European migration to Canada and ever greater ethnic pluralism in Canadian cities (Hawkins 1989).

[3] The 'visible minority' concept is contentious but widely used and popularly understood. As developed by Employment and Immigration Canada, Employment Equity Branch, 'visible minority' includes the following groups as defined by their ethnicity: Blacks, Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, Latin Americans, Other Pacific Islanders, South Asians, South East Asians, West Asians and Arabs, and Multiple Visible Minorities.

made by individuals which communicates a great deal about social status and achievement. It is also socially contentious and not immune from processes of immigrant/ethnic group racialization and discrimination. As Husbands argues, for the 'white' socially dominant population, home, where one lives, plays a more fundamental role in social life than occupation or education; hence housing inequality remains an intractable problem and central to discussions of immigration and racism (Husbands 1987, 49). Housing inequality frequently has been studied in terms of the transition of neighbourhoods from predominantly white to black residents, and the issues which such a transformation raises in American cities (Massey and Denton 1993; Lake 1981; Molotch 1972). In fact, in the United States there is a long tradition of research on the processes of urban redlining and block-busting, and their impacts on housing acquisition among black households (Massey and Denton 1993). In addition, North American, British and European studies have long pointed to ethnic minorities living in substandard housing conditions (Ray and Moore 1991; Sarre *et al.* 1989; Cater and Jones 1987; Husbands 1987; White 1987). Studies have also noted that housing situations differ considerably between immigrant groups, as well as within groups popularly believed to share common values and experiences, such as 'Asians' (Balakrishnan and Wu 1992; Ray and Moore 1991; Sarre *et al.* 1989; Husbands 1987; Robinson 1986; Phillips 1981).

In trying to explain housing inequality, particularly the poor housing conditions and low rates of home ownership among blacks, several researchers have pointed to individual racism and prejudices on the part of landlords or real estate brokers. In response, laws were passed in the United States and elsewhere prohibiting racial discrimination in housing, although it quickly became evident that inequality persisted and that the laws had relatively little power to address systemic discrimination and segregation (Massey and Denton 1993). Consequently, research began to consider racism as a more entrenched problem and focused on structural and institutional dimensions of inequality and racism in housing markets (Massey and Denton 1993; Sarre *et al.* 1989; Glebe and O'Loughlin, 1987; Jackson, P. 1987; Smith and Mercer 1987).

Research on differential housing conditions among immigrant/ethnic groups usually adopts either a choice or constraint theoretical framework. Choice arguments offer a voluntaristic interpretation of why a particular group characteristically lives in one type of housing, tenure and location. Emphasis is placed on the desire of some groups to live in particular housing and neighbourhood conditions in order to be close to kin and friends sharing a common culture or set of institutions, or in order to maximize remittances to kin remaining in the home country (Sarre *et al.* 1989; Brettell 1981; Robinson 1984, 1986). Conversely,

constraint arguments emphasize external pressures, such as prejudice on the part of mortgage lenders and landlords, as restricting the choice of dwellings, neighbourhoods, tenure, and location among ethnic minorities. Perhaps best known is Rex and Moore's (1967) study of the marginalization of black immigrants as a housing 'class' in Sparkbrook's market.

It is, however, somewhat unrealistic to believe that social processes operate in terms of such clear cut alternatives. In recent years there has been growing dissatisfaction with modes of explanation which emphasize either choice or constraint to the exclusion of the other (Sarre *et al.*, 1989; Cater and Jones, 1987; Sarre, 1986). Sarre *et al.*'s study of immigrant housing in Bedford is perhaps the most ambitious attempt to investigate housing and neighbourhood choice, *as well as* institutional constraint. As the authors note:

> Our reading of other attempts to explain segregation into the worst areas and properties suggests that the processes responsible are exceedingly complex and reflect ethnic minority cultures as well as the way the British housing system responds to economic, social and cultural differences when allocating dwellings (Sarre *et al.* 1989,. xix).

Utilizing a large scale survey of minority households, as well as in-depth interviews with mortgage lenders and public housing officials, Sarre *et al.* create a detailed analysis of immigrant housing. The authors confront the theoretical dilemma of two opposing research positions by framing their analysis within Gidden's theory of structuration which emphasizes the underlying compatibility of social structure and individual values and actions in explaining social phenomenon. Furthermore they demonstrate the complexity of, and diversity within, both the immigrant home ownership and rental housing markets. Immigrants are an exceedingly heterogeneous group, employing a variety of housing strategies for a number of different reasons. Italians, for instance, displayed a great propensity to save, live in owned housing, and had a far greater ability to 'choose' than did their Caribbean counterparts. Likewise housing institutions often subscribe to conflicting attitudes toward immigrants; attitudes and stereotypes which are often historically specific and malleable. As Phillips's (1987a, b) earlier work argued, 'institutional racism' is not simply a self-evident process whose motivation and impact is unproblematic.

Immigrants and their housing really cannot be abstracted from the issue of immigrant/ethnic spatial segregation in cities, and consequently substantial attention is given in the report to issues of concentration and segregation (see Chapter III). Sarre *et al.*'s (1989)

study regards segregation and household mobility as integral aspects of understanding minority housing conditions. There is quite clearly a reflexive relationship between housing, spatial segregation and social segregation. Several recent studies of segregation have moved beyond charting patterns of segregation and instead focus on socio-spatial processes that give rise to observed patterns (Ray et al. 1997; Massey and Denton 1993; Anderson 1991; Smith 1989; Sarre et al. 1989; Rogers and Uto 1987). The legislative, political and bureaucratic institutions of white society, as well as public attitudes towards immigrants and popular conceptions of nationalism as they impinge on immigrant segregation and housing conditions are frequent explanatory focal points in this research.

Such studies of segregation or the 'geography of racism' clearly attempt to examine the structural conditions which affect the emergence, erosion or maintenance of ethnicity. The conditions examined, however, have largely been political, ideological and/or economic in nature, and rarely have locales, territory, and urban change and growth been considered as forces influencing ethnic community development or racism. Nevertheless, Yancey et al. (1976, 1985) argue that urban growth, transportation innovations, residential and industrial suburbanization, and distance are important structural forces that impinge upon the expression and significance of ethnicity. In this regard, several sociologists and historians have shown through case studies that urban space and territory are far from benign; they are meaningful for, and frequently contested by, immigrant and long-established 'white' populations alike (Anderson, K. 1991; Anderson E. 1990; Mormino and Pozetta 1987; Zunz 1982; Conzen 1976; Suttles 1968).

In truth, however, the influence of large scale changes in the form of Canadian cities since World War II, as well as concomitant changes in meaning(s) associated with particular neighbourhoods remain largely unexplored, particularly with regard to immigration. We know relatively little about the influence of large scale suburbanization and inner city redevelopment and gentrification on immigrant housing and communities. To what extent are the geographies of immigrants and values relating to housing, tenure and neighbourhoods creating new experiences of immigrant settlement for both immigrants and the Canadian-born population in cities such as Toronto and Montréal?

In the United States there is a large body of literature about the living conditions of immigrants in inner city ghettoes during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Ward 1989). However, the literature in Canada is much less extensive and detailed (Harney 1985), although it has been suggested that urban immigrant settlement does not simply mirror the

pattern found in American (Goldberg and Mercer 1986, 41; Bunting and Filion 1988). For instance, Bunting and Filion (1988) suggest that immigrants have been critical in preserving the quality of inner city housing and neighbourhoods.

> Many Canadian inner cities ... benefitted from an influx of post-World War
> Two immigrants who compensated for the departure of traditional residents and
> brought new cultural vitality to central neighbourhoods. Their pride of
> community and home ownership served to abate residential decline and
> deterioration in many neighbourhoods. Intense residential upgrading was
> brought about largely by "do-it yourself" labour or "sweat equity" (Bunting and
> Filion 1988, 14).

The same ambiguity surrounds the settlement of immigrants in suburban locations, particularly in Canadian cities. As will be discussed more fully in subsequent chapters, research on suburbanization has suggested that suburbs were built primarily to house a native-born white middle-class and were in large measure an escape from immigrants (Jackson, K. 1985; Miller 1983). Recent research from Toronto, however, argues that city's suburbs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were made up of low-income as well as middle class households, many of whom were immigrants (Harris, 1990a, b). Furthermore suburbs of the period were places of considerable self-building as working class families built homes on the suburban fringe. Harris argues that:

> Such areas had positive attractions. Above all, land was cheap. Most people
> who built their own home were doing so as much out of necessity as from
> choice. Many were recent immigrants and could afford only the cheapest
> suburban lot. One reason why land was so cheap was that these areas were
> poorly served by transit or by local government (Harris 1990b, 112).

At the very least, Harris' research points to unique aspects of Canadian suburbanization, but more importantly it forces us to consider suburbanization as something more than a strictly white middle- to upper-middle class phenomenon.

Without doubt, today's suburbs are much more complex places than those of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A wide diversity of housing, retail, commercial and industrial activities can be found in most suburban areas, and some have contended that the suburbs now mirror the central city in terms of types of housing, employment and recreation

opportunities, retailing and services (Garreau 1991). Unfortunately, few studies which examine contemporary suburbanization focus on the significance of immigration and/or ethnic diversity in shaping the social geography of these places. In Toronto, for instance, a few recent studies have indicated that immigrants are an important component of the suburban population, although relatively little attention has been given to their housing and tenure arrangements (Ray 1992; Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto 1989; 1979). The suburbanization of immigrants, particularly recent arrivals, does pose a challenge to the traditional ways in which we explain the entry of immigrants into housing markets and the ways in which community develops among new arrivals, as well as in relation to immigrants who have been in Canada for a long period of time and the 'white' Canadian-born population. Suburbs are not simply low-density copies of the inner city, and consequently we need research that recognizes the unique aspects of housing and neighbourhood in these areas (Michelson 1977). What effect did physical, social and economic changes after World War II have on immigrants, their housing and neighbourhoods? How have immigrants influenced both the inner city and suburbs? What have been the impacts of inner city gentrification and middle-class redevelopment schemes?

Method and Data

> The general value of *any* observation depends on the purpose of its use. If we want to predict the outcome of a political election, an opinion poll of potential voters, on the basis of a representative sample, is an adequate research instrument (at least, sometimes). If we want to understand the new cultural patterns introduced by immigrants, we need to establish a typology of ethnic communities and weigh their differential evolution in relationship to mainstream society ... (Castells 1983, xx).

This report uses two basic data sources to study immigrant housing, neighbourhoods and community development. The first involves census data, including special tabulations from the 1991 census of housing conditions and socio-economic characteristics among immigrant groups at an intra-urban level for Toronto and Montréal. The second data set, derived from a survey of immigrants conducted between 1995 and 1996 in both cities, examines in greater depth housing and neighbourhood conditions, residential satisfaction and social networks than is possible with either standard or special tabulation census data. The census data enables examination of place of residence, basic housing conditions and demographic characteristics

for immigrants and the Canadian-born population in Toronto and Montréal, while the second enables a richer, albeit based on a smaller sample size, examination of housing conditions and status, as well as social life and community development. Each data set has its own particular strengths and liabilities that will be described below.

Census Data: Special Tabulation Specifications and Other Data Sets

The census is used basically in two ways. First, two special tabulations from the 1991 census were developed in order to examine housing conditions and status between and among immigrants from particular countries and regions. The tables are large and complex, and are structured around the following variables: 1. Birthplace; 2. Period of Immigration; 3. Dwelling Type; 4. Tenure; 5. Housing Quality; 6. Housing Affordability; 7. Total Household Income; and 8. Household Type. (See Table 1.1 for a description of each variable's categories). The number of categories for each variable is small relative to the total number available from Statistics Canada in order to maximize the number of cells in the tables with observations.[4]

Two caveats are necessary for interpretation of the special tabulation data. First, these data are based on individuals rather than households. This distinction is most important in interpreting the *Household Type* variable, as the counts refer to the number of individuals who belong to a particular type of household, such as lone parent, rather than the number of households that fall within a particular category. The same is true of *Total Household Income* in that the counts refer to individuals who belong to households which earn a given amount of money. One could imagine a situation in which an individual earns no personal income but belongs to a household that collectively earns over $60,000. As a consequence, this person's housing conditions are probably more indicative of household rather than personal socio-economic status. It is precisely because housing consumption often reflects combined rather than individual income that the total household income variable is used. Secondly, the data are limited to individuals over the age of fifteen. We focused on the adult population because the number of *immigrant* children in any birthplace group is usually relatively small, especially when compared to the number of children born to Canadian parents.

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[4] For reasons of confidentiality, Statistics Canada suppresses counts in cells with less than 10 observations and therefore this demands that some amalgamation of categories be undertaken.

Table 1.1: Special Tabulation Variables and Categories

1. Birthplace:
    Jamaica
    Haiti
    Vietnam
    Central America
    Guyana
    Remainder of the Caribbean
    China, Taiwan, Hong Kong
    South America
    South Asia
    Africa
    United States/United Kingdom/Europe (excluding Italy)
    Italy
    Canada (only British and French ethnicity)
    Canada (all non-British/French ethnicities)
    All Birthplaces Not Otherwise Specified

2. Period of Immigration:
    Before 1968
    1968 to 1980
    1981 to 1991

3. Dwelling Type:
    Single-detached house
    Semi-detached house
    Low-rise (includes duplexes,
    triplexes and apartments < 5 storeys)
    High-rise apartments (in buildings
    over 5 storeys)

4. Tenure:
    Own
    Rent

5. Dwelling Condition:
    Requires only regular maintenance or
    minor repairs
    Requires major repairs

6. Housing Affordability:
    Spend in excess of 30% of household

income on housing

7. Total Household Income:
    Less than $25,000
    $25,000 to $59,999
    $60,000 or more

8. Household Type:
    Two-person family household, with
    or without children
    Lone-parent family household
    Multiple family household
    Non-family household

Although the data set contains 15 different birthplace groups, this report focuses primarily on only 5 birthplace groups: individuals born in Jamaica, Vietnam, Central America, Haiti, and Canada who define their ethnicity as British or French.[5] This later group is referred to in the report as *British/French* Canadians in the context of Toronto and *French/British* Canadians in Montréal, thereby reflecting which of the two 'charter' groups numerically dominates in each city. If the discussion is about this group in a generic sense, it is referred to as 'British/French Canadian'. By no means does this cohort represent the Canadian-born population as a whole. In fact, in Toronto the British/French Canadian population constitutes only 25.1% of the total Canadian-born population in that city, while in Montréal French/British Canadians comprise 78.4% of the Canadian-born. The British/French Canadian group was created because British and French Canadians are the benchmark groups against which the behaviour of immigrant groups has traditionally been measured (Breton *et al.* 1990). We also implicitly recognize a difference in power relations within the Canadian-born population and in relation to immigrant groups, as the British/French have collectively been influential in shaping the political, economic and socio-cultural institutions of Canadian cities (K.J. Anderson 1991; Breton *et al.* 1990).

Furthermore, we acknowledge an inherent problem in aggregating people from several different countries under labels such as 'United States/United Kingdom/Europe', 'South Asia', 'China', 'Africa', and 'South America'. First, a deliberate effort was made to keep the groups that are of principal interest to interest to this study - Jamaicans, Haitians, Vietnamese and Central Americans - relatively homogeneous. Secondly, for the remaining groups, the basic criterium for aggregating nationalities under the more 'regional' birthplace labels is the degree of social distance between the groups. Previous research, for instance, has found that the social distance between American, British and north, east and west European ethnic groups is small and consequently they were brought together as one group, although it is recognized that there is considerable internal diversity (Pineo 1977).[6] By the same token, the considerable cultural and socio-economic differences between South and East Asians demand that they be placed in separate categories rather than aggregated together as 'Asians', as is so often the case

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[5] Only people who define their ethnicity as *either* British or French are included in this category. People who stated multiple ethnic origins, for example, British and Caribbean or French, Swiss and Italian, are not included in this category and instead show up in the "Canadian Non-British, Non-French" category. The intent with the British/French Canadian category was to make it as ethnically homogeneous as possible.

[6] Italian immigrants were pulled out as a separate group from the US/UK/Europe amalgamation because previous research had shown their housing consumption to be considerably different from that of the other groups (Ray 1992).

(Robinson 1986). Even so, labeling individuals from several different countries as 'South Asian' or 'Chinese' is problematic given ethnic, cultural and political differences. For example, the 'Chinese' in our sample are heterogeneous, but in Canada these important differences are seldom recognized by the general public, media or politicians who most often categorize all South-East and East Asian immigrants as either "Chinese" or "Asian". Moreover, earlier studies have shown that immigrants understand what is meant by these labels in a Canadian context, although they personally may not identify themselves in this manner (Moghaddam *et al*. 1994).

The problem of small cell counts and data suppression by Statistics Canada prevented census tract level analysis of the housing data. We did, however, obtain counts for each of the birthplace groups at the census tract level and these have been used in the analysis of the geographies of the various groups (Chapter III). We did want to examine spatial variation in housing conditions within Toronto and Montréal, and consequently grouped each city's census tracts into somewhat larger 'neighbourhood areas' to facilitate an intra-urban analysis (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). These areas vary in geographic and population size, and are based on existing census tract boundaries and were created on the basis of recognized neighbourhoods, borders such as arterial roads and landmarks and counts of the overall size of the immigrant population in each area.[7] The neighbourhood areas were also based on previous studies that had divided up each metropolitan area into smaller districts (Villeneuve and Rose 1995, 1988; Ray 1992; Social Planning Council 1979) and, in the case of Montréal, the neighbourhood and *arrondissement* designations used by the City of Montréal. In the end, 126 neighbourhood areas were created for the Toronto CMA and 68 for the Montréal CMA. The larger number of areas in Toronto reflects both that city's larger population size and, more importantly, the larger number of immigrants that can be found throughout the city compared to Montréal. As we will see, Montréal's immigrant population is considerably less suburban than Toronto's and is quite concentrated on the Island of Montréal (see Chapter III).

Given that the population within most census tracts is heterogeneous in terms of socio-

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[7] One of the fundamental problems was to ensure a sufficient number of immigrants in each neighbourhood area so as to avoid cell suppression imposed by Statistics Canada due to small numbers. This was especially problematic in the exurban areas beyond Metro Toronto but still within the census metropolitan area and in many areas of the Montréal CMA that lie off of the Island of Montréal. As a consequence, many of the neighbourhood areas in the suburban and exurban parts of each city are very large, and for the most distant regions, such as northern Richmond Hill in Toronto and Mirabel in Montréal, no data were requested because the number of immigrants is tiny and would have simply resulted in cells with no values.

Figure 1.1: Location of 'Neighbourhood Areas' in the Toronto CMA

Figure 1.1: Toronto Neighbourhood Area Names

69	Toronto 1	112	Toronto 25	154	Scarborough 12
70	Toronto 2	113	Etobicoke 1	155	Scarborough 13
71	Toronto 3	114	Etobicoke 2	156	Scarborough 14
72	Toronto 4	115	Etobicoke 3	157	Scarborough 15
73	Toronto 5	116	Etobicoke 4	158	Scarborough 16
74	Toronto 6	117	Etobicoke 5	159	Scarborough 17
75	Toronto 7	118	Etobicoke 6	160	Scarborough 18
76	Toronto 8	119	Etobicoke 7	161	Scarborough 19
77	Toronto 9	120	Etobicoke 8	162	Scarborough 20
78	Toronto 10	121	Etobicoke 9	163	Scarborough 21
79	Toronto 11	122	Etobicoke 10	164	Scarborough 22
80	Toronto 12	123	Etobicoke 11	165	Scarborough 23
81	Toronto 13	124	Etobicoke 12	166	Markham A
82	North York 1	125	Etobicoke 13	167	Markham B
83	North York 2	126	Etobicoke 14	168	Markham C
84	York 1	127	North York 9	169	Markham D
85	York 2	128	North York 10	172	Markham E
86	York 3	129	North York 11	170	Markham F
87	York 4	130	North York 12	171	Richmond Hill A
88	York 5	131	North York 13	172	Richmond Hill B
89	York 6	132	North York 14	173	Mississauga A
90	Toronto 14	133	North York 15	174	Mississauga B
91	York 7	134	North York 16	175	Mississauga C
92	North York 3	135	North York 17	176	Mississauga D
93	Toronto 15	136	North York 18	177	Mississauga E
94	Toronto 16	137	North York 19	178	Mississauga F
95	Toronto 17	138	North York 20	179	Mississauga G
96	Toronto 18	139	North York 21	180	Mississauga H
97	East York 1	140	North York 22	181	Mississauga I
98	Toronto 19	141	North York 23	182	Mississauga J
99	Toronto 20	142	North York 24	183	Mississauga K
100	North York 4	143	Scarborough 1	184	Mississauga L
101	North York 5	144	Scarborough 2	185	Mississauga M
102	North York 6	145	Scarborough 3	186	Mississauga N
103	North York 7	146	Scarborough 4	187	Mississauga O
104	North York 8	147	Scarborough 5	188	Pickering A
105	East York 2	148	Scarborough 6	189	Pickering B
106	East York 3	149	Scarborough 7	190	Vaughan A
107	East York 4	150	Scarborough 8	191	Vaughan B
108	Toronto 21	151	Scarborough 9	192	Vaughan C
109	Toronto 22	152	Scarborough 10	193	Vaughan D
110	Toronto 23	153	Scarborough 11	194	Vaughan E
111	Toronto 24				

Figure 1.2: Location of 'Neighbourhood Areas' in the Montréal CMA
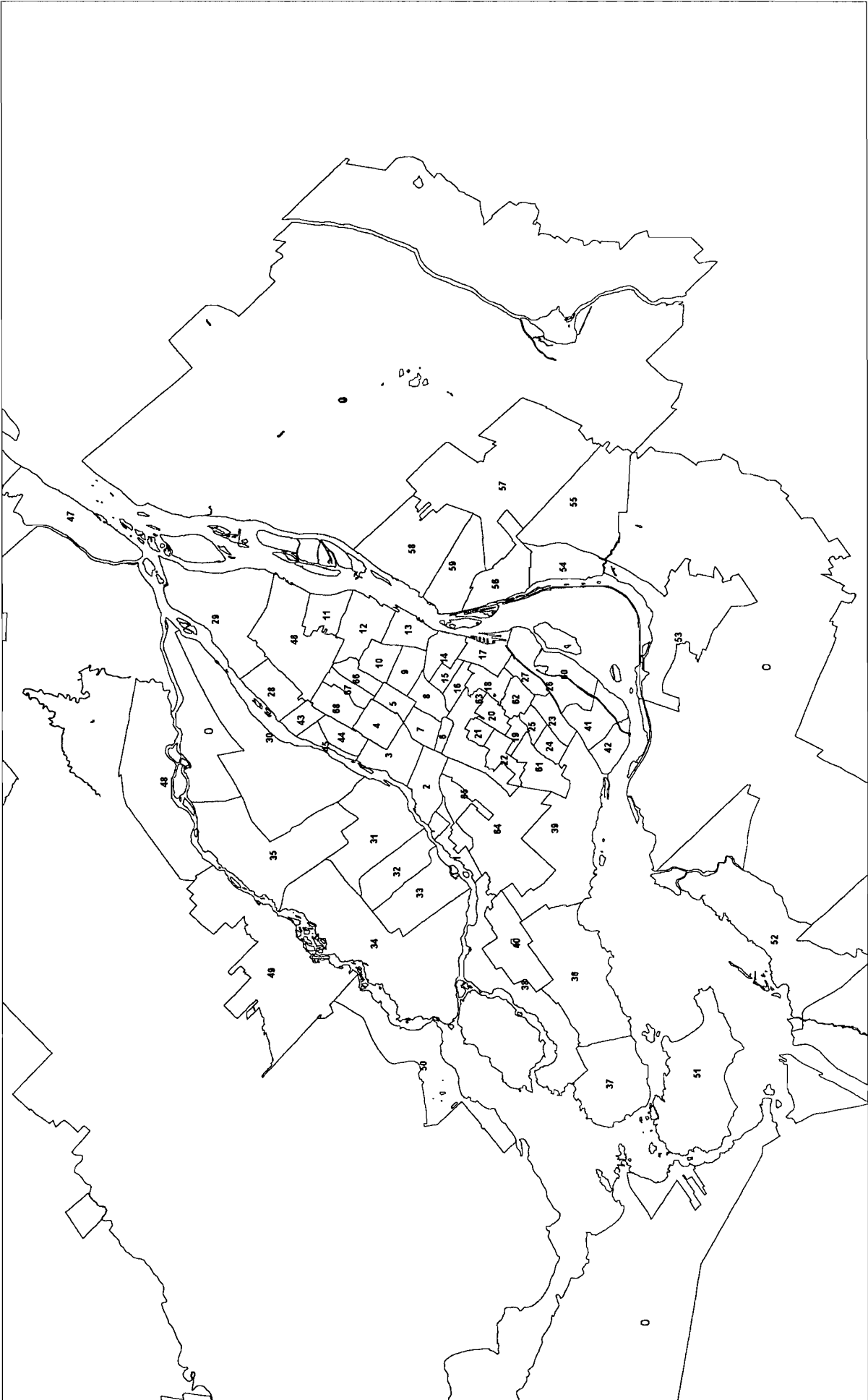
Figure 1.2: Montréal Neighbourhood Area Names

1	Cartierville	35	Vimount
2	Nouveau Bordeaux	36	West Island 1
3	St. Suplice	37	West Island 2
4	St. Lucie	38	West Island 3
5	Gabriel Sagard	39	Lachine
6	Parc Extension	40	Dollard
7	Parc Jerry	41	LaSalle 1
8	Pere Marquette	42	LaSalle 2
9	Vieux Rosemont	43	Montréal Nord1
10	Marie Victoine	44	Montréal Nord2
11	Tetreaultville	45	Montréal Nord3
12	Louis Riel	46	Anjou
13	Hochelaga	47	Repentigny
14	Ste. Marie	48	Terrebonne
15	Parc Lafontaine	49	Rosemere
16	Mile End	50	St. Eustache
17	Ville Marie	51	Pincourt
18	Montagne	52	Chateauguay
19	Snowdon	53	Candiac
20	Montpetit	54	Brossard1
21	Parc Kent	55	Brossard2
22	Savane	56	St. Lambert
23	Upper Lachine	57	St. Hubert
24	Loyola	58	Longueuil 1
25	St. Antoine	59	Longueuil 2
26	St. Charles	60	Verdun
27	St. Henri	61	Côte St. Luc
28	Marc Aurele	62	Westmount
29	Rivière-des-Prairies/ Point-aux-Trembles	63	Outremont
		64	St. Laurent 1
30	St. Francois	65	St. Laurent 2
31	Pont Viau	66	St. Leonard 1
32	Chomedey A	67	St. Leonard 2
33	Chomedey B	68	St. Leonard 3
34	Laval Ouest		

economic status, household composition and type of dwelling occupied, it is not surprising that the neighbourhood areas are also internally heterogeneous. Nevertheless, because they have been created to reflect commonly recognized neighbourhood boundaries, as well as physical and natural 'edges', the areas tend to have their own individual character, although this is most true for areas where the immigrant population is fairly large. For instance, Rosedale remains distinct from St. James Town in Toronto and Westmount from St. Henri and Snowdon in Montréal. To situate the housing, social and economic characteristics of these neighbourhood areas within the broader metropolitan context, the data sets also include totals for the Toronto and Montréal CMAs.

The neighbourhood areas respect municipal boundaries, and for some of the analyses and discussion they have been amalgamated into municipalities or large districts. For Toronto, such aggregation was based entirely on municipal boundaries and, due to the large number of immigrants living in the older parts of the metropolitan area, a strong emphasis is placed on "Metro Toronto" and its six municipalities (Figure 1.3).[8] The Toronto CMA is a much larger spatial entity than Metro, but the vast majority of all immigrants (65.8%) live in Metro. It is undeniable that the dispersal of some immigrants beyond Metro's borders is occurring, such as Chinese into Markham, Italians into the town of Woodbridge in Vaughan Township on the city's northwest edge, and an array of groups into Mississauga on the city's west side. But in this report, substantial emphasis will be placed on Metro Toronto and its municipalities because a very large proportion of Jamaican, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants continue to live in this region.

In Montréal, aggregation of neighbourhood units into municipalities is considerably more complicated because the CMA is made up of such an array of municipalities of varying sizes (Figure 1.4). In metropolitan Montréal municipalities can range in size from the City of Montréal with just over a million people to Montréal West and Ville St. Pierre that have just over 5,000 people each. When possible neighbourhood areas have been amalgamated into municipalities, such as the Cities of Montréal, Laval, Westmount, St. Leonard and St. Laurent. But in some cases, because of the small sizes of municipalities and/or their small immigrant populations, several municipalities and their neighbourhood areas have been merged into larger regions such as the West Island (comprising municipalities on the West Island such

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[8] The Regional Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto or "Metro Toronto" was created in 1953 in recognition of the fact that the city as a functional unit extended well beyond the City of Toronto. There are now six Metro Toronto municipalities: City of Toronto, York, the Borough of East York, Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough. At the time of writing, these municipalities are about to be dissolved into a single municipality.

Figure 1.3: Municipalities and Neighbourhood Areas of the Toronto CMA
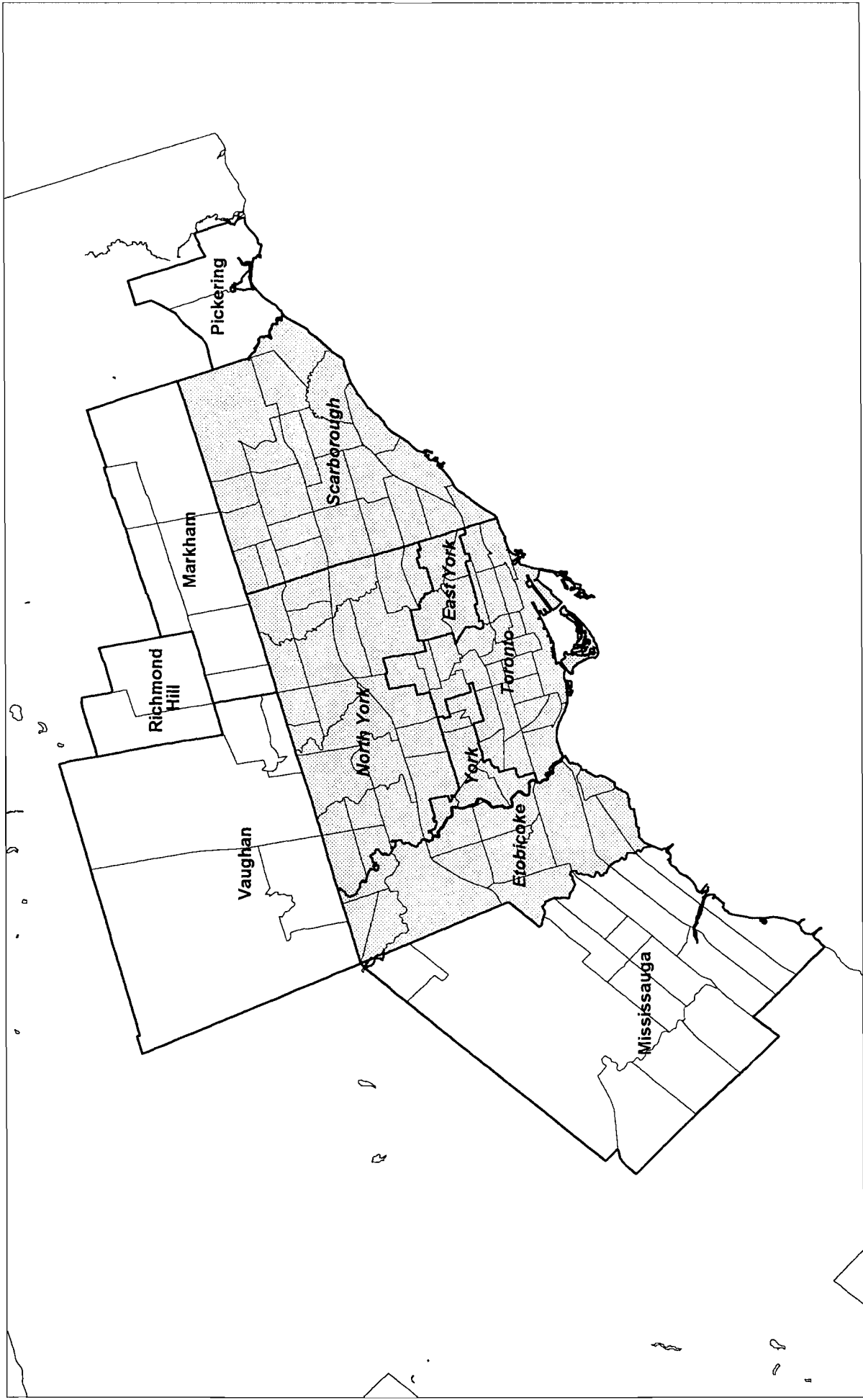
Figure 1.4: Municipalities/Regions and Neighbourhood Areas of the Montréal CMA
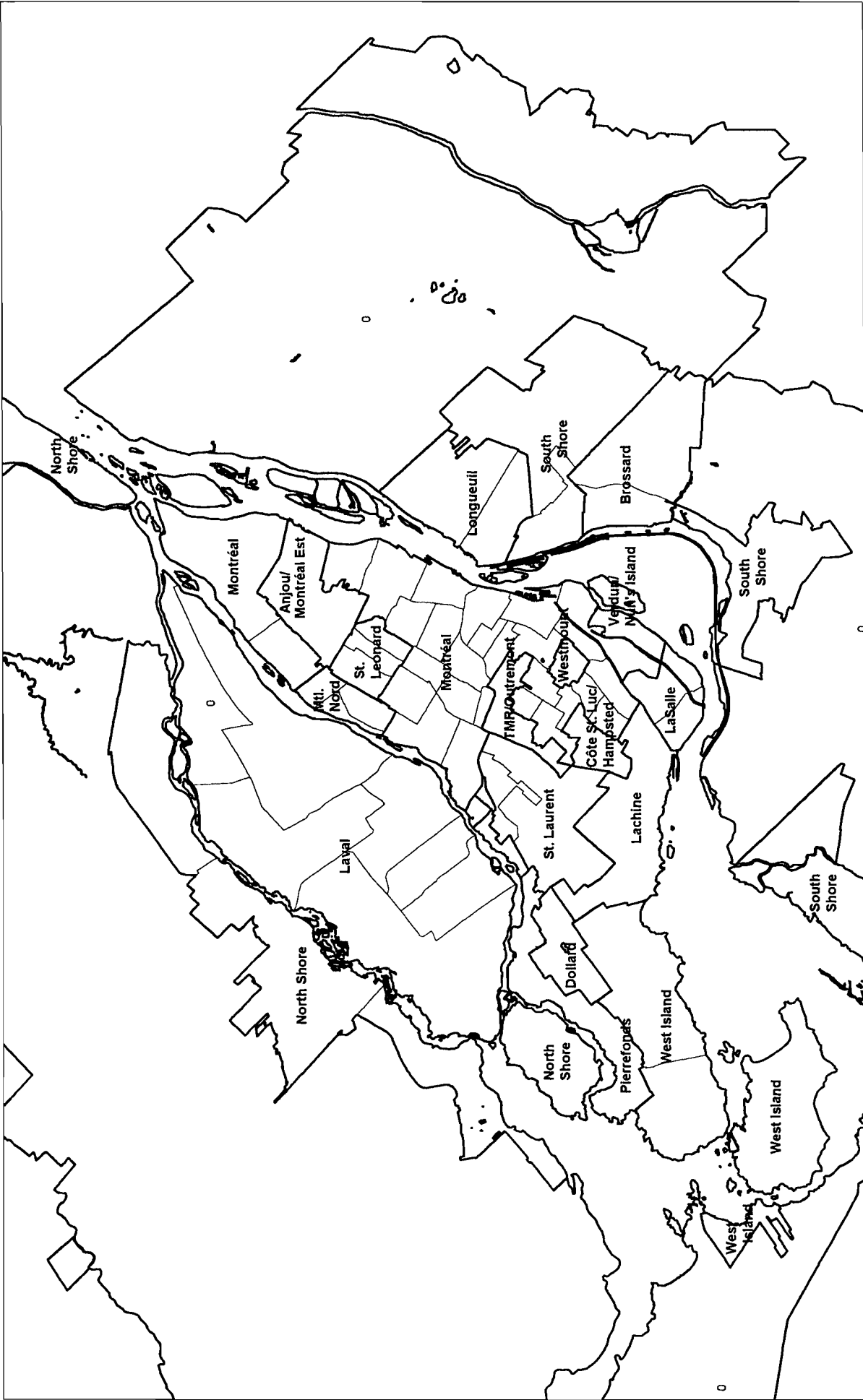
as Pointe Claire, Kirkland, Dorion, Ste. Anne de Bellevue), and the North and South Shores (municipalities north and south of the Island of Montréal where the immigrant population is small such as St. Eustache, Rosemere and Terrebonne in the north and Chateauguay and Candiac in the south). Again reflecting the small number of immigrants living in more exurban areas of the Montréal CMA, large exurban areas of the CMA have not been included in the analysis (Figure 1.2).

A third special tabulation was also created to examine whether there are vertical immigrant enclaves in each city, and is described in detail in Chapter V. This tabulation, which is much smaller than the previous two, enables examination of the birthplace composition of enumeration areas which we determined, by use of existing published census data, are one high-rise apartment building with an above average number of immigrants. Enumeration areas typically only comprise about 300 people and therefore it is possible to bring the analysis down to the level of a large apartment building. Because of the small population size of any unit, this tabulation contains only one variable - place of birth - as defined in Table 1.1. The tabulation facilitates examination of the birthplace composition of individual buildings, and these data have been used in Chapter V to investigate the degree to which high-rise apartment buildings are being differentially occupied according to birthplace. With the enumeration area number, we were also able to identify the exact street address of each building and verify that it is a high-rise building by using very large scale enumeration area maps.[9]

Statistics Canada's Public Use Sample (PUS) was also used in an analysis of the factors that potentially influence housing conditions experienced by particular immigrant groups in metropolitan Toronto (see Chapter IV). The PUS is described in some detail in Chapter IV and it will suffice to say here that its two principal advantages are a vast array of variables which are simply not available in most special tabulations and its organization by individual records. These data are a sample of complete individual records of responses to the census questionnaire rather than aggregated group totals, and therefore a somewhat wider set of analytical techniques can be brought to bear on particular questions. Unfortunately, the data are only provided at the level of the CMA which limits their utility in a study with an intra-urban focus.

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[9] These maps were consulted at the cartographic branch of Statistics Canada in Ottawa.

Questionnaire Survey of Immigrants' Housing and Social Networks

The second major data set is derived from a questionnaire survey of Afro-Caribbean and Latin American immigrants in Toronto and Haitian and Latin American immigrants in Montréal (see Appendix A). The questionnaire and sampling methodology are described in some depth in Chapters VI and VII, and consequently only a thumbnail sketch will be given here. The interview primarily asked individuals about their present housing and neighbourhood, satisfaction with their current residential area, and social networks (kin, family and neighbours with whom they interact). The objective of the survey was to go beyond the information that can be obtained from conventional sources such as the census, and examine the housing and neighbourhood experiences of individual immigrants in relation to household/family structures and kin/friends networks. Quite simply, immigrant settlement entails more than just finding a place to live; therefore, we examine family and friendship networks to understand better why immigrants live in particular types of housing and neighbourhoods, as well as the significance of family, friends and neighbours in how they assess current and previous residential environments.

The data were collected by means of a face-to-face interview lasting about three-quarters of an hour conducted in either English, Spanish, French or Creole, and a total of 173 interviews were successfully completed.[10] Interviewing proved to be a large and time consuming challenge in that many people simply did not want to participate or feared being identified by the government in some way. We endeavoured to interview at least 40 individuals in each group. Respondents were identified by means of a snowball sampling methodology and the sample was not limited to particular neighbourhoods or districts. The basic criteria for inclusion in the sample were that the respondent was an adult at the time of migration to Canada and that she/he has lived in Canada for at least one year but not more than 20 (25 years in the case of Haitians). By sampling in this manner we identified a range of people living in different housing conditions and neighbourhoods across both metropolitan areas. Based on the socio-economic and demographic profile of the four groups undertaken in Chapter II using census data, it would appear that the four questionnaire samples are fairly representative of the larger populations especially given the limitations of snowball sampling.

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[10] In the end only 158 were used in the analysis. Fifteen interviews were not used because either the respondents did not fit our criteria (most often they had lived in Canada too long) or the interview was incomplete or corrupted in some way.

The census materials and questionnaire survey described here are the major 'quantitative' data sources used in this study. The census has a number of important advantages over other potential sources, not the least of which is the ability to identify specific immigrant groups at a fine scale of spatial resolution. Nevertheless, many aspects of immigrant life, identity formation and community development cannot be captured using census data and for these reasons the questionnaire survey was undertaken. The survey certainly rounds out the profile of immigrant groups and provides a more comprehensive sense of settlement as a social process mediated by culture, language, housing, family and friends. It also emphasizes the differences in immigrant settlement between Toronto and Montréal. There is much that binds these two cities together as places, not the least of which are various political, economic and social institutions, but their histories of development, housing, neighbourhoods and ethnic group relations have effectively created two quite different environments in which immigrants build new lives.

Chapter Outlines

This report is composed of six substantive chapters. The first - Chapter II - sketches a profile of the immigrant groups examined by describing in some detail their socio-economic and demographic characteristics. The chapter emphasizes the need to recognize the social heterogeneity that exists within the immigrant populations of both Toronto and Montréal, and that differences in socio-economic status, period of immigration and household composition can have important affects on the housing and settlement patterns, as well as the composition of social networks in each group. Building upon this socio-economic and demographic profile, the next chapter considers two strongly related aspects of housing conditions and status among immigrants - place of residence and spatial concentration. The chapter begins by discussing the principal areas of immigrant settlement in Toronto and Montréal, followed by examination of segregation both between different immigrant groups and between immigrants and the British/French Canadian population. It is in this chapter that the strong suburban character of immigrant settlement in Toronto, and to a lesser extend in Montréal, is examined in detail.

After profiling socio-economic characteristics and the geography of immigrant settlement in the two cities, chapters IV and V much more explicitly focus upon housing conditions. Housing provides insight both into why immigrants live where they do, and the ways in which urban space can be both shared and divided. Chapter IV begins by describing housing conditions among the principal immigrant groups in both cities, and subsequently goes

on to explore some of the factors which might underlie differences in housing status between groups. In addition to conventional variables such as age, income, household type and period of immigration, we argue that 'ethnicity' plays an important role in influencing home ownership levels among various immigrant groups. In short, Chapter IV focuses on *what* the macro-scale variations in housing conditions are among immigrant groups and the factors which might explain these differences.

Chapter V moves the discussion of housing down to a more local scale, examining *how* the general patterns of housing differentials between groups become affected within each city. In this chapter we see that the differences in the spatial distribution and segregation of immigrants examined earlier are intricately connected to, and often magnified by, housing. Even in neighbourhood areas where one or more immigrant groups form large segments of the total population, their housing often serves to separate them still further from each other *and* the British/French Canadian-born population. It is also in this chapter that the question of vertical immigrant enclaves in high- and low-rise apartment buildings is examined. In this respect, the high-rise neighbourhoods of St. James Town in Toronto, once an area for the young middle-class and now dominated by relatively low-income immigrants, is highlighted as a case study, for it exemplifies some of the important ways in which the rental high-rise stock has changed in status and social meaning over the past three decades. Fundamentally Chapter V emphasizes that housing inequality pervades social life throughout both cities and not just in a few discrete locations.

Extrapolating from the preceding chapters about differential housing conditions and status, the final chapters examine *why* immigrants live in different types of housing and locations in the city, as well as the role which family, friends and neighbours play in settling in a new city and creating a community. These chapters are based on the questionnaire survey of Afro-Caribbean, Haitian and Latin American immigrants in the two cities. Chapter VI examines the reasons why immigrants chose their present city, neighbourhood and house, as well as levels of housing and neighbourhood satisfaction. Chapter VII moves on to discuss more directly the settlement process and nature of community among immigrants by focusing on their social networks composed of family, friends and neighbours. This chapter is predicated upon the notion that building networks ultimately is a process of building a life in a new place that implicates a variety of primary and secondary relationships. These two chapters attempt to look at housing and social networks from the perspective of immigrants and consequently there is relatively little direct examination of institutional constraint in these chapters. The intent is not to suggest that discrimination is not an important factor, but rather

to focus on the objectives, motivations and daily experiences of immigrants, a perspective which has received insufficient attention in many studies of housing and community development.

The objectives of this study are broad and the foregoing is intended as a basic 'map' of the terrain which will be covered. Fundamentally the research is comparative and multi-stranded, using both macro- and micro-scales of analysis to examine the housing conditions and community development of immigrants in Toronto and Montréal. We begin, however, by profiling the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of immigrant groups in both cities.

CHAPTER II:
A SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF
IMMIGRANTS IN TORONTO AND MONTRÉAL

By the late 1960s and certainly in the 1970s, changes in immigration policy began to have their effect and the number of migrants from non-European countries started to grow in Canada. The very presence of these migrants in Canadian cities, who were often referred to as 'non-traditional' immigrants, challenged long-held ideas about the nature of immigration among policy makers and the public in general. While it was clear that a far more culturally diverse range of immigrants was coming to Canada than ever before, relatively little research examined the diverse socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the new migrants or their experiences within Canada, particularly at the level of cities. Immigrants from diverse places in the world were often lumped together under labels that at the very least assumed a homogeneity that simply did not exist and often had the effect of reifying differences with Canadians from European ethnic origins, in the process rendered them outsiders within a multicultural Canada. As one outspoken critic of the immigration and multiculturalism policy put it in her analysis of a proposed new immigration act in the 1970s: "In an official Green paper on Immigration and Population I learn that I'm something called a 'visible minority' from a 'non-traditional area of immigration' who calls into question the 'absorptive capacity' of Canada. ... I cannot describe the agony and the betrayal one feels, hearing oneself spoken of by one's own country as being somehow exotic to its nature ..." (Mukherjee 1981, 38).

This report is predicated upon the notion that differences between immigrant groups are important and need to be more directly incorporated into analyses if we are to understand the nature of immigrant housing and settlement in Canadian cities. Certainly differences in the settlement process within and between cities is a major preoccupation of this study, but we begin here with more basic issues, namely the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of immigrant groups in Toronto and Montréal. While the vast majority of immigrants examined here share in common the experience of being post-1967 migrants, the groups often diverge significantly in terms of other characteristics. The first objective, therefore, is to draw attention to the diversity of immigrant conditions in order to escape the notion of a unitary 'immigrant experience' in Canadian cities. Integral to where immigrants live within a city and in what types of housing, these socio-economic and demographic factors also play a role in the development of social networks and a sense of community (Cohen and Shinar 1985). Moreover, the chapter seeks to highlight the immigrant populations that are the focus of this report in order to set a socio-

economic and demographic context that may be used in the interpretation of their housing conditions and social networks in Toronto and Montréal.

<u>Socio-Economic and Demographic Characteristics of Immigrants in Toronto and Montréal</u>

Population Size and Period of Immigration

The most obvious point of difference in terms of immigration between Toronto and Montréal is simply the size of their immigrant population. In 1991 there were approximately 1,468,625 immigrants in Toronto and only 520,530 in Montréal. The absolute size of the immigrant population in the two cities is quite different, but so to is their relative significance. Montréal is the second largest city of immigrants in Canada, however only 17.1% of the population was born outside of the country compared to just over 40% of Toronto's population. There is also considerable variation in the size of the immigrant groups examined in this report, from just over 74,000 Jamaicans, 36,000 Vietnamese and 9,000 Central Americans in Toronto to just over 34,000 Haitians, 18,000 Vietnamese and 10,000 Central Americans in Montréal (Table 2.1). Certainly these are not the largest immigrant groups in either city, European/USA immigrants being the largest single component, but they are among the newest and largest of the visible minority populations.

There are also important distinctions to be made between the groups and cities in terms of when the majority of individuals in each arrived in Canada. A larger proportion of individuals in most of Montréal's immigrant groups migrated to Canada before 1968 (Table 2.1). For instance, 18%, 22% and 61.8% of Jamaican, Caribbean and European/USA immigrants migrated to Montréal in the earliest time period (before 1968) compared to only 10.5%, 11.7% and 57.8% of individuals in these same groups living in Toronto. With the exception of very new immigrant flows to each city, such as Central Americans who have virtually no members from the pre-1968 period, the demographic 'roots' of the immigrant communities in Toronto are somewhat more shallow. This leads us to believe that more of the recent cohort of migrants select Toronto over Montréal as a destination.

Among the groups that are the focus of this study, there are important variations in time of arrival. For all groups except Central Americans, the 1968-1980 time period marks a period of dramatic growth in numbers largely owing to a 'deracialization' of Canadian immigration policy. For instance, over 50% of Jamaican and Haitian immigrants arrived in this period, as did a significant proportion of Vietnamese migrants now living in these two cities. In contrast, the

TABLE 2.1: POPULATION SIZE AND PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, TORONTO AND MONTRÉAL CMAs, 1991								
	TORONTO				MONTRÉAL			
		Period of Immigration						
Birthplace	*Size*	*< 1968*	*1968-1980*	*1981-1991*	*Size*	*< 1968*	*1968-1980*	*1981-1991*
Jamaica	74,665	10.5	56.8	32.7	6,890	18.0	50.7	31.3
Haiti	----	----	----	----	34,830	2.2	52.7	45.1
Vietnam	36,460	0.2	36.0	63.8	18,605	0.6	43.8	55.6
Central America	9,335	0.7	10.9	88.3	10,525	0.1	10.1	89.8
Guyana	50,460	6.0	46.9	47.1	----	----	----	----
Caribbean	52,875	11.7	55.8	32.5	11,970	22.0	46.2	31.8
China	133,735	7.4	30.7	61.9	16,170	14.3	25.6	60.2
South Asia	103,555	5.2	40.0	54.9	13,305	8.5	38.5	53.1
Europe/USA	758,765	57.8	26.5	15.7	265,025	61.8	24.6	13.6
Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulation, 1991.								

Central American community stands out as being dominated by recent migrants. In both cities, just short of 90% of migrants belonging to this group came to Canada in the 1981-1991 period.

It is also important to consider the proportional distribution of groups by period of immigration within each city. It is generally assumed by academics and the public alike that new immigrants tend to settle in the inner city and then, as their incomes and knowledge of the city grows, they begin to move to housing in the suburbs that surround the city (Ray 1994). Yet in Toronto, and to a somewhat lesser degree in Montréal, new migrants are locating in some of the newest suburban municipalities in the metropolitan area. For instance, with the exception of Vietnamese immigrants, a relatively small proportion of new migrants belonging to the other principal birthplace groups located in the City of Toronto, and instead are found in significant numbers in new suburban municipalities (Table 2.2). For instance, only 20.3% of the most recent cohort (1981-91) of Central American immigrants are found in the City of Toronto while 28.4% and 19.4% are found in North York and Scarborough respectively. It is only in the truly exurban

TABLE 2.2: Distribution of Most Recent (1981-91) Migrants Across Greater Toronto, 1991								
CITY	Jam.	Viet-nam	Cent. Amer.	Guy.	Carib	China	Sth. Asia	Eur/ USA
Toronto	8.5	45.2	20.3	10.4	15.5	17.4	9.6	24.9
York	11.8	8.9	13.4	5.9	7.8	0.7	2.8	8.0
E. York	1.3	0.7	0.7	3.5	4.9	2.1	2.7	2.4
Etobicoke	10.8	3.0	9.7	10.1	8.4	1.4	11.9	11.8
N. York	26.3	19.4	28.4	18.9	17.8	17.1	18.8	19.1
Scarboro	23.7	7.3	18.4	34.6	24.5	36.2	27.1	9.4
Mississ.	12.6	13.1	7.5	11.5	14.5	8.4	20.9	18.1
Vaughan	0.8	0.2	0.4	0.7	0.2	0.6	0.3	0.9
Rich. Hill	0.3	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.8	4.2	0.4	1.4
Markham	2.7	1.0	1.0	2.6	3.6	11.3	4.5	2.4
Pickering	1.2	0.5	0.0	1.6	2.0	0.7	1.1	1.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulation, 1991.								

municipalities, such as Richmond Hill, Vaughan and Markham, that the proportion of new migrants is minuscule.

The Montréal situation is a bit more difficult to interpret given the degree to which the City of Montréal dominates the metropolitan area both in terms of population size and territory. For instance, one cannot so easily equate the inner city with the City of Montréal which includes the inner city as well as older suburbs and quite new suburbs on the east end of the Island of Montréal. Nevertheless, the suburbanization of new immigrants is evident among several groups. Important components of the Jamaican, Caribbean, South Asian and Chinese populations are found in some of the newer suburban municipalities on the Island of Montréal, such as St. Laurent, Dollard des Ormeaux, Pierrefonds and LaSalle (Table 2.3). In addition, among recent Chinese immigrants Brossard, a suburban municipality on the south shore is an important

CITY	Haiti	Viet-nam	Cent. Amer.	Jam.	Carib	China	Sth. Asia	Eur.
Montréal	58.5	76.9	68.1	51.7	59.2	44.8	58.7	48.6
TMR/ Outre.	0.1	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.8	3.2
Westmnt	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.8	1.6	0.5	1.3
CSL/ Hampstd	0.1	0.1	0.3	1.2	2.8	2.0	0.4	2.0
Montréal Nord	14.1	0.5	5.0	0.0	0.6	0.2	0.4	1.2
Anjou/ Mtl Est	1.8	1.4	2.3	1.4	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.8
St. Leonard	5.3	0.5	6.7	0.0	2.3	0.3	0.2	1.4
St. Laurent	2.0	6.4	3.7	9.0	3.7	7.9	5.3	4.1
Dollard	0.1	1.1	0.2	3.5	1.7	2.2	6.1	1.9
Pierre-fonds	3.3	1.1	3.1	9.7	5.5	2.9	6.8	4.0
LaSalle	0.6	0.1	3.5	10.8	5.4	3.1	5.2	3.0
Verdun	0.2	0.9	0.5	0.0	0.7	2.7	1.0	1.7
Lachine	0.2	1.0	1.6	2.6	3.7	1.5	1.6	1.7
W. Island	0.1	0.8	0.1	0.9	1.8	3.0	2.7	4.6
Laval	7.7	1.3	3.1	4.7	1.4	0.6	3.0	8.2
Longueuil	3.0	2.6	0.5	0.0	0.6	3.5	1.4	2.8
Brossard	0.4	2.6	0.2	2.4	4.0	20.9	4.6	2.1
South Shore Municip.	2.0	1.7	0.6	1.7	5.9	1.8	1.2	4.4
North Shore Municip.	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.1	3.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 2.3: Distribution of Most Recent (1981-91) Migrants Across Greater Montréal, 1991

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulation, 1991.

settlement node (over 20% of new migrants live there). North of the Island of Montréal, suburban Laval is an important area of settlement for new Haitian immigrants (7.7%) as are a number of other suburban municipalities on the Island of Montréal such as Montréal Nord (14.1%), St. Leonard (5.3%) and Pierrefonds (3.3%). As in Toronto, the more distant exurban municipalities house relatively few new immigrants from any birthplace group.

Household Income

Income levels among immigrant groups reflect such factors as recency of arrival in Canada, education levels, age and occupation circumstances (Loaiza 1989; Beaujot 1986; Samuel and Conyers 1986; Samuel and Woloski 1985; Ornstein and Sharma 1981). They may well also reflect various dimensions of inequality in the workforce such as gender and racial discrimination (Grindstaff 1990; Ng and Estable 1987; Boyd and Taylor 1986; Estable 1986; Trovato and Grindstaff 1986; Boyd 1984, 1987, 1988). It is beyond the objectives of this report to investigate these relationships, but it should be born in mind that the household income data presented below reflect a variety of demographic and social factors that reflect circumstances of the group itself as well as conditions within Canadian society.

In Toronto, a larger proportion of immigrants from all groups live in low income households (less than $25,000 per year) compared to their British/French Canadian counterparts (Table 2.4). Certainly European/USA immigrants are better off than many other immigrant groups, with relatively large proportions of individuals living in middle and high income groups. However, it is important to note that the differences between European/USA immigrants and those from South Asia, China, the Caribbean and Guyana are not great. Groups comprised largely of relatively recent migrants, such as the Vietnamese and Central Americans, have a relatively high proportion of individuals living in low income households compared to other groups (21% and 34% respectively). Yet it is important to note that approximately one-quarter of Jamaican immigrants also live in low income households, even though the majority of this group arrived in Canada before 1981. The high proportion of Jamaicans living in low income households also stands out relative to other immigrant groups from the Caribbean. The reasons for the higher percentage of Jamaican immigrants living in low income households are complex. As will be discussed below, gender and household composition do distinguish Jamaicans from other groups and are likely contributing factors. At the high end of the income spectrum, British/French Canadians also lead with 50% of individuals living in households that earn over $60,000 per year. The immigrant groups lag behind the British/French Canadians in this regard, with the Central American, Jamaican and Vietnamese groups having the fewest individuals living in high-income households.

TABLE 2.4: HOUSEHOLD INCOME DISTRIBUTION BY BIRTHPLACE GROUPS, TORONTO AND MONTRÉAL CMAs, 1991						
	TORONTO Household Income			**MONTRÉAL**		
Birthplace	*< $25,000*	*$25,000 - $59,999*	*$60,000 +*	*< $25,000*	*$25,000 - $59,999*	*$60,000 +*
Jamaica	24.4	40.5	35.0	46.3	37.9	15.8
Haiti	----	----	----	40.5	44.0	15.5
Vietnam	21.0	40.4	38.6	29.7	46.3	24.0
Central America	34.0	46.1	19.9	53.9	41.2	4.9
Guyana	16.1	40.3	43.7	----	----	----
Caribbean	16.4	40.8	42.8	33.3	42.6	24.1
China	20.7	37.0	42.4	39.6	39.0	21.4
South Asia	15.3	40.2	44.5	29.9	43.9	26.2
Europe/USA	18.0	37.0	45.0	28.5	42.4	29.1
Br/Fr Cdn.	15.0	35.1	49.9	23.0	45.9	31.1
Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulation, 1991.						

In terms of household income status, the same general pattern observed between groups in Toronto is evident in Montréal (Table 2.4). For instance, a smaller proportion of French/British Canadians and European immigrants live in households earning less than $25,000 per year compared with other immigrant groups, and relatively small proportions of Jamaicans, Haitians and Central Americans live in high income households. As in Toronto, the weak economic position of Central American immigrants in particularly noteworthy with over 50% living in households earning less than $25,000. Yet unlike Toronto, a far greater proportion of immigrants from Central America, Haiti and Jamaica live in low income households compared to Vietnamese immigrants. While the proportion of Vietnamese immigrants living in low income households is high (29.7%), a far greater proportion live in middle- (46.3%) and high- (24%) income households compared to the groups where the number of recent migrants is large.

One of the most outstanding differences between immigrants in the two cities is the much

greater proportion of every immigrant group that lives in low income households in Montréal (Table 2.4). This is true even for the French/British Canadian population; a far greater proportion of this group live in high income households in Toronto (49.9% compared to 31.1% in Montréal), whereas a larger proportion live in middle income households in Montréal (45.9% compared to 35.1% in Toronto). These differences are equally evident within the immigrant population. For instance, among Chinese immigrants living in Toronto 20.7% live in households making less than $25,000 whereas in Montréal the same is true of 39.6% of individuals. In fact, almost twice the proportion of Chinese, South Asian, Jamaican and Caribbean immigrants in Montréal live in low income households relative to their Toronto counterparts. By comparison, group differences between the two cities in the middle income category ($25-59,999) are relatively minor. However, the significant income disparity between immigrants in the two cities reappears at the higher end of the income spectrum where a far greater proportion of each of the groups in Toronto live in high income households. As an example, 38.6% of Vietnamese immigrants in Toronto live in households earning over $60,000 per year compared to only 24% in Montréal.

Household Characteristics

It is well known that household income can have an important affect on housing circumstances, but so too can household composition. The type of household one belongs to, whether one is living alone, with a husband or wife and children, or raising children without a spouse, can influence both the type of housing desired (single family or apartment) and the degree of disposable income available either to buy or rent a dwelling. Many of the immigrant populations examined here also diverge from each other and the British/French Canadian populations in terms of household and family characteristics.

Household structures remain largely consistent between the two cities, although in Montréal a slightly higher proportion of every birthplace group, except Jamaicans, Caribbeans and Europeans/Americans, live in traditional nuclear family households (Table 2.5). It is also noteworthy that approximately one-quarter of Jamaican, Haitian and Caribbean immigrants in Montréal live in lone-parent family households, which is significantly greater than that among the other birthplace groups examined. In fact, the range of individuals living in lone-parent households is very striking between groups with Chinese, South Asian and European/USA immigrants at the low end of the spectrum, Vietnamese, Guyanese and British/French Canadians occupying the middle, and Jamaican, Haitian, Caribbean and Central American immigrants at the high end. The very high proportion of Jamaicans living in lone-parent households (27.8%) is

TABLE 2.5: HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AMONG BIRTHPLACE GROUPS, TORONTO AND MONTRÉAL CMAs, 1991								
	TORONTO				**MONTRÉAL**			
	Household Type							
Birthplace	*Nuclear Family*	*Lone Parent Family*	*Mult. Fam.*	*Non-Fam.*	*Nuclear Family*	*Lone Parent Family*	*Mult. Fam.*	*Non-Fam.*
Jamaica	52.9	27.8	5.6	13.8	49.3	28.2	1.7	20.8
Haiti	----	----	----	----	56.0	26.9	5.0	12.2
Vietnam	61.0	11.4	18.2	9.5	70.2	10.7	7.8	11.3
Central America	64.1	17.1	10.7	8.1	65.1	18.0	4.5	12.5
Guyana	65.9	13.0	11.3	9.7	----	----	----	----
Caribbean	62.4	16.7	7.2	13.7	56.6	23.0	3.3	17.1
China	73.0	5.2	14.6	7.2	77.4	6.2	8.4	8.1
South Asia	67.8	5.0	20.9	6.4	70.5	6.3	10.8	12.4
Europe/USA	73.7	6.5	4.7	15.2	72.6	7.2	2.2	18.0
Br/Fr Cdn.	69.6	10.3	2.6	17.5	70.9	11.2	1.0	16.9
Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulation, 1991.								

particularly striking in Toronto where they diverge by at least 10 percentage points from all of the other groups examined. Multiple family households are in general more common in Toronto than Montréal, which may be related to the tightness of the housing market, and are most common among South Asian, Vietnamese and Chinese immigrants. In both cities, however, a larger proportion of individuals in all immigrants groups live in multiple family households relative to the British/French Canadian population. In contrast, non-family households are more common among the British/French Canadian population than most of the immigrant communities. Only in Montréal does the proportion of Jamaican, Caribbean and European/USA immigrants living in non-family households exceed that of the French/British Canadian population, and only by a small margin.

It is also important to contextualize these household data for Jamaicans in a bit more detail as in both Toronto and Montréal there are significantly more women than men. For example, in Toronto for every 100 Jamaican men there are 137 women (sex ratio in Montréal is 1:1.46), whereas among the British/French Canadian population the sex ratio is 1:1.04 (Montréal - 1:1.08). The sex ratio imbalance, while not as great, is also significant in the Caribbean (1:1.26) and Guyanese (1:1.14) communities in Toronto and the Haitian community in Montréal (1:1.30).

Conclusion

There is a tendency in research on contemporary immigration to place immigrants into very broad birthplace categories, such as 'traditional' and 'non-traditional' cohorts based on period of immigration and to pay scant attention to socio-economic and demographic distinctions between cities (Passaris 1984; Samuel and Woloski 1985; Beaujot 1986, 1988). This very brief discussion of the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of immigrants speaks against a notion of an overarching common 'immigrant experience' both within and between Toronto and Montréal. Space, like social and demographic variables, defines differences both between immigrant groups, as well as between immigrants and the larger British/French Canadian population of the two cities. Leaving aside the issue of where people live in either Toronto or Montréal, the evidence points to a high degree of heterogeneity within the two cities, and that individual immigrant groups have social and economic profiles which depart from the British/French Canadian population in often unique and important ways. These socio-economic and demographic distinctions are important to bear in mind when unravelling the complex housing circumstances of immigrants in the two cities.

CHAPTER III
IMMIGRANT GEOGRAPHIES IN TORONTO AND MONTRÉAL:
QUESTIONS OF DISTRIBUTION AND CONCENTRATION

Where immigrant and ethnic groups live in cities, and in what concentrations, have long been subjects of interest to the general public and academics alike. Urban geographers and sociologists have typically conceived of immigrant communities as inner city subcultures that disproportionately experience the poverty, physical deterioration and slum conditions of cities, as well as the efforts of social, political and community organizations intent on ameliorating the conditions of urban life (Gans 1962; Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Zunz 1982; Ward 1989; Anderson 1990). Other studies, less interested in the local context of settlement and the implications for civic culture, have focused on the relationships between the spatial segregation of immigrants and visible minorities and a range of phenomena such as intermarriage, linguistic assimilation, educational attainment and employment opportunities (Lieberson 1963, 1980; Taeuber and Taeuber 1965; Peach 1975; Peach et al., 1981; Massey and Denton 1993). For the most part, however, such studies have not considered the implications of suburban rather than inner city immigrant settlement. It is in the suburbs, especially those of metropolitan in Toronto, that immigrants from traditional source countries in Europe, as well as more recent waves of migrants from the Developing World, presently reside.

Many of the groups that are the focus of attention in this report exemplify immigrant suburban settlement. While many of these groups do live in the suburbs, and in fact some of the newest suburbs, their places of residence and, as we will see in later chapters, their type of housing, often diverge quite strongly. Their different patterns of settlement and spatial concentrations furnish considerable insight into the nature of each community, as well as into the complexity of both their housing conditions and the social geography of immigrants in Toronto and Montréal. The diversity of immigrant geographies that exist both within and between each city highlights the theoretically and empirically problematic nature of conceiving of simply one immigrant geography. What are the characteristics of immigrant settlement in Toronto and Montréal? How are they different? What is the nature of segregation and are new immigrant groups from the Developing World more or less concentrated than their predecessors? What is the nature of spatial relationships between immigrant groups and the British/French Canadian population? What are the implications of immigrant spatial distributions for understanding housing conditions and inequality?

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To answer some of these questions, attention first turns to the distribution of the principal immigrant groups across the Toronto and Montréal CMAs and their proportional representation within major municipalities and districts. Attention then shifts to more of a neighbourhood scale, examining the distribution of each group across the two cities at the census tract level. At this more intimate scale, the spatial clustering of some groups such as Vietnamese and Haitian immigrants within particular municipalities of Montréal becomes clear, as does the more dispersed pattern of settlement among Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Given an understanding of the distribution of the groups, their proportional representation within census tracts is subsequently examined. Through this analysis it becomes clear that many of the groups form a significant proportion of the population in a limited number of census tracts in distinct areas of each city, although there are few areas where any group constitutes a majority of the population. To appreciate more fully the patterns of distribution, the chapter moves on to explore in more depth the degree to which each group is spatially segregated from other immigrant groups and the British/French population in Toronto and Montréal. Segregation both between immigrant groups and in relation to British/French Canadian population is undeniably an important dimension of each city's social geography, influencing social relationships both at a metropolitan wide scale, and importantly, within local areas where people live and invest themselves in communities. The persistence and significance of immigrant segregation in the inner city and suburbs alike, especially in relation to the 'majority' population, raises a number of interesting questions about cross-cultural understanding and discrimination within 'multicultural' cities.

Immigrant Distributions Across Toronto and Montréal: The Significance of the Inner City and Suburbs

The suburbanization of immigrants in Toronto is strongly conveyed in Table 3.1. The majority of individuals in each immigrant group, including the British/French Canadian population, does not live in the City of Toronto. By far the most significant destinations for many immigrant groups are the newest suburban municipalities of Metro Toronto, namely Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough. Importantly, the majority of immigrants from all groups are concentrated in Metro Toronto and once Metro's borders are crossed the proportion of immigrants living in these more outlying areas decreases significantly. The one exception, of course, is Mississauga where a significant proportion of several immigrant groups currently resides. For instance, 20.7% of the South Asian population in metropolitan Toronto lives in Mississauga. There are also other clusters of immigrant settlement in these outer suburban

Table 3.1: Distribution of Birthplace Groups Across Greater Toronto, 1991									
CITY	Jam.	Viet-nam	Cent. Amer.	Guy.	Carib	China	Sth. Asia	Eur.	Can. (Br/Fr)
Toronto	8.7	41.2	20.4	8.8	14.3	20.8	9.8	21.2	19.6
York	8.9	8.7	14.2	4.6	7.4	0.9	2.6	6.9	4.4
E. York	1.5	1.3	1.7	3.6	3.9	2.9	2.8	3.6	4.8
Etobicoke	9.7	3.5	9.3	8.7	9.2	2.3	11.1	11.2	11.5
N. York	22.9	19.4	26.3	16.7	16.8	16.7	16.8	19.5	13.9
Scarboro	24.8	9.8	19.1	35.2	24.7	31.8	25.6	12.0	18.9
Mississ.	14.0	13.1	7.5	13.5	15.7	7.6	20.7	15.0	17.8
Vaughan	0.9	0.1	0.3	1.1	0.8	0.5	1.0	4.2	1.0
Rich. Hill	1.0	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.8	3.9	1.0	2.1	2.3
Markham	5.9	1.3	0.9	5.4	4.4	11.8	7.0	3.4	4.6
Pickering	1.8	0.9	0.1	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.7	1.5	1.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.									

municipalities, such as Chinese (11.8%), South Asian (7.0%) and Jamaican (5.9%) immigrants living in Markham in the northeast corner of the metropolitan region. As an overall pattern, however, immigrants tend to be concentrated in the horseshoe of Metro Toronto suburban municipalities that lies between the City of Toronto and the exurbs beyond Metro's borders.

The pattern in metropolitan Montréal is somewhat more difficult to generalise since the City of Montréal tends to dominate the entire region given that such a large portion of the total population lives in this one municipality. Unlike in Toronto, where only a minority of immigrants live in the City of Toronto, which is the oldest and most densely populated municipality, the largest proportion of all immigrant groups, and indeed in most cases the majority, live in the City of Montréal (Table 3.2). In addition, a significantly larger proportion of all the immigrant groups examined live in the City of Montréal relative to the

CITY	Haiti	Viet-nam	Cent. Amer.	Jam.	Carib	China	Sth. Asia	Eur.	Can. Fr/Br
Montréal	53.7	70.1	67.8	45.6	46.1	46.9	48.4	42.6	33.2
TMR/ Outre.	0.4	1.9	0.6	0.8	0.5	1.8	0.7	2.4	1.1
Westmnt	0.1	0.3	0	0.3	0.6	1.6	1.1	1.4	0.3
CSL/ Hampstd	0.1	0.4	0.2	1.5	2.3	1.4	0.4	3.1	0.2
Montréal Nord	12.9	0.5	4.7	0	0.5	0.1	0.3	3.4	3.4
Anjou/ Mtl Est	1.7	1.2	2.5	0.9	0.3	0.2	0	1.0	2.0
St. Leonard	4.7	0.8	7.5	0.2	1.1	0.5	0.4	7.0	1.8
St. Laurent	2.2	6.4	3.1	6.5	5.3	10.8	5.5	3.4	1.4
Dollard	0.4	1.4	0.1	4.3	4.2	2.0	7.2	2.3	0.7
Pierre-fonds	3.4	0.9	3.7	9.2	7.3	2.7	7.3	3.3	2.1
LaSalle	0.8	0.3	3.7	13.6	10.6	4.7	5.2	3.4	2.5
Verdun	0.2	1.1	0.8	0	0.8	2.3	1.1	1.3	2.8
Lachine	0.2	0.5	1.5	2.6	2.7	1.0	1.9	2.2	2.2
W. Island	0.2	0.9	0.5	3.1	2.3	2.9	5.0	4.1	1.7
Laval	11.2	2.7	3.9	4.0	2.6	1.2	3.3	9.6	13.8
Longueuil	4.3	3.5	0.6	0.3	0.7	2.3	1.1	1.8	6.7
Brossard	0.9	5.1	0.2	4.0	4.4	15.5	7.6	1.7	2.3
South Shore	3.4	2.0	0.9	3.5	7.5	1.7	2.8	4.6	11.3
North Shore	1.2	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.8	2.4	12.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3.2: Distribution of Birthplace Groups Across Greater Montréal, 1991

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

French/British Canadian population (only 33.2% of this group live in the City of Montréal). As will become evident below when the inner city and suburban components of the City of Montréal are examined, there is considerable evidence in the region for immigrant suburbanization. Table 3.2 also gives some sense of the suburbanization that is going on in the region, with over 12.9% and 11.2% of Haitians living in Montréal Nord and Laval respectively, and 15.5% of Chinese immigrants living in the south shore municipality of Brossard. However, unlike Toronto, immigrants in metropolitan Montréal remain much more concentrated in the centre of the Island of Montréal itself, with both the west and east ends of the island having distinctly lower concentrations of immigrants.

The majority of many immigrant groups live in the suburbs of Toronto and Montréal, but from this point of commonality the spatial characteristics of the groups often diverge in significant ways. Their different patterns of settlement and spatial concentration furnish considerable insight into the nature of each community, as well as the larger complexities of immigrant social geography in each city. Is each immigrant group equally concentrated or dispersed? What is the nature of the spatial relationships between immigrant groups and each city's British/French population? To answer these questions, we turn first to the distribution of immigrants across the cities and subsequently to the degree of spatial segregation from the British/French Canadian population in Toronto and Montréal.

As one might expect given their large size, the British/French Canadian population is the most evenly distributed of all groups across both metropolitan Toronto and Montréal. There are no populated census tracts where individuals from this group are completely absent, although the significant concentration of British/French Canadians on the suburban fringes of each city is inescapable (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). The map of the distribution of French/British Canadians in Montréal in fact highlights their relative absence in the heart of the city, with the majority being concentrated in the suburban municipalities surrounding the Island of Montréal (Laval, North Shore and South Shore municipalities). The suburbanization of a significant proportion of the British/French population is also observable in Toronto, although British/French Canadians are still strongly represented in neighbourhoods in the central part of Metro Toronto especially northward along the Yonge Street axis, as well as in southern Scarborough.

Likewise, in Toronto European immigrants are fairly evenly distributed across the city, with the strongest concentrations to the west of downtown (Figure 3.3). The strong representation of European immigrants on the west side of the city is in large measure due to a

Fig. 3.1: Distribution of British/French Canadians Across Toronto CMA Census Tracts, 1991

% of Group's CMA Pop.

0		(11)
0.01 to 0.12		(449)
0.13 to 0.25		(299)
0.26 to 0.37		(51)
0.38 to 0.51		(2)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

42
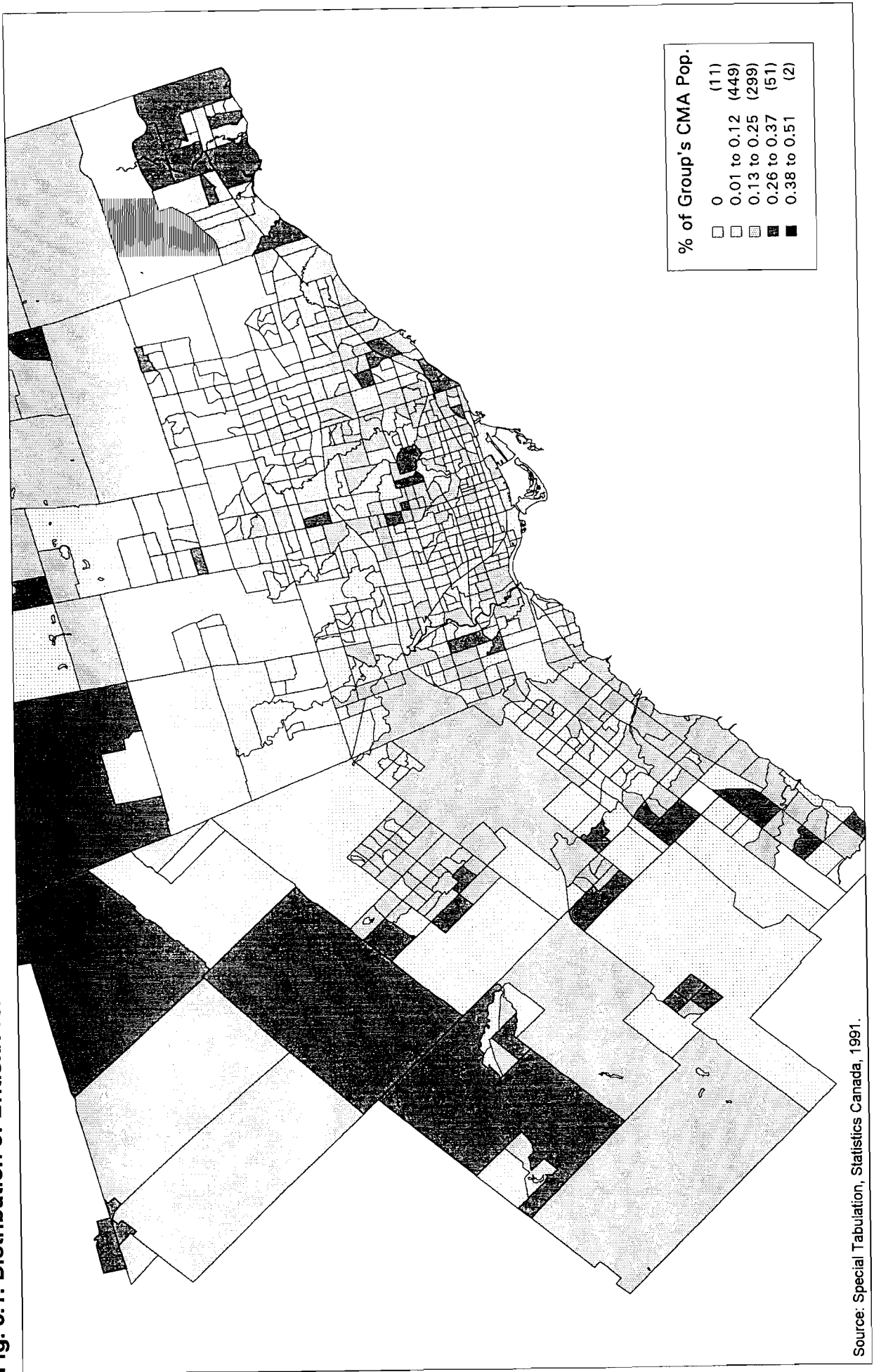
Fig. 3.2: Distribution of French/British Canadians Across Montréal CMA Census Tracts, 1991
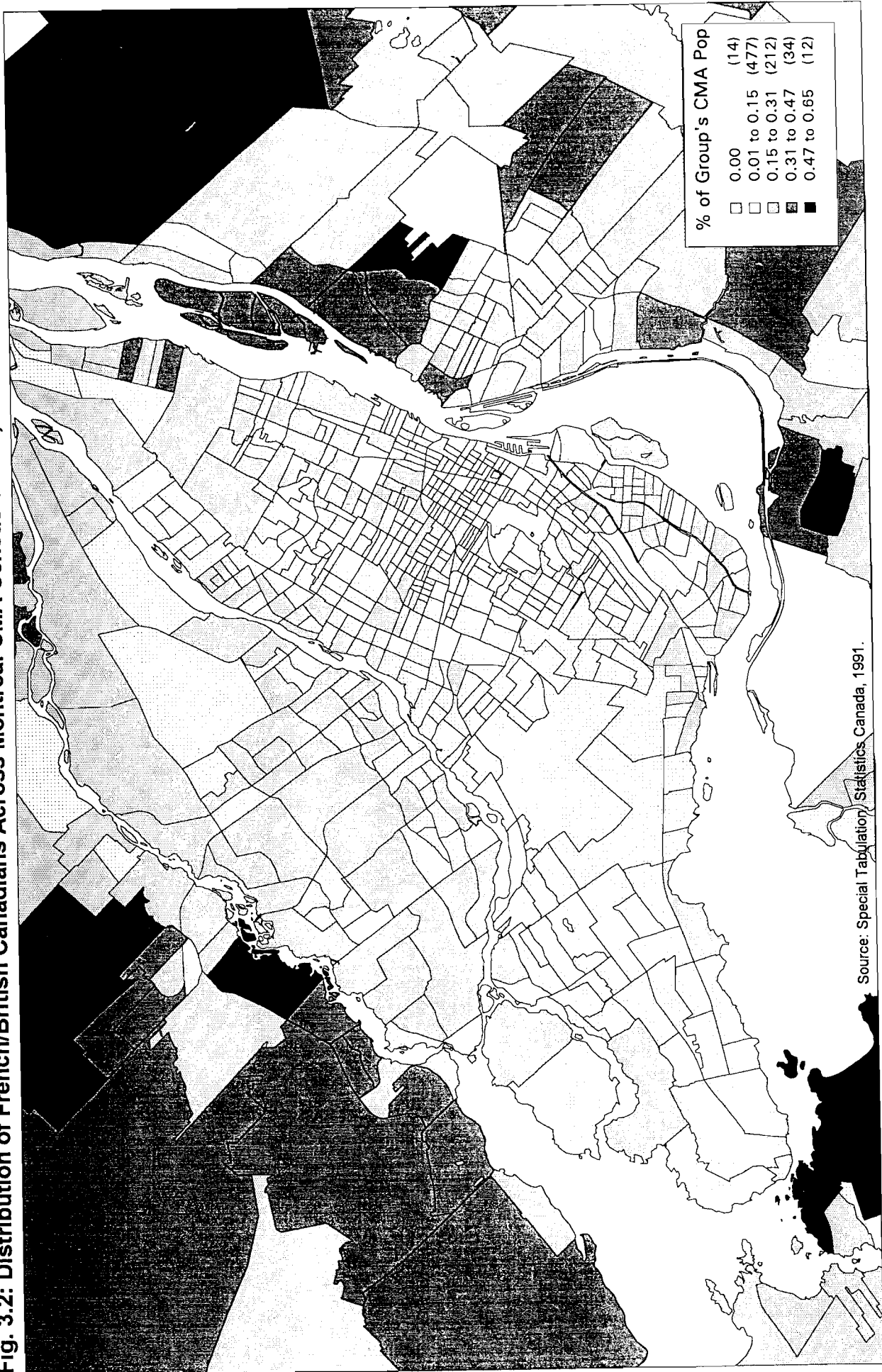
% of Group's CMA Pop

0.00	(14)
0.01 to 0.15	(477)
0.15 to 0.31	(212)
0.31 to 0.47	(34)
0.47 to 0.65	(12)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

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Fig. 3.3: Distribution of European/USA Immigrants Across Toronto CMA Census Tracts, 1991

% of Group's CMA Pop.

☐	0.00 (12)
☐	0.01 to 0.09 (299)
▦	0.10 to 0.19 (390)
▧	0.20 to 0.29 (93)
■	0.30 to 0.39 (18)
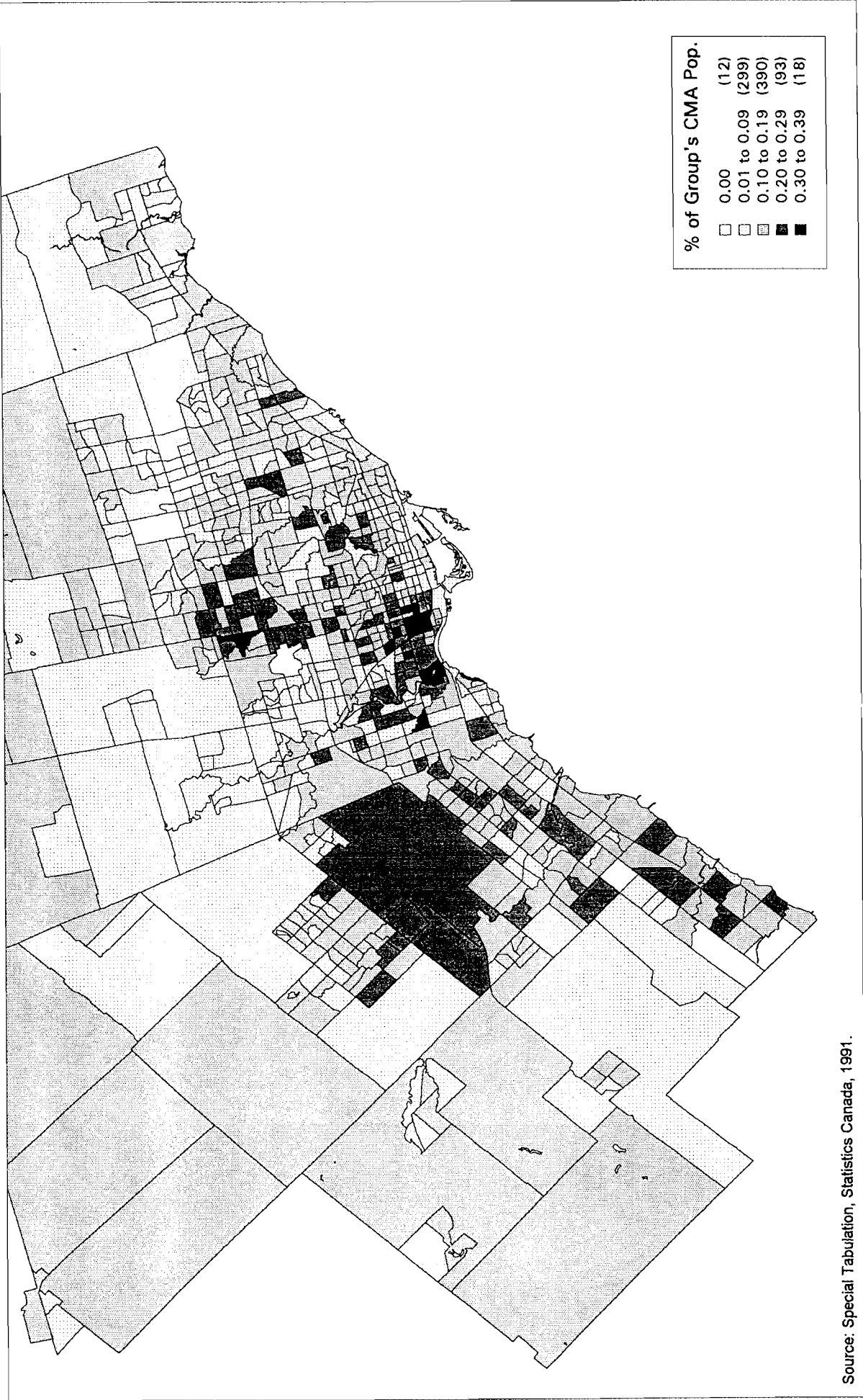
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

high concentration in this area of Italian and Portuguese immigrants, two of the largest post-war migrations to the city. In Montréal, however, the distribution of European immigrants is slightly different, with the majority being concentrated on the Island of Montréal (Figure 3.4), and particularly on the west side of downtown in traditionally anglophone neighbourhoods such as Côte-des-Neiges, Notre-Dame-de-Grace and the suburbs of the 'West Island'. The European immigrants living in West Island neighbourhoods originate from a variety of birthplaces in Europe and in this respect it is one of the most ethnically heterogeneous sectors of the city (Ray et al., 1995). In contrast, the very evident concentration of European immigrants in the northeast corner of the Island of Montréal reflects the strong concentration of Italians and other southern Europeans who, like their counterparts in Toronto, tend to be among the most spatially segregated groups in the city (Ray et al., 1995).

The spatial distribution of more recent immigrant groups in Montréal tends to be much more circumscribed. Among the groups of primary interest here, Central American immigrants are concentrated on the Island of Montréal in inner city and inner suburban neighbourhoods (Figure 3.5). Central Americans are highly concentrated in the inner city, in 'traditional' immigrant reception neighbourhoods like Parc Extension (Dansereau 1995) and Mile End (Rose 1995), as well as in older suburbs like Rosemont, Côte-des-Neiges and Ville St. Laurent. Moreover, an important segment live in the east end of the city, often in inner city neighbourhoods where there is a strong French-Canadian and/or Haitian presence. Their concentration in what is commonly regarded as Montréal's 'immigrant corridor' (McNicoll 1993), is one of the distinguishing features of the geography of Central Americans relative to Haitians and other recently arrived visible minority groups who tend not to be as concentrated in these 'traditional' immigrant neighbourhoods. As will be discussed later, the location of Central Americans is strongly related to the location of inexpensive, if often poorly maintained, low-rise rental properties built in the 1950s and early 1960s.

Haitian immigrants, in contrast, tend to be located in the northwest corner of the inner city, in neighbourhoods like René Goupil, as well as suburban Montréal Nord, Point-aux-Trembles and Rivière-des-Prairies (Figure 3.6). There is also an emerging concentration of Haitians on the eastern tip of the Island of Laval. The housing conditions of Haitian immigrants are much more varied relative to Central Americans, with some segments of the population having moved into quintessential suburban homeownership, while newer arrivals, the less well educated or skilled, and lone-parents tend to be living in housing conditions that are very similar to those of Central Americans. In contrast, the residential location in Montréal of immigrants from other parts of the Caribbean could not be more dissimilar. Jamaican

Fig. 3.4: Distribution of European/USA Immigrants Across Montreal CMA Census Tracts, 1991

% of Group's CMA Pop.

0.00	(17)
0.01 to 0.18	(563)
0.19 to 0.37	(116)
0.38 to 0.56	(37)
0.57 to 0.75	(16)
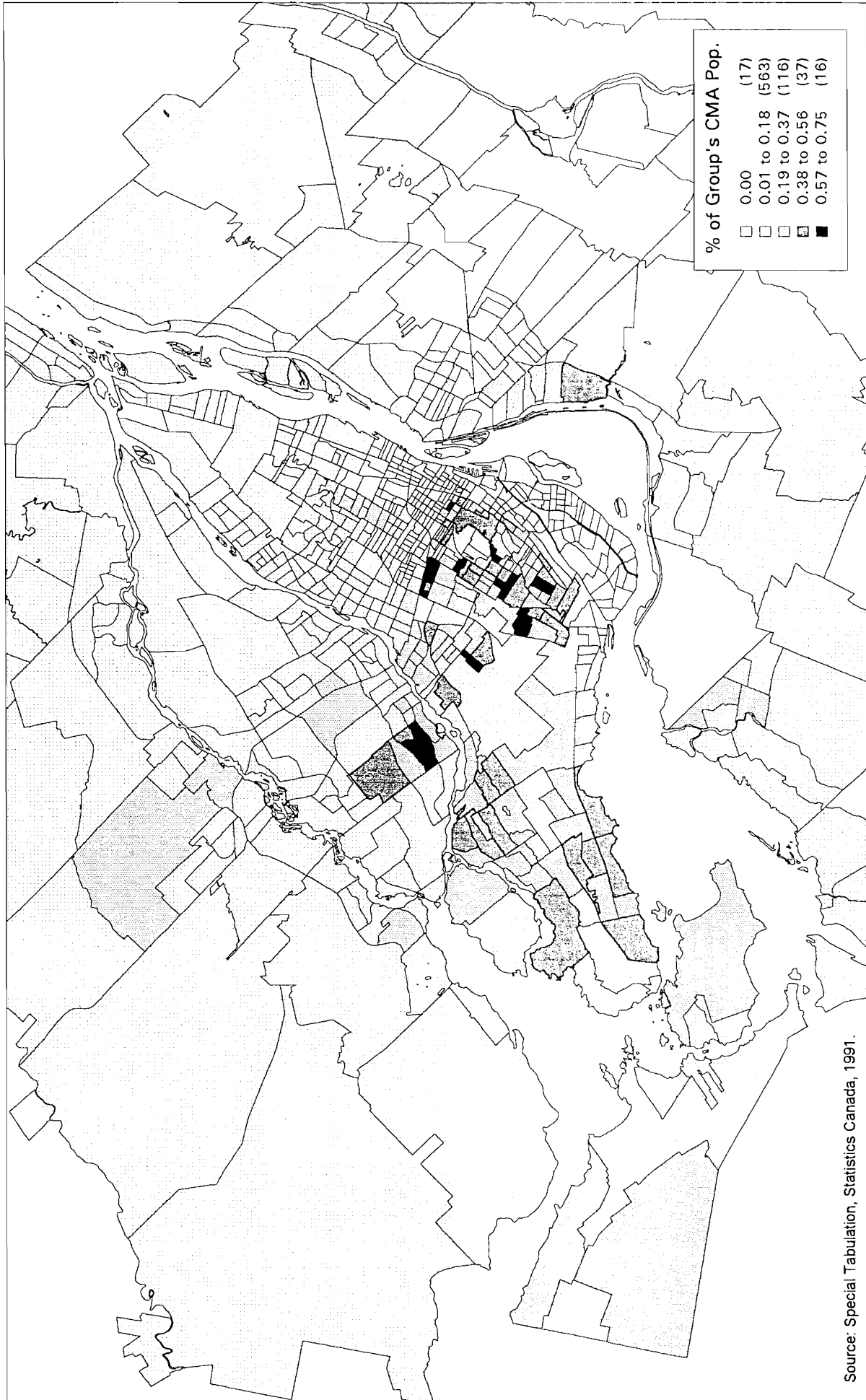
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig.3.5: Distribution of Central American Immigrants Across Montreal CMA Census Tracts, 1991

% of Group's CMA Pop.

0.00	(451)
0.01 to 0.66	(256)
0.67 to 1.31	(34)
1.32 to 1.97	(7)
1.98 to 2.30	(1)
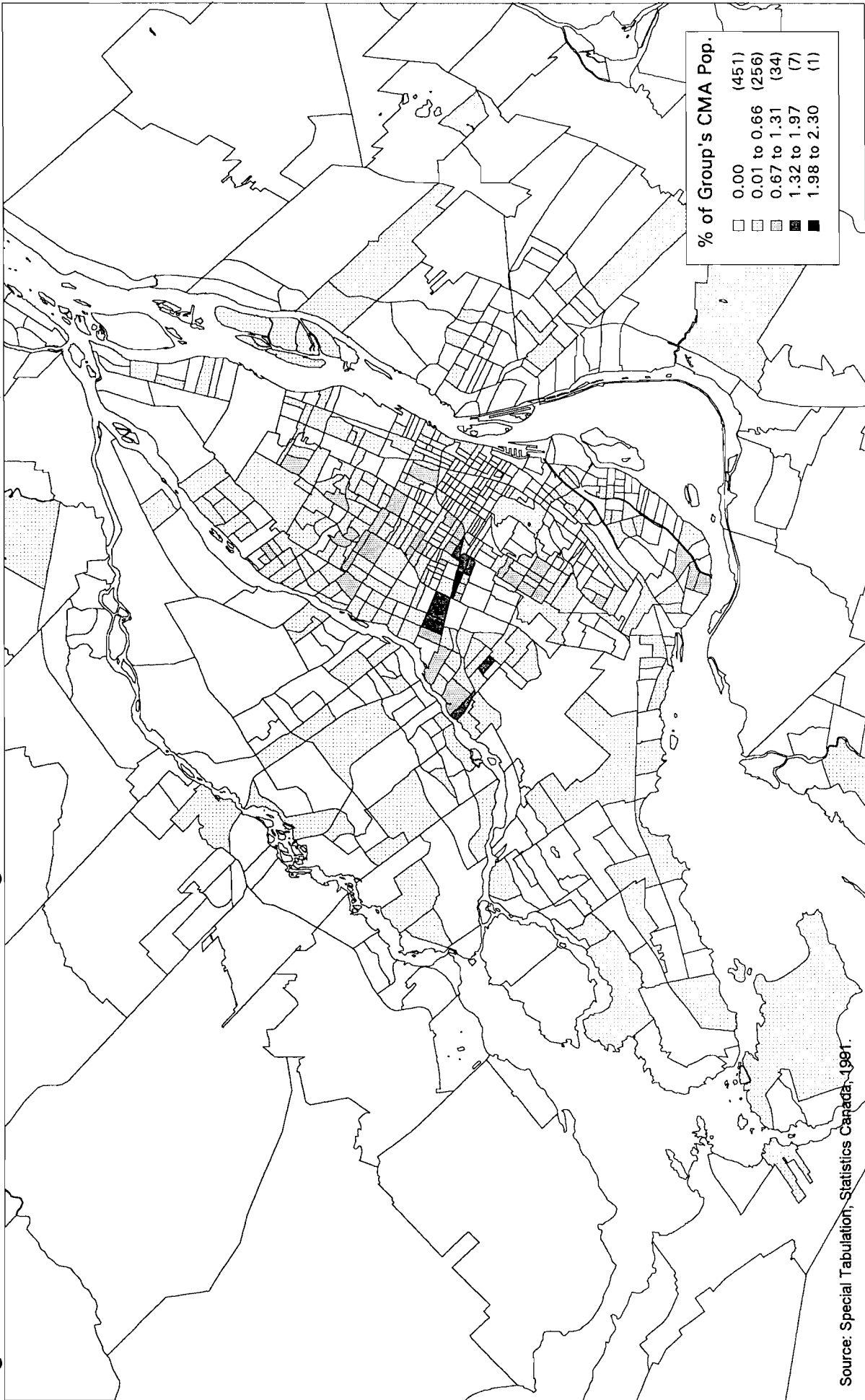
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig. 3.6: Distribution of Haitian Immigrants Across Montreal CMA Census Tracts, 1991

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% of Group's CMA Pop.

☐	0.00	(267)
☐	0.01 to 0.65	(450)
▨	0.66 to 1.31	(26)
▨	1.32 to 1.97	(4)
■	1.98 to 3.23	(2)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.
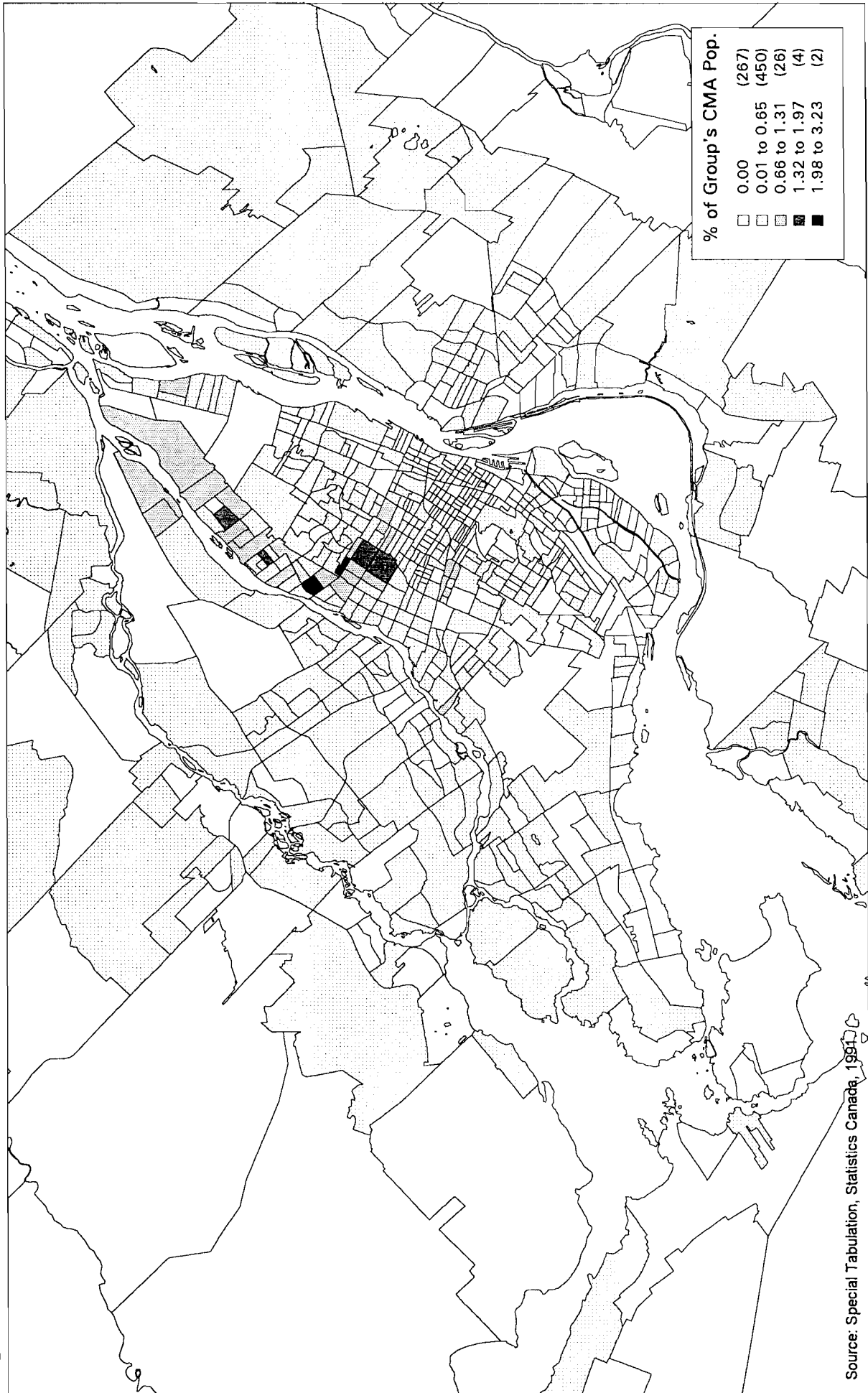
immigrants, for instance, are largely concentrated to the southwest of downtown and in various areas of the West Island such as Dollard-des-Ormeaux and Pierrefonds (Figure 3.7). Although Haitian and Jamaican immigrants share much in common, such as a common history of imperialism and racism, language and significantly different histories in Montréal tend to separate the two groups into distinct communities.

Other new immigrant groups show similar spatial concentration in Montréal and a relative absence from most suburban neighbourhoods. Vietnamese immigrants, for instance, are tightly clustered on the northwest side of the inner city in the Côte-des-Neiges neighbourhood and, importantly, in a small segment of the suburban south shore municipality of Brossard (Figure 3.8). The Vietnamese community stands out as one of the most spatially concentrated new immigrant groups in the city, as well as one that has important inner city and suburban concentrations.

As a general statement, these immigrant groups are more dispersed in Toronto and are often located in suburban areas of Metro Toronto and adjacent exurban municipalities. For example, Central American immigrants are concentrated on the west side of downtown following a well known immigrant corridor initially carved out by Italian and Portuguese immigrants extending from the south-central side of downtown toward the northwest sides of the Cities of Toronto, Etobicoke and North York (Figure 3.9). As in Montréal, the geography of Central Americans is governed by the location of inexpensive housing which, in Toronto, is often located in some of the most suburban neighbourhoods of the city such as the Jane-Finch neighbourhood in North York.

Caribbean immigrants in Toronto are much more widely dispersed across Metropolitan Toronto and adjacent municipalities of Mississauga to the west and Pickering to the east. If we focus on the largest component of the Caribbean population in the city, that being Jamaican immigrants, we find that the majority are located in suburban areas, most notably in Scarborough, North York and Etobicoke (Figure 3.10). As is true of the rest of the Caribbean population, relatively few Jamaicans live in central Toronto or the inner city more generally. Finally, Vietnamese immigrants, as in Montréal, have strong concentrations in both the inner city and suburbs (Figure 3.11). There are important settlements of Vietnamese immigrants on both the west and east sides of the inner city, but there is also a significant concentration in the Jane-Finch neighbourhood of suburban North York. As will be discussed in more depth later, the distribution of Vietnamese immigrants is not unrelated to the location of inexpensive rental housing.

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Fig. 3.7: Distribution of Jamaican Immigrants Across Montreal CMA Census Tracts, 1991
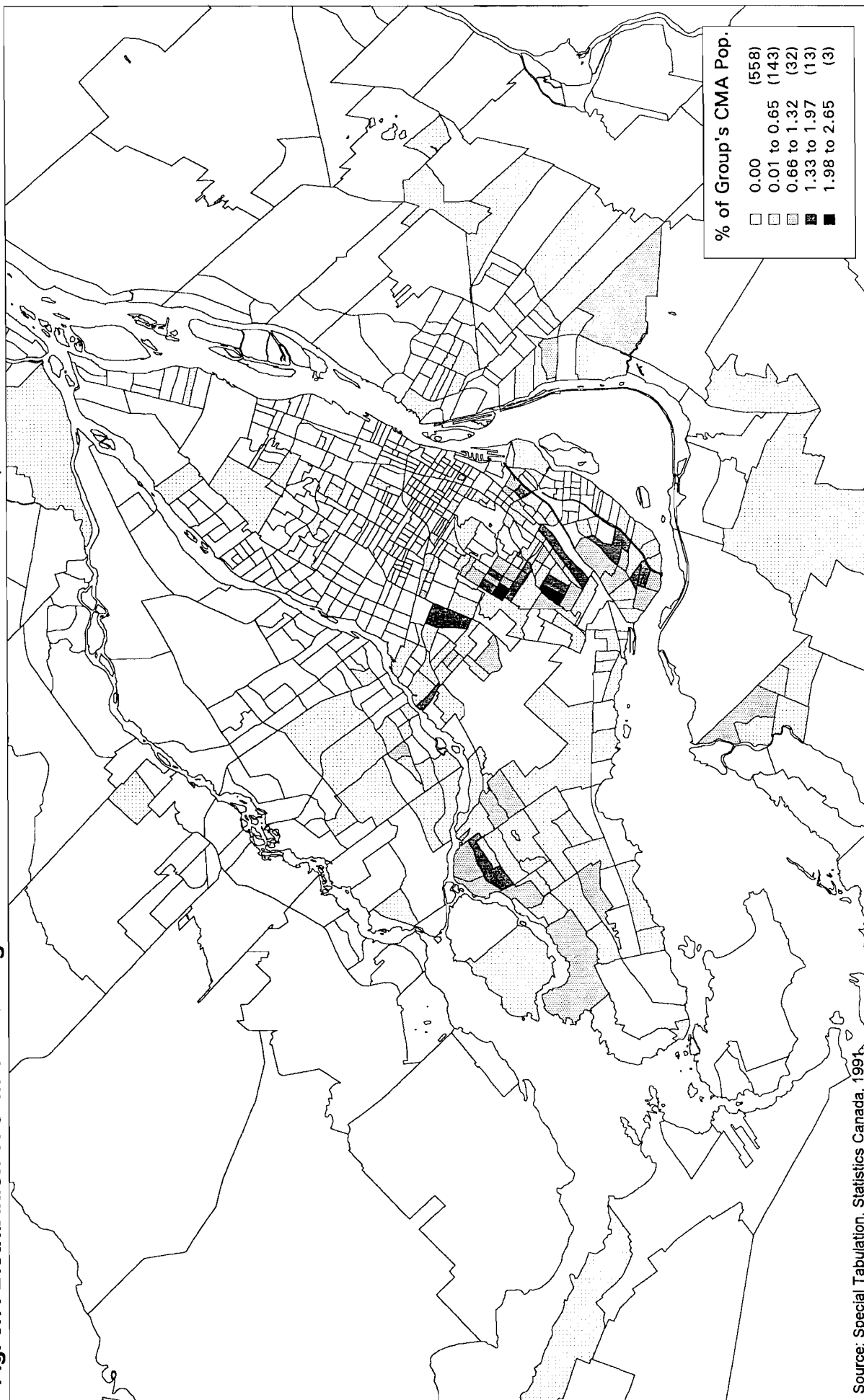
% of Group's CMA Pop.

□	0.00	(558)
□	0.01 to 0.65	(143)
▨	0.66 to 1.32	(32)
▨	1.33 to 1.97	(13)
■	1.98 to 2.65	(3)

Fig. 3.8: Distribution of Vietnamese Immigrants Across Montreal CMA Census Tracts, 1991
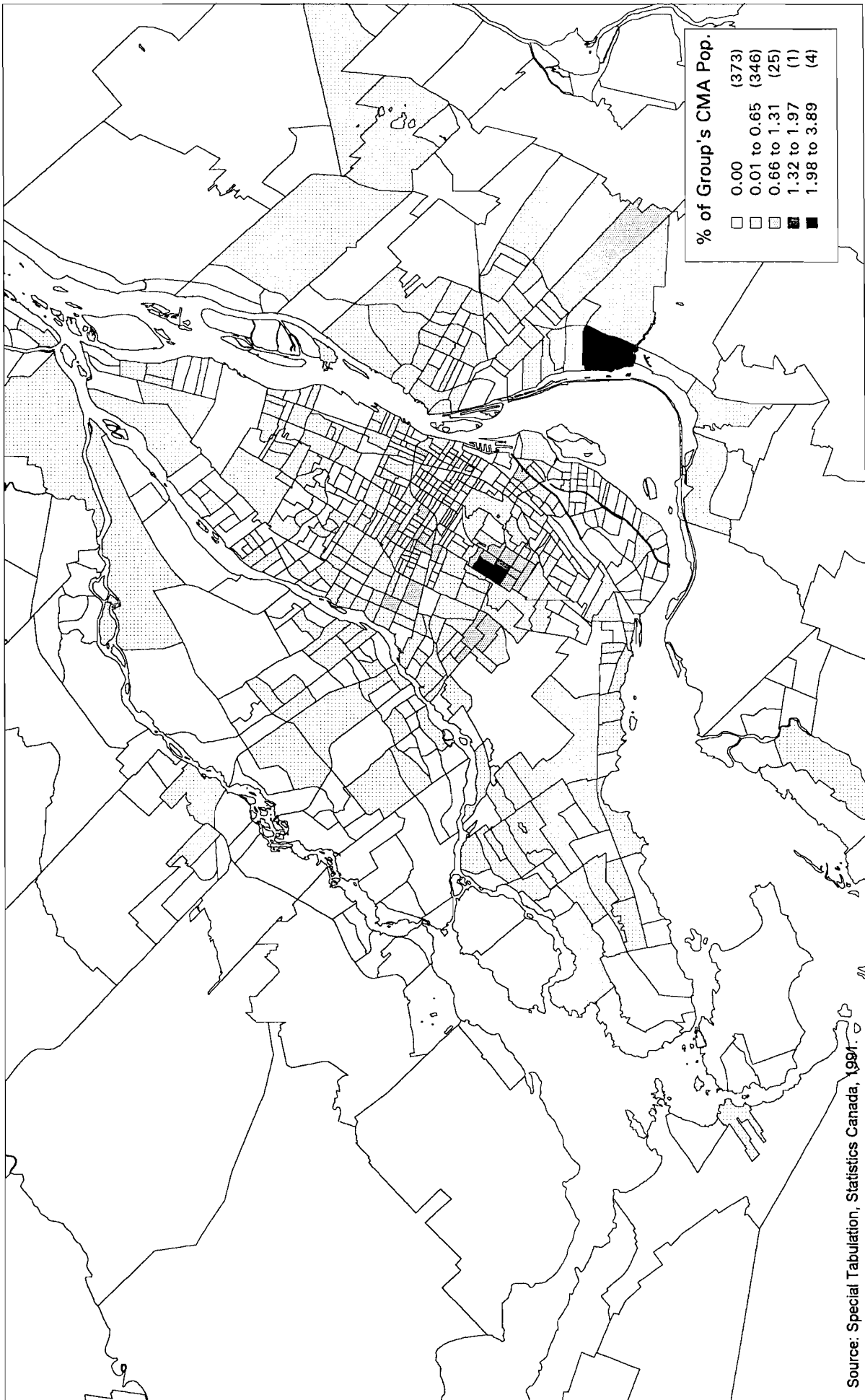
% of Group's CMA Pop.

☐	0.00	(373)
☐	0.01 to 0.65	(346)
☐	0.66 to 1.31	(25)
▨	1.32 to 1.97	(1)
■	1.98 to 3.89	(4)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig. 3.9: Distribution of Central American Immigrants Across Toronto CMA Census Tracts, 1991
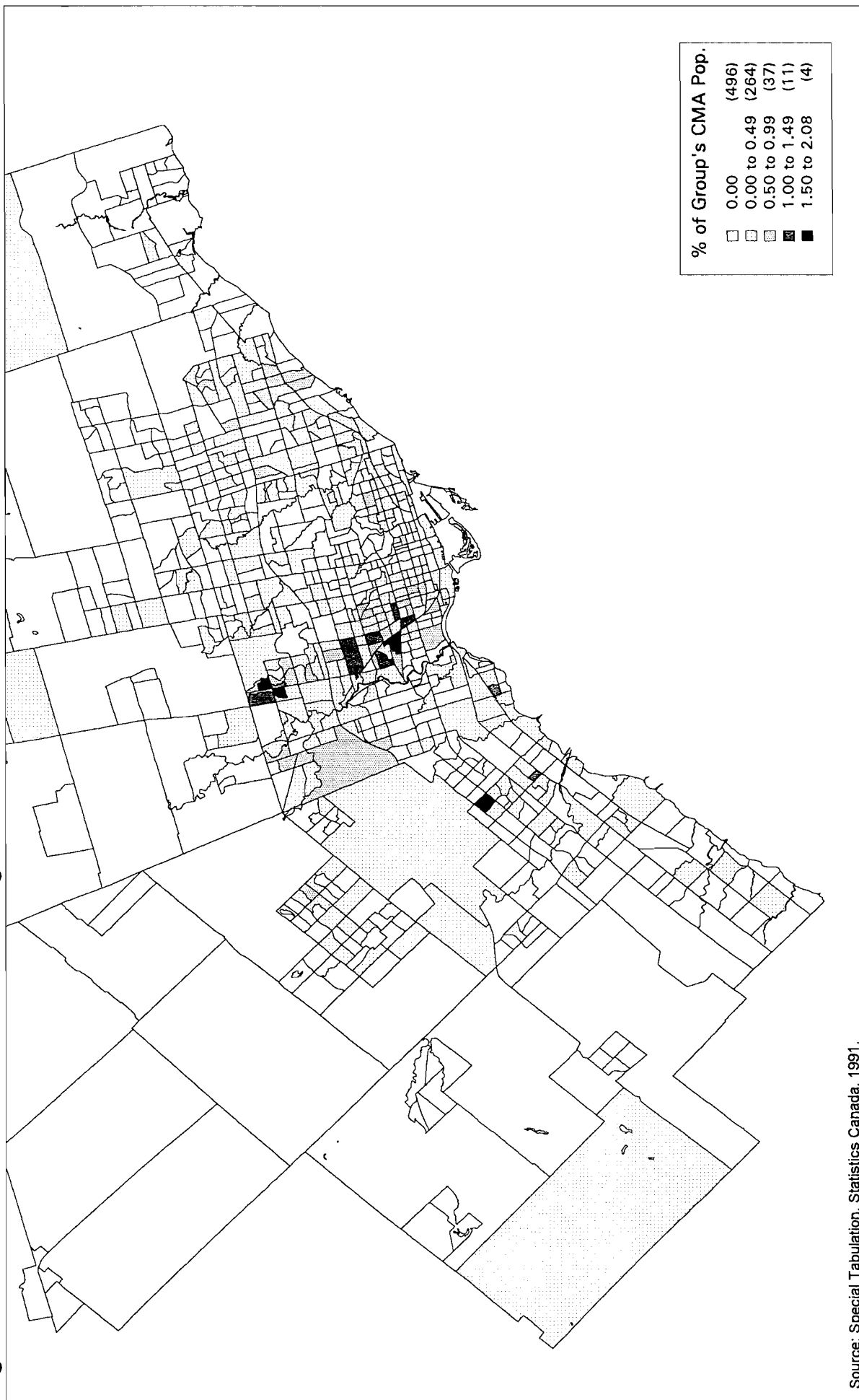
% of Group's CMA Pop.

☐	0.00 (496)
☐	0.00 to 0.49 (264)
☐	0.50 to 0.99 (37)
▨	1.00 to 1.49 (11)
■	1.50 to 2.08 (4)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

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Fig. 3.10: Distribution of Jamaican Immigrants Across Toronto CMA Census Tracts, 1991.

% of Group's CMA Pop.

☐	0.00	(118)
☐	0.01 to 0.34	(618)
▨	0.35 to 0.69	(68)
▦	0.70 to 1.04	(6)
■	1.05 to 1.39	(2)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig. 3.11: Distribution of Vietnamese Immigrants Across Toronto CMA Census Tracts, 1991

% of Group's CMA Pop.

□	0.00	(386)
□	0.01 to 0.50	(382)
▨	0.51 to 1.00	(27)
▨	1.10 to 1.50	(11)
■	1.51 to 3.84	(6)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

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In terms of discussing the character of individual neighbourhoods and the degree of contact which individual immigrant groups might have with other groups in the local residential context, it is more meaningful to examine the proportion which each group forms of the population in individual census tracts. The average proportion Jamaican, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants living in Toronto census tracts is 1.8%, 0.9% and 0.3% respectively, while in Montréal the average values for Haitians, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants are 1.1%, 0.1% and 0.5% respectively. For each city the tracts containing proportions greater than these metropolitan averages are shaded in the darkest colours on the maps (Figures 3.12 - 3.17).

In Toronto, the proportion of Jamaican immigrants living in individual tracts again emphasizes the suburban character of this population, although their pattern of settlement within the suburbs differs significantly from the other groups (Figure 3.12). Jamaicans also make up significant segments of the population in some tracts in the City of Toronto's core area; however, these areas are scattered and the Jamaican representation, while above the Metro average, is rather small. Tracts containing a high proportion of Jamaican immigrants are found in northwest North York and Etobicoke, although tracts in Scarborough, Pickering and Mississauga also have large percentages of Jamaicans. Importantly, Jamaicans do not constitute more than 13.5% of the total population in any tract in metropolitan Toronto, and this would seem to speak against Jamaican 'ghettoization' either in the inner city or suburbs.

The Vietnamese population constitutes a significant proportion of several inner city census tracts in Toronto, as well as tracts in North York, especially around the Jane-Finch neighbourhood (Figure 3.13). In some ways, the Vietnamese population comes closest to exemplifying the traditional notion of inner city immigrant settlement in that they constitute a large proportion of the population in some inner city neighbourhoods such as Chinatown and Regent Park (over 10% of the population in these neighbourhoods). In contrast, the neighbourhoods where Central Americans comprise a large proportion of the population are found in the northwest sections of the cities of Toronto and North York, with a very strong concentration in the Jane-Finch neighbourhood (Figure 3.14). In these neighbourhoods, however, Central Americans still constitute less than 10% of the population and it is difficult to see largely Central American 'neighbourhoods' as such emerging in these suburban areas.

Overall, the pattern of settlement for all three immigrant groups in Montréal compared to Toronto is somewhat less suburban and more concentrated. Haitian immigrants constitute a significant proportion of the population in census tracts in the northeast sector of the Island of

Fig. 3.12: Percent Jamaican Immigrant Population by Census Tract, Toronto CMA, 1991

Percent Jamaican
Out of Total Census Tract Pop

☐	0.00	(118)
☐	0.01 to 1.89	(427)
▨	1.90 to 3.99	(161)
◼	4.00 to 7.99	(89)
◼	8.00 to 13.50	(17)
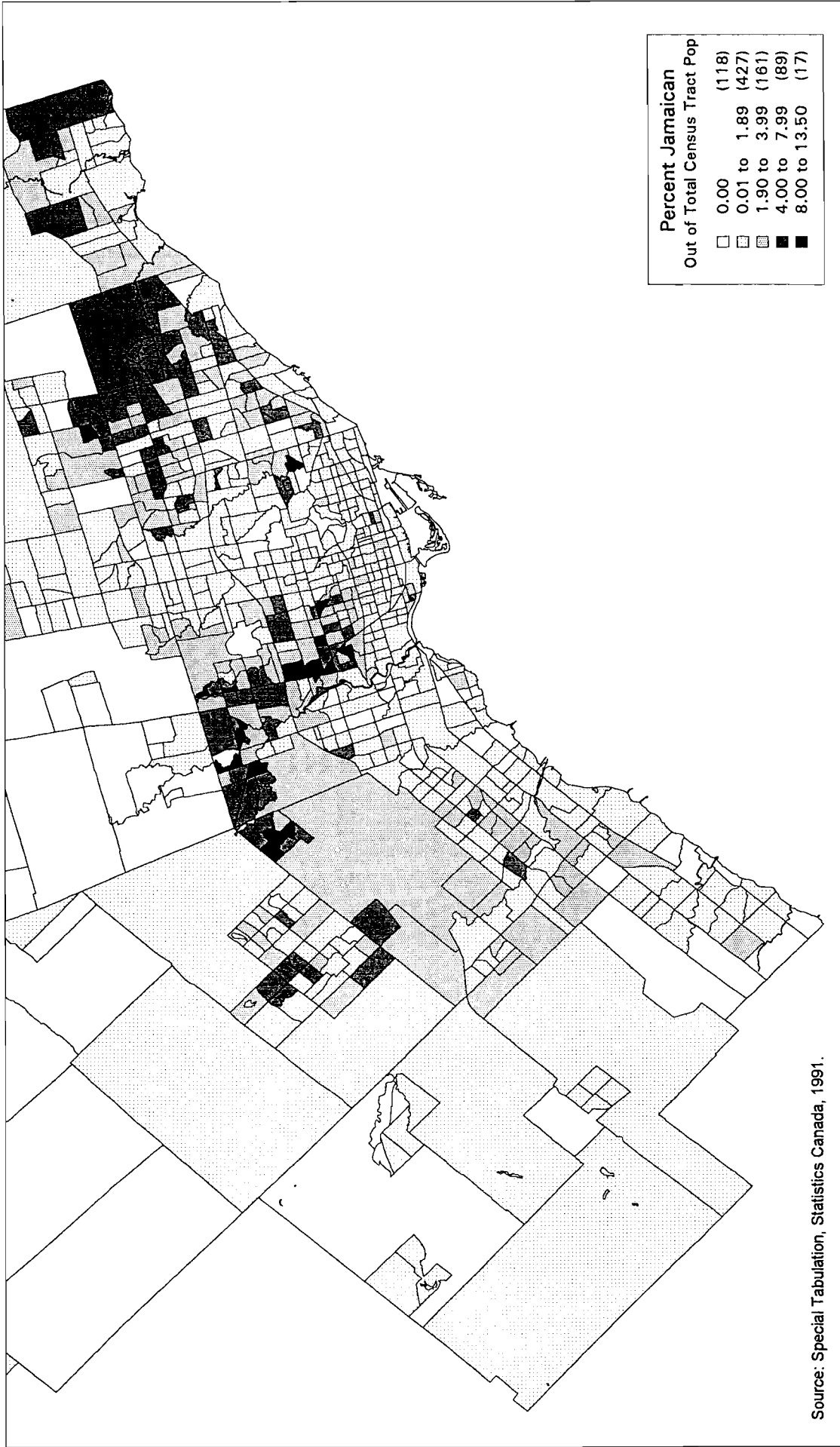
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig. 3.13: Percent of Vietnamese Immigrant Population by Census Tract, Toronto CMA, 1991

Percent Vietnamese
Out of Total Census Tract Pop.

☐	0.00	(386)
☐	0.00 to 0.99	(238)
☐	1.00 to 4.99	(157)
☐	5.00 to 9.99	(21)
■	10.00 to 21.80	(10)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig. 3.14: Percent of Central American Immigrant Population by Census Tract, Toronto CMA, 1991

Percent Central Americans
Out of total Census Tract Pop.

0.00		(496)
0.01 to	0.39	(107)
0.40 to	1.59	(172)
1.60 to	3.09	(27)
3.10 to	10.30	(10)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Montreal and the southeast sector of Laval (Figure 3.15). The cities of Montréal and Montréal Nord both have neighbourhoods where the proportion of Haitian immigrants is between 10% to 20% of the total population in some tracts, with the concentrations in parts of St. Michel (e.g. René Goupil) and neighbourhoods of Montréal Nord being particularly striking.

Important nodes of settlement are also evident among Vietnamese immigrants, particularly in the inner city (Figure 3.16). Two traditional immigrant reception areas of Montréal - Chinatown and Parc Extension - both have strong concentrations of Vietnamese immigrants, as does northern Côte-des-Neiges which is commonly regarded as a new and extremely important immigrant reception area for migrants from the Developing World (Blanc and Auclair 1995). The map also shows that Vietnamese immigrants constitute an important segment of the population in some of the municipalities on the south shore of the metropolitan area, most notably in Brossard. As in Toronto, Vietnamese immigrants are the most strongly concentrated of all of the groups constituting up to 20.5% of the population in some tracts.

Central American immigrants constitute significant segments of the population in census tracts in and around Parc Extension, as well as areas just north of this reception area and in Côte-des-Neiges (Figure 3.17). Unlike Haitians and Vietnamese immigrants, there are very few suburban areas of the city where Central American immigrants constitute an important segment of individual census tracts. Although their concentration in the inner city and older suburbs on the Island of Montréal is clear, as in Toronto, it is difficult to see a Central American 'core' neighbourhood emerging in Montréal.

To conclude, it is useful to compare briefly the degree of neighbourhood concentration of these immigrant groups with the British/French Canadian population in both cities (Figures 3.18 and 3.19). In Toronto, it is important to note that British/French Canadians do not constitute any more than 37.3% of the total population in any one tract while in Montreal this population comprises in excess of 75% of the population in 269 tracts. In both cities the newest suburbs tend to be dominated by British/French Canadians and the maps begin to give strong indications of the degree to which this traditionally important group no longer exerts a numerical dominance on many neighbourhoods in the inner city and older suburban municipalities. In Toronto, a core of British/French Canadians can be seen in the elite inner city neighbourhood of Rosedale and in many areas extending northward along Yonge Street. But this pales in comparison to the exurban municipalities of Mississauga, Richmond Hill, Markham and Pickering that surround Metro Toronto. By way of contrast, in Montréal French/British Canadians comprise the numerical majority in over half of all census tracts

Fig. 3.15: Percent of Haitian Immigrant Population by Census Tract, Montreal CMA, 1991

Percent Haitian
Out of Total Census Tract Pop.

0.00	(267)
0.00 to 1.19	(285)
1.20 to 4.99	(154)
5.00 to 9.99	(33)
10.00 to 20.00	(10)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.
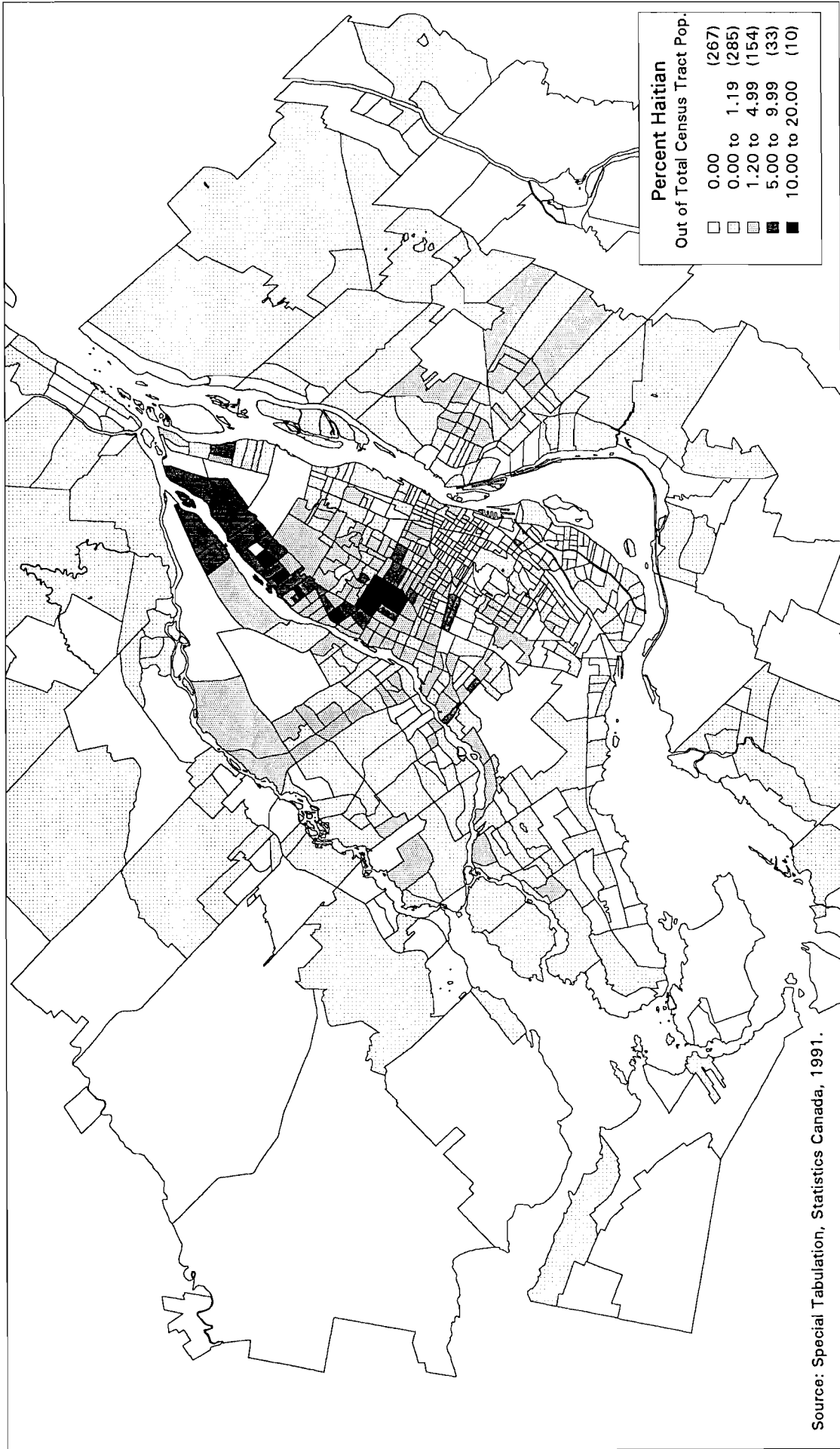
Fig. 3.16: Percent of Vietnamese Immigrant Population by Census Tract, Montreal CMA, 1991

Percent Vietnamese
Out of Total Census Tract Pop.

0.00 to 0.09	(374)
0.10 to 1.29	(243)
1.30 to 4.59	(109)
4.60 to 20.50	(23)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991
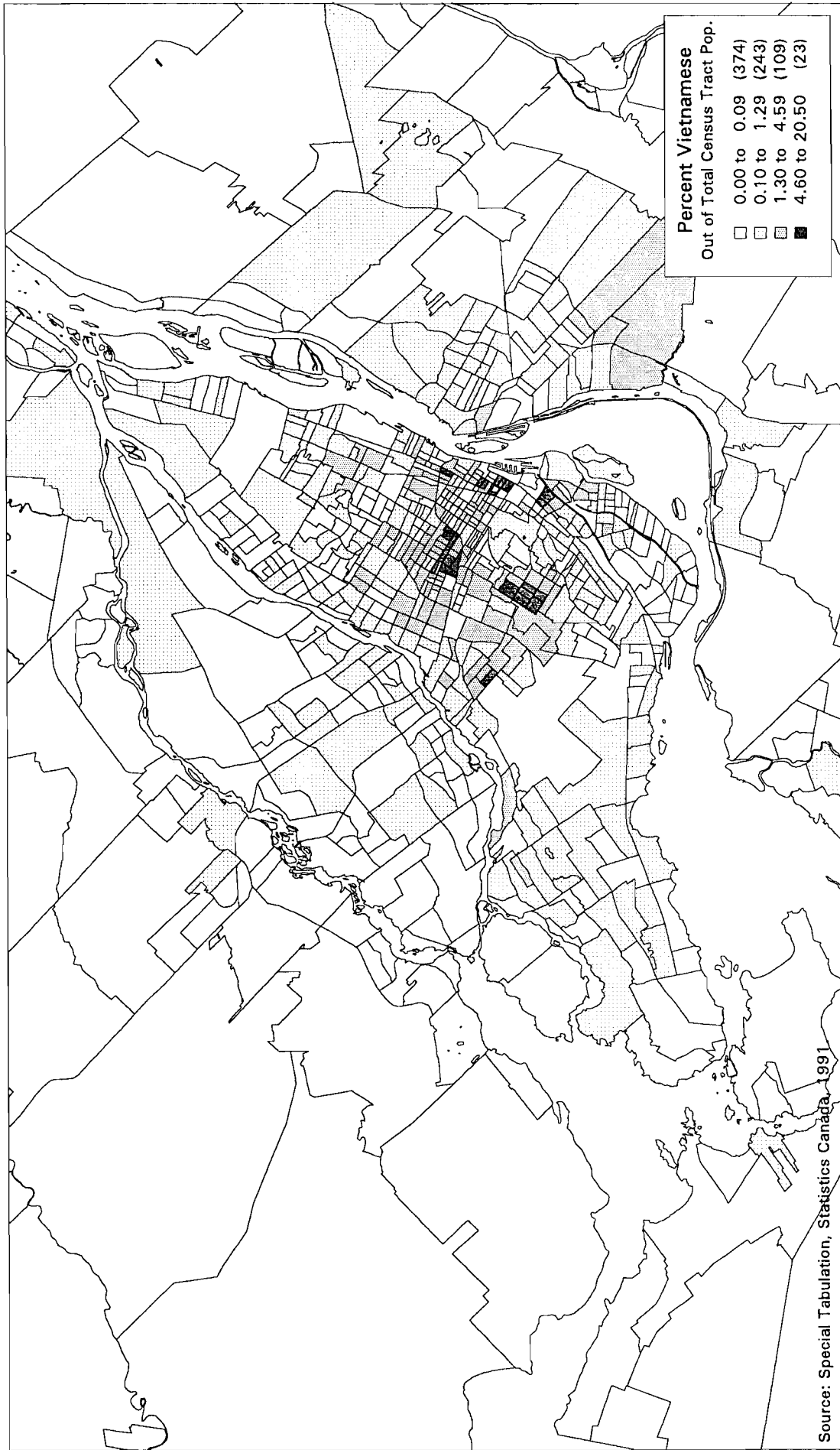
Fig. 3.17: Percent of Central American Immigrant Population by Census Tract, Montreal CMA, 1991

Percent Central Americans
Out of Total Census Tract Pop.

0.00	(451)
0.00 to 0.49	(116)
0.50 to 1.99	(133)
2.00 to 3.99	(39)
4.00 to 7.10	(10)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991

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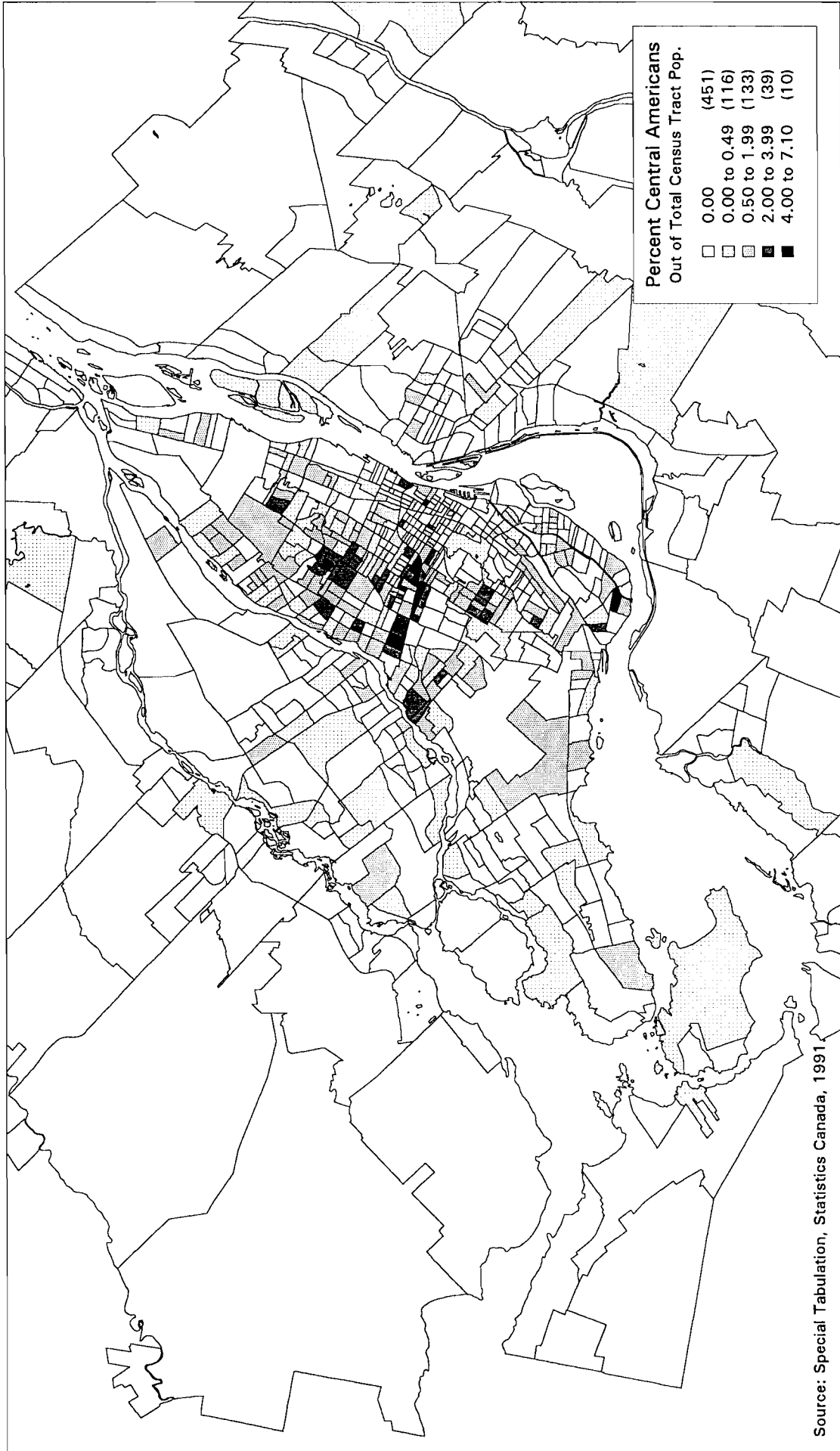
Fig. 3.18: Percent of British/French Canadian Population by Census Tract, Toronto CMA, 1991

Percent British/French Population
Out of total census tract population

☐	0.00 (11)
☐	0.00 to 10.00 (197)
☐	10.01 to 20.00 (338)
☐	20.01 to 30.00 (232)
■	30.01 to 37.30 (34)
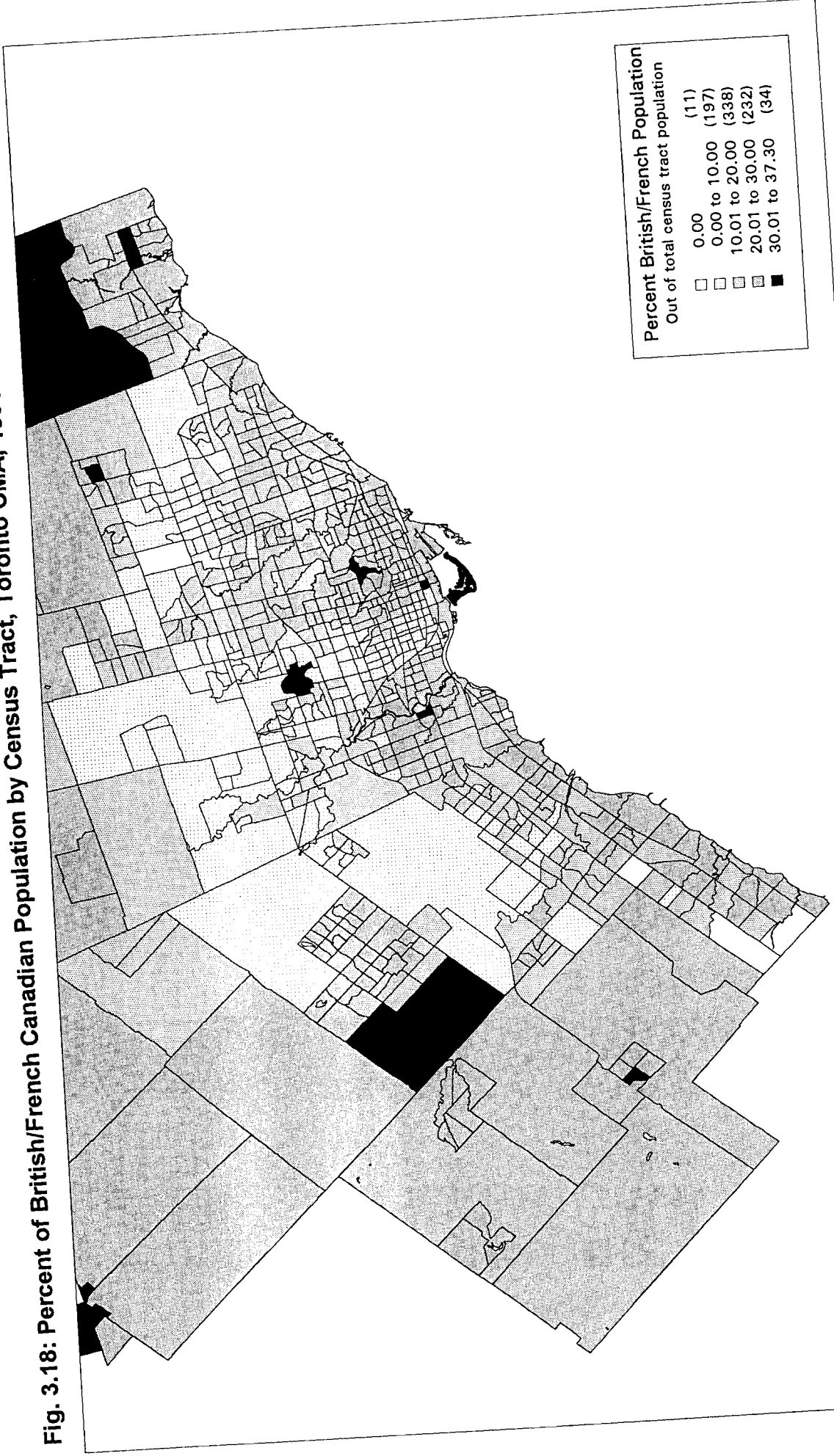
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig. 3.19: Percent of Population French and British Canadian by Census Tract, Montreal CMA, 1991

Percent French/British Canadian
Out of Total Census Tract Pop.

0.00	(15)
0.00 to 24.99	(61)
25.00 to 49.99	(172)
50.00 to 74.99	(232)
75.00 to 94.50	(269)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.
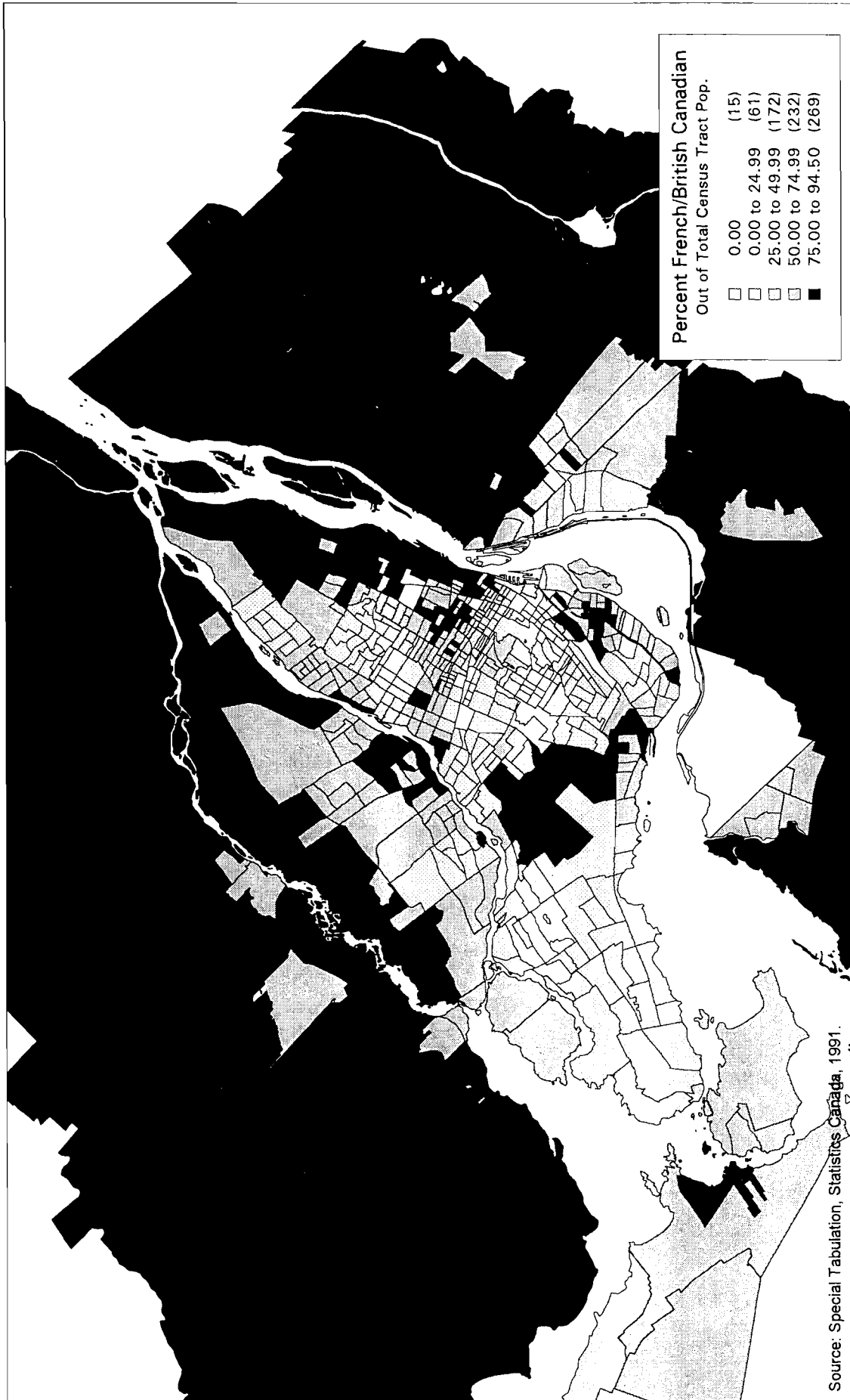
although they are most weakly represented in tracts in the centre of the Island of Montréal, as well as on the western extreme of the Island where the French Canadian population has traditionally been under-represented.

The maps and tables presented thus far provide an important context for the discussion of the housing conditions and social geography of immigrant communities in Toronto and Montréal. In both cities, it is clear that large segments, if not the majority, of each group are highly suburbanized and poorly represented in what is traditionally thought of as the heart of immigrant settlement -- the inner city. What is missing from this discussion is a strong sense of how segregated or isolated each group is from one another as well as from other immigrant groups and the British/French Canadian population which has traditionally dominated the social, political and economic spheres within each city. Such knowledge is critical to understanding both the settlement patterns of these groups and, more importantly, the structure of social relationships between them. Are Toronto and Montréal integrated environments with many different groups occupying the same neighbourhoods, and thus having at least some potential for interaction? Alternatively, do groups occupy very different areas, thereby creating a city of "enclaves" with limited contact between groups at a local neighbourhood scale? The rhythm of social life and a sense of the city as an inclusive milieu is quite different under these two opposing scenarios. The following section considers these questions, first by examining the degree of concentration among immigrants and non-immigrants alike within Toronto and Montréal.

Immigrant Concentration in Toronto and Montréal

The study of ethnic segregation is a well established branch of both urban geography and sociology, built upon early work by Duncan and Duncan (1955a,b), Lieberson (1963) and Taeuber and Taeuber (1965). Studies have examined methodological questions such as how to measure segregation most effectively, as well as the degree to which some groups are segregated from one another in particular cities and to what degree such isolation is the outcome of voluntary or involuntary processes. In the United States, many of these studies have focused on the black-white social cleavage in American cities and its spatial manifestations.[1] While recent studies have noted a slight decline since the 1960s in black-white

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[1] See Massey (1985) for a comprehensive review of theoretical and empirical studies which examine ethnic segregation in American, European, Canadian and Israeli cities.

segregation in major metropolitan areas, it is equally clear that segregation is an enduring phenomenon in many American inner cities and suburbs, and in many cities persists at very high levels (Jakubs 1986; Winsberg 1986; Rogers and Uto 1987; Huff 1992; Massey and Denton 1993; Lemon 1996).

Canadian cities generally do not have the long history of black-white racial conflict common to many American cities, particularly those in the northeast, and therefore empirical studies of segregation have focused on ethnic rather than racial segregation. Segregation studies in Canada have been something of a growth industry, especially since the 1970s, as interest in the dynamics of a multicultural society began to develop (Richmond 1967, 1972; Darroch and Marston 1971; Balakrishnan 1976, 1982, 1988; Balakrishnan and Kralt 1987; Burnley and Kalbach 1985; Kalbach 1990). Owing largely to the availability of data, these studies have focused almost exclusively upon ethnic rather than immigrant groups, with no control for whether the individuals under study were recent immigrants or fourth generation Canadians.[2] Leaving aside the issue of defining ethnicity and imputing meaning to ethnic categories,[3] these studies have found that some ethnic groups are considerably more segregated than others in our major cities.

Among the various studies that have been undertaken in Canada, Balakrishnan's research is particularly noteworthy for its sustained interest in spatial segregation between *ethnic* groups in a number of major Canadian cities. It is one of the few substantial bodies of Canadian research on the subject of ethnic residential segregation with which the analysis presented here can be compared. In a study using 1981 census data, Balakrishnan and Kralt (1987) argued that Montréal tends to stand out as Canada's most segregated city in the sense that neighbourhoods tend to be dominated by one ethnic group or another. In short, ethnicity seems to matter a great deal in terms of where people live in Montréal. This study also found that within the three largest CMAs, Jews are the most concentrated minority group followed by southern Europeans and visible minorities. Many of these ethnic groups also tend to be

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[2] Statistics Canada has traditionally published ethnicity data by census tract and has more recently made such data available in machine readable form. Only in the 1986 census was birthplace data published by census tracts, and most categories were extremely broad and heterogeneous, for example, 'Other Europe', 'Asia', 'Other Americas'. Such categories do not correspond to a relatively homogeneous nationality or ethnic group, and thus the characteristics and behaviour of these groups are frequently problematic to interpret.

[3] Significantly, the ethnicity question in the census asks respondents: "To which ethnic or cultural group did you or *your ancestors* belong?". If one accepts ethnicity as a dynamic rather than ascribed characteristic, a response to this question need not necessarily reflect how the respondent currently defines her/his ethnicity.

concentrated in a limited number of neighbourhoods rather than dispersed relatively homogeneously across the cities. In the Toronto CMA, 50% of the Jewish population was concentrated in only 3.3% of all census tracts, while a similar proportion of Italians and blacks and Caribbeans were found in 11.3% and 14.3% of tracts respectively. The authors confirm these findings with more detailed statistical analysis and argue that in the case of Jews, Italians, Portuguese and Greeks a desire for cultural proximity, in order to continue to use their language and/or maintain formal and informal patterns of social contact, accounts for the lion's share of the observed segregation. However, they speculate that in the long run increased fluency in English and French will decrease residential segregation among southern Europeans, "... while the visible minorities may continue to face discrimination in housing, and hence residential segregation due to greater social distance" (Balakrishnan and Kralt 1987, 154).

An important limitation to comparing Balakrishnan and Kralt's research with the analysis to be presented here is their interest in *ethnic* rather than just *immigrant* groups. Using data from the special tabulations, measures of segregation have been calculated for the various immigrant groups as well as the British/French Canadian population in each city. The European immigrant[4] category is extremely heterogeneous and problematic to interpret, and can only be generally regarded as representing immigrant groups whose social distance with the British/French Canadian population in each city is minimal to modest (Pineo 1977). Table 3.3 gives a general sense of the extent of concentration in Toronto, reporting the proportion of tracts in which 50 and 90 per cent of a birthplace group are found.[5]

In Toronto, Vietnamese, Central American and Chinese immigrants stand out as the most highly concentrated immigrant groups in the city. Fifty percent of Vietnamese immigrants live in only 6.2 % of the Toronto CMA census tracts, and the same is true of 7.7% of Central Americans and 8.4% of Chinese immigrants. Jamaican and Guyanese immigrants occupy a middle position between the high levels of concentration observed among the groups just discussed and the more dispersed pattern of British/French Canadians and

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[4] 'European' is an extremely heterogeneous amalgamation of immigrants from the United States, United Kingdom and Western, Northern, Southern (excluding Italians) and Eastern Europe. While there are obviously a great number of differences between these groups and there are compelling reasons to separate them, previous research has demonstrated that the social distances between them is not great, especially when compared to other birthplace groups (Pineo 1977). Critically, the social distance between these groups and the British/French population is small).

[5] Census tracts were arranged in decreasing order of birthplace population to enable calculation of cumulative proportions of the population.

TABLE 3.3: Percentage of Census Tracts in which 50 and 90 Percent of Birthplace Populations are Concentrated, Toronto and Montréal, 1991

Birthplace Groups	50%		90%	
	Toronto	*Montréal*	*Toronto*	*Montréal*
Jamaica	14.0	4.6	48.9	16.6
Haiti	----	7.5	----	34.4
Vietnam	6.2	8.0	29.1	31.9
Central America	7.7	6.8	26.3	25.0
Guyana	11.7	----	44.4	----
China	8.4	6.3	39.7	29.8
South Asia	11.6	5.2	46.7	25.0
Europe/U.S.A	30.1	17.5	75.7	62.9
Canada (Br/Fr)	28.8	24.6	72.5	69.0
# of Census Tracts	801	736	801	736

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

European/USA immigrants. Having noted this, it is important to emphasize that Jamaican and Guyanese concentrations are not that much less than those observed among the other groups. As perhaps a more emphatic example of concentration, 90% of the total population of all the groups examined from the Developing World are found in less than 50% of all the census tracts, compared to the over 70% of census tracts occupied by European/USA immigrants and British/French Canadians. These data are highly consistent with the maps discussed earlier showing the absence of many immigrant groups in significant portions of the metropolitan area.

In Montréal, virtually all of the groups examined have higher degrees of segregation relative to comparable groups in Toronto. In Montréal, relatively small immigrant populations such as Jamaicans, Vietnamese, Central Americans and Chinese stand out as having very high levels of concentration. Jamaican immigrants, for instance, have the highest concentration values with 50 and 90% of the population living in only 4.6% and 16.6% of the CMA's

census tracts. Haitian immigrants, who constitute one of the largest migrations to Montréal in the 1970s and 1980s, are quite strongly concentrated with 50 and 90% of the population living in only 7.5% and 34.4% of the census tracts. Importantly, even relatively large immigrant groups have a somewhat higher level of concentration in Montréal than in Toronto. Even European/USA immigrants, whose social distance from the larger French/British Canadian population is presumably quite small (Pineo 1977), are still quite strongly concentrated, especially relative to their counterparts in Toronto. Fifty percent of European/USA immigrants live in only 17.5% of the city's census tracts compared to 30.1% of tracts in Toronto. Only Central American immigrants have relatively similar levels of concentration in Montréal and Toronto, but in both they rank as among the most concentrated of immigrant groups.

Another way to examine this same issue is to consider the proportion of each city that does not contain any members of a particular immigrant group. The higher the proportion, the less likely it is that the rest of the population will come into contact with that immigrant group. Table 3.4 shows the number of census tracts in which no members of an immigrant group live and those where 30 or fewer individuals live. The selection of tracts with 30 or fewer members of a group is somewhat arbitrary, but it was felt that such a small number of individuals would, at most, constitute only a handful of households in any tract and would be unlikely to form a strong and readily recognized concentration in any one area. In Toronto, there are relatively few tracts in which there are no members of any immigrant group, although Central Americans and Vietnamese immigrants are conspicuous by their absence in such a large proportion of the tracts. As Table 3.4 also shows, a significant portion of the 'Total CMA Population' lives in those tracts that are unoccupied by individual immigrant groups, especially those more recent groups from the Developing World. By way of contrast, in Montréal the areas where particular immigrant groups do not live are far more numerous. For instance, Jamaican, Central American, South Asian and Chinese immigrants are not found in over 50% of the city's census tracts. These are, however, far from sparsely populated tracts of the city. In the Montréal CMA, 59.1%, 48.8% and 28.1% of the Total CMA Population lives in those tracts where no Central American, Vietnamese and Haitian immigrants reside. If one considers those tracts containing 30 or less individuals from a particular group, the number of areas remains remarkably large among most of the immigrant groups from the Developing World. Vietnamese and Central Americans are very good examples in both cities, although so too are Jamaicans in Toronto and Haitians in Montréal. When one combines the areas where there are either none or very few individuals from any one group, the number of tracts is often quite large. More importantly, however, the proportion of the Total CMA Population that has no or

TABLE 3.4:Number of Census Tracts in which there are No and Thirty or Less Members of a Birthplace Group, Toronto and Montréal, 1991

Birthplace Groups	None				30 or Less			
	Toronto		Montréal		Toronto		Montréal	
	# of Tracts	% of CMA Pop.	# of Tracts	% of CMA Pop.	# of Tracts	% of CMA Pop.	# of Tracts	% of CMA Pop.
Jamaica	107	9.4	546	70.4	210	22.4	120	18.4
Haiti	----	----	255	28.1	----	----	232	32.5
Vietnam	375	42.1	361	48.8	180	23.5	197	26.3
Central America	485	56.9	439	59.1	182	24.0	176	23.8
Guyana	180	17.1	----	----	247	29.1	----	----
China	110	10.9	377	51.0	181	20.5	203	26.9
South Asia	99	8.5	412	53.3	157	16.7	174	23.2
Europe/U.S.A	0	0.0	5	0.1	1	0.0	31	1.7
Canada (Br/Fr)	0	0.0	2	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.								

little potential for direct contact with many of these groups in daily residential space is quite significant and raises questions regarding social interaction and "integration" in the everyday spaces where people meet.

In cities where many of these immigrant groups are numerically large and form a significant portion of the total population, the fact that such a large proportion of the total population has little immediate contact with these groups is important to recognize. Significantly, these simple statistics reveal a city where spatial concentration is most certainly an important dimension of immigrant social geographies. It is noteworthy that the most concentrated immigrant groups are those that have been traditionally defined by the 'majority' population as being intrinsically 'foreign', 'unassimilatable' or more generally 'problematic'.

On the other hand, European/USA immigrants, historically regarded as the 'best' kind of migrant, much more closely approximate the dispersed pattern of the British/French Canadian population, particularly in Toronto.

Measures of Segregation

These descriptive tables suggest that Central American, Vietnamese and Guyanese immigrants are among the most concentrated groups in Toronto, and the same is true of many groups from the Developing World in Montréal, most notably those from Jamaica and Central America. But they provide relatively little insight into the relationship between these groups in each city. Are groups from the Developing World equally segregated from all birthplace groups? How segregated are they from the British/French Canadian population or European/USA immigrants? Interest in the general question of segregation between groups is far from new in either urban geography or sociology, and a number of measures of spatial segregation have been developed over the decades.[6]

Perhaps the best known and most utilized measure of segregation is the Index of Dissimilarity (ID).[7] The Index is, "... the sum of either the positive or negative differences between the proportional distributions of two ethnic populations. The index ranges from zero to unity, indicating complete similarity or dissimilarity between the residential distributions of two ethnic [immigrant] populations" (Balakrishnan and Kralt 1987, 149). As Lieberson has noted, the ID is both easily computed, readily interpreted and unaffected by the relative numbers of the groups involved (sometimes referred to as population composition) (1981, 62-63). Given that the index is calculated upon the percentage distributions of two groups, a

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[6] See Peach (1975) for a summary of research on spatial segregation and statistical measures. Also Duncan and Duncan (1955b) provide a comprehensive overview and comparative analysis of various measures of segregation.

[7] The formula for computing the Index of Dissimilarity is as follows:

$$ID_{xy} = 0.5 \sum_{i=1}^{n} \left| \frac{x_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} x_i} - \frac{y_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} y_i} \right|$$

where x_i and y_i are the size of populations x and y in area i and n is the total number of areas.

change in the number of individuals in either group, if the percentage distribution among subareas remains constant, would not change the ID value. The value of the index is independent of the relative sizes of the two populations, but clearly the interpretation of the value will depend on their sizes. It is far more socially significant if a population of 40,000 Jamaicans have an ID value of .90 than if 100 have the same index value. As both Duncan and Duncan (1955b) and Taeuber and Taeuber (1965) note, the fact that this index is unaffected by population composition and is symmetrical, in that two groups being compared are interpreted as being equally segregated from each other, are two of the index's strengths which set it apart from others.

The index of dissimilarity, however, is affected by the size of the spatial units being examined. Higher ID values are more readily obtained when examining small areas, such as census tracts or enumeration areas, than regions such as the inner city relative to the suburbs (Huff 1992). In his analysis of various social processes influencing black/white segregation in American cities, Huff demonstrates the significance of geographic scale, in that high rates of segregation measured at a census tract level may in fact reflect processes that operate at a broader scale than local neighbourhoods. In a similar manner, Dennis (1984) cautions against confusing dissimilarity with geographic distance. In the context of nineteenth century cities, Dennis notes that:

> Two distributions may be dissimilar yet their members may still live very close
> to one another, particularly if the number of areas is large and their average size
> is small. In the early nineteenth century, rich and poor may have lived near each
> other, yet their index of dissimilarity, at street scale, may imply considerable
> dissimilarity in their distributions (1984, 206).

In the following discussion of segregation, the Dissimilarity Index is used to sketch the broad characteristics of segregation in Toronto and Montréal. Initially, the levels of concentration of individual immigrants groups relative to a) the immigrant population as a whole[8] and b) the British/French Canadian population are presented. The discussion thus far has highlighted the suburban location of many of the immigrant groups we have discussed, particularly within Toronto, and consequently values are presented for both the metropolitan region and the inner cities of Toronto and Montréal. Discussion here will focus primarily on

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[8] Although generically referred to as a ID Index, it is in fact an Index of Segregation as the individual immigrant group in question is removed from the numerical total for the entire immigrant population.

the metropolitan wide scale, although significant trends in the inner city will be highlighted.

Segregation Among Immigrants in Toronto and Montréal

To begin, Table 3.5 present ID values for specific birthplace groups relative to "All Other *Immigrant* Groups" , thereby giving a broad overview of spatial separation between groups in Toronto and Montréal. The most striking feature of the table is the higher levels of segregation in Montréal relative to Toronto. For each birthplace group that can be meaningfully compared between cities, there is a consistently higher level of segregation in Montréal. In both cities, for instance, European/USA immigrants are among the least segregated groups (.359 - Toronto; .338 - Montréal). In Montréal, the segregation values for European/USA immigrants compared to those for groups from other parts of the world, namely Asia and the Caribbean, are much lower. In this respect, the situation in Toronto is not quite as clear cut as in Montréal where European/USA immigrants are either equally, if not more segregated, from other immigrant groups relative to Jamaicans, Guyanese, South Asian and even the British/French Canadian-born population. In both cities, Central American and Vietnamese immigrants stand out as among the most segregated groups relative to the rest of the immigrant population (over .500).

Table 3.5 also presents the index values for the inner cities of Toronto and Montréal. Consistent with research conducted in American cities that generally points to lower levels of segregation in the dense and more socially heterogeneous inner city, the two Canadian inner cities for the most part also show lower levels of segregation relative to the total metropolitan area. Yet it is important to emphasize that the level of segregation is, in most cases, only modestly lower in the inner city and points to a considerable degree of heterogeneity in the suburbs of both Toronto and Montréal.

The Toronto and Montréal inner cities merit some attention with regard to levels of segregation between the British/French population and the other immigrant groups. In both cities, the level of segregation between British/French Canadians and the immigrant population, relative to that between European/USA immigrants and the remainder of this reference population is significantly higher, especially in Montréal. The concentration of British/French Canadians in specific areas of the inner cities of both Toronto and Montréal would seem to indicate a significant degree of self-segregation among this relatively affluent and long-established population. It also lends some credence to Ley's (1991) contention that

Table 3.5: Indices of Dissimilarity of Each Birthplace Group From All Other Immigrant Groups, Toronto and Montréal, 1991				
Birthplace	Toronto		Montréal	
	CMA	*Inner City*	*CMA*	*Inner City*
Jamaica	.346	.339	.616	.667
Haiti	----	----	.536	.524
Vietnam	.544	.443	.539	.477
Central America	.596	.421	.556	.598
Guyana	.396	.378	----	----
Caribbean (Other)	.285	.266	.552	.585
China	.516	.486	.515	.427
South Asia	.393	.430	.503	.452
Europe/U.S.A.	.359	.284	.338	.289
Canada (Not Br/Fr)	.220	.197	.228	.192
Canada (Br/Fr)	.329	.301	.498	.431
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.				

elite areas of the inner city, such as Rosedale and Forest Hill in Toronto and Westmount and Outremont in Montréal, continue to function as important class and cultural enclaves setting the British/French Canadian population apart from the wider ethnic diversity of the inner city and metropolitan region.

Table 3.6 presents a similar analysis except that the distribution of each immigrant group is compared to that of only the British/French Canadian population. In both cities, the level of segregation rises for all birthplace groups when compared to this more homogeneous group that has traditionally been regarded as being the 'majority' population in terms of its political, economic and socio-cultural power. In Toronto, the degree of segregation for Jamaicans, for instances, rises from .346 to .508 when the comparison population is British/French Canadians. In the same manner, the segregation value increases for Central Americans in Montréal from .599 to .716.

Table 3.6: Indices of Dissimilarity of Each Birthplace Groups From British/French Canadians, Toronto and Montréal, 1991				
Birthplace	Toronto		Montréal	
	CMA	Inner City	CMA	Inner city
Jamaica	.508	.375	.816	.838
Haiti	----	----	.591	.492
Vietnam	.686	.577	.661	.504
Central America	.681	.577	.716	.599
Guyana	.518	.428	----	----
Caribbean (Other)	.433	.391	.741	.757
China	.600	.454	.714	.589
South Asia	.524	.479	.740	.649
Europe/U.S.A.	.232	.313	.478	.466
Canada (Not Br/Fr)	.162	.158	.378	.337
Canada (Br/Fr)	----	----	----	----
Source: Special Tabulation: Statistics Canada, 1991.				

In Toronto, Central American, Vietnamese and Chinese immigrants stand out as being the most segregated groups relative to the British/French Canadian reference group. Central American and Vietnamese immigrants are certainly among the most recent migrants to the city and, as will be discussed later, generally live in housing conditions that depart significantly from those of the British/French Canadians. The socio-economic status and housing conditions of Chinese immigrants, on the other hand, do not depart that radically from those of the British/French population although they have, like Italian and other southern European immigrants (not shown in table), maintained a high degree of segregation. In Montréal, out of all of the birthplace groups examined, Jamaican immigrants stand out as being the most segregated (.816), followed closely by an array of other birthplace groups from the Developing World. As in Toronto, Chinese immigrants are also highly segregated from the French/British population. Interestingly, the large Haitian population has a somewhat lower level of segregation (.591) compared to the other immigrant groups, reflecting the fact that this

group is so strongly represented in areas of Montréal that also have large French Canadian populations. The same is not true of the other immigrant groups who are generally under-represented in the east end of the Island of Montréal, Laval, and the South and North Shore municipalities where such a large proportion of the French-Canadian population resides (Le Bourdais and Beaudry 1988).

The interaction between pairs of individual birthplace groups provides yet more insight into the complexity of Toronto's immigrant social geography. Tables 3.7 and 3.8 present the Dissimilarity Indices between birthplace groups in Toronto and Montréal respectively. In Toronto, the degree of segregation is greater in relation to the British/French Canadian population than the European/USA immigrant group, although for the most part the differences are quite small. The ID values between visible minority groups and these two reference groups, however, are quite high. Conversely, the ID value between the British/French Canadian population and European/USA immigrants is, as might be expected, also quite low (.232). Yet it is also important to point out that many of the immigrant groups from the Developing World are quite segregated from each other as well. For instance, Jamaican immigrants are quite segregated from Vietnamese (.578), Central American (.555) and Chinese immigrants (.563), but only modestly segregated from other Caribbean and Guyanese immigrants. The situations of Vietnamese and Central American immigrants is somewhat different with both groups being strongly segregated from all of the other groups examined, but most particularly from the Chinese and South Asians. Among the various groups presented in Table 3.7, Chinese immigrants stand out as being the most consistently segregated from virtually every other group.

The situation in Montréal is slightly different from that found in Toronto. In Montréal, ID values overall are much higher than those found in Toronto and the differences in ID values of particular groups in relation to the French/British Canadian and European/USA immigrant populations can be quite different (Table 3.8). With the exception of Haitian immigrants, the degree of segregation is greater in relation to the French/British Canadian population. Jamaican immigrants are a good case in point as their ID values increase from .612 (European/USA) to .816 when the comparison group is French/British Canadians. The degree of segregation between several groups from the Developing World is also quite stark in Montréal. Vietnamese and Central Americans are notable in terms of their degree of spatial separation from virtually every other group, but the most dramatic example is between Jamaicans and immigrants from Haiti, Central America, Vietnam and China. The very high

Table 3.7: Indices of Dissimilarity Between Birthplace Groups in Toronto CMA, 1991									
	Jam.	Viet	Cen. Am.	Guy.	Car.	China	S. Asia	Eur/ USA	Br/Fr
Jam.	---	.578	.555	.310	.278	.563	.329	.476	.507
Viet.		---	.548	.587	.558	.644	.598	.598	.686
Cen. Am.			---	.599	.569	.744	.628	.624	.681
Guy.				---	.314	.575	.331	.517	.518
Car.					---	.524	.330	.398	.433
China						---	.550	.566	.600
S. Asia							---	.497	.524
Eur/ USA								---	.232
Br/Fr									---
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.									

value (.813) between Jamaicans and Haitians is particularly noteworthy given that both groups are from the Caribbean and are frequently uncritically categorized as "Caribbean" or "black" immigrants. As the maps presented earlier suggested, there are good reasons to regard these two groups as distinct for they have come to experience Montréal as an urban residential environment in very different ways.

These data raise a number of questions about the nature of settlement in both Toronto and Montréal. In the context of a society predicated upon the model of a cultural mosaic, it is interesting to note that segregation between the British/French Canadian population and immigrants from the Developing World should be so high, particularly in contrast to European/U.S.A. immigrants. In both cities, the ID value between the British/French Canadian population and European/U.S.A. immigrants is low (.232 in Toronto; .478 in Montréal). Conversely, the ID values between visible minority immigrants, such as Jamaicans, Haitians, South Asians and Central Americans, and the British/French Canadians are quite high.

Table 3.8: Indices of Dissimilarity Between Birthplace Groups in Montréal CMA, 1991								
	Haiti	Viet	Cen. Am.	Jam.	China	S. Asia	Eur/ USA	Fr/Br
Haiti	---	.675	.557	.813	.766	.744	.614	.591
Viet		---	.617	.688	.585	.593	.577	.662
Cen. Am.			---	.738	.737	.645	.649	.716
Jam.				---	.657	.549	.612	.816
China					---	.530	.532	.714
S. Asia						---	.511	.740
Eur/ USA							---	.478
Br/Fr								---
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.								

Summary

Where immigrants live within Toronto and Montréal is as important as demographic and socio-economic characteristics in sketching the immigrant experience in Canada's two largest cities. The geographies of the various groups are complex and not easily amenable to generalization. Many of the groups now live in predominantly suburban neighbourhoods and often in some of the more distant suburban areas of each city. However, the various groups show distinctly different patterns of distribution across the suburbs and inner city, as well as different levels of segregation.

Most significant are the differences in immigrant geographies between Toronto and Montréal. This chapter has emphasized that any notion of simply one general immigrant geography is too facile, but so to is any notion that there are strong commonalities in immigrant geographies between Canadian cities. If we look at the same birthplace groups in each city there are distinctly different patterns of distribution, as well as levels of segregation. Montréal stands out as a more segregated city, while the suburban character of many

immigrant groups in Toronto, such as Jamaicans, Guyanese and Chinese, distinguishes that city.

Attempting to determine whether the patterns just described are a function of voluntary or involuntary factors is something akin to playing a zero-sum game, for in reality both sets of factors are at work. To determine which are most important is highly conditional on local circumstances and histories. In the context of this research, a more important question is how one can explain the geographies just described. How did these geographies emerge? To at least partially answer this question demands that housing, one of the most important determinants of location, be examined. As the maps for both Toronto and Montréal suggest, the inner city can no longer be regarded as an immigrant enclave. In fact, there is strong evidence from both Toronto and Montréal that there is strong competition for neighbourhoods and social space within the inner city, most notably due to housing redevelopment schemes and gentrification (Ley 1991). In the context of the contemporary city, with the significant changes that have occurred in suburban development, it is far too simplistic to assume that affordable housing can only be found in the inner city.

CHAPTER IV
HOUSING AMONG IMMIGRANTS IN METROPOLITAN TORONTO AND MONTRÉAL

As the foregoing chapter has argued, there are significant differences in the spatial distribution and levels of immigrant segregation between Toronto and Montréal. Certainly Montréal stands out as a more segregated city than Toronto, but equally both cities are characterized by a high degree of suburbanization, if not exurbanization, of virtually all immigrant groups. The geographies discussed thus far are of course not unrelated to the long history of suburbanization among the population as a whole (Jackson, K. 1985), but housing type and availability also play significant roles in structuring these geographies. In Canadians suburbs we have seen considerable diversification of the housing stock in the post-war decades ranging from high-rise apartment buildings and town houses to traditional single-detached bungalows. We have also seen considerable growth in the amount of both public and private rental housing available in many suburban neighbourhoods (Bourne 1968, 1981), the simple diversity of housing types and tenures giving rise to the possibility of a far more socially diverse population in the suburbs. Importantly, there are social and cultural implications associated with these changes as the type of dwelling occupied and form of tenure communicate, in both subtle and obvious ways, a great deal of information about the social status of individuals and groups. As studies of block-busting and white flight in American cities have demonstrated, who lives in housing is far from a socially neutral circumstance (Massey and Denton 1993, 17-59).

This chapter focuses on the macro-level, examining *what* the differences are in housing status between different immigrant groups in each city and the factors which potentially explain these variations. Although a number of housing variables, such as dwelling type and housing costs, highlight differences between birthplace groups, none does so more succinctly than tenure status. In recognition of this fact, most of the analysis and discussion will revolve around social, economic and cultural factors which potentially explain tenure status differentials. Following a review of existing research and an initial survey of housing conditions, the chapter considers the influence of various socio-economic variables on tenure status. Factors such as income, household type and period of immigration emerge as important in interpreting the marked differences in the proportion of immigrants living in owner-occupied housing, as does the birthplace or 'ethnicity' of individuals. This is an important finding, particularly in the context of this study. Unlike the other variables, the reasons why

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birthplace should exert an influence upon tenure or the type of dwelling occupied are not intuitively obvious.

The chapters that follow attempt to examine the differences in housing conditions at a more micro-scale. Chapter V examines *how* the general pattern of housing differentials between immigrants becomes effected within each city, Chapter VI probes *why* housing inequality remains such an important part of each city's social geography by examining the housing and neighbourhood choices and satisfaction levels of a sample of Jamaican, Haitian and Central American immigrants, and finally Chapter VII focuses on the dynamics of immigrant settlement and community development through an examination of the form and support functions of social networks within these three immigrant groups. The present chapter sets the stage for the following three, although each one inherently builds upon findings discussed in the others. To begin, we turn to the existing literature on housing conditions and immigrants.

Research on Housing and Immigrants

This section examines the literature on housing conditions which argues that there are strong differentials in status between groups that need to be recognized and explored in greater depth. Although relatively few studies examine differences in housing status among individual immigrant groups *within* cities, I argue that this is an important avenue of research. To a considerable degree, there is a fundamental gap in the literature on housing and immigrants. As Kemeny asserts, "... despite the vast literature on immigrant housing in countries like England and the USA, ranging from discrimination on the house-sales market to public housing allocations, there is no detailed and clear analysis of the basic housing conditions which different types of immigrants live under" (1989).

Recent research has demonstrated that treating immigrants as one large residual category masks considerable diversity, misrepresents the complexity of immigrant life in urban locales and hampers explanation of observed differences in housing conditions between immigrant groups, as well as with the native born population (Kemeny, 1989; Sarre et al., 1989; Ray and Moore, 1991; Balakrishnan and Wu, 1992). In a largely descriptive analysis of 1980 census data, Kemeny (1989) examined the pattern of housing consumption in Sweden among fourteen individual immigrant groups relative to a 10 per cent sample of the Swedish born population. In terms of type, age and size of the dwelling, tenure and overcrowding,

immigrants generally are less well housed than their Swedish-born counterparts. The disparity in housing conditions between the Swedish-born and more socially distant immigrant populations does raise a number of questions about the causes. Holding socio-economic status,[1] age of household head and number of children constant, Kemeny still found a substantial difference in the housing conditions of immigrants relative to Swedes. This disparity, which Kemeny labels the 'ethnic factor', is left largely unexplored although he notes that a variety of processes are significant "... in determining whether and to what extent immigrant housing conditions differ from those of Swedes" (1989, 108).

Research recently conducted in England does begins to flesh out the "ethnic factor" in a more sophisticated manner. Sarre et al., in a large scale study conducted in Bedford, England in the 1980s, sought to explain "... how and why the postwar ethnic minorities in Britain have come to occupy the housing they do" (1989, xix). In their survey of Indian, Pakistani, East African Asian, Bangladeshi, West Indian and Italian immigrants they describe considerable variation in housing conditions and tenure status between these immigrant groups, as well as with a control group of white British-born respondents. More importantly, they demonstrate the significance of different processes giving rise to the variegated pattern of housing conditions; processes which are often contingent upon notions of 'race' and class, as well as cultural attitudes toward housing among members of individual groups. In both housing consumption and location strategies, differences between groups could not be wholly accounted for by external constraints or differences in income, pointing to a complex process of interaction between individual preferences and values and larger scale institutional factors.

Few studies have explicitly considered immigrant housing in Canada, and none have approached either the breadth or sophistication of Kemeny (1989) and Sarre et al. (1989). Ray and Moore (1991) demonstrated disparity in rates of home ownership among immigrant groups across Canada, noting both regional variation (differences between Atlantic Canada, Québec, Ontario, the Prairies and British Columbia) and the significance of age and period of immigration. Likewise, Balakrishnan and Wu (1992) in an inter-urban analysis found significant differences in home ownership behaviour among ethnic groups, even after controlling for a variety of socio-economic factors. These studies, although each drawing on large data sets, provide relatively little insight into housing conditions at a neighbourhood scale within particular metropolitan areas, such as Toronto.

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[1] In this study, the occupational categories professional/managerial and unskilled manual were used as a surrogate measure of socio-economic status (Kemeny, 1989).

In contrast, a study by Bernèche (1990) examines housing conditions among immigrant households born in non-European countries who arrived in Canada after 1970 and in 1986 were living in Montréal. This study, which combines both analysis of census data and interviews with immigrants on problems they encountered in their search for housing and use of social services, is unique in Canada for its interest in the housing geographies of specific immigrant groups *within* a city. While the study is preliminary, it nevertheless reveals considerable variation in housing conditions between birthplace groups as well as across the arrondissements or districts of Montréal. Building upon a detailed statistical survey of housing conditions, Bernèche goes on to examine the problems recent immigrants have encountered in finding housing, charging that racism is very much a factor underlying both housing inequality and the spatial concentration of recent immigrants in specific tracts of the city.

These recent studies point to important differentials in housing status between groups, although they tend to beg a series of other questions, particularly in the context of cities like Toronto and Montréal which have large and culturally diverse immigrant populations. Housing not only contributes to an explanation of why groups locate in particular areas and the significance of spatial and social segregation, but also underlines the fact that in terms of the most personal of urban environments - the home and neighbourhood - the immigrant population is extremely diverse. The remainder of this chapter profiles the heterogeneous nature of housing among immigrants in Toronto and Montréal, beginning with a description of basic housing conditions among immigrants.

A Variegated Housing Landscape: Toronto and Montréal

Toronto may well be Canada's city of immigrants, but Montréal has long held the distinction as the nation's city of tenants (Lewis and Hertzog 1986; Choko and Harris 1990). As Choko and Harris (1990, 74) note: "For most of the twentieth century, the ownership rate in the City of Montreal, has been even lower than in New York City (although not in Manhattan alone)". Certainly the rate of home ownership in Montréal continues to lag behind that of Toronto, but it is important to emphasize that housing conditions overall are very different in the two cities and further differentiated by ethnicity and class. In this section of the report, four critical factors will be examined to illustrate differences in housing conditions among immigrants in the two cities: tenure, housing type, affordability and physical quality.

Table 4.1: Percent Home Owners by Place of Birth, Toronto and Montréal CMA, 1991		
Place of Birth	Toronto	Montréal
Jamaica	46.2	34.3
Haiti	----	42.3
Vietnam	43.2	48.6
Central America	12.0	12.5
Guyana	56.9	----
Caribbean	52.4	41.9
China	79.8	66.2
South Asia	60.5	50.0
Europe/USA	69.0	60.4
British/French Canadian	62.9	56.2
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.		

Out of all of the housing variables that could be discussed, tenure status perhaps most readily highlights differences within the immigrant population, as well as between immigrants and the British/French Canadian population. In 1991, more well established and largely 'white' immigrant groups, such as those from Europe/USA, as well as British/French Canadians lay at the opposite end of the home ownership spectrum relative to more recent immigrant groups (Table 4.1). In both Toronto and Montréal, European immigrants have an even higher level of home ownership than British/French Canadians, although this value is influenced by very strong home ownership rates among Portuguese and Greek immigrants included in this category (Fainella, 1986; Ray 1992; Ray and Moore 1992). As discussed earlier in the data and methodology section, Italian immigrants are not included in the European/USA category because they are not only such a large immigrant group in Toronto and Montréal, but they also have such a strong proclivity towards home ownership, a behaviour which differentiates them from virtually every other immigrant group. For instance, in Montréal, the rate of home ownership among European/USA immigrants would rise to 67.5% if Italians were included in this category (the rate among Italians alone is 85.1%). Even so, with the exception of Chinese immigrants, the rate of home ownership for other immigrant groups in both cities remains well below that of European immigrants and

British/French Canadians. Low home ownership rates are particularly evident among Central American, Vietnamese and Jamaican immigrants in both cities, as well as among Haitian immigrants in Montréal.

Within their respective forms of tenure, the different immigrant groups also spend quite different amounts on housing. Table 4.2 shows the percentage of owners and renters within each birthplace group that spend in excess of 30% of their income on housing; 30% representing a benchmark indicator of housing affordability problems (Miron 1988). For the most part, a larger proportion of all immigrants relative to British/French Canadians live in households that spend more than 30% of their incomes on housing. This is most notable among Jamaican and Caribbean renters in Montréal, Central American renters and Chinese owners in both cities, and South Asian and Guyanese owners in Toronto. As Table 4.1 indicated, the Chinese, South Asian and Guyanese communities have moved strongly into the home ownership market, but it is also evident that this behaviour has demanded a certain degree of household sacrifice in terms of income devoted to housing. The high proportion of Chinese, Guyanese and South Asian immigrants living in owned housing but also spending a high proportion of household income point to the possible cultural and social significance of owner-occupied housing for these groups. It may also implicitly highlight a timing factor as, depending on housing market conditions (price, mortgage rates etc) during particular time periods, some groups may have found it easier to enter the home ownership market.

Table 4.2 also indicates that many immigrant renters spend a large proportion of their total incomes on housing. This is, of course, most notable in both cities among Central American immigrants where in excess of 80% of these individuals are recent arrivals (arrived between 1981 and 1991). Yet it is also remarkable that more than 20% of Jamaican renters in both cities, as well as Haitians and Caribbean renters in Montréal, live in households that could be classified as experiencing housing affordability problems. The reasons underlying these trends are undoubtedly a complex combination of cultural and socio-economic factors, but it is clear that relative to other groups and the British/French Canadian population many of the 'non-traditional' immigrant groups from the Developing World experience distinct housing affordability problems in both the owner and rental segments of the market.

The type of housing occupied by the different immigrant groups also provides important insight into the tenure and housing cost differentials examined above (Table 4.3). Simply comparing Toronto and Montréal it is evident that important differences exist in the housing stock of the two cities. In Montréal a far greater proportion of the stock is in low-rise

Table 4.2: Percent Home Owners and Renters That Live in Households Spending More Than 30% of Income on Housing, Toronto and Montréal CMA, 1991

	TORONTO		MONTRÉAL	
Place of Birth	Owners	Renters	Owners	Renters
Jamaica	19.4	19.0	11.7	29.7
Haiti	----	----	19.7	25.6
Vietnam	14.3	17.2	15.7	15.5
Central America	6.1	36.6	5.8	34.4
Guyana	21.4	11.8	----	----
Caribbean	17.0	14.8	10.9	20.3
China	25.8	8.3	21.9	10.2
South Asia	23.2	12.4	13.3	12.9
Europe/USA	12.7	15.0	12.8	13.4
British/French Canadian	10.4	10.2	8.1	12.7
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.				

apartments, mostly duplexes and triplexes, the traditional form of multi-family housing in the city. In contrast, a larger proportion of the housing stock in Toronto is made up of apartments in high-rise towers (buildings in excess of 5 storeys) many of which were built in both the inner city and what were new suburbs in the 1960s when population growth was strong and there was a shortage of rental housing (Bourne 1968). Among all of the immigrant groups examined here, a larger proportion of individuals in Toronto live in single-detached housing which is perhaps the most socially valued and culturally significant form of housing in our society (Cooper Marcus 1976; Perin 1977; Jackson, K. 1985). In contrast, in Montréal the largest proportion of all immigrants live in the city's low-rise apartments and relatively few live in single-detached housing. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the preponderance of immigrants in low-rise housing is in part a function of where immigrants live, as duplexes, triplexes and other forms of low-rise apartments dominate the inner city and many older suburban neighbourhoods on the Island of Montréal. Another significant difference between the two cities is the larger proportion of individuals in all groups who live in high-rise

TABLE 4.3: Dwelling Type by Birthplace, Toronto and Montréal CMAs, 1991								
Birthplace	TORONTO				MONTRÉAL			
	Type of Dwelling							
	Single-detached	Semi/ Row	Low-Rise Apt	High-Rise Apt	Single-detached	Semi/ Row	Low-Rise Apt	High-Rise Apt
Jamaica	33.2	24.0	11.0	31.8	16.7	11.7	65.3	6.3
Haiti	----	----	----	----	16.8	14.2	65.8	3.1
Vietnam	19.7	33.5	18.8	28.0	17.7	14.7	62.3	5.4
Central America	20.5	24.9	24.9	29.7	4.2	5.2	86.6	4.0
Guyana	41.0	17.4	8.5	33.0	----	----	----	----
Caribbean	39.7	21.4	11.0	28.0	23.8	12.5	58.1	5.6
China	52.4	22.2	5.8	19.6	28.3	18.9	42.7	10.1
South Asia	40.4	20.0	7.5	32.5	28.5	12.5	51.7	7.2
Europe/USA	50.4	18.4	8.8	22.4	31.5	11.9	45.9	10.7
Canada (Br/Fr)	54.6	15.9	9.5	20.0	41.7	8.5	45.3	4.5
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.								

apartments in Toronto. Whereas in Toronto, over 30% of individuals in many immigrant groups, and 20% of the British/French Canadian population, live in high-rise apartments, in Montréal such apartments constitute only a small fragment of the housing stock and among most of the groups less than 10% of individuals live in such housing. Semi-detached and row housing is likewise a less significant form of housing among all birthplace groups in Montréal relative to Toronto.

Within each city there are also important differences between groups in terms of the type of housing occupied. In Toronto, over 25% of Jamaican, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants, as well as most other immigrants from the Developing World, live in high-rise apartments, with Jamaicans (31.8%) and Guyanese (33.0%) leading in this respect.

In the case of Jamaican immigrants, the vast majority of those living in high-rise apartments came to Canada between 1968 and 1980 (52.8%) and in the most recent migration period (40.1%). Among this most recent cohort of Jamaican immigrants (1981-91), a very small percentage live in single-detached housing (20.6%) and by far the largest number live in high-rise apartments (40.6%). Many immigrants live in high-rises because such dwellings are an important segment of the rental sector, although it is important to note that many of these recent and predominantly visible minority immigrants are virtually indistinguishable from European/USA immigrants and British/French Canadians in terms of their representation in low-rise dwellings, another primarily rental segment of the housing market (Clayton Research Associates 1984a). The low-rise stock appears to be an important component of the housing market only for Vietnamese (18.8%) and Central American (24.9%) immigrants. Living in such dwellings, of course, has important implications with regard to housing status. Although little research has been undertaken in Canada, popular accounts and studies from other countries point to low- and high-rise rental apartments as becoming, physically, socially and economically, a marginal segment of the housing stock (Blake 1978; Clayton Research Associates 1984b; Harloe 1985).

It is also noteworthy that a relatively small proportion of Jamaican, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants live in single-detached housing compared to the British/French Canadian population where over 50% of individuals live in such housing. However, some immigrant groups, namely Chinese and European/USA immigrants, have moved strongly into the single-detached and semi-detached/row housing markets. It is important to emphasize that the large number of Chinese immigrants in single-detached housing is not simply a matter of length of time in Canada. Among the most recent cohort of Chinese immigrants, 50.1% live in single-detached housing, 22.4% in semi-detached and row housing, and 21.6% in high-rise housing.

In Montréal, the low-rise stock accommodates the largest segment of all birthplace groups, and over 60% of Haitian, Jamaican, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants live in such dwellings. The Central American population, however, stands out in relation to other groups in this regard as 86.6% of this population lives in one kind of low-rise housing or another. In contrast, only 45.3% of British/French Canadians live in duplexes, triplexes or small scale block-style apartment buildings. As in Toronto, the Chinese and South Asian populations are noteworthy by the degree to which they have moved into single-detached housing. Although, the proportion of Chinese living in such dwellings remains below that of French/British Canadians (28.3% versus 41.7%), it is still considerably greater than the

proportion among Haitian (16.8%) and other visible minority immigrants. And once again, a large segment (30.2%) of recent Chinese immigrants are living in single-detached homes.[2] However, as is true of the other immigrant groups, only a small fraction of recent South Asians (13.1%) have moved into single-detached dwellings.

A final aspect of housing conditions that distinguish Toronto and Montréal, as well as the different birthplace groups, is dwelling quality (Table 4.4). It must be emphasized from the outset that the way in which dwelling quality as measured by Statistics Canada is based upon assessments made by respondents and not building structure experts. As a consequence, it is believed that this is a rather crude measure of quality that may well underestimate the degree of actual physical problems (Peter Barnard Associates 1985). Nevertheless, it is evident that the vast majority of individuals in all groups live in housing that they see as requiring only basic maintenance or minor repair. Dwelling quality is marginally worse for all groups in Montréal relative to Toronto, and this is true across the four different types of housing. As can be seen in Table 4.4, in both cities a larger proportion of individuals who live in low-rise apartments evaluate their dwellings as requiring major repairs compared to the values for the total housing stock. This is perhaps more significant in Montréal where such a large proportion of many immigrant groups live in duplexes, triplexes and block style apartment buildings. In both cities, Central American immigrants stand out as having the largest proportion of individuals living in housing that needs major repair. Furthermore, in both cities Jamaican, Vietnamese, Central American, Caribbean, Guyanese (Toronto), and Haitians (Montréal) have a larger proportion of individuals living in poorer quality housing relative to the British/French Canadians, as well as Chinese, South Asian and European/USA immigrants. This is due to a number of factors, not the least of which is the high rate of home ownership among the latter four groups. For instance, among Chinese immigrant 'owners' only 4.8% in Toronto and 6.3% in Montréal live in housing that requires major repair. In contrast, the proportions of Chinese 'renters' in poor quality housing rise to 12.5% and 8.8% in the two cities.

Based on these indicators of housing conditions, it is apparent that there is considerable heterogeneity among immigrant groups, as well as in relation to the British/French Canadian population, in terms of housing status and conditions. The principal groups examined here - Jamaicans, Haitians, Vietnamese and Central Americans - in many ways are notable as they

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[2] It should be noted that the proportion of Chinese immigrants from the most recent cohort (1981-1991) living in single-detached dwellings in fact exceeds the proportions from the earlier two periods: prior to 1968 - 26.7% and 1968-1980 - 24.6%).

Table 4.4: Percent of Birthplace Groups Living in Housing Needing Major Repair, All Housing and Low-Rise Apartments, Toronto and Montréal CMA, 1991				
	TORONTO		MONTRÉAL	
Place of Birth	All Housing	Low-Rise Apts	All Housing	Low-Rise Apts
Jamaica	8.4	10.0	12.3	13.8
Haiti	----	----	11.5	13.3
Vietnam	8.7	11.6	10.5	12.3
Central America	15.2	21.8	15.0	15.6
Guyana	7.6	10.7	----	----
Caribbean	8.4	11.7	10.2	12.6
China	5.1	6.0	6.8	10.3
South Asia	5.7	8.8	6.7	8.6
Europe/USA	6.7	8.0	7.2	8.8
British/French Canadian	8.9	9.0	7.0	8.9
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.				

are more likely to be renters, to live in low- and high-rise apartments, to experience housing affordability problems and to be in dwellings that require major repairs. But what accounts for these differences? What role does ethnicity play? Are cultural values regarding housing important independent factors or can the disparities simply be attributed to the fact that some groups are more strongly dominated by individuals who have only recently migrated to Canada and may, given a sufficient amount of time, begin to approximate the rate of home ownership and housing status common among British/French Canadians?

Factors Influencing Housing Tenure Differentials

To examine these issues, the remainder of the chapter focuses on tenure as a 'dependent variable'. As has just been demonstrated, tenure is one of the principal factors that differentiates housing status among immigrants in both Toronto and Montréal. This section

considers the influence of household income and length of time in Canada on home ownership patterns among the principal immigrant groups. For the sake of clarity, these socio-economic variables are examined separately. Although each does have an influence on home ownership rates, ethnicity remains as a significant factor. To gain a clearer appreciation for the importance of the "ethnic factor" relative to these and other socio-economic variables, the last part of this section presents the results of a multivariate analysis of differentials in housing tenure between groups in Toronto.

Given the amount of money required for a down payment and mortgage, it is not surprising that household income affects rates of home ownership. Among all birthplace groups in both cities, as household incomes rise so too does the proportion of individuals living in owner-occupied housing (Table 4.5). However, there is considerable variation in the rate of home ownership between birthplace groups based on income. Among individuals in the lowest income category (less than $25,000), only 2.8% of Central American immigrants in Toronto and 3.9% in Montréal live in owned housing, whereas the percentage is much higher among Jamaican, Haitian and Vietnamese immigrants. In fact, contrary to the normal trend, home ownership rates are slightly higher among Vietnamese and Central American immigrants in Montréal, regardless of income, relative to the same groups in Toronto. It is important to note that some immigrant groups in both cities, namely Chinese and European/USA immigrants, have relatively high rates of home ownership even among individuals living in households in the lowest income category. In fact, the Chinese and European/USA groups across the income spectrum have rates of home ownership that not only exceed those among Jamaican, Haitian, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants, but also are greater than those of British/French Canadians.

As might be expected, the rate of home ownership increases for all immigrant groups as household incomes rise (Table 4.5). However, a considerable gap remains between Jamaican, Haitian, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants and other immigrant groups, most notably Chinese and European/USA immigrants, particularly in the middle income range ($25,000 to $60,000). The proportions of home owners among these four immigrant groups are also below those of British/French Canadians in the middle and high income categories. For instance, in Toronto only 40.9% of Jamaican immigrants living in middle income households live in owned housing whereas the same is true for 52.6% of British/French Canadians. The differences between British/French Canadians and the four immigrant groups is most notable in Toronto, while in Montréal the differences tend to be relatively insignificant

TABLE 4.5: Percent Living in Owned Housing by Birthplace and Household Income, Toronto and Montréal CMAs, 1991

| Birthplace | TORONTO | | | | MONTRÉAL | | | |
| | Household Income | | | | | | | |
	Less than $25,000	$25 - 59,999	$60,000 & Over	Total	Less than $25,000	$25 - 59,999	$60,000 & Over	Total
Jamaica	13.7	40.9	75.0	46.2	10.8	43.7	80.4	34.3
Haiti	----	----	----	----	13.4	53.0	87.1	42.3
Vietnam	11.8	39.0	64.8	43.2	18.3	51.8	80.2	48.6
Central America	2.8	10.4	31.3	12.0	3.9	20.1	42.7	12.5
Guyana	18.0	46.0	81.2	56.9	----	----	-----	----
Caribbean	14.7	42.0	76.7	52.4	13.7	43.0	79.1	41.9
China	59.3	77.2	92.0	79.8	46.1	73.7	89.7	66.2
South Asia	21.5	52.0	81.5	60.5	15.7	50.0	88.9	50.0
Europe/USA	41.5	62.3	85.6	69.0	34.3	61.8	84.0	60.4
Canada (Br/Fr)	31.8	52.6	79.6	62.9	22.6	54.9	83.1	56.2

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

in the middle and high-income categories relative to French/British Canadians for all groups except Central Americans, Jamaicans and Caribbeans. In Montréal, for instance, 53% of middle income Haitian immigrants live in owned housing compared to 54.9% of French/British Canadians.

As an alternative, it could be argued that the lower rates of home ownership among some of the immigrant groups, most notably those from the Developing World, simply reflect the length of time that most individuals have been in Canada. It is generally expected that recent immigrants in the process of adjusting to life in Canada are less willing and/or able to become home owners due to tenuous employment and income circumstances during the first

TABLE 4.6: Percent Living in Owned Housing by Birthplace and Period of Immigration, Toronto and Montréal CMAs, 1991								
	TORONTO				MONTRÉAL			
Birthplace	Period of Immigration							
	< 1968	1968-1980	1981-1991	Total	< 1968	1968-1980	1981-1991	Total
Jamaica	73.2	51.5	28.3	46.2	53.5	38.1	16.7	34.3
Haiti	----	----	----	----	65.1	53.0	28.6	42.3
Vietnam	43.8	60.3	33.6	43.2	60.9	61.6	38.0	48.6
Central America	30.8	29.9	9.9	12.0	0.0	33.8	9.8	12.5
Guyana	72.4	67.8	44.0	56.9	----	----	----	----
Caribbean	68.1	58.9	35.6	52.4	61.1	48.0	19.7	41.9
China	89.3	85.2	75.9	79.8	79.2	76.5	58.8	66.2
South Asia	80.7	76.9	46.6	60.5	75.7	74.3	28.3	50.0
Europe/USA	82.0	75.4	42.2	74.0	73.9	66.4	40.5	67.5
Canada (Br/Fr)				62.9				56.2
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.								

few years after migration. Examining the influence exerted by period of immigration, it was found that length of time in Canada does have a bearing on tenure status (Table 4.6). The earliest cohort of immigrants (those who arrived before 1968) all have higher rates of living in owned housing, except among Vietnamese immigrants in both cities and Central American immigrants in Montréal. It is important to note, however, that the number of pre-1968 immigrants in these two groups is very small and meaningful comparisons can only really be made between individuals who arrived in the two later time periods (1968-80 and 1981-91).

Immigrants who arrived after 1968 are generally less likely to be found in owner occupied housing (Table 4.6). There is, however, considerable variation between groups. In Toronto, the majority of individuals in all immigrant groups who arrived between 1968 and

1980, with the exception of Central Americans, live in owned housing, although Chinese, South Asian and European/USA immigrants lead the other groups by a significant margin. In Montréal, less than half of Jamaican, Central American and Caribbean immigrants from the 1968-80 cohort live in owned housing, and once again Chinese and South Asian immigrants lead in terms of living in owned housing. In both cities, and among virtually all of the groups, the proportion of individuals living in owned housing falls precipitously among those from the most recent period (1981-91) who have only had at most 10 years to adjust to life in Canada and accumulate sufficient income to enter the home ownership market. It is only among the most recent cohort of Chinese immigrants in each city that over 50% live in owned housing (75.9% in Toronto and 58.8% in Montréal). One suspects that this high value among recent Chinese immigrants may reflect the purchase of properties by relatively wealthy individuals who left Hong Kong with a down payment in hand and the migration of elderly relatives to join family members already in Canada (see Ray et al. 1996 for a discussion of the higher incidence of multiple family households among Chinese immigrants in Vancouver). At the opposite extreme, Table 4.6 reveals very low rates of home ownership among the most recent cohort of Central American immigrants (less than 10% in both Toronto and Montréal). In both cities, over 80% of the Central American population is made up of this most recent cohort of migrants, many of whom arrived in Canada as refugees (Occhipinti 1996, 55-74). The recency of arrival and their relative destitution have had a major impact on their ability to move quickly into the home ownership market.

These cross-tabulations demonstrate the significance of various socio-economic variables, as well as birthplace or the "ethnicity", in accounting for disparities in home ownership behaviour between segments of Toronto's and Montréal's population. Regardless of the variable selected, differences between immigrant groups, as well as with the British/French Canadian population, persist thereby suggesting that ethnic background is important in explaining differential rates of home ownership. These results, however, reveal little about the significance of birthplace compared to other independent variables. To bring greater clarity to the relationship between tenure status and ethnic background, the results of a statistical analysis using a number of the variables discussed thus far will be presented in the following section. The analysis focuses only on Toronto primarily because the sample size for many of the immigrant groups in that city is larger, and overall the results for Montréal are not significantly different. While not an end in itself, this multivariate analysis lends support to the contention that birthplace or culture is an important factor affecting tenure status.

Probing the Relationship Between Tenure Status and Birthplace

This part of the analysis draws on data from the 1991 Public Use Sample of Canada (Table 4.7). The Public Use Sample for Individuals is a 3% sample of the population that enables analysis of data at an individual rather than aggregate level. Once respondents under the age of 15 are excluded, a total sample size of just over 91,000 individuals was obtained for Toronto. The advantages of this data set lie in the fact that it is organized in terms of *individual* records rather than population aggregates for selected areas, thus opening up the possibility of using a range of multi-variate analyses that cannot be conducted with aggregated data. In addition, a much wider range of variables are available than is normally the case using special tabulations. There are, however, a number of disadvantages. First, these data are only available at the metropolitan scale and it is not possible to look at whether there is variation in terms of behaviour within the city, for example between the inner city and suburbs. Secondly, the birthplace groups are predetermined by Statistics Canada which has generally not dissaggregated down to individual nationalities for many visible minority immigrant groups. For instance, it is only possible to identify people born in the 'Caribbean' rather than Jamaican or Guyanese immigrants. Likewise, Central American immigrants have been aggregated into a broad Latin American category that includes both South and Central America. Thirdly, as is the case for birthplace, the categories of the other available socio-economic and demographic variables have been pre-determined. With these limitations in mind, we have attempted to recode the variable categories to match as closely as possible those used in the special tabulation.

The variables used in this analysis are all categorical, and therefore neither regression nor analysis of variance methods could reliably be used. Instead, a binomial logit, or log of the odds, model was used to assess the relative effects of several explanatory variables on the dependent variable of housing tenure. The results of a logistic regression are evaluated similarly to those of a linear regression, with the exception that the probability of a 0 or 1 outcome in the dependent variable is a nonlinear function of the logit, and in this sense the interpretation of the coefficient is different from ordinary regression. As Knoke and Burke have argued: "Logit models are categorical analogs to ordinary linear regression models for continuous dependent variables. ... The criterion analyzed in this model is the odds of the expected cell frequencies for the dependent variable. More precisely, the model we discuss pertains to the log of the odds, called the *logit"* (1980, 24).

In logit analysis, no parameter is estimated for the reference group, and the probability

Table 4.7: Variables Considered in the LOGIT Model, Toronto CMA, 1991

Place of Birth
Caribbean
Latin America
Vietnam
China
South Asia
Italy
Europe
Other
Canadian-born (Not British or French)
Canadian-born (British and French)

Household Income
Less than $25,000
$25,000-$59,999
Over $60,000

Age
15 to 39
40 to 65
65 and Over

Household Type
Lone Parent
Multiple Family
Non-Family
Traditional Nuclear Family

Born In Canada
No (Immigrant)
Yes (Non-Immigrant)

Mobility History (Last 5 Years)
Non-mover
Moved within the same municipality (CSD)
Long-distance move

Marital Status
Never Married
Divorced, Separated, Widowed
Married (Legal and Common Law)

*Other Variables Considered but found **not** to be significant:*
Level of Education
Gender
Visible Minority Indicator Status

statistics are calculated for each other category in relation to the reference group. The parameter estimates tell us how much the logit increases or decreases for a unit increase in the independent variable, while in the particular statistical package used here (SAS), the chi-square statistic indicates the statistical significance of the relationship. For example, positive estimates indicate that the independent variable raises the odds on the dependent measure, while negative values show the odds are decreased. The parameter estimates are not intuitively obvious to interpret and consequently the "odds-ratio" (or the anti-log of the parameter) is discussed here. The odds-ratio is the multiplicative factor by which the odds change when the independent variable increases by one unit. Once again, in logit analysis no parameter is estimated for the reference group, and the probability statistics and odds ratios are calculated for each other category in relation to the reference group.[3] The analysis involved individual birthplace groups and the British/French Canadian population, with this 'Canadian' group being the reference population.

Immigrant Groups and the British/French Canadian Population

In this model, tenure and six independent variables (birthplace, household income, age, household type, immigration status and mobility) were analyzed. Each independent variable is statistically significant, as are several of the two way interactions between independent variables (Table 4.8). As might be expected, age, household type, household income, the status of being an immigrant or not, and mobility are critical factors in determining home ownership. To a certain degree, this is intuitively obvious, as one would expect a large segment of employed adults in a traditional nuclear family to have sufficient income to enter the home ownership market, as well as a felt need to acquire the attributes that often accompany ownership, such as a single-detached dwelling in a "family" neighbourhood. It is striking, therefore, that the simple factor of place of birth, which really has no inherent financial or familial relationship to home ownership, should continue to exert a strong influence on ownership behaviour.

The odds ratios provide further insight into what it is about these variables that exert an influence on ownership behaviour (Table 4.9). The odds of owning are increased by a multiplicative factor of 2.39 if one is Chinese, whereas it decreases by a factor of 1.84, 1.57 and 4.65 if one is Caribbean, Vietnamese or Latin American. Likewise, being part of a high-

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[3] The reference categories are highlighted in Table 4.7.

Table 4.8: Maximum-Likelihood Analysis of Variance Results - Immigrant Groups Relative to British/French Canadians, Toronto CMA, 1991

Variable	Degrees of Freedom	Chi-Square	Signific-ance Level
Birthplace	9	563.42	0.0000
Age	2	120.29	0.0000
Household Income	2	815.52	0.0000
Household Type	3	383.75	0.0000
Born in Canada	1	56.18	0.0000
Mobility History	2	222.72	0.0000
Birthplace *by* Household Type	27	131.36	0.0000
Birthplace *by* Household Income	18	89.61	0.0000
Birthplace *by* Age	18	134.97	0.0000
Birthplace *by* Marital Status	18	251.60	0.0000
Birthplace *by* Mobility History	18	437.17	0.0000
Household Type *by* Household Income	6	62.43	0.0000
Household Type *by* Marital Status	6	159.92	0.0000
Household Type *by* Age	6	82.28	0.0000
Household Income *by* Born in Canada	2	14.88	0.0006
Household Income *by* Age	4	68.41	0.0000
Marital Status *by* Age	4	140.05	0.0000
Marital Status *by* Born in Canada	2	101.25	0.0000
Marital Status *by* Mobility History	4	91.85	0.0000
Age *by* Mobility History	4	53.61	0.0000

Sample Size - 91,072
Note: At a 95 per cent confidence level, a significance (probability) value of less than or equal to 0.05 would be considered statistically significant.
Source: Statistics Canada, Public Use Sample, 1991.

**Table 4.9: Odds Ratios of "Main Effects" Variables and Categories,
Toronto CMA, 1991**

Variable & Category	Odds Ratio	Significant at 0.05
Birthplace		
Caribbean	-1.84	Yes
Latin America	-4.65	Yes
Vietnam	-1.57	Yes
China	2.39	Yes
South Asia	-0.55	Yes
Italy	1.77	Yes
Europe	0.31	Yes
Other Immigrants	-1.29	Yes
Canadians (Not British/French)	1.50	Yes
Canadians (British/French)		
Household Income		
Less than $25,000	-2.83	Yes
Over $60,000	2.88	Yes
$25,000 - $59,999		
Age		
40 to 65	0.22	Yes
Over 65	0.74	Yes
15 to 39		
Household Type		
Lone Parent	-0.69	Yes
Multiple Family	2.38	Yes
Non-Family	-2.42	Yes
Traditional Nuclear Family		
Born in Canada		
No (Immigrant)	0.67	Yes
Yes (Non-Immigrant)		
Mobility History		
Non-mover	1.05	Yes
Moved (Same Municipality [CSD])	-0.42	Yes
Long-distance Move		

Sample Size - 91,072
Note: At a 95 per cent confidence level, a significance (probability) value
of less than or equal to 0.05 would be considered statistically significant.
Source: Public Use Sample, Statistics Canada, 1991.

income household increases the odds of owning, as does being either middle-aged or retired, living in a multiple family household, not having moved in the last 5 years and simply being an immigrant.

The interactions between variables are also revealing (Table 4.10). The interactions between place of birth and household income are not significant for understanding tenure status among Caribbeans relative to British/French Canadians, but it is important for Vietnamese and Chinese immigrants. Low income Vietnamese immigrants have a lower probability of living in owned housing relative to their British/French counterparts, whereas low income Chinese immigrants have a somewhat greater probability. In terms of place of birth and household type, Caribbean individuals in lone parent households are 1.12 times less likely to own than similar British/French Canadians, while Caribbeans in non-family households have a statistically higher probability of living in owned housing. Age is an important factor to consider among Chinese immigrants, as those in the middle-age range have a higher probability to live in owned housing, while those over 65 are 1.41 times less likely to be in this situation relative to British/French Canadians of the same age. Marital status is really only significant for Chinese immigrants who have never married, this group being 1.56 times more likely to live in owned housing, probably an indication that they are still living within the parental home. Finally, household mobility behaviour also exerts an influence on home ownership with Caribbean and Vietnamese non-movers and Caribbean and Chinese short-distant movers being less likely to live in owned housing than British/French Canadians. South Asian and Vietnamese short-distant movers, on the other hand, are more likely to live in owned housing.

The interactions between other independent variables of course are numerous and discussion here will focus on some of the more relevant and important relationships.[4] First, in terms of household income and household type, and only looking at significant interaction effects, individuals who belong to lone-parent families with an income of less than $25,000 are 0.63 times less likely to own, and a decreased probability of owning is evident among those in high-income non-family households (odds ratio, -0.31) relative to individuals in middle income, traditional nuclear family households. In contrast, individuals in low-income non-family households and high-income lone-parent households have a slightly higher probability of owning compared to the reference group.

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[4] The interaction terms were determined after testing a larger number of two-way interactions and eliminating those that did not prove to make a significant contribution to the explanatory power of the model.

Table 4.10: Odds Ratios of *Significant* Interaction Term Categories, Toronto CMA, 1991

Variable & Category	Odds Ratio
Birthplace & Household Income	
European * Low Income	0.72
European * High Income	0.24
Chinese * Low Income	0.81
Chinese * High Income	-0.60
Vietnam * Low Income	-1.05
Canadian * High Income	-0.45
Birthplace & Household Type	
Italian * Non-Family	-1.89
Caribbean * Lone Parent	-1.12
Caribbean * Non-Family	0.72
European * Lone Parent	0.45
Birthplace & Age	
Italian * 65 & Over	1.10
Chinese * 40 - 64	1.04
Chinese * 65 & Over	-1.41
European * 65 & Over	0.38
Canadian * 40 - 64	-0.59
Birthplace & Marital Status	
Chinese * Never Married	1.56
Canadian * Never Married	-0.75
Canadian * Divorced etc.	-0.67
Birthplace & Mobility Status	
Italy * Non-mover	1.29
Italy * Mover (Short)	-1.78
Caribbean * Non-mover	-1.06
Caribbean * Mover (Short)	-0.53
South Asia * Mover (Short)	0.60
China * Mover (Short)	-0.47
Vietnam * Non-mover	-0.74
Vietnam * Mover (Short)	1.19
Canadian * Non-mover	0.68
Canadian * Mover (Short)	-0.69

Variable & Category	Odds Ratio
Household Type & Marital Status	
Non-Family * Single	-0.83
Non-Family * Divorced etc.	0.58
Household Type & Household Income	
Lone Parent * Low Income	-0.63
Non-Family * Low Income	0.29
Lone Parent * High Income	0.29
Non-Family * High Income	-0.31
Household Type & Age	
Multiple * 40 - 64	-1.22
Non-Family * 40 - 64	0.88
Multiple * 65 & Over	0.80
Non-Family * 65 & Over	-0.31
Household Income & Age	
Low Income * 40 - 64	0.16
High Income * 40 - 64	0.17
High Income * Over 65	0.47
Household Income & Born In Canada	
Low Income * No (Immigrant) 0.39	
Age & Marital Status	
40 - 64 * Single	-0.45
40 - 64 * Divorced etc.	-0.33
Over 65 * Divorced etc.	0.86
Age & Mobility	
40 - 64 * Mover (Short)	0.15
Over 65 * Non-mover	0.18
Over 65 * Mover (Short)	-0.60
Born in Canada & Marital Status	
Immigrant * Never Married	-0.59
Mobility & Marital Status	
Non-mover * Never Married	0.55
Non-mover * Divorced etc.	-0.36
Mover * Never Married	-0.23

Sample Size - 91,072
Source: Public Use Sample, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Secondly, in the interaction between household type and marital status, being single and in a non-family household decreases the odds of living in owned housing by 0.83 relative to someone who is married and in a traditional nuclear family household. Conversely, being divorced or widowed and living in a non-family household increases the odds of living in owned housing by 0.58. Furthermore, being an immigrant and single, relative to a non-immigrant and married, decreases the odds of owning by 0.59. Finally, being an immigrant in a low-income household decreases the odds of owning by 0.39.

A number of factors can be cited as influential in affecting the rate of home ownership among immigrants in Toronto, among them income, household type, marital status, age and mobility. Indeed in explaining the home ownership behaviour of Caribbean immigrants, who have among the lowest rates in the city, household type and mobility status cannot be dismissed as important factors. Conversely, the propensity of Chinese immigrants to live in owned housing appears to be affected by factors such as household income, age, marital status and mobility. That place of birth should remain a significant factor throughout the analysis is important and far from intuitively obvious to explain. Importantly, place of birth does not fall out of the analysis when other socio-economic variables are included.

One of the inescapable conclusions of this analysis is that relative to the British/French Canadian population, the ownership behaviour of some immigrant groups is influenced by a narrow range of socio-economic and demographic factors. For example, home ownership behaviour among Caribbean immigrants is strongly affected by factors such as type of household and mobility, and among Chinese immigrants, who lie at the high end of the home ownership spectrum, household income and age, marital status and mobility play important roles. As was discussed in this and earlier chapters, it is important to recognize the social, demographic and cultural heterogeneity that underlies the immigrant population in Canadian cities. In many ways, Caribbean immigrants differ from other immigrant populations. The greater proportion of women, as well as the larger number of lone-parent families and non-family households, means that a significant faction of this community faces challenges in entering the home ownership market not encountered by other groups. For instance, it has been well established that female-headed households, regardless of whether they are immigrants or not, encounter numerous problems in securing financing when they attempt to enter the real estate market (Birch 1985; Rose & Le Bourdais 1986).

The cultural context of home ownership among different groups is complex, and this discussion of statistical indicators has only been able to hint at some of the possible salient

dimensions. This is an issue, however, that will be discussed in the final chapters when the interview data are examined. The strategies used by various groups to find housing and gain access to the home ownership market often draw on the collective resources of family and friends.

Summary

In both Toronto and Montréal, housing conditions serve to highlight often quite divergent immigrant experiences. The groups differ in terms of the type of housing occupied and quality, affordability problems and tenure. As will be discussed in the next chapter, even in areas of both cities where there are substantial numbers of individuals from different groups that occupy the same neighbourhoods, their housing often can divide them into separate worlds.

A number of socio-economic variables were identified here as having an influence on the rate of home ownership among many of the immigrant groups examined. Household income and period of immigration are most certainly important, as are age, immigrant status, mobility history and marital status. Although these socio-economic factors play a role, they do not eclipse the effect of ethnicity or culture. The ascribed status of being Caribbean or Vietnamese, for instance, exerts a strong influence on home ownership outcomes. Exploring the housing occupied by the various groups also demonstrates the significance of time of arrival, particularly in relation to the evolving urban geography of the cities themselves. For instance, many of the most recent migrants to both Toronto and Montréal arrived in cities where segments of the established Canadian-born middle class have (re)discovered the inner city as both a place to live and to invest. Escalation of inner city housing prices in some inner city neighbourhoods, especially in Toronto, has essentially priced many new immigrants out of this market and into a new "residual" stock of housing - high- and low-rise rental apartments located both in the inner city and suburbs (Ley 1991). In essence, the values, norms and resources which immigrants bring to the city, as well as the temporally specific and highly localized processes within the city itself, merge to create a patchwork of immigrant housing geographies.

The variegated housing conditions, experiences and geographies of immigrants, while in part revealed at a metropolitan scale, are most intimately lived, and sometimes contested, at the smaller scale of neighbourhoods, districts and municipalities. The housing conditions which have been described for each city at the CMA level as a whole are not necessarily the

lived experiences of immigrant groups in particular areas of each city. To explain more fully why the spatial distribution of immigrants takes the form described in Chapter III, and to examine the manner in which housing serves to magnify social segregation between groups at the local scale, the following chapter moves to the intra-urban scale in Toronto and Montréal and examines housing conditions among the principal immigrant groups in a variety of inner city and suburban locales.

CHAPTER V
HOUSING STATUS AMONG IMMIGRANTS LIVING IN
TORONTO AND MONTRÉAL

Academic collections and studies about immigrant housing and neighbourhoods in Canadian cities have almost always drawn our attention to inner city reception areas where so many immigrants in the 19th and first-half of the twentieth century located (Anderson, K. 1991; Zucchi 1988; Iacovetta 1992; Harney 1985; Hiebert 1987). In fact, only recently has some research begun to challenge such classic images of immigrants in the city by pointing out their role in building housing on the fringes of 19th century cities (Harris 1992, 1990a,b). Combined with the reportage of journalists and stories of novelists, some strong, if too often stereotypic, images of immigrant housing and geographies permeate the popular imagination. As an illustration, readers of Toronto newspapers in the decades after World War II were frequently treated to stories of immigrant housing which emphasized overcrowding and a lack of sanitation. For instance, Marika Robert, a writer for *Maclean's*, described in the early 1960s inner city immigrant neighbourhood occupied by Italians as follows: "These people, ... are jammed into tiny rooming houses - as many as four families to a twenty-five-foot house - in the west end of the city. ... their front yards are non-existent; their back yard are crammed with the green vegetables that help to vary the monotony of their past diet; they live in houses divided into shared kitchens and cubicle-like bedrooms."[1] She wrote this article, however, apparently unaware that more of the people she was profiling had fulfilled their home ownership aspirations and were living in suburban neighbourhoods (Ray 1992). Similarly, *Globe and Mail* reporter Earl Berger in 1964 described immigrant housing as "... old and worn, and smell[ing] of damp wood and too much humanity. They press in on one another like the waves of immigrants passing through them. In many there are cockroaches and mice; in some there are rats."[2] Even in contemporay Toronto and Montréal, old immigrant neighbourhoods, where in fact very few immigrants live, retain a certain caché value as

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[1] Marika Robert, Che bella. The Old World Pleasure Garden comes to the Suburbs, *Maclean's*, September 23, 1961, 24-25, 43-45.

[2] Earl Berger, A City of Immigrants: The Statistic that Cannot Be Ignored, *Globe and Mail*, September 9, 1964. Such portrayals of Italian housing and neighbourhoods were not uncommon in the metropolitan press in the 1960s and 1970s. See also Marika Robert, Che bella. The Old World Pleasure Garden Comes to the Suburbs, *Maclean's*, September 23, 1961; Robert Thomas Allen, Portrait of Little Italy: How 160,000 Italians are Bringing a New Flavour and Vitality to Our Staidest City, *Maclean's*, March 21, 1964; George Russell, The Italians in Canada: Builders of a New Life, *Globe and Mail Weekend Magazine*, October 5, 1974; Warren Gerard, Little Italy: It's Bursting With Life, *Toronto Star*, March 9, 1976.

'authentic' immigrant landscapes, complete with historic and/or tourist zone designations. Unfortunately, none of this captures the lived realities of immigrants in today's cities.

This chapter attempts to escape some of these stereotypes of people and place by looking at the diversity of immigrant housing conditions within the various neighbourhoods and districts of Toronto and Montréal. Earlier discussion of macro-level differentials in housing status are brought down to the environments where people live and carry out their day-to-day lives. This is also the scale at which differences in housing conditions between immigrant groups, and in relation to the British/French Canadian population in each city, are most keenly felt and observed.

Initially, basic housing characteristics of the principal immigrant groups within Toronto and Montréal are briefly discussed, noting differences in type of dwelling occupied by the various groups. It is unrealistic and repetitive to treat the housing circumstances of each individual group in detail, and as a consequence certain forms of housing will be discussed in more detail as they have greater implications for understanding conditions of particular groups or immigrants overall. To this end, single-detached housing will be discussed due to its highly recognized status value in our society, as will high-rise apartments in Toronto and Montréal, and low-rise dwellings in Montréal. As has already been highlighted, Montréal's low-rise housing accommodates a very large segment of the city's immigrant population, while in Toronto high-rise housing is one of the most important and contested forms of housing occupied by immigrants in that city. Immigrants living in such housing are neither uniformly distributed across either city, nor are they predominantly inner city populations. Whether we are looking at immigrants in low- or high-rise apartment buildings or in single-detached housing, the suburbanization of many immigrant groups, regardless of their income levels, is an inescapable fact.

Throughout the chapter attention will be drawn to the similarities and differences between immigrants and the British/French Canadian population in terms of housing status at the neighbourhood level. The final section, however, shines a spotlight on this issue and probes the degree to which housing status among middle-income Jamaican and Haitian immigrants in Toronto and Montréal respectively differs from that of the British/French Canadian population in each city. In many ways, housing contributes to the creation of distinct social environments; environments which are structured to a significant degree by place of birth and the achieved status of simply being an immigrant. As will be demonstrated, the presence of a large number of immigrants in housing conditions that depart significantly from

that of British/French Canadians, particularly in the suburbs, emphasizes the fact that inequality in housing pervades the city, adding another, and highly contentious, layer of complexity to the city's social geography.

Housing Characteristics of the Immigrant and Canadian-born Populations

The waning of the inner city as an immigrant enclave has been matched by the emergence of a wide range of immigrant locales across Toronto and Montréal. These neighbourhoods are not easily described for they reflect the socio-economic and cultural diversity of the people, as well as the housing they occupy. As was discussed in the last chapter, housing differentiates immigrant groups from each other and the Canadian-born population, a fact which is intimately felt and reacted to at the neighbourhood area scale. In this section, attention focuses on the degree to which the type of dwelling occupied distinguishes immigrants living in the various neighbourhood areas of Toronto and Montréal. Do the housing conditions of the principal immigrant groups examined here vary in only a few neighbourhood areas or is this a more generalized phenomenon across each city? Within this context, attention will be directed at high- and low-rise housing, the vast majority of units being in the private rental sector, and housing a disproportionate share of immigrants in each city.

Toronto: Dwelling Types

Numerous researchers have pointed out that housing has both economic and social value, communicating a great deal about the social status of inhabitants (Cooper 1976; Agnew 1981; Adams 1984; Jackson, K. 1985). No combination of tenure and dwelling type is as sought after or conveys as much prestige as single-detached owned housing. Summarizing a battery of studies conducted in England, Australia and the United States, Cooper noted that, "... when asked to describe their ideal house, people of all incomes and backgrounds will tend to describe a free-standing, square, detached, single-family house and yard" (1976, 438).Yet the number of individuals in any group living in such housing varies widely across the city, and as a consequence it is perhaps best to begin by examining how the previously discussed differentials in housing occupancy become actualized *within* the city.

Given higher densities and the prevalence of low- and high-rise apartments in the inner city, it is not surprising that a significantly smaller proportion of individuals in every birthplace group live in single-detached housing in the City of Toronto relative to inner suburban municipalities (York and East York), as well as the more distant suburbs (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Dwelling Type by Birthplace, Toronto Municipalities, 1991

TORONTO

	Jamaica	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Guyana	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det	11.8%	7.7%	12.2%	9.0%	10.5%	12.2%	8.6%	25.2%	26.2%
Row	24.1%	43.3%	31.8%	19.8%	25.9%	44.6%	21.8%	32.7%	24.1%
Low-Rise	26.3%	24.5%	37.4%	22.0%	26.2%	15.6%	16.7%	19.2%	22.4%
High-Rise	37.9%	24.5%	18.7%	49.1%	37.4%	27.6%	53.0%	22.9%	27.3%
Total No.	5465	13520	1685	3815	5795	26490	7355	115390	83995

YORK

	Jamaica	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Guyana	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det	19.9%	31.4%	23.6%	23.4%	30.9%	36.5%	25.4%	41.3%	40.3%
Row	15.8%	24.2%	27.4%	11.2%	11.4%	25.8%	13.4%	21.2%	14.5%
Low-Rise	29.8%	24.9%	30.4%	25.2%	20.6%	18.9%	18.5%	14.0%	17.4%
High-Rise	34.4%	19.6%	18.6%	40.2%	37.1%	18.9%	42.7%	23.6%	27.8%
Total No.	5565	2835	1185	1965	2990	1165	2130	30045	16680

EAST YORK

	Jamaica	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Guyana	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det	18.0%	14.5%	0.0%	26.4%	22.7%	40.1%	14.2%	45.4%	46.8%
Row	3.1%	49.4%	36.4%	2.0%	10.2%	25.5%	4.4%	12.6%	10.7%
Low-Rise	18.6%	9.6%	18.2%	17.6%	10.5%	5.2%	5.5%	7.1%	12.0%
High-Rise	60.3%	26.5%	45.5%	53.9%	56.7%	29.2%	75.9%	34.9%	30.5%
Total No.	970	415	55	1475	1765	3550	2365	17480	20700

ETOBICOKE

	Jamaica	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Guyana	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det	23.6%	40.2%	31.4%	53.0%	39.5%	55.7%	35.5%	52.3%	55.0%
Row	23.1%	18.8%	16.0%	17.5%	16.9%	10.9%	15.3%	7.2%	7.8%
Low-Rise	7.5%	14.8%	18.9%	7.2%	10.0%	5.6%	5.6%	11.7%	10.1%
High-Rise	45.8%	26.2%	33.7%	22.3%	33.7%	27.8%	43.6%	28.7%	27.1%
Total No.	6145	1145	845	3820	4115	2970	10235	55445	49435

NORTH YORK

	Jamaica	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Guyana	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det	7.4%	10.2%	14.2%	11.3%	14.2%	48.4%	14.5%	38.5%	39.7%
Row	28.3%	34.2%	26.1%	23.7%	24.5%	21.3%	22.0%	14.9%	16.1%
Low-Rise	13.0%	19.6%	15.6%	8.4%	13.5%	6.0%	7.3%	7.2%	12.0%
High-Rise	51.2%	35.9%	44.1%	56.6%	47.8%	24.3%	56.2%	39.5%	32.1%
Total No.	14610	6295	2470	7350	7560	22000	14575	83250	59450

SCARBOROUGH

	Jamaica	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Guyana	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det	34.3%	36.1%	29.4%	39.9%	42.1%	55.3%	35.6%	58.8%	54.5%
Row	25.9%	32.8%	12.9%	15.7%	23.5%	21.0%	18.2%	12.4%	12.2%
Low-Rise	6.6%	8.7%	32.3%	7.0%	8.2%	2.6%	8.7%	4.2%	6.9%
High-Rise	33.3%	22.4%	25.4%	37.4%	26.2%	21.1%	37.5%	24.5%	26.4%
Total No.	15990	3215	1515	15600	11355	42020	21015	65935	80675

Table 5.1 (cont'd): Dwelling Type by Birthplace, Toronto Municipalities, 1991

MISSISSAUGA

	Jamaica	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Guyana	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det	41.3%	30.0%	10.7%	52.7%	51.8%	66.7%	47.4%	53.9%	52.6%
Row	29.7%	22.3%	32.9%	24.1%	24.1%	16.2%	24.7%	21.3%	21.9%
Low-Rise	7.0%	10.6%	19.3%	4.6%	5.6%	2.5%	5.2%	3.8%	4.8%
High-Rise	22.0%	37.1%	37.1%	18.7%	18.6%	14.6%	22.7%	21.0%	20.7%
Total No.	9065	4385	700	5840	7275	10130	19695	80365	75965

VAUGHAN

	Jamaica	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Guyana	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det	84.3%	100.0%	100.0%	94.9%	97.3%	84.2%	94.8%	86.1%	86.7%
Row	7.8%	0.0%	0.0%	5.1%	2.7%	0.0%	3.1%	5.7%	6.8%
Low-Rise	4.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%	1.1%	2.8%
High-Rise	3.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	15.8%	1.0%	7.1%	3.8%
Total No.	575	35	40	495	370	695	955	6370	4360

RICHMOND HILL

	Jamaica	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Guyana	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det	72.2%	80.4%	0.0%	83.0%	71.4%	92.7%	84.6%	74.1%	61.9%
Row	15.9%	0.0%	71.4%	4.3%	7.1%	1.0%	8.8%	9.4%	10.6%
Low-Rise	3.2%	6.5%	0.0%	4.3%	0.0%	0.9%	1.1%	2.7%	6.4%
High-Rise	8.7%	13.0%	28.6%	8.5%	21.4%	5.4%	5.5%	13.9%	21.2%
Total No.	630	230	35	235	350	5155	910	9045	9635

MARKHAM

	Jamaica	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Guyana	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det	92.7%	69.2%	38.9%	91.4%	89.1%	95.3%	94.8%	80.9%	78.5%
Row	3.8%	6.4%	38.9%	4.5%	6.1%	3.0%	2.7%	9.6%	11.2%
Low-Rise	0.7%	0.0%	22.2%	1.6%	1.5%	0.0%	1.9%	1.9%	2.1%
High-Rise	2.8%	24.4%	0.0%	2.5%	3.4%	1.7%	0.6%	7.6%	8.2%
Total No.	3700	390	90	2200	2065	13265	6155	16905	19680

PICKERING

	Jamaica	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Guyana	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det	67.4%	100.0%	0.0%	72.1%	64.1%	83.3%	90.4%	71.7%	59.5%
Row	21.9%	0.0%	100.0%	20.3%	24.2%	6.6%	8.4%	18.8%	29.3%
Low-Rise	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%	1.9%	0.0%	0.7%	2.6%
High-Rise	8.2%	0.0%	0.0%	5.8%	11.6%	8.2%	1.2%	8.7%	8.6%
Total No.	1165	285	10	860	990	1285	1670	7855	7705

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

In most of the municipalities within Metro Toronto, high-rise apartments are the second most common form of dwelling occupied by most groups, with row-housing usually following closely behind as the third component of the housing stock. Low-rise housing, which forms such an important component of the housing stock in Montréal, plays a relatively minor role in most municipalities, with the exception of the Cities of Toronto and York, for some immigrant groups (e.g. Jamaicans, Vietnamese, Central Americans, Guyanese and Caribbeans).

Table 5.1 gives a strong indication of the importance of single-detached housing for British/French Canadians and European/USA immigrants in all municipalities of Toronto. In contrast, among Jamaican, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants, high-rise housing often accommodates the greatest share of individuals. For example, in Etobicoke and North York, two relatively new suburban municipalities, 45.8% and 51.2% of their Jamaican immigrant population respectively lives in high-rise housing. In comparison with Vietnamese and Central American immigrants, Jamaican immigrants in most municipalities are more likely to be found in high-rise housing. This is not, however, the case when Jamaicans are compared

with other immigrants from the Caribbean and Guyana. Housing status varies more from municipality to municipality among Vietnamese and Central American immigrants, although large segments of both of these groups live in row- and low-rise housing in municipalities such as the City of Toronto, York, East York, North York, Scarborough and Mississauga. The exurban suburbs around Metro Toronto clearly show an overwhelming dominance of single-detached housing for all groups. In fact, in municipalities such as Vaughan, Richmond Hill, Markham and Pickering, a larger proportion of almost all of the immigrant groups live in single-detached housing relative to the British/French Canadians (although the absolute number of immigrants in any one birthplace group is usually quite small). In this respect, the immigrants who are living in these exurban areas are quintessential suburbanites.

Figures 5.1 through 5.4 show the proportion of British/French Canadians, and Jamaican, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants within each neighbourhood area living in single-detached housing. Given higher densities and a greater number of low- and high-rise apartments in the inner city, it is not surprising that a significantly smaller proportion of individuals in every birthplace group live in single-detached housing relative to the suburban municipalities. One of the most striking features of these maps is the much stronger presence of British/French Canadians living in single-detached housing relative to the other immigrant groups, particularly in the City of Toronto and Metro Toronto overall. While 25% or less of British/French Canadians live in single-detached housing in the most central inner city neighbourhoods, with the notable exception of elite neighbourhoods like Rosedale and Forest Hill, a significant proportion living in more outer inner city neighbourhoods and the inner suburbs, most notably in York and East York, live in such housing. In this respect, the British/French Canadian map contrasts sharply with those of Jamaican, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants in that in most neighbourhoods of Metro Toronto less than 50% of individuals live in single-detached housing. This is most emphatically the case for Central American immigrants (Figure 5.4) in that there are only 6 Metro Toronto neighbourhood areas where between 25 and 50% of individuals live in single-detached housing.

For all of the groups, it is evident that the most intense concentrations of individuals living in single-detached housing are in the suburbs and exurban developments around Metro Toronto. However, in interpreting these maps (Figures 5.1 - 5.4) it is important to remember that the number of immigrants in these areas is quite often small (see Table 5.1). For example, while between 75 to 100% of Jamaican immigrants residing in Mississauga, Vaughan or Richmond Hill neighbourhoods may live in single-detached housing, the number of individuals is only a fraction of that found in areas of North York, Scarborough and Etobicoke.

Fig. 5.1: Percent of British/French Canadian Population Living in Single-Detached Housing by Neighbourhood Area, Toronto CMA, 1991

% of Br/Fr Cdn. Pop.
In Each Area

	0 to 25	(28)
	25.1 to 50	(45)
	50.1 to 75	(39)
	75.1 to 100	(14)
	No Data	(1)
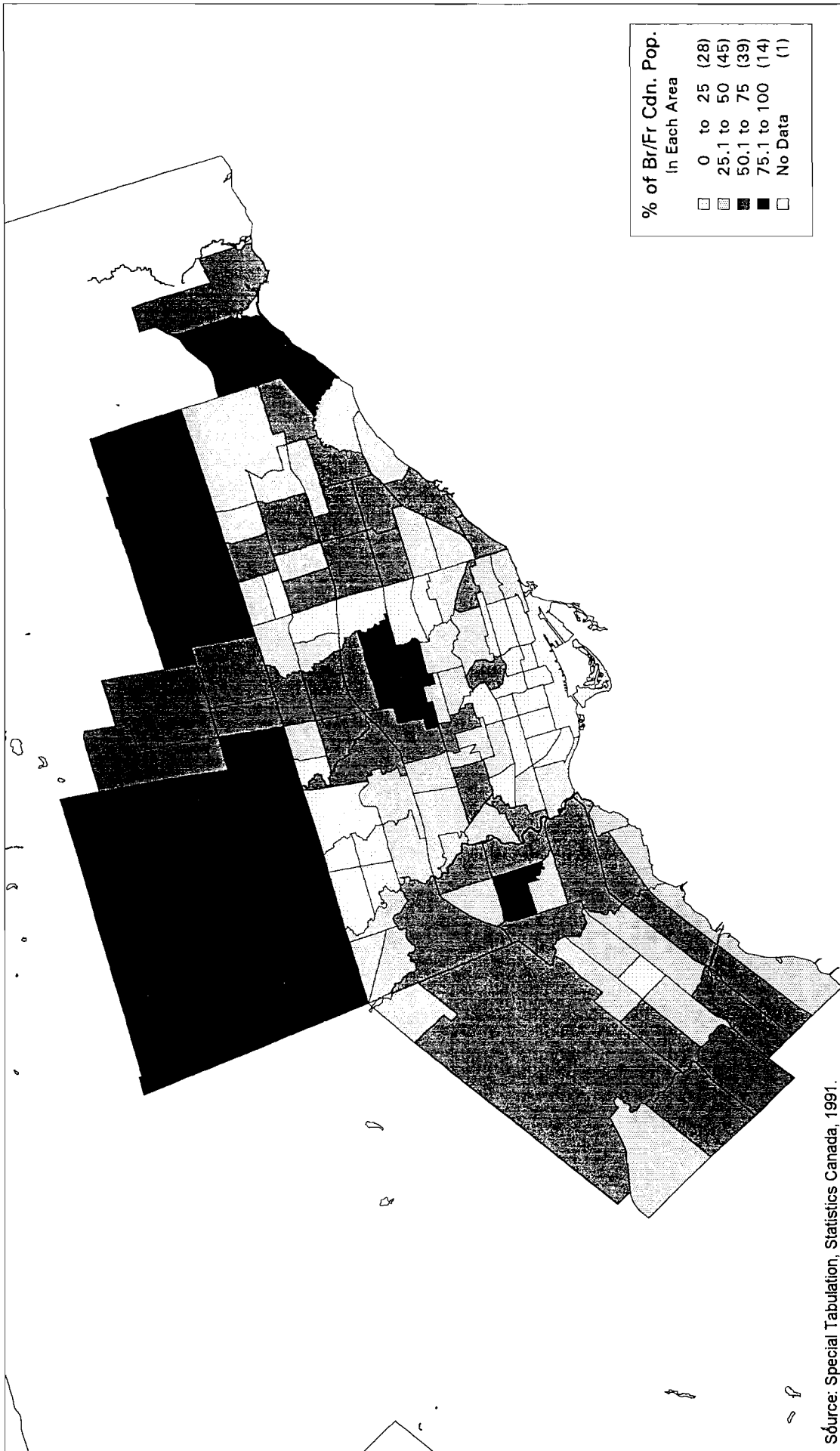
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig. 5.2: Percent of Jamaican Immigrant Population Living in Single-Detached Housing
by Neighbourhood Area, Toronto CMA, 1991

% of Jamaican Pop.
In Each Area

☐	0 to 25	(69)
☐	25.1 to 50	(28)
▨	50.1 to 75	(16)
■	75.1 to 100	(13)
☐	No Data	(1)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

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Fig. 5.3: Percent of Vietnamese Immigrant Population Living in Single-Detached Housing
by Neighbourhood Area, Toronto CMA, 1991

% of Vietnamese Pop.
In Each Area

☐	0 to 25	(67)
☒	25.1 to 50	(22)
▨	50.1 to 75	(15)
■	75.1 to 100	(22)
☐	No Data	(1)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig. 5.4: Percent of Central American Immigrant Population Living in Single-Detached Housing by Neighbourhood Area, Toronto CMA, 1991

% of Central Am. Pop
In Each Area

0 to 25	(113)
25.1 to 50	(9)
50.1 to 75	(2)
75.1 to 100	(2)
No Data	(1)
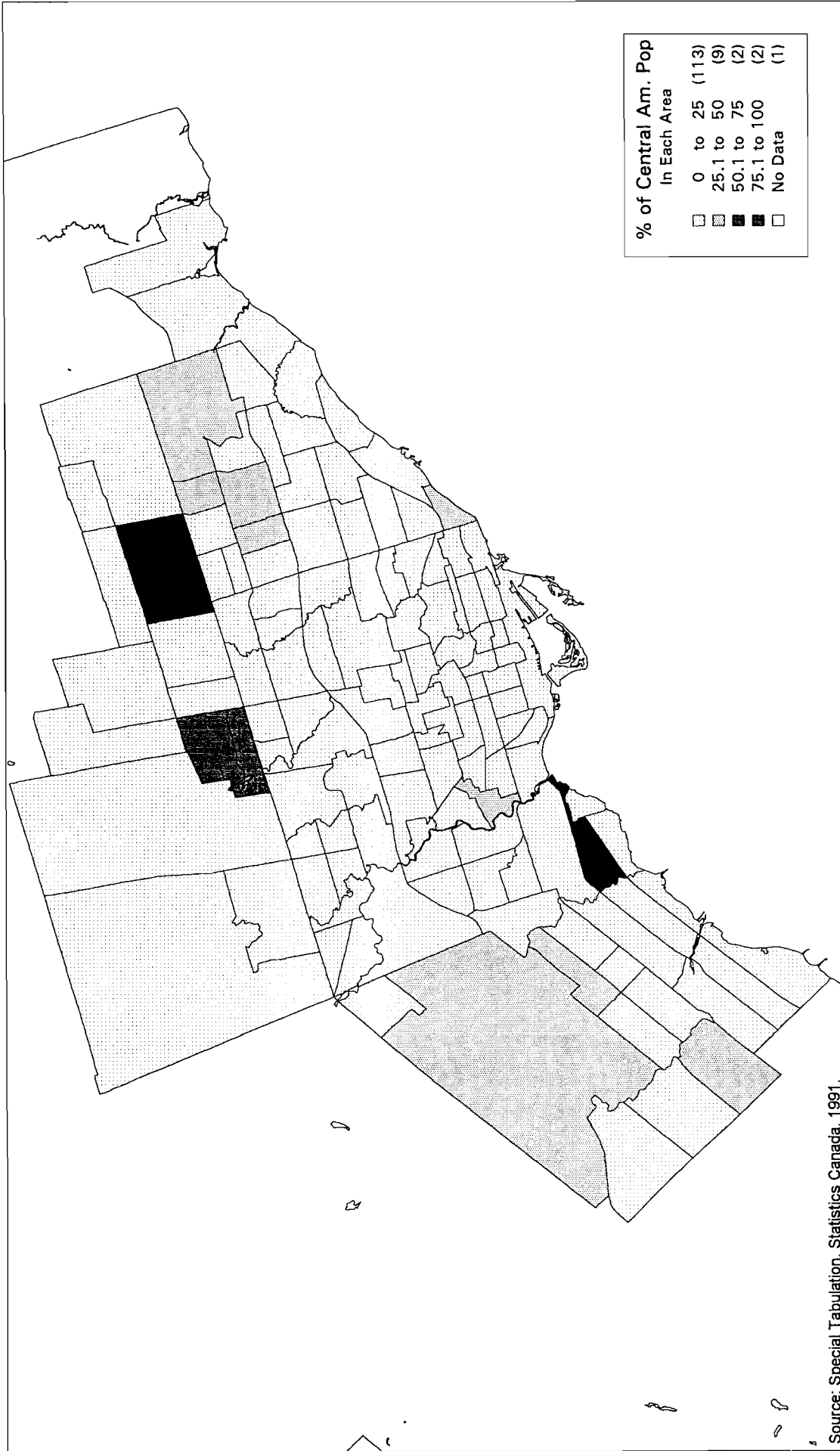
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

The maps for Jamaican (Figure 5.2), Vietnamese (Figure 5.3) and Central American immigrants (Figure 5.4) also show the importance of north Scarborough as an enclave of single-detached housing. In many of these neighbourhoods, 50 to 75% of Jamaican and Vietnamese immigrants live in single-detached housing, and the same is true for 25 to 50% of Central Americans. Unlike more exurban locales where the proportions can be even greater, in these neighbourhood areas of Scarborough the absolute number of individuals is usually large. For example, 46.9% of Scarborough's Jamaican population is located north of Highway 401 (the general region of Agincourt and Brown's Corners), and 40.0% of these individuals live in single-detached and 60.8% in owned housing. It is necessary, however, to emphasize that while this is an important departure in housing status for these groups relative to most parts of Metro and metropolitan Toronto overall, it is not a Scarborough wide trend. In general, in the older neighbourhoods of Scarborough that lie south of Highway 401 the proportion of Jamaican, Vietnamese and Central Americans living in single-detached housing is considerably lower.

As discussed in Chapter 4, high-rise apartments are a very important form of housing for many individuals living in Toronto. And like all forms of housing, high-rise apartments, particularly those in the rental sector, embody particular social meanings about inhabitants. Again referring to Clare Cooper Marcus' (1995, 1976) arguments about the meaning of housing, if there is an intersection of housing type and tenure that is the antithesis of the owned single-family ideal, which emasculates any image of house as a symbol-of-self, it would be high-rise rental housing. Cooper Marcus argues that Americans (and by extension, Canadians) largely reject high-rise apartments because they do not permit any positive and/or individual symbolic representation of self.

> The high-rise apartment building is rejected by most Americans because, I would suggest, it gives one no territory on the ground, violates the archaic image of what a house is, and is perceived unconsciously as a threat to one's self-image as a separate and unique personality. The house form in which people are being asked to live is not a symbol-of-self, but the symbol of a stereotyped, anonymous filing-cabinet collection of selves, though we may make apartments larger, with many of the appurtenances of a house, as well as opportunities for modification and ownership, it may still be a long time before the majority of lower- and middle-income American families will accept this as a valid image of a permanent home (Cooper Marcus 1976, 438).

To this Agnew adds that the form of tenure itself compounds the marginalization of high-rise apartment dwellers.

> Tenants are not integrated into society through debt commitment, the threat of mortgage foreclosure and the acquisition of social esteem associated with home ownership. They are an out group who are unsettled and unsettling. Owners, to the contrary, have invested themselves in their houses through debt and obtained the social esteem and "freedom" from landlords that renters cannot acquire (Agnew 1981, 75).

In recent years, much has been made of high-rise condominiums as an attractive form of housing for a wide variety of households. Condominiums certainly offer the security and financial benefits that can accrue with home ownership, as well as a degree of prestige value not commonly associated with rental high-rises. However, it is important to emphasize that this type of dwelling and tenure arrangement so far accommodates only a fraction of Toronto's population. In the Toronto CMA, out of the total number of British/French Canadians living in high-rise apartments in 1991, only 6.3% owned their dwellings. An even smaller proportion of all immigrants live in owned high-rise housing (5.6%). Condominiums appeal to a small proportion of the population and it is no doubt still true, as Michelson (1977) discovered in the 1970s, that Torontonians would still overwhelmingly point to an owned single-family house as their favoured form of accommodation.

If recent studies conducted in Ontario, western Europe and the United States are correct, it would seem that middle class households are leaving rental housing, especially high-rise apartments, in large numbers (Blake 1978; Clayton Research Associates 1984a, b; Harloe 1985). Increasingly such rental housing may be emerging as a residual stock for segments of the population, namely low-income husband and wife families, lone-parent families, singles, the elderly and low-income and recently arrived immigrants, for whom other types of housing are not affordable.

Indeed for Jamaican, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants, high-rise apartments are an important form of housing in virtually every metropolitan Toronto neighbourhood area (Figures 5.5 to 5.8). The central core of the inner city, dominated by high-rise housing, of course, stands out on all of the maps as an area where over 75% of individuals belonging to any group live in high-rise apartments. Yet among British/French Canadians it is only in the two most central neighbourhood areas that this is the case, whereas

Fig. 5.5: Percent of British/French Canadian Population Living in High-Rise Apartments
by Neighbourhood Area, Toronto CMA, 1991

% of Br/Fr Cdn. Pop.
In Each Area

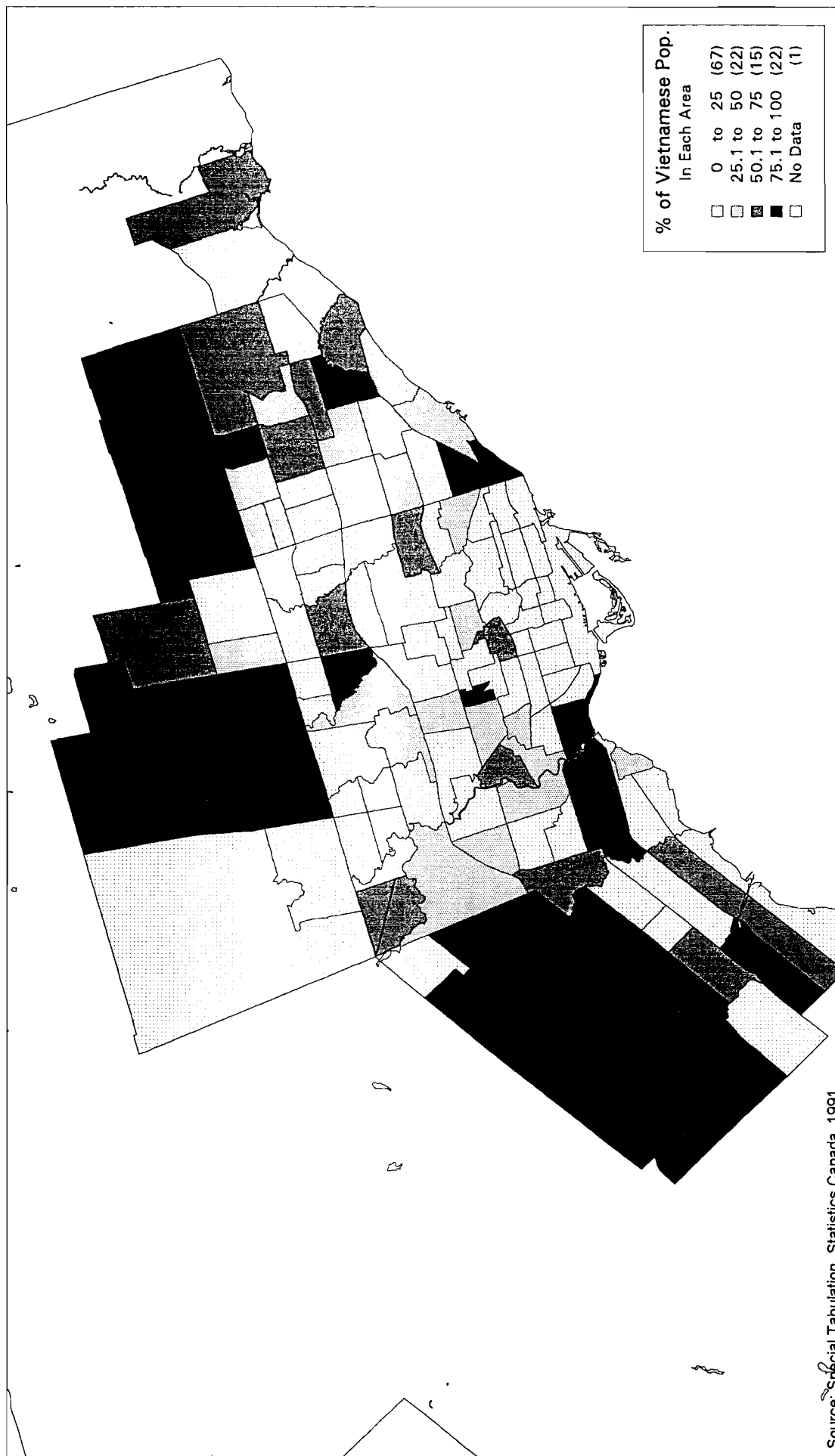|		
0 to 25	(71)	
25.1 to 50	(42)	
50.1 to 75	(11)	
75.1 to 100	(2)	
No Data	(1)	

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig. 5.6: Percent of Jamaican Immigrant Population Living in High-Rise Apartments
by Neighbourhood Area, Toronto CMA, 1991

% of Jamaican Pop.
In Each Area

0 to 25	(65)
25.1 to 50	(30)
50.1 to 75	(23)
75.1 to 100	(8)
No Data	(1)
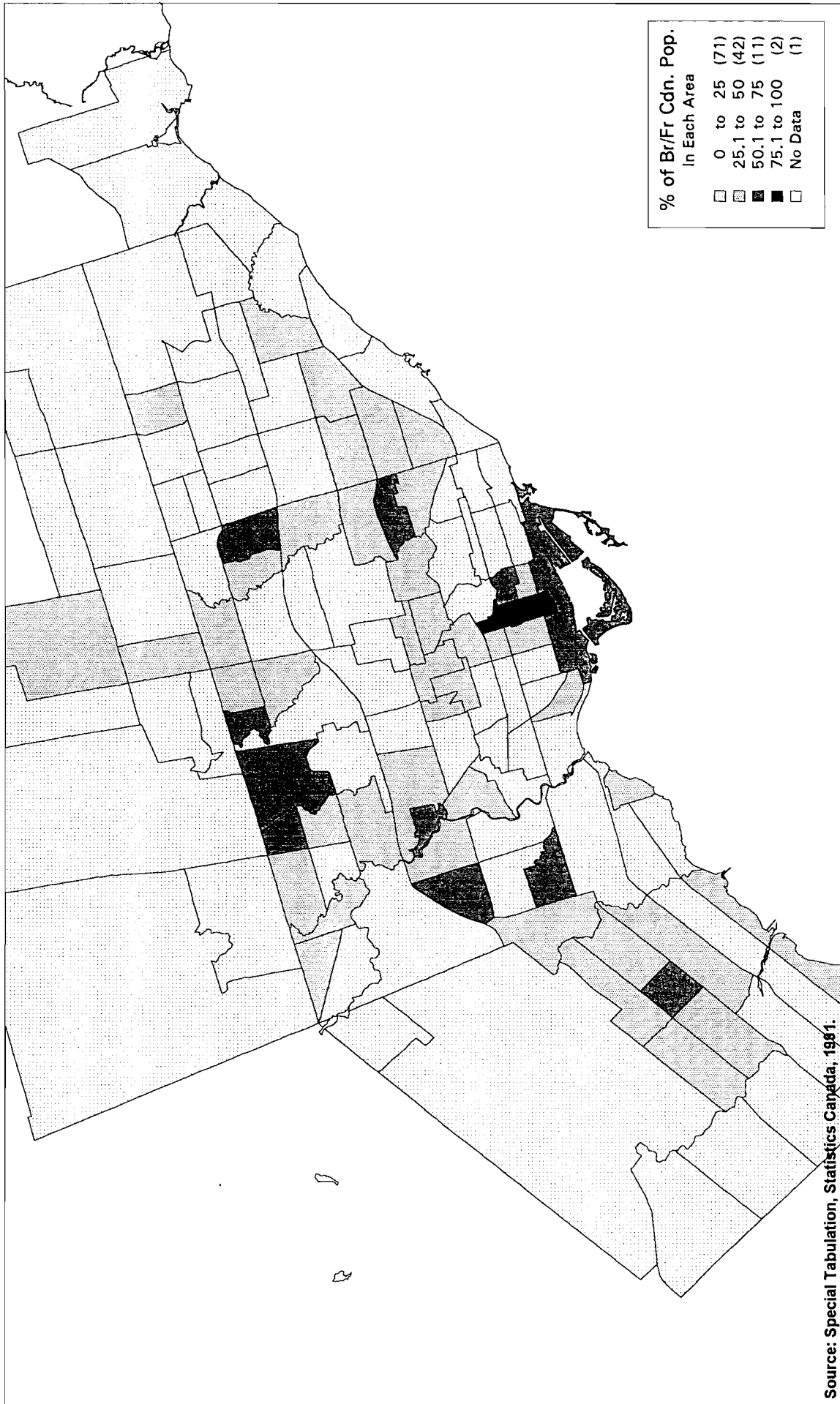
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig. 5.7: Percent of Vietnamese Immigrant Populaiton Living in High-Rise Apartments by Neighbourhood Area, Toronto CMA, 1991

% of Vietnamese Pop.
In Each Area

	0 to 25	(89)
	25.1 to 50	(18)
	50.1 to 75	(10)
	75.1 to 100	(9)
	No Data	(1)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig. 5.8: Percent of Central American Immigrant Population Living in High-Rise Apartments
by Neighbourhood Area, Toronto CMA, 1991

% of Central Am. Pop
In Each Area

	0.01 to 25.1	(56)
	25.1 to 50.1	(23)
	50.1 to 75.1	(22)
	75.1 to 100	(25)
	No Data	(1)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada,
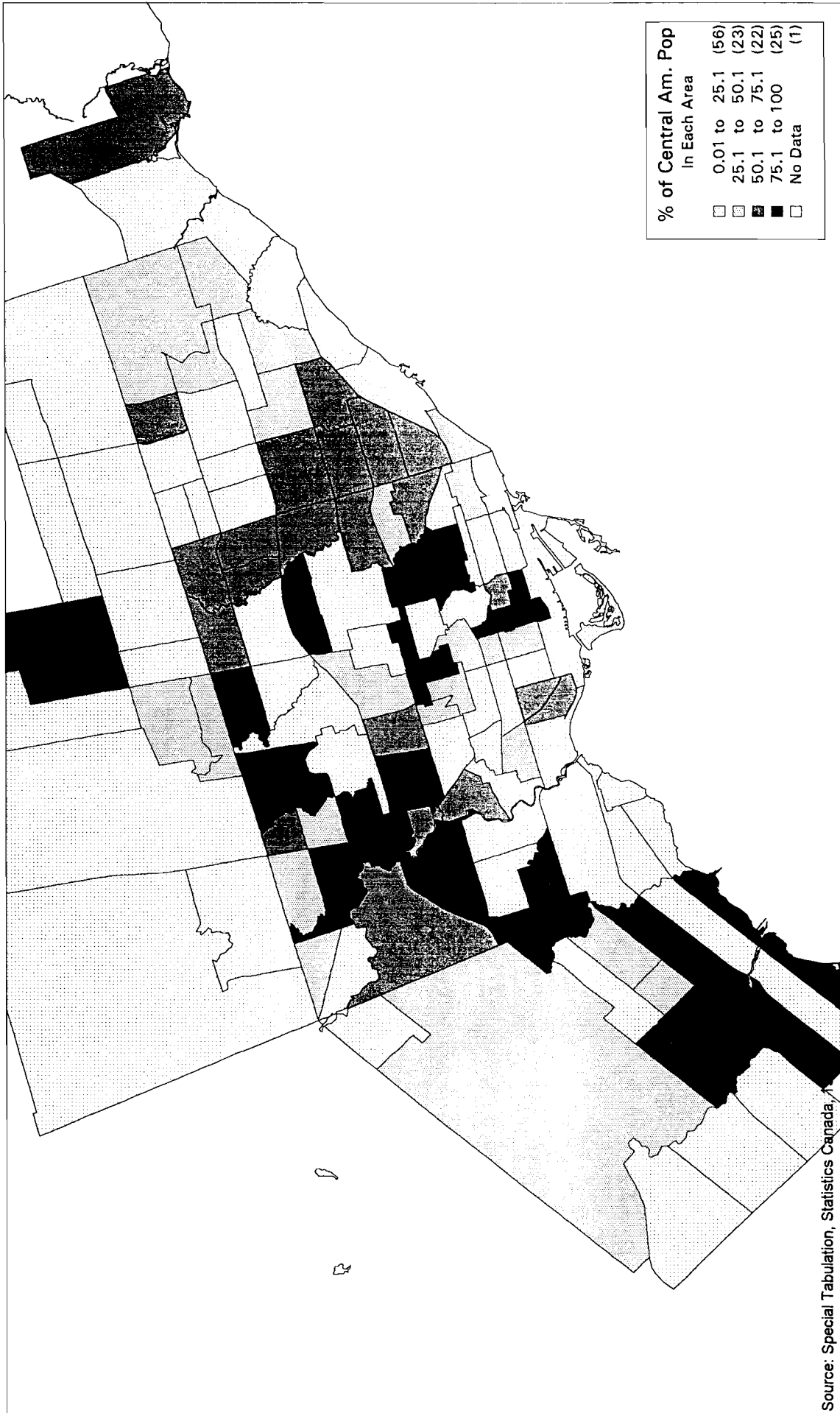
for Jamaicans, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants many of the adjacent neighbourhood areas also have a high proportion of individuals living in high-rise apartments. This is most particularly true for Jamaican immigrants living near the core of the city.

More striking on all of the maps, with the exception of that for British/French Canadians, is the proportion of individuals living in high-rise housing in suburban neighbourhoods. Suburban Central Americans living in high-rise apartments are most strongly concentrated in areas of northern Etobicoke and North York, where they are also numerically large, as well as in neighbourhoods south of Highway 401 in Scarborough and in Mississauga (although their numbers in this municipality are small) (Figure 5.8). Vietnamese immigrants are also strongly represented in suburban high-rise housing, most particularly in northern Etobicoke and neighbourhoods in northwest/north central North York just below Highway 401 (Figure 5.7). Although there is a great deal of high-rise housing available in Scarborough, relatively few Vietnamese immigrants compared to Central American and Jamaican immigrants live in such apartments in this area. Only in one neighbourhood area does the proportion of Vietnamese living in high-rise apartments exceed 50%. Jamaicans, the largest immigrant group, are also strongly concentrated in many of the suburban neighbourhood areas of the city (Figure 5.6). Again northern Etobicoke and North York stand out, as does the Borough of East York, although the number of Jamaicans living in East York is small (less than 1,000 individuals). Neighbourhood areas of Scarborough where Jamaican immigrants are concentrated in high-rise housing are all south of Highway 401. In those areas north of Highway 401, where a large proportion of Jamaicans live in single-detached housing, less than 25% of individuals live in high-rise housing. In Scarborough in particular, Jamaican immigrants are at least spatially divided by housing status.

On all of the maps it is quite clear that immigrants living in high-rise housing beyond the borders of Metro are a rarity. With the exception of a handful of neighbourhood areas in Mississaugua, very few immigrants, as is true for the British/French Canadian population, live in high-rise apartments. To a large extent, the significant proportion of many immigrant groups, and for that matter the British/French Canadians, living in high-rise apartments in suburban neighbourhood areas is a function of how and where rental housing was built in the 1950s and 1960s. Unlike many American cities, Toronto has a substantial amount of suburban rental housing, both low- and high-rise, that was constructed in the late 1950s and 1960s.[3]

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[3] See Bourne (1968) for a detailed discussion of the rental housing construction boom in Toronto in the early post-war decades. Bourne points to a combination of demand factors, namely a growing population of non-family

Indeed, maps and tables discussed earlier indicate that in almost every area of Metro a substantial portion of the population lives in high-rise apartments. Given the concentration of many immigrant groups in the rental housing market, the suburbanization of the housing supply is a critical factor underlying their geographies.

In the expensive Toronto rental market of the 1980s and 1990s, low-income immigrant families, non-family households and especially lone-parent mothers have been turning to the public housing sector to find affordable housing.[4] The Metro Toronto Housing Authority (MTHA) prioritizes applicants on the basis of the rent paid relative to household income in their present housing and the physical condition of that housing. The low incomes and employment constraints faced by many immigrants, in particular single-parent women, give them a high-priority status on the waiting list for MTHA units.

High-Rise Enclaves: The case of St. James Town

It is difficult to underestimate the importance of high-rise housing in accommodating immigrants in Metro Toronto. Setting aside birthplace origin, Figure 5.9 shows the distribution of high-rise apartment buildings where the proportion of residents who are immigrants exceeds the metropolitan Toronto average (45%) for people living in such housing.[5] Numerous areas in the inner city stand out, most particularly St. James Town, which lies just to the northeast of the downtown, and the Parkdale area just to the southwest. Yet there are also several additional strong concentrations of such buildings throughout the suburbs and most especially in one small neighbourhood area of north Etobicoke, in several

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households and childless couples, as well as a supply of investment capital, government incentives, available and affordable land, and flexible planning regulations to account for the significant increase in rental housing across the city and most especially in what were at the time green field sites.

[4] It is impossible to gauge what proportion of households living in public housing are immigrants who belong to the three groups examined here, primarily because such data are not made available by the Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority. Newspaper articles carried by the major metropolitan newspapers and the black press, however, point to a high proportion of Afro-Caribbean immigrants living in public housing. Furthermore, community organizations such as the Jamaican Canadian Association, Harambee and the Jane-Finch Concerned Citizens Organization target youth outreach programs to families living in public housing complexes in the Jane-Finch community and Lawrence Heights (both areas are in North York).

[5] The average proportion of immigrants living in high-rise buildings in toronto was initially determined (in this case it was 45%), and then enumeration areas with greater than this proporiton of immigrants as residents were located and mapped.

**Fig. 5.9: Distribution of High-Rise Apartment Buildings in Metro Toronto
Where In Excess of 45 Percent of Residents are Immigrants, 1991**
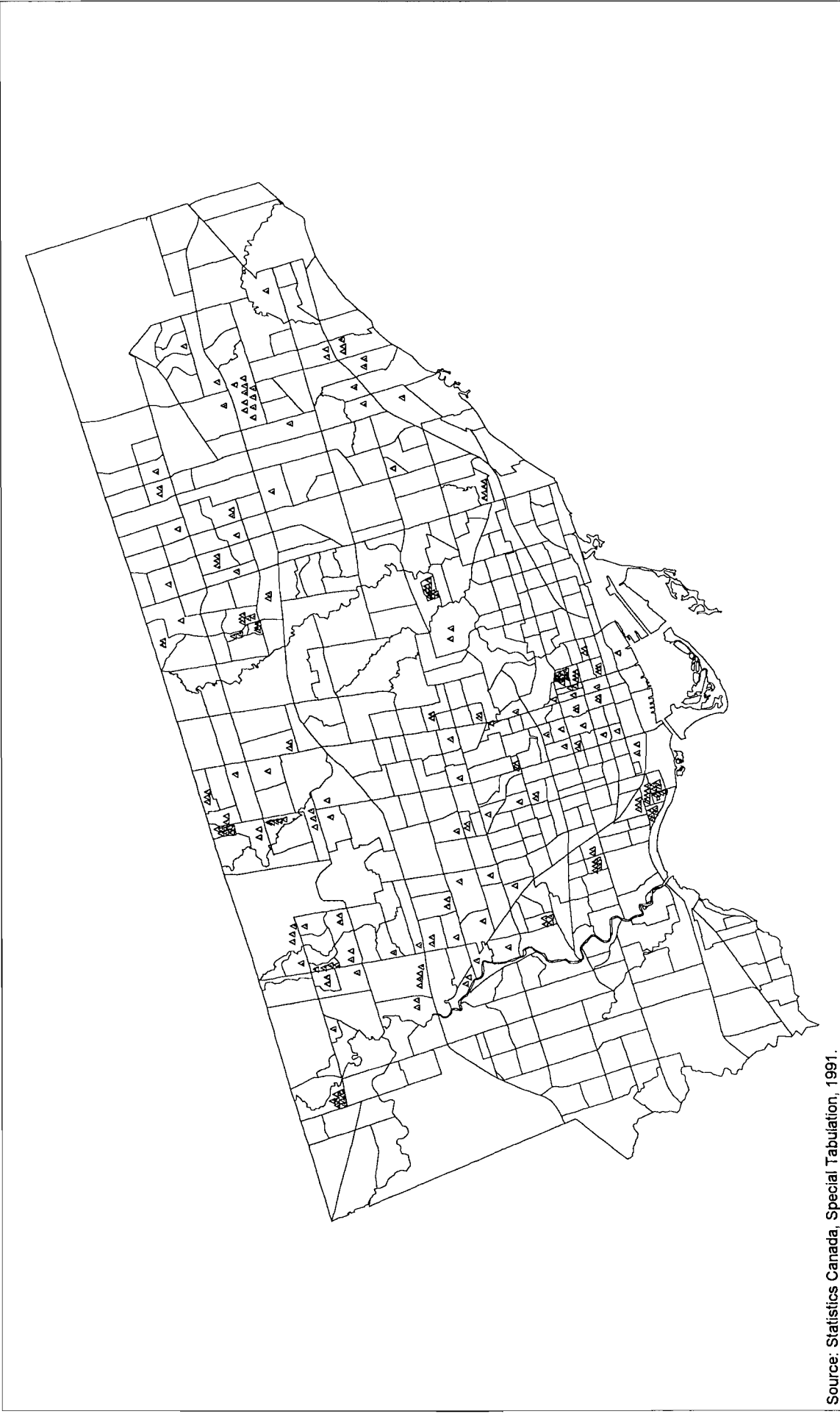
neighbourhood areas along Jane and Bathurst streets in northern North York, as well as in a few neighbourhood areas just north of Highway 401 in the northeast section of North York. There are only 11 such buildings in areas outside of Metro Toronto and 9 of these are located in Mississauga (Figure 5.10).

While it is impossible to discuss each of the areas which have a significant concentration of immigrants in high-rise apartments, it is perhaps instructive to briefly examine one of the better known - St. James Town in the heart of the inner city. St. James Town covers 32 acres and houses approximately 11,000 tenants in 15 high-rise apartment complexes, each of which is 10 storeys or higher. The area was originally developed as a modernist utopia intended to contribute to solving both inner city neighbourhood decline and an acute housing shortage in the city. The developers intended to create a completely self-sufficient high-rise community with necessary services such as grocery stores and athletic facilities on-site, thus creating a "city within a city".[6] In reading descriptions of St. James Town in newspapers and periodicals from the late 1960s and early 1970s, the enthusiasm for this experiment in modern living is infectious. Cameron Darby, for example, described St. James Town as harshly modern from the outside but a veritable community once inside the front doors of the massive apartment buildings. He argued that, "... despite its sterile appearances, [St. James Town] may be the closest thing this country has yet produced to the small town of the future. ... St. James Town actually resembles a genuine community - a place of gossip and gatherings, familiar faces, shifting relationships, accelerating activity and diminished privacy."[7] The target market for these units were young singles and couples without children, and indeed several articles emphasized St. James Town as a place for upper income "swinging singles" and definitely not somewhere for children. One article in a local newspaper described St. James Town as a place that "... reflects good living, good taste and good salaries".[8] Indeed the area was designed to attract a very particular set of tenants and some argued at the time that it was a strongly (hetero)sexualized landscape intended to encourage social interaction between young singles. As Darby described it:

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[6] J. Hanson 1968. St. James Town - Toronto, Ontario: A "City within a City" Concept. *Urban Renewal and Public Housing,* 4(4), 2.

[7] Cameron Darby 1969. Where the Frantic Frolic: St. James Town - where love makes the world go round and sex makes the elevators run. *Toronto Life,* May, 3(7), 50.

[8] Money no object, it's children, *Toronto Telegram,* July 1967.

Fig. 5.10: Distribution of High-Rise Apartment Buildings Across the Toronto CMA Where in Excess of 45 Percent of Residents are Immigrants, 1991

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulation, 1991

There is already a school, two putting greens, six swimming pools, three squash courts, five sub-basement classrooms, 100,000 square feet of underground parking space, a bank that keeps special hours and is known to make loans for all sorts of unusual purposes, a supermarket that stays open until 9 p.m. six days a week, a skating rink that doubles in the summertime as a tennis court, seven of the inevitable sauna rooms and, next to the coin-laundries in the basements of some buildings, TV rooms with tasteful draperies, deep-pile carpets, sybaritic chesterfields and the kind of soft, sexy lighting that you usually associate with cocktail bars where men meet women who are not their wives.[9]

This image of St. James Town was not to last. Due to several factors, namely poor maintenance, a lack of safety, shortage of local social services and an uninviting physical environment caused by the shade and wind from the high-rise buildings, the original tenants began to leave St. James Town in the 1970s, a trend which only increased in the 1980s. By 1986 a City of Toronto report estimated that $70 million was needed to preserve the dwellings which were described as "... poorly maintained and deteriorating. Balconies are rusting, garages are corroding from salt and roaches and rodents are infesting apartments".[10] Newspaper articles by the mid-1980s also began to note changes in the socio-economic characteristics of St. James Town residents. One 1987 article in the *Toronto Star* concerning the rehabilitation of St. James Town noted that "... 50 per cent of the annual household incomes were less than $20,000 in 1986," and that "The community has twice as many single-parent families as other parts of the city".[11] Other columnists started to draw attention to the number of immigrants and visible minorities living in the apartment towers. For instance, one *Toronto Star* columnist described St. James Town as home to not only an increasing number of senior citizens attracted by low rents, but also new immigrants. In his words, "The superblock has become a kind of vertical Kensington Market".[12] And tenant activists by the late 1980s began to speculate that managers of the private rental buildings were beginning to segregate

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[9] Darby, p. 50.

[10] Chris Welner. Once swinging St. James Town now needs $70 million facelift, *Toronto Star*, February 10, 1986.

[11] Susan Huxley, Run-down St. James Town to get facelift. *Real Estate News*, August 11, 1989.

[12] David Lewis Stein, Apartment dwellers now want the bustle, *Toronto Star*, June 17, 1985.

tenants on the basis of race.[13]

If we look at the composition of the various buildings in St. James Town where the immigrant population exceeds 45%, the impressions of immigrant concentration that the metropolitan press has noted are not far wrong. In the St. James Town census tract (with an population of 10,150 individuals 15 years and older), only 28% of residents were born in Canada and only 5% stated that they were English/French Canadians (Table 5.2). The largest single immigrant group in the area is from South Asia (17.8%), followed by immigrants from Europe/USA (10.1%), Vietnam (5.7%), Guyana (3.1%) and the Caribbean (3.0%) (not including Jamaica, Guyana and Haiti). The high-rise apartment buildings in the two adjacent tracts to the St. James Town (tract #64 to the west where there is only one high-rise building and tract #66 to the south where there are three) have a considerably different ethnic structure compared to those in St. James Town. In the buildings in these two tracts, both the Canadian-born population overall and the British/French Canadian populations are larger and the South Asian population, which is such an important component of St. James Town, is relatively insignificant in these buildings. In fact, in Tract #64 the European/USA group is the largest single immigrant population in the high-rises, while in Tract #66 the residual category of "Other" immigrants is the largest single component (22%), followed by Chinese immigrants (10.8%). Even within this small three tract area of Toronto, St. James Town stands out not only architecturally but in terms of the immigrant population that lives in the high-rise towers that dominate the area.

The individual buildings that make up St. James Town (Tract #65) also give a strong indication of immigrant heterogeneity from building-to-building (Table 5.3). In many of the buildings, South Asians are the largest single immigrant group although there is considerable variation from one complex to the next. For instance, in 555 Sherbourne Street South Asian immigrants constitute 40.5% of the population, while in 66 Howard Street they are only 4.2% of the population and in the buildings on Bleeker Street, as well as 670 Parliament and 200 Wellesley, they do not even rank among the top three immigrant groups. In other buildings, such as 700 and 730 Ontario Street, Vietnamese immigrants are the largest single group, and in several of the buildings scattered throughout the site European/USA immigrants are the largest single group. Notwithstanding the large number of South Asian, Vietnamese and European/USA immigrants in many of the buildings, virtually all of them have very diverse

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[13] Carolyn Whitzman, Community and Design: Against the solution St. James Town, *City Magazine*, Summer/Fall 1989, 11(1), 33.

Table 5.2: Birthplace Composition of St. James Town (Tract #65) and Adjacent Tracts						
	East Tract (#64) N	East Tract (#64) %	*St. James Town (#65) N*	*St. James Town (#65) %*	South Tract (#66) N	South Tract (#66) %
Total	230	100	10150	100.0	930	100.0
Jamaica	10	4.4	230	2.3	0	0
Vietnam	0	0	580	5.7	0	0
Central Amer.	0	0	45	0.4	55	5.9
Guyana	35	15.2	315	3.1	10	1.1
Caribbean	0	0	300	3.0	15	1.6
China	0	0	275	2.7	100	10.8
South Asia	0	0	1805	17.8	35	3.8
Haiti	0	0	10	0.1	0	0
South America	0	0	255	2.5	10	1.1
Peru	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mexico	0	0	10	0.1	0	0
Africa	0	0	220	2.2	0	0
Europe/USA	65	28.3	1020	10.1	90	9.7
Italy	10	4.4	10	0.1	10	1.1
Other	20	8.7	2200	21.7	205	22.0
Total Canada	90	39.1	2845	28.0	380	40.9
Canada (Br/Fr)	30	13.0	600	5.9	80	8.6
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.						

Table 5.3: Birthplace Composition of High-Rise Apartment Buildings in St. James Town, 1991

<u>555 Sherbourne Street</u> (370 Residents)
- 40.5% South Asian
- 8.1% Chinese
- 6.8% Europe & USA
- 5.4% Guyana/Africa/Other Birthplaces[14]
- 5.4% British/French Canadian

<u>565 Sherbourne Street</u> (445 Residents)
- 29.2% South Asian
- 10.1% Europe &USA
- 5.6% Caribbean
- 10.1% Other Birthplaces
- 7.9% British/French Canadian

<u>66 Howard Street</u> (355 Residents)
- 8.5% Europe & USA
- 4.2% South Asia/Caribbean
- 2.8% Jamaica/South America/Guyana/Vietnam/Africa
- 32.4% Other Birthplaces
- 8.5% British/French Canadian

<u>77 Howard Street</u> (715 Residents)
- 20.3% South Asia
- 7.0% Europe&USA/Vietnam
- 2.8% Caribbean/Guyana/Africa
- 30.1% Other Birthplaces
- 8.4% British/French Canadian

<u>650 Parliament Street</u> (1025 Residents)
- 17.1% South Asia
- 11.2% Europe & USA
- 5.9% Caribbean
- 18.5% Other Birthplaces
- 10.2% British/French Canadian

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[14] 'Other Birthplace' refers to other birthplaces not specified in the special tabulation (i.e. countries other than Canada, Europe &USA, Italy, China, Vietnam, South Asia, Jamaica, Guyana, Haiti, Caribbean (not specified elsewhere), South America, Peru, Central America, Mexico, and Africa).

Table 5.3: Birthplace Composition of High-Rise Apartment Buildings in St. James Town, 1991 (Continued)

670 Parliament Street (340 Residents)
- 14.7% Europe & USA
- 11.8% Caribbean
- 4.4% Guyana/South America
- 11.8% Other Birthplaces
- 8.8% British/French Canadian

666 Ontario Street (490 Residents)
- 16.3% South Asia
- 9.2% Vietnam
- 7.1% Europe & USA
- 35.7% Other Birthplaces
- 2.0% British/French Canadian

700 Ontario Street (835 Residents)
- 17.4% Vietnam
- 15.0% Europe & USA
- 11.4% South Asia
- 18.0% Other Birthplaces
- 2.4% British/French Canadian

730 Ontario Street (840 Residents)
- 17.3% Vietnam
- 12.5% South Asia
- 7.1% Guyana
- 21.4% Other Birthplaces
- 1.2% British/French Canadian

325 Bleeker Street (180 Residents)
- 16.7% Jamaica/Central America
- 5.6% Vietnam
- 5.6% Other Birthplaces
- 13.9% British/French Canadian

375 Bleeker Street (420 Residents)
- 13.1% Europe & USA
- 8.3% Africa
- 3.6% Caribbean
- 13.1% Other Birthplaces
- 9.5% British/French Canadian

Table 5.3: Birthplace Composition of High-Rise Apartment Buildings in St. James Town, 1991 (Continued)

200 Wellesley Street (525 Residents)
- 17.1% Europe & USA
- 11.4% Jamaica
- 5.7% Guyana
- 6.7% Other Birthplaces
- 12.4% British/French Canadian

240 Wellesley Street (1115 Residents)
- 18.8% South Asia
- 12.1% Europe & USA
- 4.9% China
- 30.5% Other Birthplaces
- 5.8% British/French Canadian

260 Wellesley Street (1160 Residents)
- 25.9% South Asia
- 10.3% Europe & USA
- 5.2% China
- 25.0% Other Birthplaces
- 8.2% British/French Canadian

280 Wellesley Street (1335 Residents)
- 28.1% South Asia
- 6.0% Europe & USA
- 5.2% Vietnam
- 25.1% Other Birthplaces
- 6.4% British/French Canadian

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

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immigrant populations as revealed by the large proportion of individuals in the residual 'Other Immigrant' category. For the most part, none of the buildings has a large population of British/French Canadians. Only in 3 buildings does the proportion of British/French Canadians exceed 10% and in the three buildings along Ontario Street the percentage is less than 2.5%. Finally, if we look at the largest apartment complexes in the area (those with in excess of 1,000 residents), well over 50% of the population in each was born outside of Canada and the British/French Canadian population is 10% or less. In fact, in 240, 260 and 280 Wellesley Street, the three largest buildings in the area, only 20% of the population in each building was born in Canada. While all of the buildings in St. James Town have large immigrant

populations, these three buildings certainly exemplify the image of vertical immigrant enclaves.

In *No New Land,* a fictional account of immigrant life in Toronto, M.G. Vassanji describes a set of high-rise apartment buildings where his principal characters, a family of recent South Asia migrants, live. The buildings, he describes, as being "... when new and modern the pride of Rosecliffe Park [fictional neighbourhood] - itself once a symbol of a burgeoning Toronto - now look faded and grey, turning away sullenly from the picturesque scenery behind them to the drab reality in front. Barely maintained, they exist in a state just this side of dissolution" (Vassanji, 1991, pp. 1-2). Vassanji's novel provides a wonderful glimpse into the lives of immigrants who live in the high-rise apartment buildings that dot metropolitan Toronto's inner city and older suburbs. Although high-rise apartments are an important source of housing for many immigrants in Toronto, they are far from the only type of dwellings occupied in any area of the city. Immigrants truly live throughout the metropolitan area and in various kinds of housing. Indeed the type of housing occupied often can divide a single immigrant group into distinct areas, as was evident in Scarborough among Jamaican immigrants. Furthermore, in many of the neighbourhood areas in metropolitan Toronto, different birthplace groups may live in close *spatial* proximity to one another, but the housing they occupy can often be quite different. Housing is far from an inconspicuous or unimportant form of status and in these neighbourhoods it plays an important role in structuring the nature of social relations and segregation in the city. While two groups can live virtually side-by-side spatially, their housing can divide them into quite distinct social worlds.

Montréal: Dwelling Types

The housing landscape of Montréal requires a slightly different analytical approach than that used for Toronto. As the preceding chapter indicated, high-rise apartments are relatively minor component of the overall stock; instead, low-rise buildings, ranging from duplexes through to quadraplexes and apartment blocks of less than 5 storeys, constitute a very large segment of the market throughout much of the city. This section of the chapter begins with an overview of the types of dwellings found in individual municipalities and regions of metropolitan Montréal, and then will focus on the proportional representation of the Haitian, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants in single-detached and low-rise housing at the neighbourhood area level. Because low-rise housing is such an important component of the total housing stock for most groups, attention will focus on this type of housing with an eye

towards highlighting the variety of dwelling types, households and housing circumstances that are subsumed under this label.

If we use the City of Montréal as a very crude surrogate for the core of the metropolitan area, we find very few individuals in any group living in either single-detached, row- or high-rise housing (Table 5.4). Unlike in the City of Toronto, where almost one-quarter of French/British Canadians live in single-detached housing, only 6.9% of this group in the City of Montréal live in such housing. In fact, in the City of Montréal and surrounding municipalities on the Island of Montréal, the largest segment of all birthplace groups live in low-rise housing (Westmount is a notable exception, although here row- and high-rise housing are significant components of the total stock). It is only in municipalities well removed from the central part of the Island of Montréal, such as Dollard-des-Ormeaux (DDO) and beyond, that a majority of individuals in several of the birthplace groups live in single-detached housing.

This is not to say that the distribution of birthplace groups across the components of the housing stock is uniform. In those regions where there are large numbers of individual immigrant groups, such as the City of Montréal, Montréal North, St. Leonard, St. Laurent, DDO, Pierrefonds, LaSalle, Laval, Longueuil and Brossard, one finds that in general French/British Canadians and immigrants from Europe/USA are more likely to live in single-detached housing and, where available, high-rise housing relative to other groups.[15] Looking just at areas with at least 300 individuals in a single group, Laval and Longueuil stand out as having a high proportion of Haitians living in single-detached housing, whereas among Vietnamese only St. Laurent, Laval, Longueuil and Brossard are noteworthy. Central American immigrants, as the previous chapter suggests, are virtually absent from the single-detached stock and overwhelmingly concentrated in low-rise housing everywhere in the metropolitan region.

To further contextualize these findings at the neighbourhood scale, figures 5.11 through 5.14 show the distribution of French/British Canadians, Haitian, Vietnamese and Central American individuals living in single-detached housing within metropolitan Montréal. Owing

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[15] As with all of the analyses presented for Montréal, the percentage values must be interpreted with the absolute size of the each birthplace group in mind. In several of the municipalities, where immigrant numbers are small, the percentage of individual immigrant groups living in single-detached housing, for example, can be much higher relative to the French/British Canadians, but the total population of each group may be very small (less than 100).

Table 5.4: Dwelling Type by Birthplace, Montréal Municipalities and Regions, 1991

MONTREAL

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	6.0%	3.9%	0.3%	0.0%	2.2%	3.4%	3.9%	5.1%	6.9%
Row	14.7%	12.1%	5.1%	7.3%	8.6%	13.8%	3.8%	10.2%	8.4%
Low-Rise	75.6%	75.7%	89.8%	82.1%	79.7%	60.8%	78.7%	68.8%	77.1%
High-Rise	3.7%	8.4%	4.8%	10.6%	9.5%	22.0%	13.6%	15.8%	7.6%
Total No.	17910	12630	6835	3070	4995	6840	6510	68870	521485

TOWN OF MOUNT ROYAL/OUTREMONT

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	7.4%	61.2%	0.0%	45.5%	50.0%	20.0%	15.4%	23.0%	23.0%
Row	48.1%	10.4%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	28.3%	11.5%	23.0%	23.9%
Low-Rise	37.0%	28.4%	100.0%	18.2%	16.7%	48.3%	73.1%	43.2%	38.5%
High-Rise	7.4%	0.0%	0.0%	36.4%	16.7%	3.3%	0.0%	10.8%	14.5%
Total No.	135	335	60	55	60	300	130	5310	17470

WESTMOUNT

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	22.2%	0.0%	0.0%	25.0%	13.3%	35.3%	23.1%	15.0%	13.4%
Row	55.6%	80.0%	0.0%	0.0%	26.7%	33.3%	56.4%	42.4%	35.7%
Low-Rise	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.8%	5.1%	15.4%	18.6%
High-Rise	22.2%	20.0%	0.0%	75.0%	60.0%	23.5%	15.4%	27.2%	32.3%
Total No.	45	50	0	40	75	255	195	3090	4465

COTE ST-LUC/HAMPSTED

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	0.0%	85.7%	0.0%	21.1%	18.6%	26.0%	28.6%	18.7%	20.0%
Row	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.3%	48.0%	42.9%	13.5%	15.4%
Low-Rise	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	63.2%	57.6%	8.0%	14.3%	17.9%	22.0%
High-Rise	0.0%	14.3%	0.0%	15.8%	3.4%	18.0%	14.3%	49.9%	42.5%
Total No.	30	70	25	95	295	250	70	7500	2270

MONTREAL NORTH

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%	12.7%	8.7%
Row	7.1%	30.0%	4.1%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	11.8%	6.3%
Low-Rise	91.6%	70.0%	92.8%	0.0%	100.0%	50.0%	100.0%	71.0%	76.0%
High-Rise	0.0%	0.0%	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.5%	9.0%
Total No.	4250	100	485	10	50	20	55	2120	52935

ANJOU/MONTREAL EAST

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	8.5%	9.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	18.7%	13.1%
Row	9.4%	43.2%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	13.9%	10.1%
Low-Rise	80.3%	47.7%	100.0%	80.0%	100.0%	66.7%	0.0%	63.6%	69.3%
High-Rise	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.7%	7.5%
Total No.	585	220	240	50	35	30	0	1470	30190

ST. LEONARD

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	1.2%	24.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	22.2%	27.3%	9.1%	8.0%
Row	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.0%	14.8%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	1.6%
Low-Rise	97.5%	75.9%	98.5%	100.0%	85.2%	77.8%	72.7%	89.0%	87.8%
High-Rise	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	2.5%
Total No.	1610	145	660	15	135	90	55	2535	28095

ST. LAURENT

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	6.4%	27.0%	2.9%	2.3%	6.8%	24.4%	6.0%	16.1%	15.1%
Row	6.4%	7.5%	0.0%	4.5%	6.8%	23.2%	12.0%	14.8%	14.2%
Low-Rise	71.8%	61.1%	97.1%	87.5%	69.2%	41.3%	67.9%	51.8%	42.7%
High-Rise	15.4%	4.4%	0.0%	5.7%	17.1%	11.2%	14.1%	17.3%	28.0%
Total No.	780	1130	345	440	585	1745	920	7660	20920

DOLLARD-DES-ORMEAUX

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	84.0%	60.4%	0.0%	49.1%	60.9%	70.0%	64.6%	66.5%	62.1%
Row	8.0%	39.6%	100.0%	47.3%	37.3%	15.7%	25.4%	19.0%	20.1%
Low-Rise	8.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.6%	1.8%	14.3%	9.3%	11.7%	14.9%
High-Rise	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	2.8%	2.9%
Total No.	125	265	15	275	550	350	1340	4830	10235

PIERREFONDS

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	29.0%	47.1%	3.3%	52.0%	63.2%	81.1%	37.4%	62.4%	51.7%
Row	11.8%	31.4%	0.0%	11.4%	13.8%	11.6%	19.3%	8.7%	9.7%
Low-Rise	52.5%	21.6%	73.3%	33.3%	23.0%	7.4%	40.2%	24.3%	33.4%
High-Rise	6.7%	0.0%	23.3%	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	3.1%	4.6%	5.2%
Total No.	1190	255	300	615	870	475	1270	7010	32655

Table 5.4 (cont'd): Dwelling Type by Birthplace, Montréal Municipalities and Regions, 1991

LASALLE

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	6.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.6%	3.7%	3.1%	5.1%	5.2%
Row	8.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.8%	14.5%	45.1%	10.9%	10.7%	8.9%
Low-Rise	86.0%	100.0%	100.0%	91.2%	83.9%	51.2%	86.0%	82.4%	82.8%
High-Rise	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.8%	3.1%
Total No.	250	35	330	905	1240	810	965	4620	38180

VERDUN

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.2%	3.7%
Row	0.0%	22.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	30.8%	6.9%	13.5%	4.9%
Low-Rise	100.0%	72.7%	100.0%	0.0%	72.7%	64.6%	79.3%	54.2%	81.4%
High-Rise	0.0%	4.5%	0.0%	0.0%	27.3%	4.6%	13.8%	24.2%	10.0%
Total No.	65	220	45	0	110	325	145	3000	43100

LACHINE

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	26.7%	61.3%	17.1%	38.9%	18.8%	36.1%	29.0%	50.8%	27.5%
Row	0.0%	9.7%	0.0%	5.6%	6.3%	41.7%	17.7%	11.7%	12.6%
Low-Rise	60.0%	29.0%	82.9%	55.6%	75.0%	16.7%	53.2%	33.4%	57.0%
High-Rise	13.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.6%	0.0%	4.1%	2.9%
Total No.	75	155	175	180	320	180	310	4480	34505

WEST ISLAND

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	75.0%	82.4%	100.0%	70.0%	81.5%	86.7%	80.8%	83.1%	75.8%
Row	12.5%	17.6%	0.0%	15.0%	9.3%	7.8%	17.1%	8.8%	11.8%
Low-Rise	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	0.0%	5.6%	0.0%	4.0%	6.3%
High-Rise	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	3.9%
Total No.	80	170	40	200	270	450	965	9035	26205

LAVAL

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	53.9%	61.5%	48.5%	26.4%	51.7%	83.9%	51.8%	52.5%	56.2%
Row	31.7%	14.3%	19.7%	17.0%	17.2%	6.5%	17.0%	18.2%	11.1%
Low-Rise	13.5%	24.2%	31.8%	56.6%	31.0%	9.7%	31.3%	26.1%	28.3%
High-Rise	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.2%	4.3%
Total No.	3435	455	330	265	290	155	560	18220	214490

LONGUEUIL

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	26.8%	42.3%	0.0%	50.0%	44.4%	30.5%	35.0%	40.1%	28.5%
Row	14.1%	16.9%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%	12.7%	9.3%
Low-Rise	57.7%	33.8%	100.0%	0.0%	55.6%	29.3%	25.0%	40.5%	57.7%
High-Rise	1.4%	6.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	40.2%	30.0%	6.7%	4.5%
Total No.	1455	650	45	20	90	410	200	3855	104010

BROSSARD

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	52.5%	60.8%	40.0%	38.2%	51.7%	69.5%	70.2%	62.4%	59.3%
Row	18.6%	35.2%	60.0%	43.6%	37.1%	21.4%	22.5%	17.4%	15.8%
Low-Rise	28.8%	4.0%	0.0%	18.2%	9.5%	7.6%	6.7%	18.7%	21.4%
High-Rise	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.7%	1.5%	0.7%	1.5%	3.4%
Total No.	295	995	25	275	580	2705	1425	3910	36185

NORTH SHORE REGION

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	78.8%	66.7%	100.0%	100.0%	88.2%	73.3%	93.5%	79.0%	70.6%
Row	8.8%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	26.7%	6.5%	4.9%	6.9%
Low-Rise	10.0%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	11.8%	0.0%	0.0%	15.6%	21.9%
High-Rise	2.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.7%
Total No.	400	60	35	10	85	75	155	4955	190990

SOUTH SHORE REGION

	Haiti	Vietnam	Cen. Am.	Jamaica	Caribbean	China	S. Asia	Eur/USA	Br/Fr Cdn
Single-Det.	69.3%	80.6%	40.0%	63.4%	76.5%	38.6%	75.3%	69.1%	64.2%
Row	17.2%	3.2%	40.0%	26.8%	7.6%	45.6%	10.8%	11.0%	9.1%
Low-Rise	11.3%	16.1%	20.0%	9.8%	15.9%	15.8%	11.8%	17.2%	24.4%
High-Rise	2.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.2%	2.8%	2.3%
Total No.	1190	310	50	205	850	285	465	8775	145355

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig. 5.11: Percent of French/British Canadian Population Living in Single-Detached Housing by Neighbourhood Area, Montréal CMA, 1991

% of Fr/Br Cdn. Pop.
In Each Area

☐	0 to 25 (44)
▨	25.1 to 50 (7)
▨	50.1 to 75 (14)
■	75.1 to 100 (3)
☐	No Data (1)

to the dominance of low-rise housing on the Island of Montréal itself, a small percentage of all groups live in single-detached housing in most neighbourhood areas. Illustrative is the French/British Canadian population of which less than 25% live in single-detached housing in any of the neighbourhood areas in the central part of the Island of Montréal, including such elite neighbourhoods as Westmount and Outremont (Figure 5.11). Among the French/British Canadians and the three immigrant communities, it is in the suburban municipalities of the West Island, as well as those on the South Shore, Laval and the North Shore that one finds significant proportions of individuals living in single-detached housing. Yet it is important to emphasize that in most of these neighbourhood areas only between 50 to 75% of the French/British Canadian population lives in such dwellings, thereby highlighting the diversity of housing types that exist within the suburbs themselves. For instance, even in the suburban municipality of Laval, just to the north of the Island of Montréal, in the Chomedy neighbourhood area only between 25 and 50% of the French/British Canadian population lives in single-detached housing.

The maps for Haitian, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants must be interpreted with the caveat of population size and distribution in mind (Figures 5.12 - 5.14). On all of the maps, several areas show strong concentrations in single-detached housing in the suburbs and even in some older inner city and inner suburban neighbourhood areas. However, the number of people living in these areas is often quite small. For instance, Figure 5.13 shows the distribution of Vietnamese immigrants living in single-detached housing, and in a large number of the neighbourhood areas of Laval and the South Shore municipalities over 75% of the population lives in such housing. Yet the number of Vietnamese individuals in these areas is small; for instance, only 2.7% of the total Montréal Vietnamese population or approximately 450 people live in Laval.

The maps for Haitian (Figure 5.12), Vietnamese (Figure 5.13) and Central American (Figure 5.14) immigrants living in single-detached housing all emphasize the importance of suburban locales, although with important distinctions. Haitian immigrants tend to be more strongly concentrated in suburban neighbourhood areas on the east-end of the of the Island of Montréal, such as Point-aux-Trembles, Rivière-des-Prairies and the neighbourhood areas in southeast Laval. In contrast, Vietnamese, and the few Central American immigrants who do live in single-detached housing, tend to be found in neighbourhood areas on the West Island of Montréal and Laval. Of particular note among the Vietnamese population (Figure 5.13) is the high proportion of individuals living in single-detached housing (50 to 75%) in the South Shore municipality of Brossard where the group is quite large (approximately 1,000 people).

Fig. 5.12: Percent of Haitian Immigrant Population Living in Single-Detached Housing
by Neighbourhood Area, Montréal CMA, 1991

% of Haitian Pop.
In Each Area

0.0 to 25 (44)
25.1 to 50 (11)
50.1 to 75 (8)
75.1 to 100 (5)
No Data (1)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig. 5.13: Percent of Vietnamese Immigrant Population Living in Single-Detached Housing by Neighbourhood Area, Montréal CMA, 1991

% of Vietnamese Pop.
In Each Area

	0.0 to 25	(38)
	25.1 to 50	(11)
	50.1 to 75	(9)
	75.1 to 100	(10)
	No Data	(1)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig. 5.14: Percent of Central American Immigrant Population Living in Single-Detached Housing by Neighbourhood Area, Montréal CMA, 1991

% of Central Am. Pop.
In Each Area

	0.0 to 25	(53)
	25.1 to 50	(4)
	50.1 to 75	(1)
	75.1 to 100	(10)
	No Data	(1)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

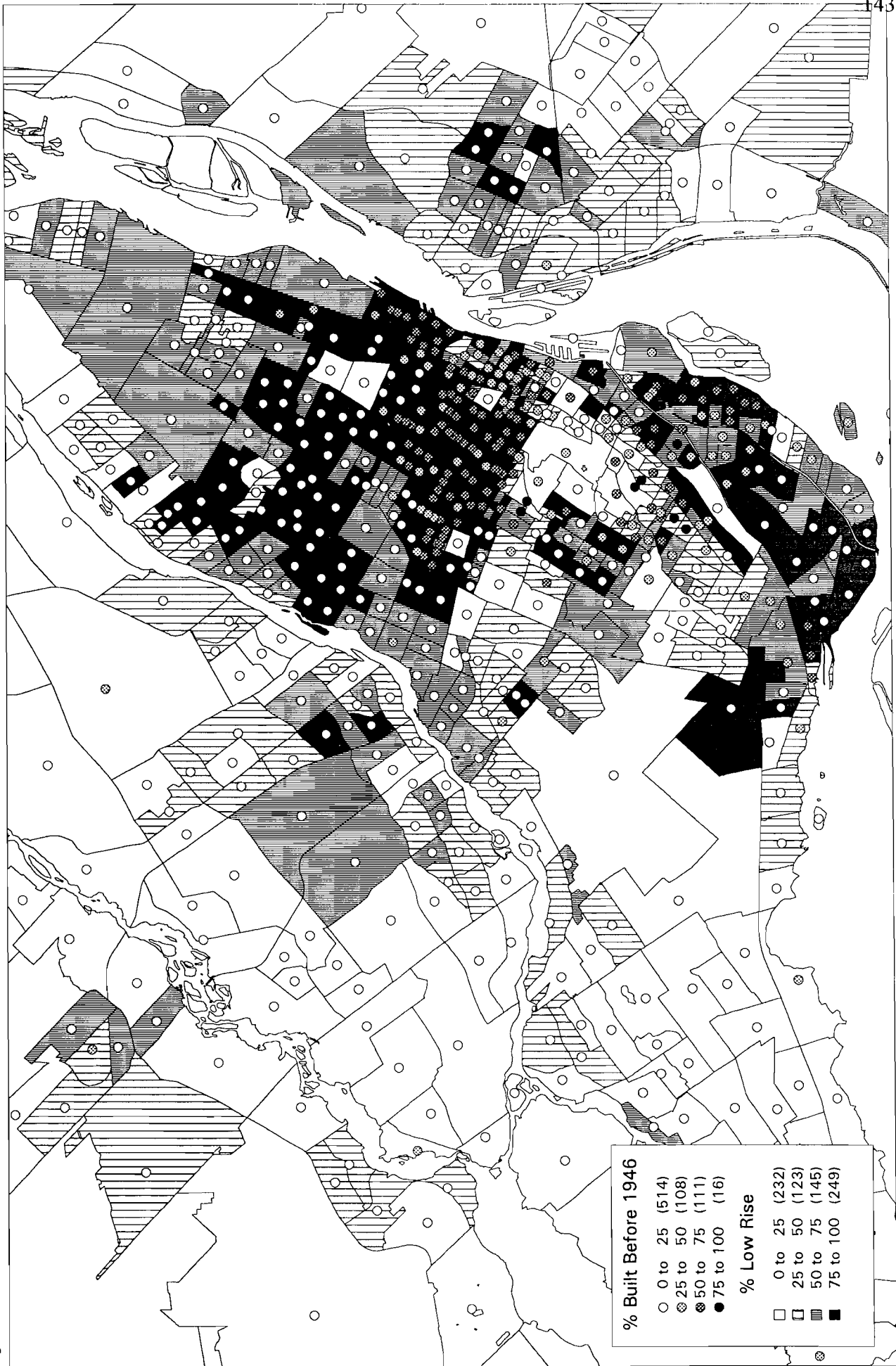## *Dwelling Type and Immigrant Diversity in the Low-Rise Stock*

As the preceding chapter indicated, a very large segment of Montréal's housing stock is low-rise dwellings. However, one of the dilemmas of trying to unravel the housing geographies of immigrants in Montréal is to determine what type of low-rise dwelling individuals are actually living in.[16] The low-rise apartment category in Montréal encompasses a wide array of housing styles, everything from attached duplexes and triplexes to apartments in low-rise blocks, and it is impossible to analyze these separately using Statistics Canada data in its present form. Nevertheless, research has shown that it is important to make distinctions between these types of housing in part because duplexes/triplexes tend to be somewhat larger and are more frequently used to house families in contrast to apartments in walk-up buildings (Choko and Harris 1990). In addition, other research has generally highlighted that apartments in low-rise buildings, as opposed to duplexes and triplexes, tends on average to be in poorer physical quality than most of the rest of the housing stock and is the least expensive form of accommodation in Canadian cities at present (Clayton Research Associates 1984; Harloe 1985).

Trying to distinguish low-rise apartments from attached duplexes and triplexes in Montréal is no simple task and can only be roughly approximated using existing data. In general, relatively few low-rise apartment buildings were constructed in Montréal prior to World War II and the majority of the older, pre-World War II, low-rise stock is therefore made up of the classic Montréal-style duplexes and triplexes. Without creating a special tabulation, it is impossible to specify low-rise dwellings by their period of construction. But in Figure 5.15 the proportion of dwellings in each census tract that were built before 1946 and the proportion of the stock that is classified as low-rise have been overlaid. This very crude approximation shows the areas of the city where there is a high proportion of low-rise dwellings and their approximate age of construction.[17] It is clear that there are many neighbourhoods on the Island of Montréal that are dominated by low-rise dwellings, but there are relatively few in which pre-World War II housing constitutes the bulk of the stock. All of

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[16] Statistics Canada simply groups all low-rise (under 5 storeys) attached apartments together under one category 'low-rise apartment'. While this is generally not a problem in most Canadian cities where most low-rise apartments are in buildings of under 5 storeys, this does not take into account the distinctive attached duplexes, triplexes, quadraplexes etc. that characterize so much of this city's housing stock.

[17] This analysis can simply provide an indication of the type and approximate age of low-rise dwellings in a particular census tract. The two variables are independent and not cross-tabulated, and therefore it is not possible to say that all low-rise buildings in a particular area are of a particular style or built before or after 1946.

Fig. 5.15: Percent Housing Built Before 1946 and Percent Low-Rise Housing (Overlay) by Census Tract, Montréal CMA, 1991.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991.

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% Built Before 1946
- 0 to 25 (514)
- 25 to 50 (108)
- 50 to 75 (111)
- 75 to 100 (16)

% Low Rise
- 0 to 25 (232)
- 25 to 50 (123)
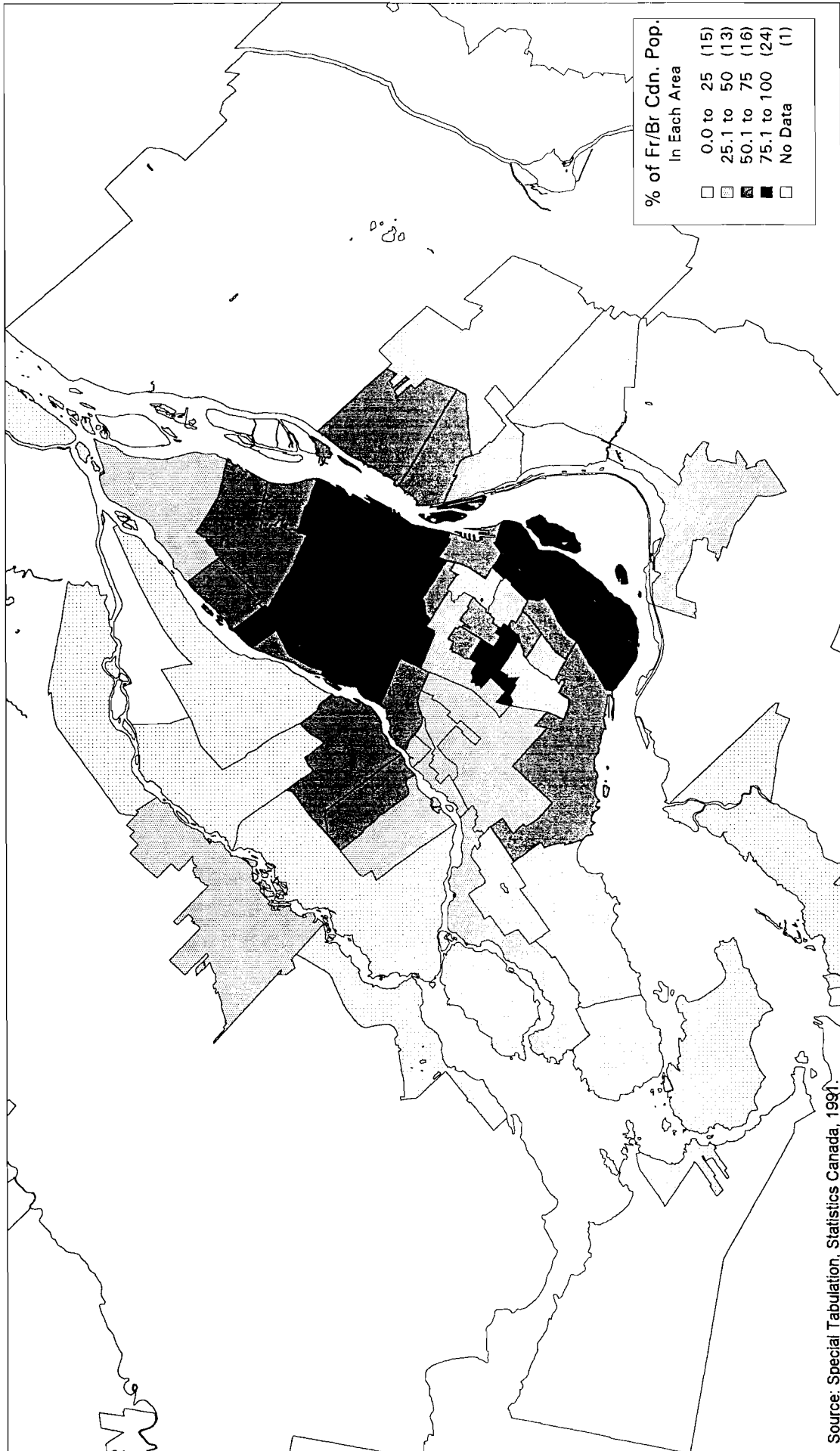- 50 to 75 (145)
- 75 to 100 (249)

these tracts are located in the inner city. In some neighbourhoods where there has been gentrification of duplexes and triplexes, such as the Plateau Mont Royal on the east side of the inner city, and in other older neighbourhoods such as Hochelaga-Maisonneuve (east side) and St. Henri and Point St. Charles (west side) that have remained staunchly working class, over 75% of the housing is low-rise in many tracts and, for the most part, over 50% was built prior to 1946. As Chapter III indicated, however, these are not neighbourhoods that have large immigrant populations.

Of course, in many of the neighbourhoods where there is a large proportion of Haitian, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants, low-rise apartments are virtually the only choice available. The most cursory examination of Figure 5.15 indicates that in those areas where these three immigrant groups are most highly concentrated (see Chapter III), at least 50% of the housing stock is low-rise. But in those areas where Haitians are particularly numerous, such as neighbourhoods on the east side of the City of Montréal, and in St. Leonard, Montréal North and St. Michel, only a small proportion of the housing stock was built prior to 1946. The same is true for Vietnamese immigrants, particularly those living in the Côte-des-Neiges area where at least 50% of the dwellings are low-rise, but in the majority of tracts less than 25% were built prior to 1946. Indeed, just walking through this area one encounters entire streets made up of 3 to 4 storey apartment buildings that were constructed in the 1950s and 1960s. The Central American situation is slightly more difficult to judge. Given that such a large proportion of this group lives in the old immigrant corridor in the centre of the Island of Montréal (Parc Extension, Mile End and environs), it is difficult to determine whether they are living in duplexes/triplexes or apartments in low-rise buildings. However, in other areas beyond the central core of the inner city where Central Americans are located, such as north of the Metropolitan Boulevard, in Côte-des-Neiges and Ville St. Laurent, the majority of housing was built after 1946.

The maps of the percentage of French/British Canadians, Haitian, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants living in low-rise dwellings by neighbourhood area shows the strong concentration of all groups in such housing in neighbourhoods central to the Island of Montréal (Figures 5.16 - 5.19). French/British Canadians are perhaps the least remarkable in this regard, being most heavily concentrated in low-rise housing in primarily working class neighbourhoods on the east side of the city and the band of neighbourhoods to the southwest of downtown, with the percentages declining quite strongly with distance from the centre of the city (Figure 5.16). Most neighbourhood areas on the West Island, in Laval and on the South and North Shores have a relatively low percentage of French/British Canadians living in low-

Fig. 5.16: Percent of French/British Canadian Population Living in Low-Rise Apartments by Neighbourhood Area, Montréal CMA, 1991

	% of Fr/Br Cdn. Pop.
	In Each Area
☐	0.0 to 25 (15)
☐	25.1 to 50 (13)
▨	50.1 to 75 (16)
■	75.1 to 100 (24)
☐	No Data (1)

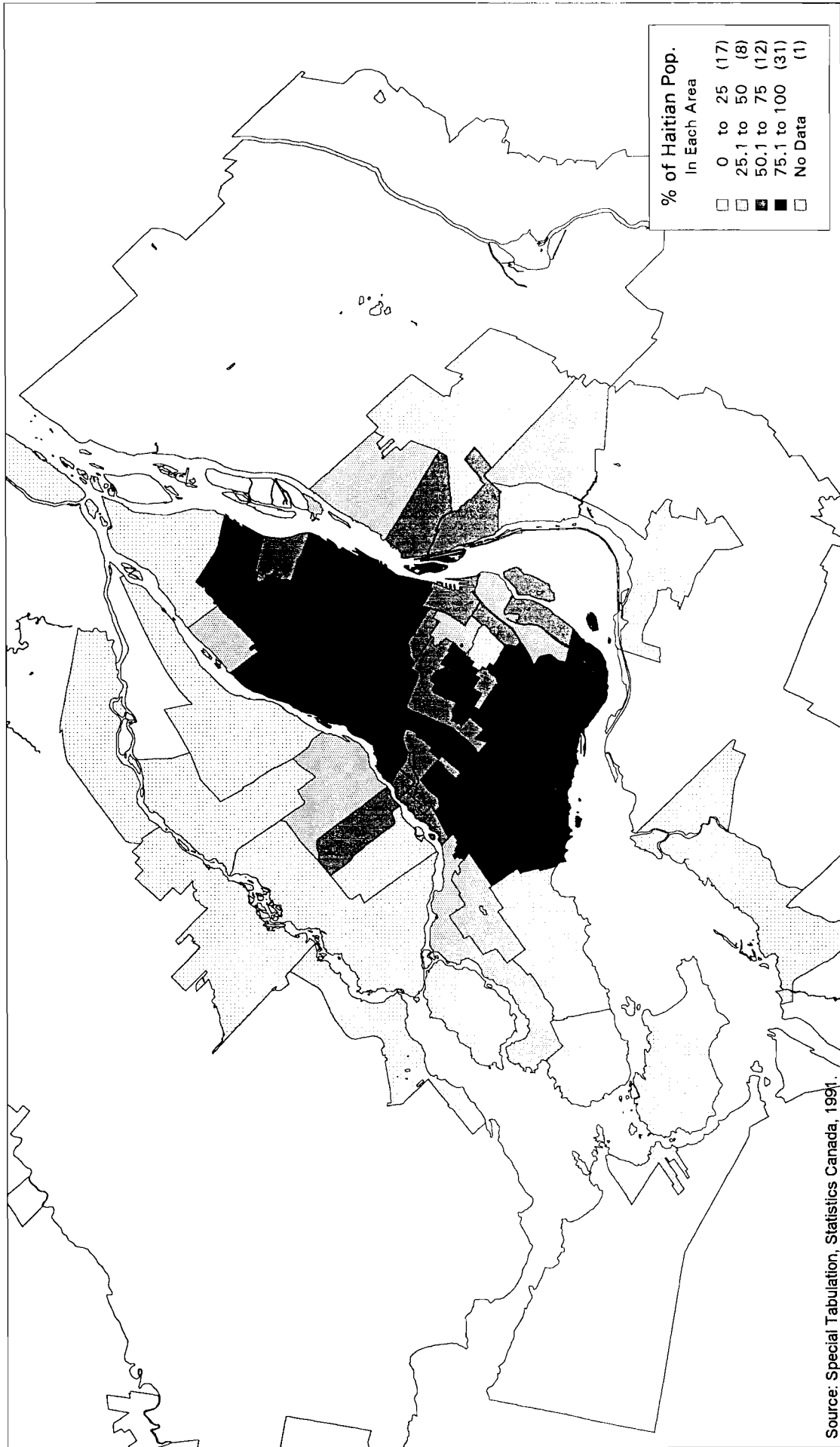Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

rise housing. The percentage of Haitian, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants living in low-rise housing in these same suburban neighbourhoods differs very little from that of the French/British Canadians, although again there is a considerable difference in the absolute number of individuals involved (Figures 5.17 - 5.19). The most important differences between the immigrant groups and the French/British Canadians occurs in those neighbourhood areas at the centre of the Island of Montréal. Whereas the concentration of French/British Canadians in low-rise housing in neighbourhood areas to the west side of downtown is relatively modest, in virtually all of these neighbourhood areas at least 50% of these immigrant groups live in low-rise housing and in many of the neighbourhoods the proportion is in excess of 75%.

High-Rise Enclaves in Montréal

Low-rise housing is one of the most important types of dwellings occupied by immigrants in Montréal. There is also good reason to believe that many individuals in the three immigrant groups are living in apartments in relatively recently constructed, if often poor quality, low-rise blocks on the fringes of the inner city and older post-war suburbs. Certainly high-rise housing is not as significant in Montréal among any component of the population as in Toronto (in Montréal only approximately 5.6% of the total population lives in high-rise apartments) and it is very difficult to discuss *vertical immigrant enclaves* in Montréal. This is not to say, however, that there are no pockets in the city of high-rise apartment buildings where immigrants make up a large share of the population. Figure 5.20 identifies high-rise buildings in Montréal where in excess of 29% of residents are immigrants.[18] As the map indicates, the only areas where there is a significant concentration of such dwellings are immediately around the downtown core, to the west of downtown and to the northwest of downtown in the Chameran neighbourhood of Ville St. Laurent. Unlike Toronto, there are no high-rise buildings in the more distant suburban areas of the Island of Montréal or in the exurban municipalities that have strong concentration of immigrants (partly reflecting the fact that many of these neighbourhoods simply have no or very little high-rise housing). In fact, it is only Chameran that comes close to approximating the phenomenon of suburban high-rise immigrant enclaves, although it is still in relatively close proximity to Montréal's inner city.

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[18] As was the method for the analysis of high-rise apartments in Toronto, the average proportion of immigrants living in high-rise buildings in Montréal was first determined (in this case it was 29%), and then enumeration areas with greater than this proportion of immigrants as residents were located and mapped.

Fig. 5.17: Percent of Haitian Immigrant Population Living in Low-Rise Apartments by Neighbourhood Area, Montréal CMA, 1991

% of Haitian Pop.
In Each Area

0 to 25	(17)
25.1 to 50	(8)
50.1 to 75	(12)
75.1 to 100	(31)
No Data	(1)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig. 5.18: Percent of Vietnamese Immigrant Population Living in Low-Rise Apartments by Neighbourhood Area, Montréal CMA, 1991

% of Vietnamese Pop.
In Each Area

	0 to 25	(29)
	25.1 to 50	(9)
	50.1 to 75	(15)
	75.1 to 100	(15)
	No Data	(1)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

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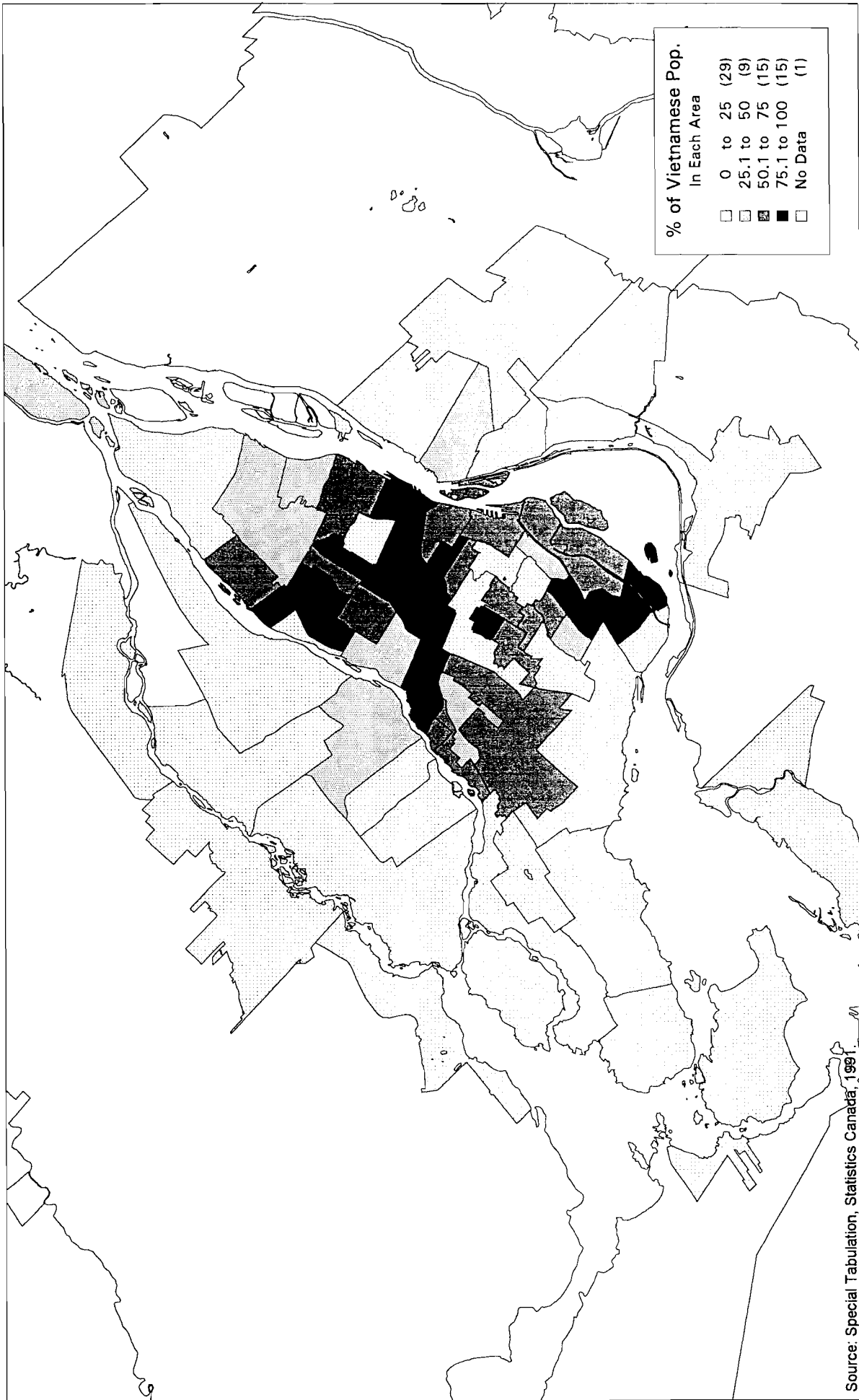
Fig. 5.19: Percent of Central American Immigrant Population Living in Low-Rise Apartments by Neighbourhood Area, Montréal CMA, 1991

% of Central Am. Pop
In Each Area

☐	0 to 25	(26)
☐	25.1 to 50	(5)
▨	50.1 to 75	(5)
■	75.1 to 100	(32)
☐	No Data	(1)
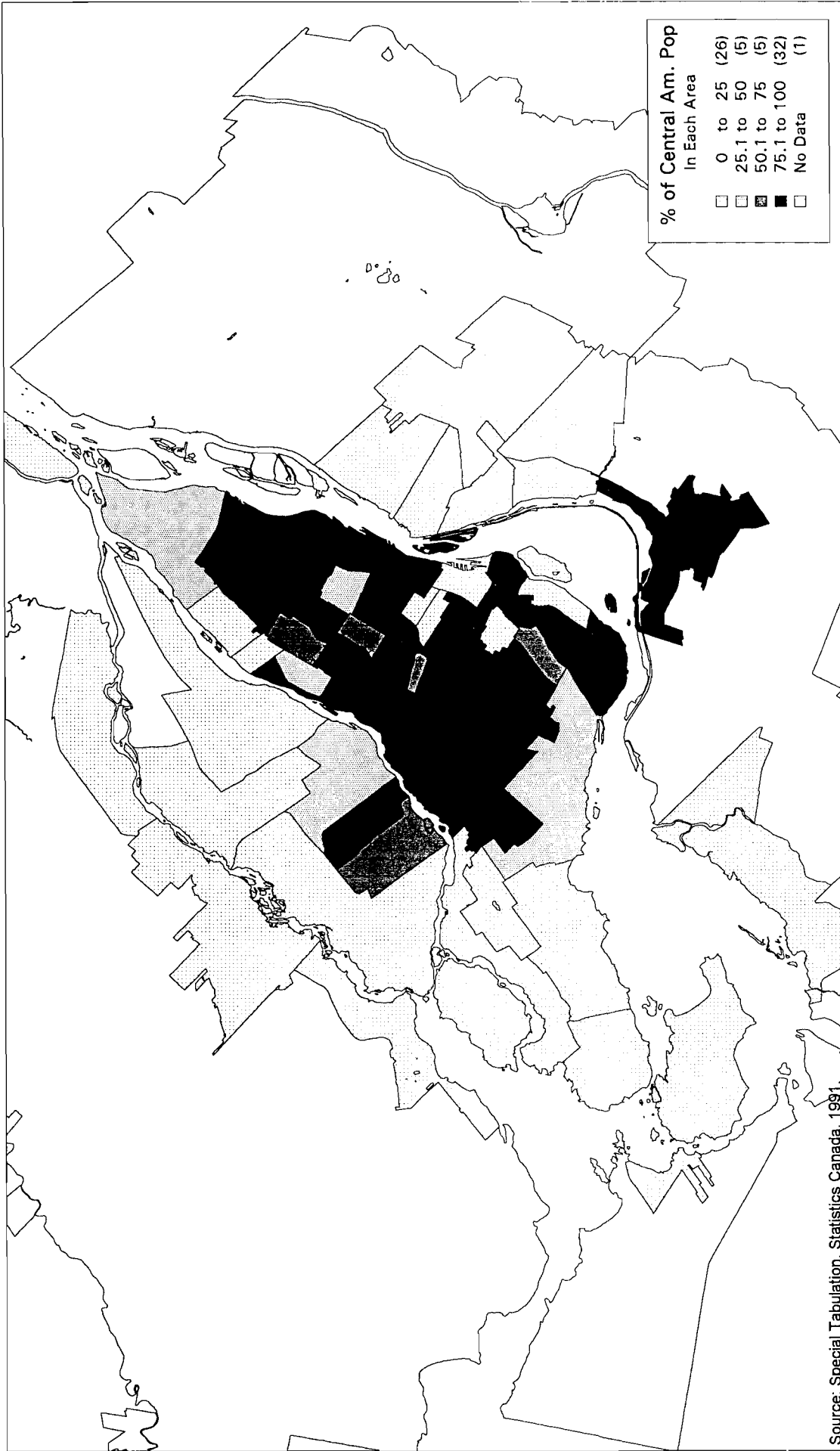
Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Fig. 5.20: Distribution of High-Rise Apartment Buildings Across the Montréal CMA Where in Excess of 29 Percent of Residents are Immigrants, 1991
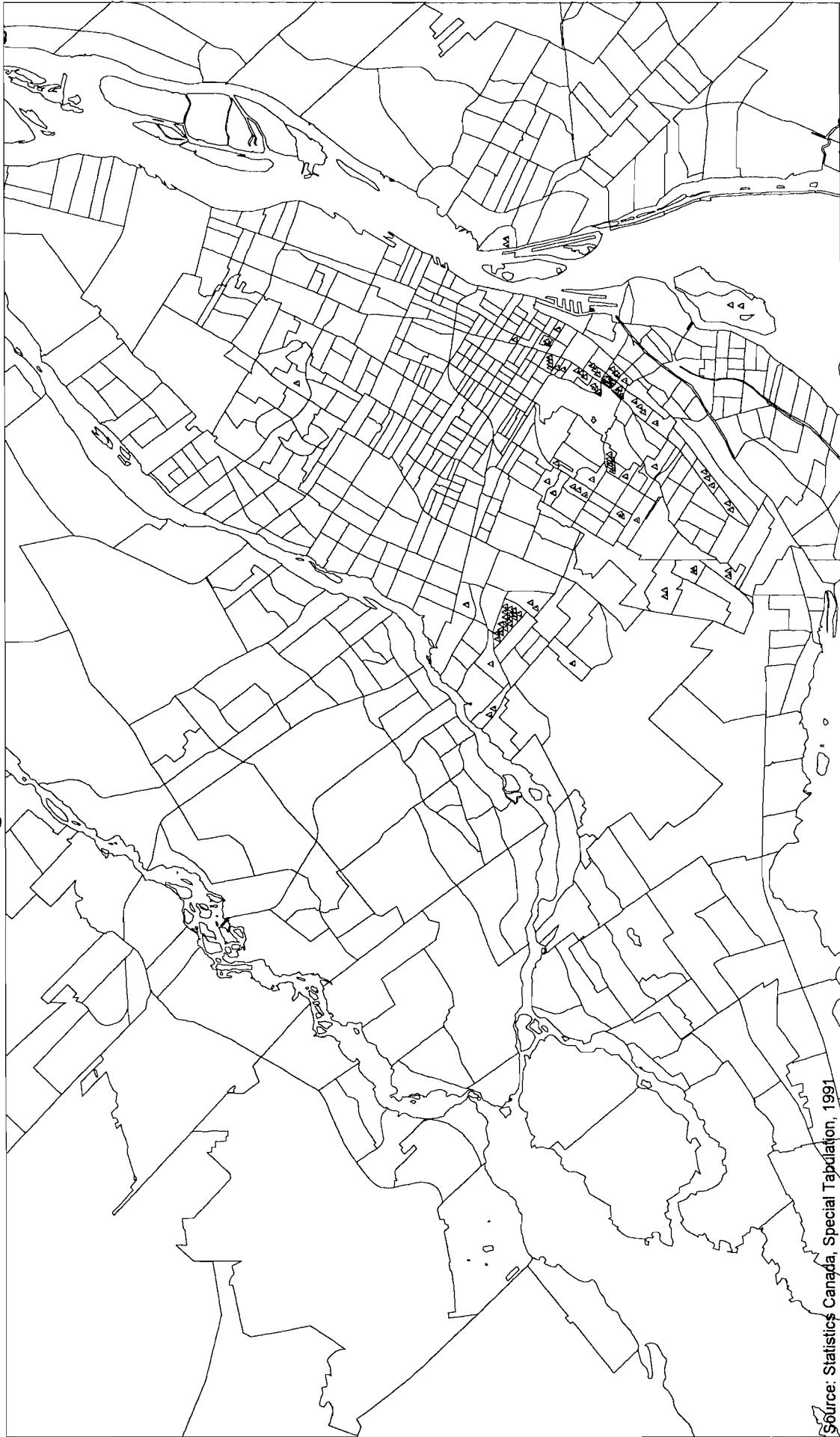
Source: Statistics Canada, Special Tabulation, 1991

Chameran is interesting because of its number of high-rises with above average immigrant representation among residents, but unlike many neighbourhoods in Montréal and Toronto, this is not an ethnically diverse area. This inner suburban area was built in the 1960s and is architecturally distinctive in Montréal primarily because of its high-rise buildings (Charbonneau 1995). While French/British Canadians are the single largest ethnic group, the area's social distinctiveness arises from its population of immigrants, most of whom are Lebanese or, to a lesser extent, Egyptian. The immigrant population is the one thing that sets this neighbourhood apart socially from adjacent districts. As Charbonneau argues, "En fait, quartier de banlieue sans plus ni moins d'attrait que les autres quartiers de Saint-Laurent, Chameran puise précisément sa spécificité de la composition ethnoculturelle de ses résidants" (Charbonneau 1995, 225). With the increase in its immigrant population, Chameran is also a neighbourhood that is experiencing a number of other socio-economic changes. Charbonneau found, for instance, that many French/British Canadian residents spoke of *their* residential, commercial, educational and public spaces being *invaded* and indicated that many of their franco- and anglophone neighbours had already moved out of the area (1995, 228). Furthermore, there are indications that this is no longer a quintessentially middle-class neighbourhood as poverty levels have been increasing over time, most strongly indicated by long periods of unemployment among household heads, as well as by significant growth in the proportion of single-parent female led families. Like many of the high-rise areas in Toronto, Chameran plays a key role as an immigrant reception area with most individuals eventually going on to become homeowners in adjacent neighbourhoods with single-detached housing or a bit further afield in Laval.

Charbonneau's (1995) study of Chameran provides a unique insight into a neighbourhood where an important component of the immigrant population lives in high-rise housing. As Figure 5.20 indicates, however, this area is somewhat anomalous in Montréal. By far the majority of all immigrants live in low-rise housing and it is very difficult to discuss vertical immigrant enclaves in the manner identified in Toronto. In fact, many of the neighbourhoods strongly occupied by Haitian, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants, such as Côte-des-Neiges and those in the northeast, might be more appropriately characterized as *low-rise immigrant enclaves*.

The relative scarcity of Haitian, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants in single-detached housing in many parts of Montréal is important, especially in a society that places high status value on such housing. Likewise the disproportionate presence of these three immigrant groups in low-rise housing in virtually every neighbourhood area on the Island of

Montréal where their presence is numerically significant cannot be ignored. Just as in Toronto, housing occupied at the neighbourhood level is frequently an important factor that differentiates immigrant groups. In short, when housing is included in the analysis, it becomes clear that *spatial* segregation is only one dimension of *social* segregation in the city.

Toronto and Montréal: Housing Affordability

As the previous chapter indicated, there are marked differences in the percentage of individuals in each birthplace population that belong to households spending in excess of 30% of their income on housing. There are also important differences across cities as well, although in both Toronto and Montréal distinctions between inner city and suburban areas in this regard are relatively weak.

Figure 5.21 shows the proportion of each group's total neighbourhood area population that could be said to be spending a disproportionate amount of household income on housing. Immediately evident is the large proportion of Central Americans who fall into this category in virtually every area where their numbers are large, as well as the low percentage of British/French Canadians who live in such households. For the most part, Jamaican and Vietnamese immigrants occupy a middle position between the two other groups, although in many areas the proportion of Jamaican and Vietnamese individuals who live in households that spend a large fraction of income on housing, relative to the British/French Canadians, is considerably greater. Certainly a bias towards the central part of Toronto in terms of housing affordability problems is evident on the map, *but* it would be incorrect to imply that housing affordability is purely an inner city issue. Neighbourhood areas in north Etobicoke, northwest North York and much of Scarborough have large segments of each immigrant group that live in households which spend a large fraction of their income on housing. It is only in some of the more exurban neighbourhood areas of Mississauga, Vaughan, Richmond Hill, Markham and Pickering that the image of suburban prosperity at the household level becomes evident.

In Montréal, the relatively weak position of Central American immigrants in most neighbourhood areas is transparent, as is the stronger position of French/British Canadians (Figure 5.22). In addition, the east side of the Island of Montréal stands out as having a larger proportion of individuals in virtually every group who belong to households spending a disproportionate share of income on housing. Among Haitian immigrants living on the east side of Montréal, a significant proportion live in households where housing costs consume

Figure 5.21: Percent of Individuals by Birthplace Group Living in Households Spending More Than 30% of Income on Housing, Neighbourhood Areas, Toronto CMA, 1991

Birthplace Groups
% of Group's Neigh. Area Pop.
— 100

☐ Jamaica
▨ Vietnam
▩ Central America
■ Br./Fr. Cdn.

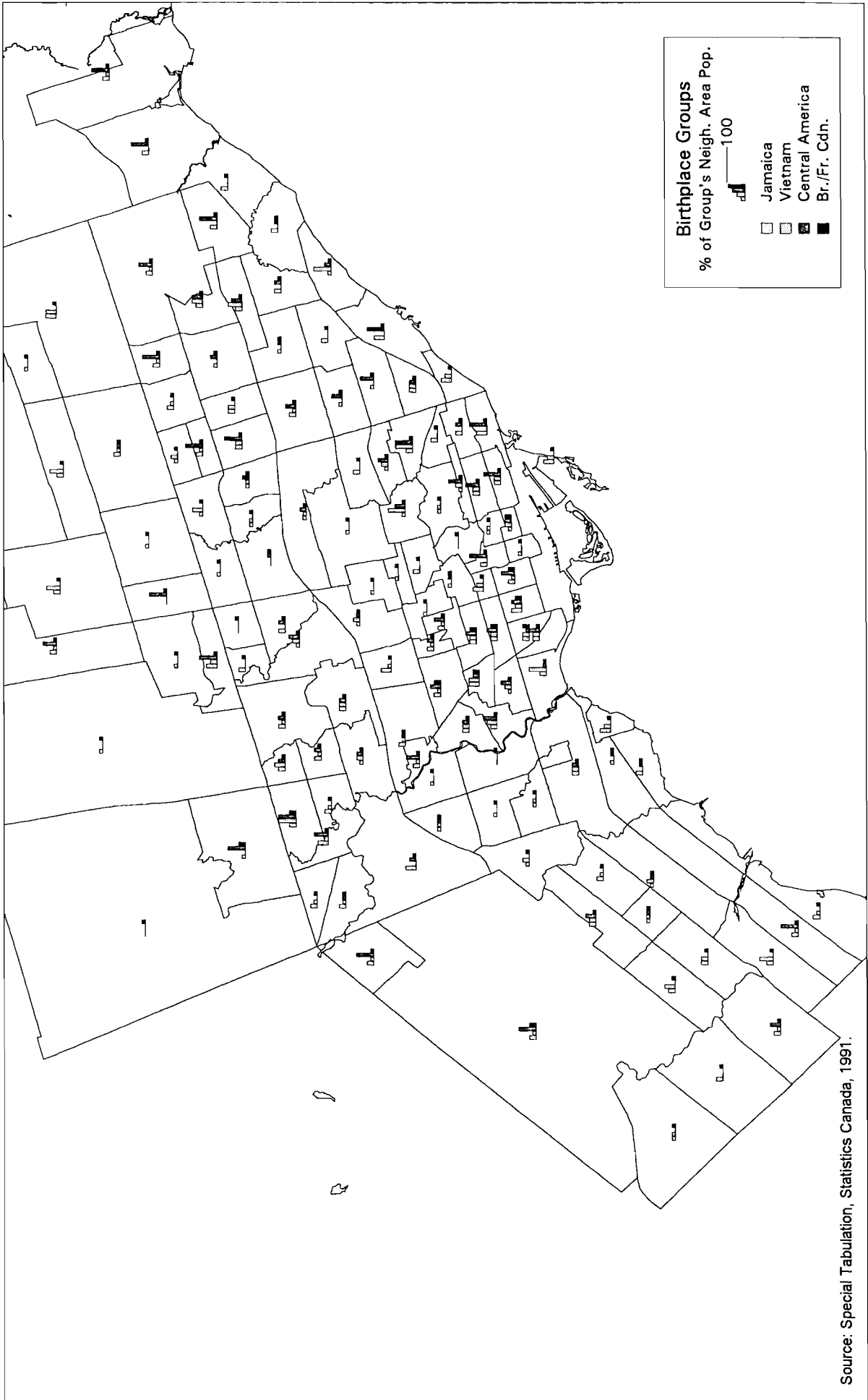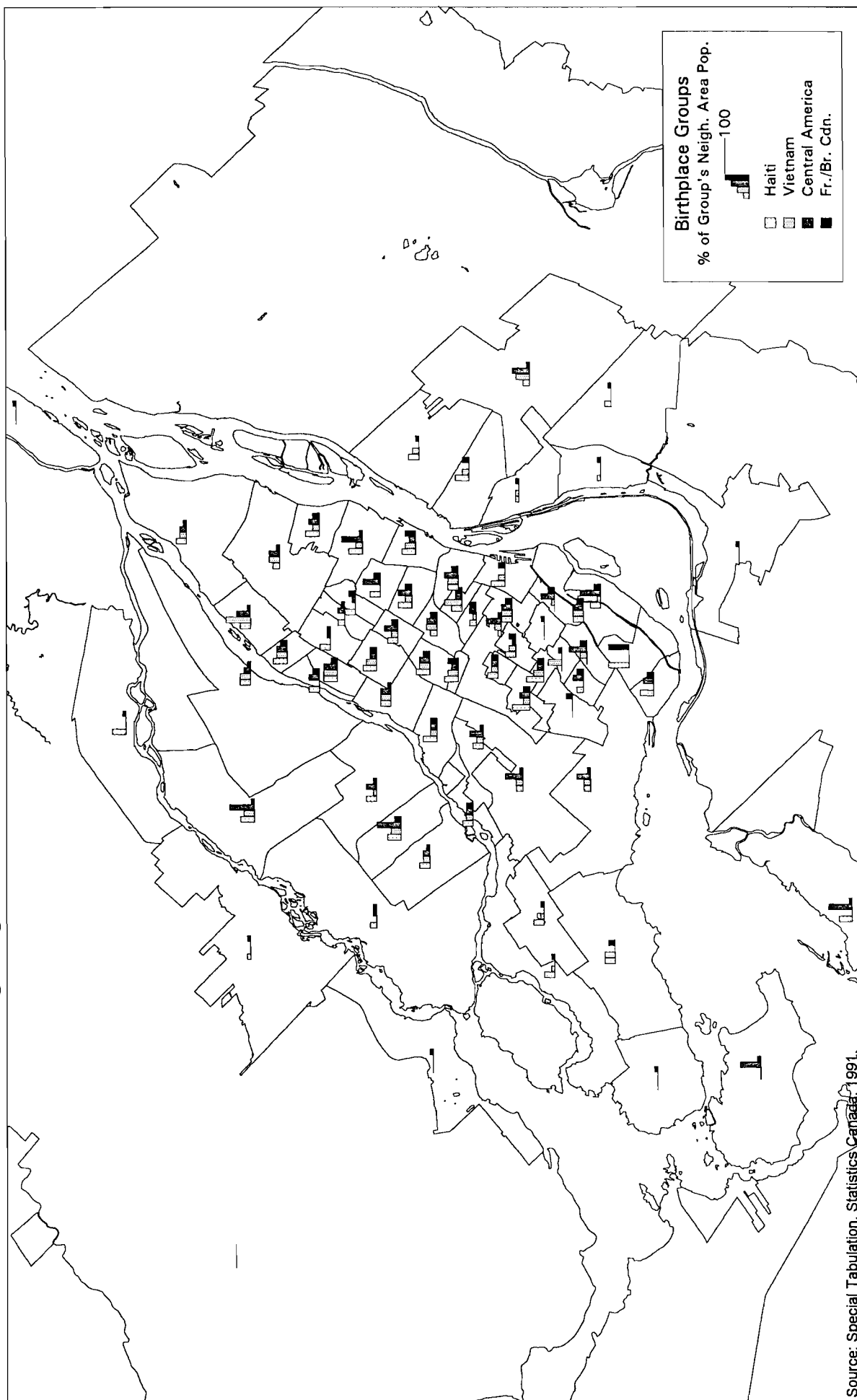Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Figure 5.22: Percent of Individuals by Birthplace Group Living in Households Spending More Than 30% of Income on Housing, Neighbourhood Areas, Montréal CMA, 1991

Birthplace Groups
% of Group's Neigh. Area Pop.

100

Haiti
Vietnam
Central America
Fr./Br. Cdn.

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991

more than 30% of income; in fact, in some neighbourhood areas the proportion exceeds or matches that of Central Americans. As in Toronto, it is difficult to make classic inner city versus suburban distinctions in terms of affordability problems. The inner city, with the exception of neighbourhoods like Westmount, Outremont and the Town of Mount Royal, is notable as a place where many individuals from all birthplace groups experience housing affordability problems. However, so too are many of the inner suburban neighbourhoods, particularly on the east side of the Island of Montréal. Again, it is only on the West Island and the South and North Shore regions that the proportion of French/British Canadians experiencing housing affordability problems declines markedly. Furthermore, although in some of exurban municipalities, such as St. Hubert and Chateauguay on the South Shore, the proportion of immigrants belonging to households that spend a large fraction of income on housing remains high, the absolute number of individuals is small.

In our society, housing connotes a great deal about the occupants such as potential income levels, family status or stage in the life cycle. The type of housing occupied, and derived status for the occupant, however, are also intimately related to whether the dwelling is owned or rented. This section of the chapter has focussed on differences in dwelling types occupied and affordability problems between birthplace groups, and important distinctions in status have been identified both between immigrant groups and in relation to British/French Canadians. However, the argument that the various immigrant groups examined here stand apart in important ways from the British/French Canadian population thus far has largely been made by inference. In the final section of this chapter, attention turns explicitly to a comparison between the socially dominant British/French Canadian population in each city and its housing conditions vis-à-vis Jamaican immigrants in Toronto and Haitian immigrants in Montréal.[19] The related question of housing tenure is also considered. It is clear that the Jamaican and Haitian populations differ in housing status in relation to British/French Canadians, but how are these differences manifested *within* the city if independent factors affecting the type of housing occupied are controlled? Do the housing geographies of the groups begin to converge when potential factors affecting housing status - namely period of immigration and household income - are held constant? The implications for understanding inequality between groups are significant if differences in housing status persist when other factors are controlled and if the differences exist only in a few enclaves rather throughout the

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[19] Only Jamaican and Haitian immigrants will be analyzed here so as to minimize repetition and because of each group's size and importance. In additon, the analysis that will be presented is influenced by small numbers and as a consequence the decision was made to only examine the largest groups in each city.

metropolitan area.

Comparing Housing Status: Middle-Income British/French Canadians Versus Jamaican and Haitian Immigrants

In cities such as Toronto and Montréal, where immigrants are fairly dispersed throughout each metropolitan area, the housing conditions of immigrant groups relative to British/French Canadians can take on a new dynamic. Rather than living in separate inner city and suburban worlds, the immigrant and non-immigrant populations often share the same neighbourhoods and, even if they do not interact as neighbours, they are at least cognizant of each other's presence. In this regard, the type of housing occupied and form of tenure are two highly visible markers of relative status between the British/French and individual immigrant groups. As Breton et al., (1974) have noted, "It is in the neighbourhood and community that group differences become immediately and significantly visible, and wherein the competition for status can become acute, particularly in the area of housing" (quoted in Head 1981, 115).

The importance of single-detached housing for Jamaicans, Haitians and British/French Canadians, and high- and low-rise dwellings for Jamaicans and Haitians respectively has, to some extent, already been discussed above. The maps provide indications that the immigrant groups depart from the British/French 'norm' in unique ways, giving each a 'visibility' or setting them apart in many neighbourhood areas. While this analysis is suggestive, the degree to which each immigrant group departs from the British/French Canadian population within individual neighbourhood areas can be difficult to interpret. To capture the significance of these different housing states at the local scale, location quotients (LQ's) are presented for: a) Jamaicans and Haitians living in owned single-detached housing, b) Jamaicans living in rented high-rise housing, and c) Haitians living in rented low-rise dwellings relative to the British/French Canadian population residing in the same types of housing and tenure conditions.[20] To control some of the socio-economic diversity that exists within the immigrant

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[20] A Location Quotient (LQ) compares the proportion of a specific population, for example Jamaicans living in rented high-rise housing in a particular district with a similarly derived proportion of another population (e.g., British/French Canadians) found in the same district. A quotient of 1.0 shows a 'par' value with proportionately as many Jamaican individuals living in such housing, while a quotient of 2.0 means proportionately twice as many and one of 0.5 means half as many.

As was true of the index of dissimilarity used in Chapter III, LQ values are influenced by the scale of analysis, with high quotients more readily obtained in very small areas. It is also important to bear in mind the relative size of each group when comparing LQ values (Dennis 1984, 206-207).

population, only individuals belonging to households earning between $25,000 and $59,999 (i.e. middle-class households) *and* who migrated to Canada after 1968 are included in the analysis.[21] This income stratum was selected because the largest number of individuals who occupy the types of housing specified here belong to this category. Jamaican and Haitian immigrants who migrated to Canada before immigration laws were changed in 1967 are rather exceptional, and consequently are excluded from the analysis.[22]

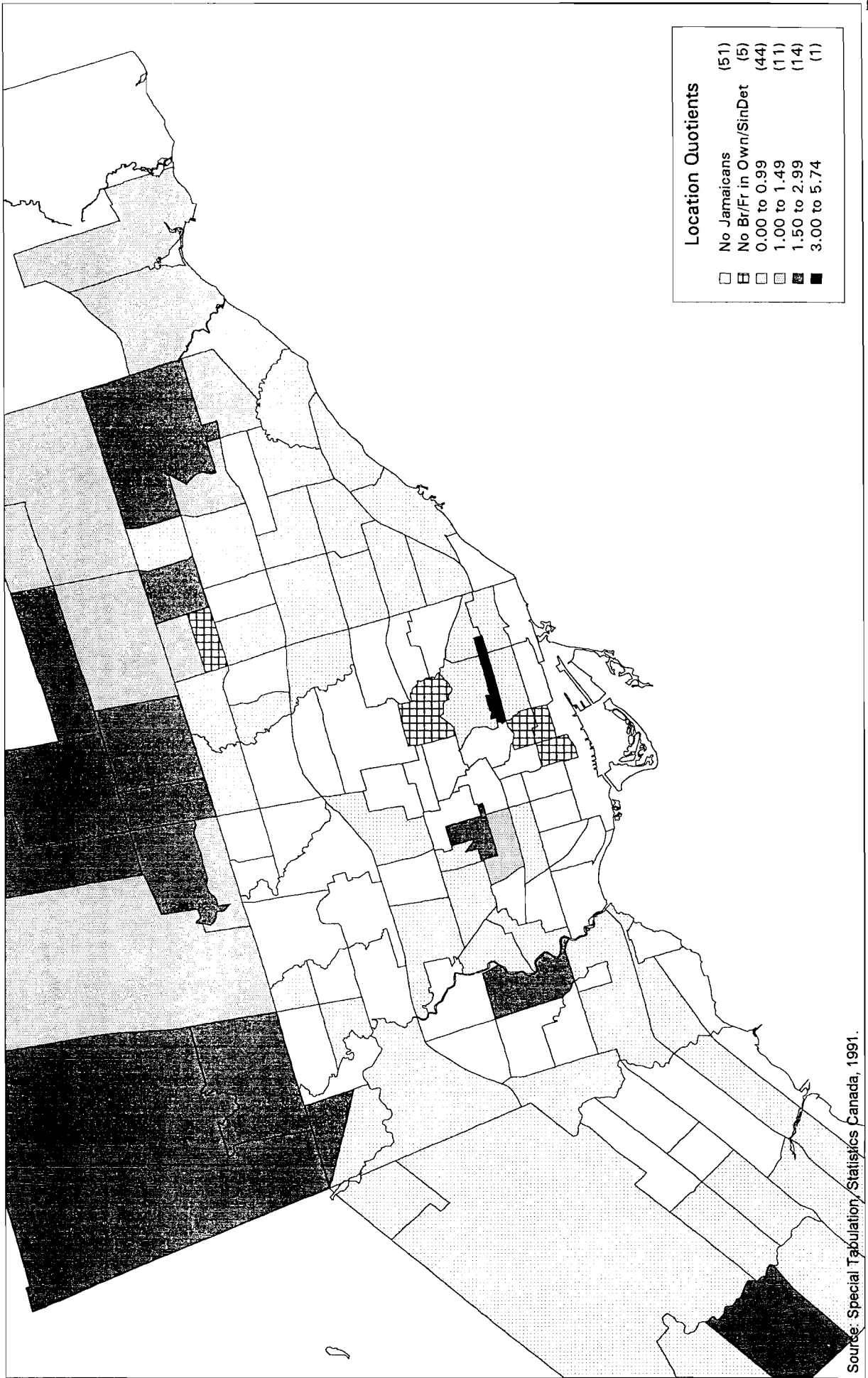### Jamaican Immigrants in Owned Single-Detached and Rented High-Rise Housing in Toronto

In a majority of Toronto neighbourhood areas where there are Jamaican immigrants living in owned single-detached housing, Jamaicans are under-represented in owned single-detached housing relative to their British/French Canadian counterparts (Figure 5.23). Areas to the north of Metro Toronto stand out as places where Jamaican immigrants are over-represented in such housing, although it must be born in mind that the number of individuals in any of these areas is relatively small. The most interesting area to examine in terms of an over-concentration of Jamaicans in owned single-detached housing is northeast Scarborough where there is a significant Jamaican population in this housing category. Yet only in two neighbourhood areas in this part of Scarborough does the over-representation of Jamaican immigrants exceed 1.5 and in two other areas the values are only just greater than 1.0. Although northeast Scarborough is an important locale for Jamaicans living in owned single-detached housing, their concentrations do not significantly exceed those of the British/French Canadian population even in neighbourhood areas where their numbers are sizable.

By way of contrast, the concentration of Jamaican immigrants living in rented high-rise housing relative to British/French Canadians is quite significant in many of the neighbourhood areas of the city, and most especially in those where the number of individuals is significant (Figure 5.24). There are areas of the city where Jamaican renters are less concentrated in high-rise apartments than the British/French Canadians, although many of these are in expensive neighbourhoods stretching through the centre of Toronto, or they are in relatively remote parts

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[21] For the British/French Canadian population the same household income caveat was imposed, although obviously the period of immigration criteria does not apply.

[22] Among individuals who immigrated to Canada after 1968, in Toronto 5,550 and 6,955 Jamaicans live in owned single-detached and rented high-rise housing respectively, while in Montréal 2,820 and 6,315 Haitians live in owned single-detached and rented low-rise housing respectively.

Figure 5.23: Location Quotients for Middle Income Jamaican Immigrants
Living in Owned Single-Detatched Housing by Neighbourhood Area, Toronto, 1991

Location Quotients

No Jamaicans	(51)
No Br/Fr in Own/SinDet	(5)
0.00 to 0.99	(44)
1.00 to 1.49	(11)
1.50 to 2.99	(14)
3.00 to 5.74	(1)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

Figure 5.24: Location Quotients for Middle Income Jamaican Immigrants
Living in Rented High-Rise Housing by Neighbourhood Area, Toronto, 1991

Location Quotients

☐	No Jamaicans	(27)
▨	No Br/Fr in Rent/H-R	(4)
☐	0.00 to 0.99	(30)
☐	1.00 to 1.49	(27)
▨	1.50 to 2.99	(33)
■	3.00 to 9.30	(6)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991.

of Metro with little public or private rental housing such as north Scarborough and Etobicoke south of Highway 401. In the vast majority, however, Jamaicans are proportionately over-represented. Interestingly, it is only in the neighbourhood areas which form the central part of the inner city that Jamaican immigrants approximate being on par with their British/French Canadian counterparts. In general, the further away from the core, the greater the incidence of areas where proportionately 1.5 times as many Jamaicans as British/French Canadians live in high-rise rental housing. The two neighbourhood areas just to the west of the inner city in the highest LQ range (in excess of 3.0) and the one immediately to the east must be interpreted with some caution since the number of Jamaicans is small. However, in those areas in the more distant suburbs where Jamaicans are strongly concentrated in high-rises, the number of individuals is quite large. Some of the most noteworthy neighbourhood areas of Jamaican over-representation in high-rise housing are in the northwest section of the City of Toronto, northern Etobicoke, northwest North York and areas of Scarborough south of Highway 401. Certainly there are several areas north of Highway 401 in Scarborough where Jamaicans are over-represented, but this trend has somewhat greater social significance in south Scarborough where the vast majority of the municipality's Jamaican high-rise renters are located.

Such a housing geography has a number of implications for understanding the social geography of Jamaican immigrants, as well as their relationship with the British/French Canadian population of the city. Jamaican immigrants living in high-rise housing are not restricted merely to a few select nodes of Metro. Significantly, these Jamaicans are physically neighbours of British/French Canadians, although their housing and form of tenure segregate them into often quite different social spaces. The fact that these groups are neighbours is important, for Jamaican immigrants living in high-rises are part of the everyday social spaces of British/French Canadians, rather than a population segregated in inner city enclaves tucked out of sight except for when the subway passes on the way to work in the central business district, as is the case in many cities. Nevertheless, the social segregation which different housing conditions impose must be recognized for it essentially renders much of the Jamaican population, to use Agnew's (1981) expression, an unsettling "out-group".

Haitian Immigrants in Owned Single-Detached and Rented Low-Rise Housing in Montréal

The situation for Haitian immigrants living in owned single-detached housing departs only slightly from that of Jamaicans in Toronto. In most areas of Montréal, Haitians are under-represented in owned single-detached housing relative to French/British Canadians (Figure 5.25). The areas along the North and South Shores, as well as Dollard-des-Ormeaux on the West Island and the two areas in the City of Montréal (Parc Jerry and Tetreaultville), which show an over-concentration of Haitians in single-detached housing, again must be interpreted carefully as the number of individuals in each area is quite small. For example, in Parc Jerry (LQ value 6.52), the number of Haitians is only 45. However, looking at the east end of the Island of Montréal and south-east Laval, where the number of Haitians is quite large, two trends become apparent. First, in the majority of areas Haitians are slightly under-concentrated relative to the French/British Canadians. Although earlier maps indicated a strong proportion of Haitians living in single-detached housing in these areas, their concentration does not depart radically from their French/British neighbours. Secondly, in those areas in the east-end where Haitians are over-concentrated (LQ values between 1.00 and 1.49), such as the central part of St. Leonard and St. Francois in Laval, the LQ values are very modest.The areas of strong over-concentration on the east-side of the Island must also be interpreted conservatively. For instance, in Anjou (LQ value of 2.07), the number of Haitians living in owned, single-detached housing is only 50 and therefore the LQ value must be interpreted with considerable caution. As is true for Jamaicans in Toronto, most middle-income Haitian immigrants remain under-represented in single-detached housing relative to their French/British Canadian counterparts in virtually all areas of the city.

When attention turns to the rental sector and low-rise housing, the situation is somewhat more complicated. In the vast majority of areas in Montréal, Haitian immigrants are either just slightly under-represented or slighted over-represented in rented low-rise housing relative to the French/British Canadian population (Figure 5.26). This is particularly the case in neighbourhood areas on the east side of the city where Haitians are numerically large. Areas of strong over-concentration on the west side of the Island of Montréal are misleading since the number of individuals in areas showing LQ values in the two highest ranges have less than 30 individuals fitting the criteria. However, the areas in the City of Montréal's northwest (Cartierville, Nouveau Bordeau and the western corner of Ville St. Laurent), where LQ values are between 1.50 and 2.99, merit attention. Unlike other areas of over-concentration, in these areas the number of Haitians fitting the criteria exceeds 150 in each. This is the region of

Figure 5.25: Location Quotients for Middle Income Haitian Immigrants Living in Owned Single-Detatched Housing by Neighbourhood Area, Montréal, 1991

Location Quotients

☐	No Haitians	(33)
⊞	No Br/Fr in Own/SinDet	(4)
▧	0.00 to 0.99	(18)
▦	1.00 to 1.49	(5)
▩	1.50 to 2.99	(7)
■	3.00 to 6.52	(2)

Source: Special Tabulation. Statistics Canada, 1991.

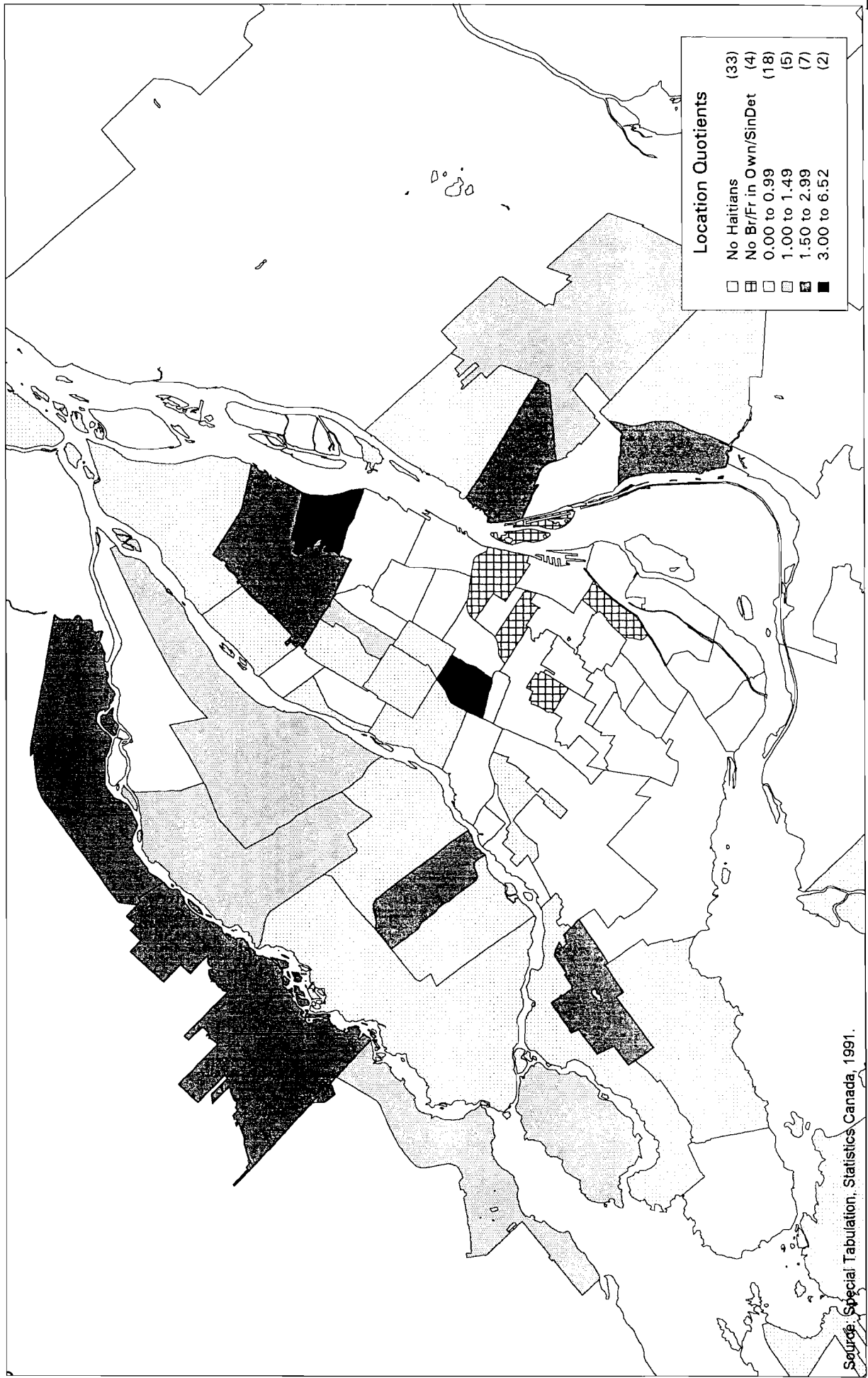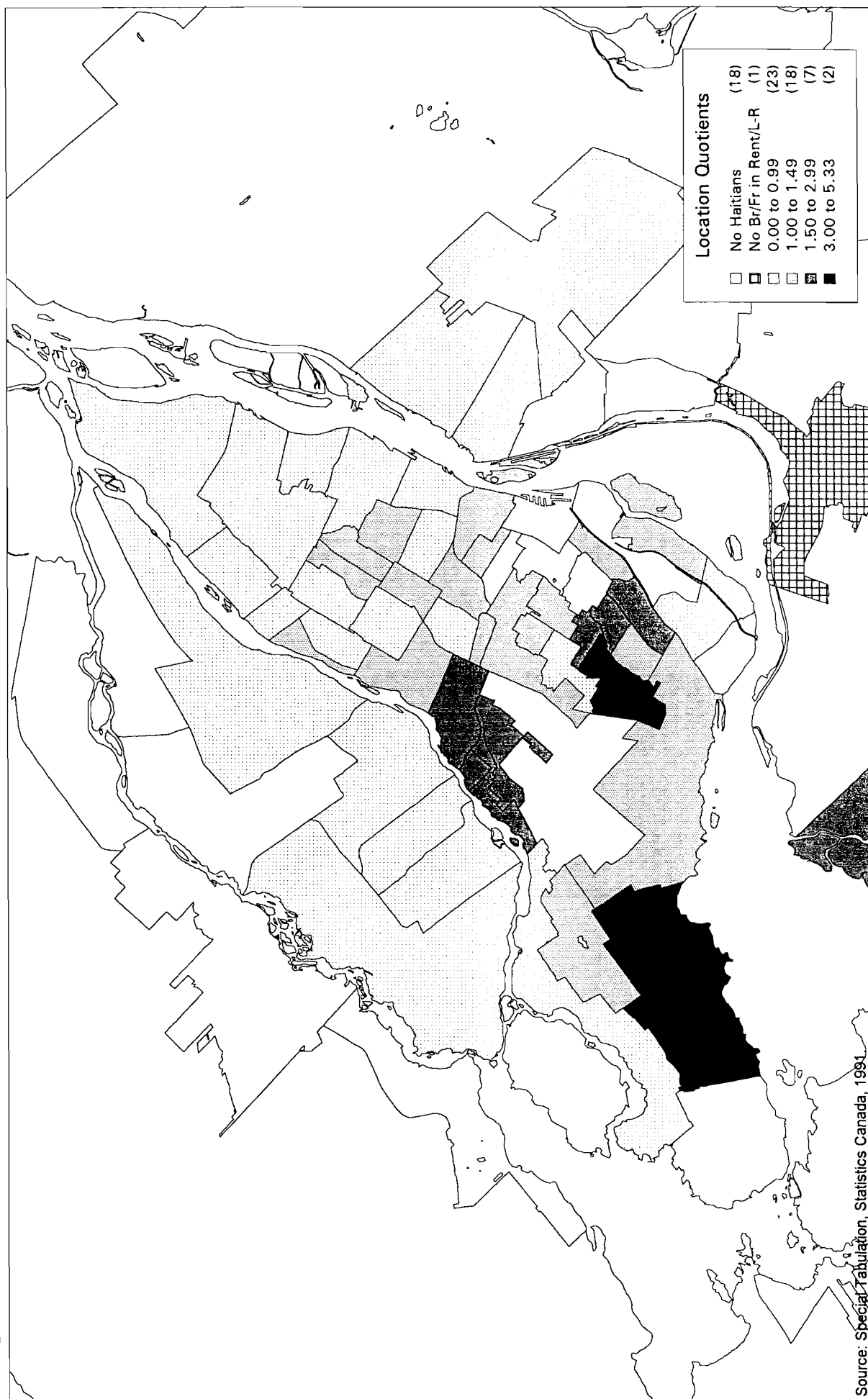# Figure 5.26: Location Quotients for Middle Income Haitian Immigrants Living in Rented Low-Rise Housing by Neighbourhood Area, Montréal, 1991

Location Quotients

☐	No Haitians	(18)
☐	No Br/Fr in Rent/L-R	(1)
☐	0.00 to 0.99	(23)
☐	1.00 to 1.49	(18)
▨	1.50 to 2.99	(7)
■	3.00 to 5.33	(2)

Source: Special Tabulation, Statistics Canada, 1991

Montréal where Haitians are over-represented in rental low-rise housing, most of which was built after World War II and in the form of apartment blocks. The concentration of Haitians in low-rise housing in this region also sets them apart from other Haitians in Montréal whose housing status more closely mirrors that of the French/British Canadians. Unlike in Toronto, where Jamaican immigrants were over-represented in high-rise housing in most neighbourhood areas, in Montréal only one meaningful pocket of Haitian over-concentration in low-rise housing can be identified. However, based on visual inspection and interviews conducted with Haitian immigrants, one suspects that if it were possible to subdivide the low-rise stock into duplexes/triplexes and block apartment buildings, many areas of Montréal would show a strong concentration of Haitian immigrants in block apartment buildings.

Summary

The grey and faded suburban high-rise apartment blocks occupied by the fictional Muslim Indian community portrayed in *No New Land* (M.G. Vassanji) are not far removed from the reality of contemporary immigrant housing conditions experienced by many newcomers to Toronto. For a large segment of the Jamaican, Vietnamese and Central American populations, the suburban high-rises that dot the Toronto landscape are home and the locales around which communities form. However, if Vassanji were to have set his story in Montréal rather than Toronto, it is unlikely that high-rise complexes would have been the setting. Instead, the low-rise apartment blocks that make up substantial parts of the Montréal's inner city and inner suburbs are more probable environments for his exploration of community development in a new land. This chapter has attempted to emphasize both the diversity of housing conditions that exist within immigrant communities even at a neighbourhood scale. To speak of the 'immigrant experience' in settlement and housing conditions in either Toronto or Montréal is to ignore the complexity of the immigrant population. The immigrant communities examined here exemplify just how different the geographies and housing conditions of immigrants can be even in relatively small neighbourhood areas.

In terms of a range of housing variables, namely dwelling type, tenure and affordability, differences between immigrant groups are certainly apparent, as are differences within individual groups. For instance, in Montréal a sizable segment of the Haitian and Vietnamese populations have moved into single-detached housing although for the most part individuals occupying such housing live in very different parts of the city. The same scenario is largely true among Jamaican and Vietnamese immigrants in Toronto. Inescapable in the

housing geographies of all immigrant groups examined in Toronto, and to a somewhat lesser extent in Montréal, is their large-scale suburbanization, and the relatively minor role which the inner city plays. The inner city has experienced considerable social and physical change in the post-war decades, and one manifestation of such change is the suburbanization of old and new immigrant communities alike. While immigrants continue to live and settle in the inner city, as places like St. James Town make abundantly clear, it is crucial that our notion of an immigrant reception area grow to encompass suburban housing environments that bear little resemblance to 'classic' inner city immigrant neighbourhoods like Cabbagetown or The Ward in Toronto and The Main in Montréal. In contemporary Toronto this means looking at suburban high-rise complexes and, in Montréal, at the dense pockets of low-rise apartment blocks, as well as duplexes/triplexes, that dot the central part of the Island of Montréal.

Reflecting social and class diversity within virtually every immigrant group in Toronto and Montréal, and not to overstate the case, a sizable portion of all groups also live in single-detached owned housing. Yet as the Jamaicans in Toronto and Haitians in Montréal demonstrate, there is considerable cleavage within each group in terms of the where individuals occupying different types of housing are located. Individuals living in single-detached housing are not necessarily spatially proximate to those living in other types of dwellings, even though they may be from the same ethnic group.

Consideration of the housing conditions of these immigrant communities emphasizes that each is often highly differentiated from the British/French Canadian norm; much more so than spatial location and segregation would suggest. Housing is more than just a place to live. It has important symbolic value and is a measure of achieved social status that is highly visible and critically important in structuring social relationships in the city. In this regard, the preponderance of some immigrant groups in high-rise housing in Toronto and low-rise apartment blocks in Montréal takes on new significance. The concentration of many immigrants in forms of housing that hold little status value for many British/French Canadians clearly sets them 'apart', particularly in suburban locales where such housing is often surrounded by more single-detached housing. For many of the groups themselves, the concentration of individuals in housing that holds little status value and is sometimes poorly maintained, raises important concerns about the quality of housing occupied and equity with other groups.

In an era when multiculturalism and the inclusion of immigrant minorities is a priority, the degree to which ethnicity continues to shape each city's housing and social geography is

striking. Housing, because it so often is a personal statement of achievement, demonstrates quite clearly at both the macro- and neighbourhood area scales that inequality persists between groups, and that it is not just simply a function of socio-economic status. Undoubtedly, part of inequality can be explained in terms of cultural values regarding housing and neighbourhoods, as well as personal judgements about the quality of rental housing in Canadian cities, a sense of long-term committment to Canada as a place to live, and the way information is filtered by social networks. These are topics that will be explored in the next chapter through the experiences of individual immigrants in Toronto and Montréal. However, external constraints on behaviour cannot be ignored. As we will see, several of the immigrants who were interviewed in Toronto and Montréal have drawn attention to the role played by discrimination and racism in shaping their experiences of housing.

The following chapter moves away from description of the housing geographies of immigrants and explores the processes which have brought them into particular types of housing and forms of tenure, as well as their perceptions of the dwellings and neighbourhoods where they live. In short, we move away from questions of *what* and *how*, and instead focus on factors that shed light on *why* geographies and housing conditions between groups can be so different.

CHAPTER VI:
EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF HOUSING AND NEIGHBOURHOODS AMONG IMMIGRANTS IN TORONTO AND MONTRÉAL

It has been suggested by a number of researchers that various socio-economic and cultural factors intrinsic to individual immigrant communities, as well as an array of constraints imposed by the larger non-immigrant population, ranging from access to information to racism, are influential in structuring the geographies and housing conditions of immigrants and native-born visible minorities in cities (Ray et al. 1997; Massey and Denton 1993; Anderson 1991; Ray and Moore 1991; Sarre et al. 1989; Smith 1989). For many good reasons, namely a lack of attention to the politics of space and how such politics are woven into the practices and politics of racism, there has been considerable effort given over to examining the ways in which institutions, cultural power and rhetoric shape the geographies of minorities in cities (Ray et al. 1997; Anderson 1991; Smith 1989; Jackson, P. 1987). As important and challenging as these works have been, their explicit emphasis on racist practices and discourse have tended to mask the experiences and perceptions of the immigrants and minorities themselves. What is it like to live in a new city, like Toronto or Montréal, if you are from the Caribbean or Latin America? How do immigrants view their city? their neighbourhoods? their dwellings? their neighbours? This chapter and the one that follows place a firm emphasis on sketching housing and neighbourhood experiences and conditions, as well as perceptions and levels of satisfaction, as revealed by a sample of immigrants in Toronto and Montréal. Constraints most certainly play a role, and issues such as household income and type, length of time in the country, and discrimination, are discussed in the chapters. Considerable attention, however, is given over to questions of choice, perceptions of current and past housing environments, mobility intentions, and the role played by a variety of factors that are more idiosyncratically personal and individual, such as family, friends, ethnicity and lifestyle, rather than institutional, in influencing decisions. In this respect, attention is also drawn to the similarities and differences in experiences between individuals living in Toronto and Montréal. How are the experiences and perceptions of housing and neighbourhoods different among and between groups in the two cities?

This chapter begins by briefly summarizing important socio-economic characteristics of the four sample groups whose experiences constitute the heart of the analysis - Afro-Caribbeans, Latin Americans in Toronto and Montréal, and Haitians. All of the groups share in common the experience of immigration and adjusting to a new city and society, but from

this point there is much divergence with implications for understanding their housing and neighbourhood conditions. Some groups are more affluent, some have been in Canada for a longer period of time, and still others are dominated by women and single mothers. One of the objectives is to establish parameters of comparison between groups and cities, as well as to situate the samples relative to the profiles of immigrant groups derived from census data that were presented in earlier chapters. After sketching a socio-economic and demographic profile for each group, attention will shift to housing and neighbourhood conditions, namely the type of housing occupied, levels of satisfaction and search, and the reasons that underpin residential choices.

The Samples

This and the following chapter address questions of motivation and satisfaction vis-à-vis housing, neighbourhoods and community among individuals, some of whom are new to Toronto or Montréal and others who are more well acquainted with their city. This phase of the research is based on a limited number of in-depth interviews, with the basic intent of probing the *why* that lies behind the housing conditions and geographies discussed to this point. Interviews lasting about 45 minutes were conducted with approximately 40 people from each of the Caribbean and Latin American communities in Toronto and Haitian and Latin American communities in Montréal during 1995-1996. The interviews were conducted in French, Creole, Spanish and English. Five different interviewers were used and the language of the interview was determined by the interviewee.

It is virtually impossible to identify immigrants by means of conventional sampling sources, such as city tax rolls, the city directory or simply by randomly sampling individuals living in a neighbourhood or along a street as there is no way to identify the birthplace of citizens. Consequently, the respondents were found by snowball sampling (Jones 1996, 144;; Babbie 1973; Honigmann 1982; Baily 1982; Selltiz et al., 1976). For all of the communities in each city, interviewers were used who had some contacts, usually informal, with members of each community and contacts were made with a wide variety of community organizations. From these initial contacts we tried to develop at least three different 'snowballs' or sampling streams to identify respondents who were as different as possible thereby maximizing the range of possible experiences and social networks. After an interview was completed with an individual, we asked her/him if she/he knew anyone else who fit our criteria and would be willing to participate. We ensured that the various 'balls' in our samples were independent of

each other and rejected individuals who had strong kin or friendship ties with people we had already interviewed to avoid replicating the same networks. To a degree this strategy was successful, but more often than not interviewers had to go back to initial sources, such as community organizations and/or their own networks, to find additional participants. The two most difficult groups to develop a sample from were Afro-Caribbeans and Latin Americans in Toronto, and the interviewers did have a sense that many people in these communities were suffering research fatigue. Building a snowball sample of this kind is an exercise in patience and hard work. We tried to attain at least 40 interviews from each group and in the end 38 Afro-Caribbean, 39 Haitian, and 45 and 37 Latin American immigrants in Toronto and Montréal respectively were interviewed and used in the analysis.[1]

The basic criteria for selecting individuals was whether they were from one of the birthplace groups being studied here. An additional caveat was the length of time that they had been in Canada. We deliberately sought out Afro-Caribbean and Latin American individuals who had been in Canada for at least one year and not more than 20. Given that a large proportion of Haitians have lived in Montréal for a somewhat longer period of time, we expanded their residency period to 25 years for individuals from this group. As a consequence of the way in which we built the Haitian sample, a majority of respondents have lived in Canada for between 20 to 25 years (61.5%), while the majority of respondents in the other 3 groups have been here for less than 10 years. In this respect, the Haitians depart significantly from the other groups and provide insight into the housing conditions and experiences of a group dominated by people who have lived in Canada for a relatively long period of time. It is important to bear these differences in residency in mind, particularly when the groups are being compared. Although not all of the differences between Haitians and the other three groups are due to the period of immigration, it does mediate experiences, conditions and status.

The interview questionnaire is a combination of closed- and open-ended questions and is divided into three basic sections. The first focuses on present and past housing conditions and perceptions of neighbourhoods, neighbours and neighbouring; the second examines social networks and the importance of kin and friends in adjusting to life in Toronto and Montréal,

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[1] A small number of interviews have been excluded because they were either not usable due to the problems in the interview or because the individual did not fit the criteria of the survey (were not from one of the birthplace groups or had lived in Canada for more than 25 years). In total 173 interviews were conducted and 158 were used in the final analysis (3 Afro-Caribbean, 5 Haitian, 2 Toronto Latin American and 4 Montréal Latin American interviews were eliminated from the analysis).

particularly at the neighbourhood scale; and finally the third section explores the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the respondents and their immediate family (see Appendix A).

Basic Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Each Sample Group

Before discussing the housing experiences of each group in detail, it is important to note demographic and socio-economic characteristics that are critical in understanding housing geographies, experiences and status. As we have seen in earlier chapters, housing conditions can be influenced by a range of factors, including household type, income and gender, and therefore knowing a bit about the respondents is a necessary first step.

Toronto Afro-Caribbeans: Given difficulties in finding participants in Toronto, the sample was expanded beyond Jamaicans to include individuals born elsewhere in the English-speaking Caribbean, excluding Guyana. However, the vast majority of respondents were born in Jamaica (60.5%) and their last place of residence before coming to Canada was a country in the Caribbean (55.3% Jamaica and 39.5% Trinidad and Tobago). How individuals self-defined their ethnicity, however, is quite diverse. Out of the 36 people who responded to this question, 44% said they were Jamaican and 28% said they were Afro-Caribbean. Importantly, 28% also cited some other ethnicity (usually 'black') or described themselves in some way (a woman of colour, for example). In terms of period of immigration, the sample is almost equally divided between those who have been in Canada less than 10 years (20 respondents) and those who have been here between 10 to 20 years (18 respondents). The majority of individuals were also far from new to city life when they arrived in Toronto as 32% indicated that they had lived in a city of over 750,000 people and another 34% said they lived in a more moderate size city (50,000-750,000) before migrating.[2]

An overwhelming proportion of the individuals interviewed from the Caribbean are women (71%) and, to some degree, this simply reflects the greater number of women in this

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[2] The Afro-Caribbean sample is somewhat distinct relative to the other groups in terms of the number of individuals who lived either in small towns or rural areas before migrating to Canada (34%). Only the Latin American sample in Montréal comes close to approximating the Afro-Caribbeans in this respect.

community overall.[3] Among all of the respondents, 32% were married and 55% said they were single. Only 8% indicated that they were either separated or divorced. There were 20 respondents living with children at home, and among these individuals 40% were single (all women) and an additional 15% were either separated/divorced or widowed (only one man). In addition, 12 individuals indicated that they had children living outside of their household and most of these children (52%) were living outside of Canada, which is the largest percentage among any of the birthplace groups. The individuals in the sample are all adults and for the most part quite young - 76% were between 18 and 44 years of age and only 4 individuals (10%) were over age 65. In terms of household income, 34 respondents answered this question and the majority (53%) were in the middle income category ($30,000-54,999). Very few individuals were in the lowest income category (18%) and only one person indicated that their household had no income. The personal incomes of individuals, as might be expected, were on average less than total household income with 3 individuals indicating that they had no personal income and 35% reporting that they made less than $30,000 per year. Only one individual made more than $55,000.

Toronto Latin Americans: We encountered numerous obstacles in trying to identify Central American immigrants in Toronto and were forced to broaden the sample base to Latin Americans from Mexico, Peru and Columbia in order to find a sufficient number of individuals. Although this sample is more heterogeneous in terms of birthplace and ethnicity than the three others, 81% of those who elected to self-define their ethnicity indicated that they were Latino.[4] The largest single birthplace group in this sample is from El Salvador (33%), followed by individuals from the three countries identified above in South America (38%) and migrants born elsewhere in Central America and Mexico (29%). The last country of residence is also a bit more complicated among this sample group because a larger number of those interviewed are refugees. The largest number of individuals left a country somewhere in either Central or South America, but 9 out of 45 interviewees had either lived in the United States, Haiti or a country in the English-speaking Caribbean before coming to Canada. As is the case among Afro-Caribbean immigrants, the vast majority of individuals had some exposure to large city life before coming to Canada - 69% had lived in a city of over 750,000 people and

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[3] The large number of female respondents undoubtedly reflects the fact that the interviews were conducted by women who in part used their own social networks to identify respondents. In addition, the interviewers were told to only interview people they felt comfortable with and in locales that were relatively safe.

[4] In all of the sample groups many individuals elected not to define their ethnicity when questioned. Among Latin Americans in Toronto, 36 out of 45 people answered this question.

an additional 20% had lived in a more modest-size city of between 50,000 and 750,000 people. For the most part, the people interviewed were not rural peasants in Latin America.

The Latin American sample from Toronto also is biased towards women (87%) and, like the Afro-Caribbean sample, a significant proportion of respondents are single (36%) or separated, divorced or widowed (29%). A minority of the people surveyed are married (36%). Although the percentage of people married is quite small, the vast majority of respondents had children living at home with them (73%). Only 3 men in the sample have children living with them, and all of these men are married. Among the 30 women with children at home, there is considerable diversity in their marital status. The vast majority of these women with children are married (43%), but a significant number are separated (17%) or divorced (7%). Unlike the Afro-Caribbean respondents, only 13 out of the 45 Latin Americans have children living away from home, and of the 20 children so identified, 7 are living outside of Canada with the remainder spread in and around the Toronto area. Like Afro-Caribbean immigrants, the majority of Latin Americans surveyed are quite young - 76% are under 44 years of age and only 7% are over 65 years old. One of the major distinctions between Afro-Caribbeans and Latin Americans is their income bracket. Among the 43 Latin Americans who responded to the income question, 1 person reported having no household income and 74% said they lived in a household that earns less than $30,000 per year. The earnings of individual respondents was also quite meager, with 6 people reporting no personal income at all and 74% saying they earned less than $30,000 per year.

As the earlier analysis of census data indicated, Latin Americans are relatively poor, a status that, to a degree, reflects their recency of arrival and the large number of refugees within this population. Setting aside the income differences, Latin Americans share a considerable amount in common with Afro-Caribbean immigrants in terms of demographic and socio-economic characteristics. It is important to emphasize that both the Afro-Caribbean and Latin American samples are strongly dominated by women and, although there are numerous children present within households, the women themselves live in a variety of types of households and neither of the samples is dominated by married couples.

Montréal Haitians: In terms of birthplace and ethnic origin, the Montréal Haitians are the most homogeneous of the four samples with all but one individual having been born in Haiti. In addition, 82% of individuals self-defined their ethnicity as Haitian. However, as has already been discussed above and in earlier chapters, the Haitian immigrant population is made up of waves of individuals whose migration to Montréal was dependent in large measure on

conditions of political persecution and economic crisis in Haiti itself. As a consequence, many Haitians have been in Montréal for a relatively long period of time (20 years or more) and while others are more recent migrants (last 15 years or less). In terms of constructing the sample, we tried to identify individuals from both cohorts and in the end we were able to interview 15 people who have been in Canada less than 20 years (the majority less than 15 years) and another 24 who have been in Canada for between 20 to 25 years.[5] The vast majority of the people interviewed migrated to Canada directly from Haiti (85%), and only 4 individuals indicated that they had lived in the United States for a period of time before coming to Canada. As was the case for all of the groups studied, the majority of Haitians had lived either in a moderate- or large-size city in Haiti and none of them lived in a small town or rural area prior to migrating.

Unlike the samples constructed in Toronto, the Haitian sample is almost equally divided between women and men (19 and 20 respectively) and 43% of respondents are married. Like the Toronto samples, important segments of the Haitian sample are single (18%), divorced (23%) and separated (13%). In short, although there is greater gender parity in this sample, considerable variety remains in the types of households to which people belong. A slightly smaller percentage of Haitians relative to Latin Americans in Toronto live in households with their children (58%), and among those individuals living with children many are married (9 out of 10 male respondents living with children are married, but the same is true for only 2 out of 12 women). Haitian women with children living at home are much more likely to be divorced or separated (7 women) or single (2 women). Reflecting the fact that many of the individuals interviewed have been in Canada for a long period of time and that many of their children are now adults and living on their own, the vast majority of children living away from home reside in and around Montréal, usually within close proximity of their parents' residence. Only 15% of the children not at home live outside of Canada. Unlike the two Toronto samples, the Haitian respondents are on average slightly older. Only 28% are under 44 years of age, but 44% are between 45 and 54 years old. None of the people interviewed are over 65 years old. Given the age structure of the community and the length of time that the majority of respondents have been in Canada, it is somewhat surprising that a large segment of the sample lives in relatively low-income households. Out of the 35 Haitians who answered the income questions, 54% live in households that earn less than $30,000 per year and only 31% live in middle-income households ($30,000 to $54,999). While no

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[5] Five Haitian interviews were excluded from the analysis because the individuals have been in Canada for more than 25 years.

respondent said that they live in a household with no income, one person did indicate that they had no personal income and a large percentage of individuals overall said that their personal income was less than $30,000 (62%). Although the Haitians have been in Canada on average longer than individuals in the two Toronto samples and, as we will see, the Montréal Latin Americans, they are not socio-economically substantially better off than the other groups. As the earlier analysis of census data indicated, Haitian immigrants tend to occupy a middle-ground position between European, Chinese and South Asian immigrants and other recent migrants from the Developing World.

Montréal Latin Americans: Compared to the Latin American sample constructed in Toronto, the Montréal sample is much more homogeneous in terms of birthplace and ethnicity. Primarily due to excellent contacts developed with one Latin American immigrant aid organization in Montréal (COCLA), the interviewer was able to restrict the sample to only individuals from El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala. In fact, 76% of the 37 people interviewed were from El Salvador and 65% self-identified their ethnicity as Latino. The remaining respondents either identified their ethnicity as Salvadorean or did not answer this question.[6] Responses to the question about country of last permanent residence are much more diverse, with the largest percentage of respondents indicating that they left directly from El Salvador (35%) and the second largest (27%) citing residency in the United States prior to coming to Canada. As was true among Latin Americans in Toronto, the majority of respondents in Montréal had lived in Canada for 10 years or less (68%), but the vast majority (83%) had lived in Montréal for over 5 years. As is the case for all of the groups, the majority of Latin Americans were city dwellers before arriving in Montréal, although like Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Toronto, an important component had either lived in a small town or a rural area directly before migrating (22%).

The Montréal Latin American sample is the only one in which significantly more men than women were interviewed (60% men), and it is also the sample with the greatest proportion of individuals living with a spouse (46%). In fact, the Latin American and Haitian samples are virtually indistinguishable in terms of marital status with 19%, 16% and 16% of

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[6] As was true for all of the sample groups, an important segment of respondents refused or could not answer the question about ethnicity. In the case of Montréal Latin Americans, 7 out of 37 did not answer, and many found the question itself confusing or difficult. Many of the people interviewed indicated that they only came to see themselves as 'Latino' through everyday experiences in Montréal in which francophones and anglophones defined them as Latino (see also Occhipinti 1996).

Latin Americans being either single, divorced or separated respectively.[7] Only 46% of Latin Americans respondents in Montréal reported living with children, which is the smallest percentage among the four sample groups. All of the 7 male respondents who said they had children living at home were married, whereas only 5 of the 10 female respondents were married. Only one woman living with children was single and the remaining 4 were either separated or divorced. A small percentage of the respondents said they had children living away from home (38%) and most of these children were living on and around the Island of Montréal. Only 33% of all children not living at home were residing outside of Canada, a percentage that is virtually identical to that among Latin Americans living in Toronto. Like the two sample groups in Toronto, the vast majority (62%) of Latin American respondents in Montréal are less than 44 years old, although a slightly greater proportion of people interviewed are over 65 years of age (16%). In terms of household and personal income, this sample stands out as being the poorest of the four. Among the 32 out of 37 respondents who answered the income question, 87.5% indicated that their household earns less than $30,000, although no one said their household did not receive any income. Personal income levels are worse with 2 people reporting no income and 88% indicating that they make less than $30,000. None of the Latin Americans in Montréal reported either household or personal incomes in the highest category (over $55,000).

To a slightly greater extent than even Toronto Latin Americans, the Montréal Latin American sample is dominated by individuals with very low incomes and who have been forced, either by dint of economic or political pressures, to leave their home country. Latin Americans in both cities provide insight into the experiences of refugees, as well as the housing conditions of some of Toronto's and Montréal's most socio-economically marginal immigrants who are overwhelmingly found in the private rental market and whose social contacts rarely extend into the home ownership sector.

Beyond simply living in the same city, the Latin American and Haitian samples from Montréal share much in common, even after factoring in the important differences in terms of period of immigration and age. Unlike the Toronto samples, there is much greater gender parity in these two and a significant portion of individuals in each group live in low-income households. In terms of income levels, none of the four groups is particularly prosperous, although a greater proportion of Afro-Caribbeans in Toronto might be classified as middle class (household incomes between $30,000 - $54,999). This very cursory sketch of selected

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[7] A slightly smaller percentage of Latin Americans are divorced and a larger percentage are married.

demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the four groups is intended simply to establish a context upon which to build the analysis and discussion of housing conditions and satisfaction among respondents in the two cities, as well as social networks and neighbouring that will be examined in the next chapter. To that end, the next section compares and contrasts the types of housing and neighbourhoods occupied by the four sample groups.

Dwelling Characteristics and Housing Conditions

Compared to the British/French Canadian population described in earlier chapters, relatively few respondents in any of the four sample groups live in owned housing. Afro-Caribbeans and Haitians showed virtually identical levels of home ownership (approximately 33% in each case), while none of the Latin Americans in Toronto and only 8% in Montréal owned their housing. As Table 6.1 shows, relatively few respondents lived in either public rental or co-op housing, and the majority in all groups live in private rental housing.

Table 6.1: Tenure Patterns of the Four Sample Groups					
Group	Own	Rent (private)	Rent (public)	Co-op Housing	Total
Caribbeans	34.0	58.0	5.0	3.0	100.0%
Toronto Latin Americans	0.0	73.0	18.0	7.0	100.0%
Haitians	33.0	59.0	5.0	3.0	100.0%
Montréal Latin Americans	8.0	68.0	11.0	11.0	100.0%

These results suggest that factors besides ethnic identity may be playing a role in tenure behaviour. Given the recency of arrival of many Latin American immigrants, one suspects that their very strong presence in private rental housing in both cities is at least in part a function of length of time in Canada and perhaps also due to income constraints. To test this hypothesis, a the Kendall Partial Rank correlation coefficient ($\tau_{xy,z}$) value was calculated for each of the groups. This test calculates a correlation value between two variables (in this case, tenure and period of immigration) while controlling for a third variable (household income). "In partial

correlation, the effects of variation by a third variable upon the relation between the X and Y variables are eliminated. In other words, the correlation between X and Y is found with the third variable Z kept constant" (Siegel 1956). Only for Latin Americans in Toronto and Montréal was the relationship between tenure and period of immigration found to be significant at a 95% confidence interval when household income was controlled (Toronto: $\tau_{xy.z}=.36$, $p=.024$; Montréal: $\tau_{xy.z}=.45$, $p=.011$) .[8] Among Afro-Caribbeans and Haitians, however, household income clearly exerts an influence on this relationship, as $\tau_{xy.z}$ values were only -0.15 and 0.26 respectively and not significant. In this respect, the recency of arrival of many Latin American immigrants must be born in mind when interpreting their housing conditions.

Results from the study by Sarre *et al.* (1989) of housing conditions among West Indian, South Asian [in their terminology, Indian], Italian and white British households cautions attributing all of the variation noted in home ownership behaviour to socio-economic factors. "This [variations in home ownership] reflects a strong cultural tradition of land owning amongst Asians and Italians, a tradition characterized by the perceived importance of ownership for social standing, a dislike of landlords and a heavy reliance upon community resources. These forces have strongly discouraged many members of these groups from approaching the public sector in the town" (Sarre et al. 1989, 240). They further assert that cultural differences are not only manifest in preferences for one form of tenure over another, but also in the ability to achieve home ownership goals.

> Cultural differences not only helped shape the tenure choice of our sub-groups, but also mediated in the formation of aspirations, the search process and the handling of financial affairs of the groups. Internal community bonds, which are strengthened by chain migration, extended family networks, traditions of mutual support and relationships based on social honour, obligation and reciprocity, have had particularly far reaching implications for both Asian and Italian housing strategies. ... In the face of exclusion, groups have at times been forced to draw upon their own resources the achieve their housing goals (Sarre *et al.* 1989, 241-42).

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[8] To create clear and interpretable ranks, the tenure variable was re-coded and people in public rental and co-op housing were placed in the same category. The tenure variable was ranked as follows: 1. Rental (private), 2. Rental (public) and 3. Own. The period of immigration variable was ranked from most to least recent arrival in Canada.

Each of the sample groups have a small number of people currently renting public housing. In addition, some respondents at one time, *but no longer*, lived in public housing. Among the sample respondents, 7 Afro-Caribbeans, 3 Toronto and 3 Montréal Latin American immigrants, and 4 Haitians had lived in public housing for a period of time after arriving in Canada. The number of respondents is very small and consequently precludes discussing in any depth or with certainty why they left public housing. However, among those who had lived in public housing, the most often reported reason for leaving was a problem with the dwelling itself in that it was inadequate in some way (typically inadequate for raising children). Other reasons mostly revolved around a variety of neighbourhood characteristics such as crime, overcrowding or a general sense that the area was not a good place to raise children.

Reflecting the large proportion of individuals in rental housing, the majority of respondents in both of the Toronto groups live in high-rise apartment buildings, followed by individuals in detached/semi-detached housing and low-rise apartments (Table 6.2). In contrast, low-rise *apartments* in blocks of under 5 storeys, followed by duplexes and triplexes, accommodate the majority of Haitian and Latin American immigrants in Montréal. It is worth noting that low-rise apartments are much more important as a source of housing than duplexes/triplexes among the Latin Americans. Although it is not possible to press the point given the biases inherent in snowball sampling, the housing occupied by Latin American and, to a lesser extent, Haitian immigrants does lend some credence to the assertion made in the last chapter that blocks of post-World War II low-rise apartment buildings are an important source of housing for many new immigrants. In fact, in Montréal just over 60% of all Haitian and Latin American immigrants who have been in Canada for 10 years or less live in low-rise apartments. In a similar manner, the Toronto evidence points towards high-rises as an important source of housing for new immigrants, with 40% and 50% of the most recent cohort of Afro-Caribbean and Latin American immigrants living in high-rise apartments.

The differences noted here in types of housing occupied are similar to those noted by Sarre *et al.* (1989). While certainly cognizant of distinct differences in household income, employment and access to information about available dwellings and mortgage financing, the authors once again emphasize that cultural values regarding housing type play important, if variable, roles.

In terms of housing type, the two white groups in the Sarre *et al.* (1989) study identify semi-detached houses as the target (40% of British, and 47% of Italian), and although these

Table 6.2: Dwelling Types Occupied by the Four Sample Groups					
Group	Detached/ Semi- Detached	Duplex/ Triplex	Low-Rise Apart.	High-Rise Apart.	Total
Caribbeans	24.0	16.0	8.0	40.0	100.0%
Toronto Latin Americans	13.0	11.0	13.0	53.3	100.0%
Haitians	28.2	31.0	31.0	10.3	100.0%
Montréal Latin Americans	3.0	16.0	68.0	11.0	100.0%

are the most frequent substantive aspiration for black groups (27% of Indians, 33% of West Indians), 'anything' was the most frequent response of these groups (48% of Indians [South Asians], 46% of West Indian) considerably outnumbering the 29% of Italian and 35% of white British respondents who were not specific about type. For three groups, preferences for terraces were similar to those for detached houses, around 12% of each group opting for each type. However, Indians were twice as likely to seek terraces (20%) as detached (10%). (Sarre et al. 1989, 169-70). These variations, they argue, reflect "... both their cultural preferences and the degree to which they have been able to persuade institutions to accede to their wishes" (Sarre et al. 1989, 178).

The age of dwellings also highlights some important distinctions between the groups. In both Toronto and Montréal, Latin American immigrants tend to live in housing that is on average slightly older than that occupied by Afro-Caribbean and Haitian immigrants. In Toronto, the average age of dwellings occupied by Afro-Caribbeans is 22.3 years compared to 32 years for Latin Americans, while in Montréal the average is 25.4 years for Haitians and 30 years for Latin Americans. These data, however, must be taken as very crude indicators as many respondents simply did not know the age of their housing and could not answer the question. Others simply took their best guess.

Living space also strongly differentiates the groups. Respondents were asked to count the number of rooms in their dwellings, including the kitchen but excluding the bathroom(s). In both cities, the Haitian and Afro-Caribbean immigrants generally lived in larger dwellings

compared to Latin Americans. No Afro-Caribbeans lived in dwellings of less than 3 rooms and only 16% live in dwellings of only 3 rooms. The majority of Afro-Caribbeans (53%) live in dwellings of 4 to 6 rooms and 32% in dwellings of over 6 rooms. The same general pattern holds true for Haitians in Montréal, with 66% living in houses of between 4 to 6 rooms. Latin Americans in Toronto occupy somewhat of a middle ground position with the majority (51%) living in 4 to 6 room dwellings. Latin Americans in Montréal, on the other hand, tend to live in the densest conditions. Among these respondents, 38% live in places of just 2 rooms or less and an additional 24% occupy dwellings of just 3 rooms. In fact, only 35% of the Montréal Latin Americans live in dwellings with 4 to 6 rooms. As the description of socio-economic conditions among the Montréal Latin American sample highlighted, household poverty undoubtedly plays a major role in influencing the size of housing occupied by these respondents.

In many ways, these data simply confirm and elaborate upon the analysis of similar variables from the 1991 census carried out in Chapters IV and V. The small samples constructed for the interviews mirror the housing characteristics and status of the larger populations from which they derive, which is in many ways reassuring given the way in which respondents were identified. The analysis has highlighted important differences in housing status between the groups that are in part related to birthplace status, but also time of arrival and household income. Yet the real strength of the interview survey is not its contribution to describing current housing conditions, but rather its exploration of the experiences of immigrants in the housing market and their perceptions of existing housing and neighbourhood characteristics. It is to the issue of housing satisfaction and search that the analysis now turns.

Housing Satisfaction and Search

Given the differences noted in tenure, type and size of dwelling, it is perhaps not surprising that there are important differences between the four groups in the degree to which their current housing meets their space needs. All respondents were asked whether their dwellings were large enough for their household's needs, and in addition to 'yes' or 'no', were given the option of saying that their house was 'too big'. The vast majority of people in all groups felt their housing was big enough, although 76% of Afro-Caribbeans and Haitians felt this way compared to 62% of Latin Americans in both cities. Interestingly, out of the entire sample, only 2 Haitian respondents said their housing was too big. If we exclude these two individuals, and test whether there are significant differences between the samples with respect to

evaluating the size of their housing we find no significant differences between the groups. The differences were also not significant when the two groups in each city were compared against one another. It should be noted, however, that several of the Latin American respondents in both cities indicated to the interviewers that they were evaluating their degree of satisfaction with dwelling space and type against the conditions that they had left behind in their country of origin, and not in terms of the array of potential housing options available in a typical Canadian city.

There is also a remarkable degree of convergence between the groups in how they describe their 'dream' home. When asked to imagine a situation where they personally could choose to live anywhere and did not have to take account of their household's wants, over 60% of all respondents identified a single-detached house as their preferred type of housing and, with the exception of Toronto Latin Americans, only approximately 20% saw an apartment as their first choice of a place to live (Table 6.3). While Sarre *et al.*'s (1989, 169-70) respondents were less uniform in terms of their 'target' housing (detached, semi-detached, terraces etc.), very few individuals stated a preference for apartments. In this respect, all groups mirror the housing aspirations of many Canadians (Harris and Pratt 1993), although the majority in each group is far from realizing this goal.

Table 6.3: Preferred 'Dream' Dwelling Type for the Four Sample Groups				
Group	*Detached House*	*Apartment*	*Other*	*Total*
Caribbeans	79.0	21.0	0.0	100.0%
Toronto Latin Americans	62.0	36.0	2.0	100.0%
Haitians	72.0	21.0	8.0	100.0%
Montréal Latin Americans	71.0	26.0	3.0	100.0%

Respondents were subsequently asked about where they would live if they could spend twice as much money on housing. Interestingly, many of the respondents in all of the groups did not feel that they wanted to leave their present neighbourhood in order to find their 'dream' home. Approximately 30% in each group wanted to move to a new neighbourhood,

but between 30 to 40% of respondents, depending on the group, said that they would want to find a different house but in their *present* neighbourhood. Among Toronto and Montréal Latin Americans and Haitians, approximately 30% also indicated that they would prefer to stay in their present home and, by implication, the same neighbourhood (only 21% of Afro-Caribbeans chose this option). Such a strong attachment to neighbourhood appears to not be extraordinary as 55% of Sarre *et al.*'s sample "... indicated a desire to remain in the area in which they currently lived" (1989, 178). This preference for the existing neighbourhood seems to reflect genuine levels of satisfaction rather than simply a poor sense of other housing opportunities or simply an inability to imagine living elsewhere.

The explanations for why they would choose a particular home/neighbourhood combination did vary somewhat between groups. The most frequently given response by all of the groups, except Montréal Latin Americans, was that they either liked their present house and/or neighbourhood or that their home met all of their needs (approximately 30% of Afro-Caribbeans and Haitians and 43% of Toronto Latin Americans). Among those who wanted to change dwellings, most said that they wanted a more comfortable, spacious home and a small minority from all of the groups indicated that they wanted to live in a quieter neighbourhood. Highlighting the cramped living conditions of Latin Americans in Montréal, the most frequently cited reasons for their 'ideal' house/neighbourhood selection were a desire to live in a more comfortable, bigger or nicer house (37%) and that they simply wanted to live in a house (11%).

Equally revealing about present housing conditions and satisfaction levels are the reasons cited for leaving their previous dwelling. In Toronto, the desire to own a home was cited by the greatest proportion of Afro-Caribbeans (27%), followed by the previous dwelling being too expensive (24%), that it was physically inadequate or that they wanted more privacy (22% of respondents cited these last two factors). The expense of the previous dwelling was the leading reason given among Latin Americans in Toronto (27%), followed by the physical inadequacy of the dwelling (22%), and that their previous dwelling was just simply the first place that they lived upon arrival in Canada and that they had no intention of staying (16% of respondents). In addition, 'isolation' was a factor given by 13% of Latin Americans, something not mentioned by any of the Afro-Caribbean respondents.

In Montréal, physical inadequacy of the previous dwelling was the most frequently cited factor for moving by Haitian respondents (32%), followed by a desire to own their home (24%) and a change in marital status (19%). Like Latin Americans in Toronto, a sizable

number of Haitian respondents (16%) also cited feeling isolated in their previous locale. Like their counterparts in Toronto, Latin Americans in Montréal reported the price of housing and physical inadequacy as the leading reasons for moving (22% of respondents gave both of these reasons). But unlike the other three groups, crime and danger were also cited by Montréal Latin Americans as a leading reason for moving from a previous address (17% of respondents); very few people in the other groups mentioned this as a factor. In further contrast to Haitians and Latin Americans in Toronto, very few Latin Americans in Montréal reported feeling isolated in their previous neighbourhood.

Physical inadequacy, a desire for more space and home ownership aspirations also rank high among the reasons given for moving by respondents in the Sarre *et al.* (1989) study. "The reasons for moving given by those not forced to move are dominated by three categories. Over one third of the reasons had to do with improvements in the home itself; another third were related to tenure, two thirds of whom moved to become owner-occupiers; 24% were brought about by particular circumstances, some almost amount to a forced move, some much more trivial" (Sarre *et al.* 1989, 164).

Respondents were asked not only about why they moved, but also about how they found their present dwellings. In the search for housing, the groups often used quite different sources and strategies. The most frequently cited source for housing information among Afro-Caribbeans in Toronto was a real estate agent (32%), followed by friends and the newspaper (18% of respondents said they used these two sources). Only 2 respondents used relatives to find a place to live. Likewise, a large proportion of Haitians used an estate agent (23%), but an equal number also just simply used 'For Rent' adds in the newspaper. Unlike these two groups, Latin Americans in both Toronto and Montréal tended to rely much more heavily on friends as a source of information about housing. In Toronto, 38% of respondents used friends, while an identical number of people used newspapers and relatives (18% of respondents mentioned these two sources). Like their counterparts in Toronto, Latin Americans in Montréal relied a great deal on friends to help them find housing (43%), followed by just simply scouting out neighbourhoods for 'For Rent' signs (24%). Like Haitians, relatively few Latin Americans gave relatives as a source of information about housing opportunities (3%). Real estate agents and newspapers, so important for Haitians and Afro-Caribbeans, were used by very few Latin Americans. We believe that many of the differences between the Latin Americans and the other two groups can be attributed to their overwhelming presence in the rental market and a reliance on informal networks of information, such as might be provided by friends, to find a 'good' apartment.

Notable in these findings is the critical role played by personal contacts - friends, relatives and just scouting out neighbourhoods - in the search for housing. Sarre *et al.* (1989) also noted the importance of such informal sources and, based on their larger samples and more in-depth questioning regarding moves, contend that there are distinct cultural biases in information that inherently direct people to particular neighbourhoods and reinforce existing patterns of ethnicity in the city.

> As expected, the white British rely largely on estate agents - 66% used agents to locate their present home, with the rest using a variety of other sources. At the opposite extreme were the Indians: only 17% found their current home through an estate agent, twice as many relying on friends and relations and near half using 'for sale' signs, often without visiting the agent s who had put them up. The Italians and West Indians were intermediate, Italians nearer the British and West Indians nearer the Indians, but in both cases the majority used informal sources only and it is likely that reliance on personal contacts or observations bias their search towards existing ethnic concentrations (Sarre *et al.* 1989, 165-66)

To this point, the most striking differences between the groups in terms of housing status and experiences in the housing market seem to be a function of period of immigration, differences in the Toronto and Montréal housing markets overall, and ethnicity. While there are differences in housing status between Afro-Caribbean and Haitian immigrants, the degree of commonality should not be underestimated. An important segment of respondents in the two groups live in owned dwellings and most, regardless of tenure, seem quite satisfied with their current housing, at least in terms of space. In addition, and very much like their Latin American counterparts, a majority of respondents in each group identify a single-detached house as their 'ideal' or 'dream' home, preferably in the neighbourhood where they currently reside. The housing conditions of Latin Americans, however, are somewhat worse than those experienced by the majority of Afro-Caribbeans and Haitians, with very few individuals living in owned or detached/semi-detached housing and many residing in quite small dwellings, especially in Montréal.

Housing satisfaction, of course, is not simply a function of the type of dwelling or its size, but is very much related to the broader neighbourhood location. As Clare Cooper Marcus has noted, "For most of us, the type of setting we live in is as important or more important than the type of house" (1995, 192). To that end, the next section goes on to examine the

broader residential context, from the city as a whole to the neighbourhood, as experienced by respondents from the four groups.

The Residential Context: From the City to the Neighbourhood

Why individuals live in particular types of housing and parts of a city can be greatly influenced by perceptions of that city and its neighbourhoods. It is also a function of personal identification with place, either in the past or present, stage in the life-cycle, intrinsic personality traits, and constraints (Cooper Marcus 1995, 193). For many of the immigrants we interviewed, where to live in either Toronto or Montréal seemed to be dictated more by financial constraint and knowledge of housing options than anything else. For others, however, friends and family play important roles as mediators in decisions made about places to live and levels of satisfaction.

In the interview, we began our exploration of place and a sense of satisfaction at the largest and most general of scales, the city itself. When asked about why they chose to live in Toronto, 61% of Afro-Caribbean respondents said it was the presence of relatives or friends that encouraged them to select the city; the next most popular reason given was the possibility of employment (26%). A similarly large percentage of Haitians cited the presence of family and friends as important (55% of respondents), followed by the sense that Montréal was a good place to live (29%). Employment opportunities were reported by only a small number of Haitians who were interviewed. In both Toronto and Montréal, a smaller but still important percentage of Latin American respondents said they chose their city because of relatives and friends (49% and 47% of respondents respectively), and almost the same number said that they had simply been 'placed' in one or the other city by Immigration officials (approximately 18%). An additional 18% of Latin Americans said they chose Toronto because of employment opportunities, but only 3% their counterparts in Montréal gave this as a reason for locating in that city.

The influence of friends and family on initial location decisions was also cited by a remarkably large number of the people interviewed by Sarre *et al.* (1989). In their study, they found that in selecting their first home in Bedford, "... half of respondents answered 'no choice' or 'cheap', a third (36%) 'to live with relatives/friends' and the remainder (14%) 'knew the landlord'. Reasons for choosing the particular area were dominated by the need 'to be near friends/ relatives/ facilities or work' (63%); next came 'no choice' (32%) and only 5%

were seeking a dwelling of particular type or tenure" (Sarre *et al.* 1989, 164-65). These results, coupled with those from the present study, indicate that people seek out places where they have at least some rudimentary social networks and possible forms of support, no matter how weak. The number of people who cite friends and family as a positive attribute of a city and, as we will see, as a reason for selecting a particular neighbourhood, certainly speaks against a conceptualization of the immigrant experience as individualistic and unsupported. It also further lends credence to the suggestion made earlier that a bias towards friends and family directs housing search toward certain neighbourhoods where the concentration of people belonging to that particular ethnic group is already high.

When asked about what they saw as the 'best things' about living in their respective cities, several factors were important to virtually all of the groups. The most frequently cited positive factor for Afro-Caribbeans, Toronto Latin Americans and Haitians was the transportation system in each city (27-30% of all respondents). The second most popular response among Afro-Caribbeans was the aesthetic qualities of city itself, that is the city is physically attractive (27% of Afro-Caribbean respondents), and this was followed by good recreation facilities, employment opportunities and the possibility of many different life choices. For Toronto Latin Americans, an equally large number of respondents mentioned the transportation system and the tranquility of the city itself (29% of respondents mentioned each of these two factors). The second most popular positive quality of Toronto as a place to live for Latin Americans was the quality of social services (24%). In addition to the transportation system, Haitians reported the ability to speak French in daily life as one of the good things about living in Montréal. Many of these respondents said that they chose Montréal because one of the principal languages is French, and they felt this linguistic advantage was helpful in finding employment and integrating into the larger society. Approximately one-fifth of the Haitian respondents also identified the availability of jobs (22%) as a positive factor for Montréal, even given the city's sluggish economy.

The transportation system relative to other factors falls away as being an important factor for Latin Americans living in Montréal. Instead, the most frequently cited positive quality about Montréal was the ability to live in tranquility and not in a repressive political/social environment (39% of respondents), followed by employment opportunities, parks and the aesthetic qualities of the city itself (20% of respondents mention all three of these factors). The idea of 'tranquility' requires some elaboration as it is such an important factor for Latin Americans in both cities. For some of the respondents, tranquility was meant in the sense of a freedom from a harried urban lifestyle. But for the majority it connoted a

freedom from political turmoil and repression, as well as the trials of the refugee experience (Occhipinti 1996). It was in response to this question that the refugee experience as a factor in everyday life became most transparent.

Given that such a large proportion of individuals reported the presence of family and/or friends as factors influencing their decision to settle in either Toronto or Montréal, it is somewhat surprising that so few people indicated that family and friends were among the best things about actually living in the city. Only 1 Afro-Caribbean and 6 Haitians identified family as one of the best things about their city, a sentiment shared by no Latin Americans in either city. Likewise, very few respondents mentioned the presence of other people from their ethnic group as a positive factor - only 1 Afro-Caribbean, 5 Latin Americans (Toronto), and 3 Haitians. Many of the respondents seemed to have relatively weak ties with formal community groups organized by ethnicity, and some Latin Americans in both cities lamented the fact that they could not find national organizations to join, for instance Salvadorean or Nicaraguan groups. The ambiguous quality of family and friends in response to this question may reflect more the way in which people interpreted the question than a weak importance attached to kin, friends and acquaintances after they begin to live in the city. Looking at the responses, it seems that people evaluate the city at large as a place in physical and economic terms, and much more secondarily on the basis of social or cultural attributes. One suspects that family and friends were a taken-for-granted part of the city and thus were not seen as a particular quality of the city per se.

Respondents were also asked to identify what they did not like about living in either Toronto or Montréal, and the majority found this to be a much more difficult question to answer. There were many more people who either gave just one reason or declined to answer entirely, saying that overall they liked their city and could see no major disadvantages. Many contended that their present housing conditions were so much better than what they left behind that they had few dislikes and as a consequence indicated more trivial problems, like the weather. For instance, among those who did answer, the cold climate was cited by a large proportion in every group. Expensive housing was reported by Afro-Caribbeans and Latin Americans in Toronto (19% and 20% respectively), but the leading disadvantage given by Latin Americans in Toronto was a perception of the city as dangerous and plagued by crime (31% of respondents). The leading negative quality associated with Montréal for Haitians was a sense of social isolation from francophone and anglophone culture in the city (28% of respondents). Crime, a lack of jobs and overcrowding were also cited by a number of Haitians, but few mention political uncertainty with regard to Québec's place in Canada as a

problem. In addition to the climate, Montréal Latin Americans most frequently mentioned a lack of jobs as negative quality associated with the city (35% of respondents), a factor most certainly linked to their own marginal economic position.

In assessing the bad things that they associated with life in Toronto and Montréal, some respondents directly pointed to racism,[9] but more commonly negative qualities associated with the social/cultural environment were described in oblique terms. A number of Afro-Caribbeans and Toronto Latin Americans described 'Canadians' as not friendly, aloof or 'cold' (17% and 16% of respondents respectively), and Latin Americans in Montréal mentioned language difficulties and problems communicating (12%) as problems when looking for employment. The small number of individuals who mentioned racism in both cities, in light of charges of racism made by many formal community organizations, is somewhat surprising. However, the respondents were asked about particular situations, such as problems encountered in trying to find a job or housing, and other researchers have shown that many people have difficulty determining whether their experience of discrimination is due to the dynamic of an exchange with someone or systemic racism. As an illustration, Murdie et al. (1997) found that individuals from some groups, such as Somali immigrants, are much more likely to blame themselves for negative experiences or to a lack of familiarity with Canadian culture, while people from other groups who have had more exposure to Canadian society and experiences of oblique or 'polite' racism, such as Jamaicans, are more likely to assess negative encounters as racism. It is not the intention of this study to investigate experiences of racism and consequently the questions asked are not the most appropriate for evaluating discrimination. Nevertheless, the answers that were given about the negative qualities of Toronto and Montréal point to this as an area worthy of further investigation, although using a more qualitative research strategy.

People can express a wide variety of emotions and perceptions about the cities where they live, but the city really lies at the opposite end of the scale continuum from the dwelling itself. In fact, most of the positive and negative qualities associated with Toronto or Montréal by the respondents usually had very little to do with neighbourhood environments where they spend most of their days or the people with whom they interact. For this reason, a series of questions were asked that were much more neighbourhood based in order to try to get a better sense of how comfortable immigrants feel within Canadian cities. To feel "at home" in a place

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[9] For instance, racism was cited by 14% of Afro-Caribbeans, 9% of Latin Americans (Toronto), 13% of Haitians and 15% of Latin Americans (Montréal).

means looking at more than just the physical house or the city itself. "Home embraces also the neighborhood, and if that fails to nurture and protect us, to express something positive about who we are, it matters little how beautiful or spacious our house is. .... [People] need a whole ecological setting in which they can feel 'at home'" (Cooper Marcus 1995, 214).

Many of the people surveyed in both Toronto and Montréal were quite rooted in their particular neighbourhoods. Over 73% of respondents in each of the four groups said that they had only lived in their present dwelling within that neighbourhood. While most respondents had made multiple moves within either Toronto or Montréal in the past, very few respondents had changed dwellings within their own neighbourhoods and relatively few had plans to move in the next few years. Quite simply, there are not many short distance movers in this sample, nor are there many prospective movers. As Renaud *et al.* (1993) have shown, the number of moves made by immigrant households tends to decline significantly during the first 3 years of residence in Canada and certainly this sample appears not to be an exception. In addition, over 50% of Haitians, as well as Toronto and Montréal Latin Americans, said that in the foreseeable future they would like to stay in their current neighbourhood. This response obviously reflects many of the positive qualities that respondents already mentioned with regard to their neighbourhood. Importantly, however, only 34% of Afro-Caribbeans said that they planned to stay in their present neighbourhood, and a very large percentage indicated that they planned to move to another neighbourhood (29%) or out of Toronto entirely (26%). Very few Latin Americans in Toronto and Haitians believed they might change neighbourhoods, although, in contrast, 32% of Latin Americans in Montréal did say that they plan to move to a different neighbourhood in the foreseeable future. Approximately one-fifth of Haitians and Toronto Latin Americans did indicate that they plan to move out of their city sometime in the near future.

Kin and friends may play a minor role in assessing the advantages of either Toronto or Montréal as places to live, but when asked why they chose their present neighbourhood, family and friendship bonds re-emerged as important factors. For Latin Americans in Toronto and Montréal, among the most frequently cited reasons for choosing their neighbourhood was that presence of friends and relatives (31% and 19% of respondents respectively). An even larger percentage of Afro-Caribbean and Haitians cited friends and relatives (49% and 37% respectively). More Afro-Caribbeans, however, noted proximity to their place of employment (51%) and 37% of Haitians gave affordability of housing in the area as a factor. It is important to note, however, that very few people in any of the groups identified the presence of people from their ethnic groups as a reasons for selecting their particular residential location.

While people gave many positive reasons for living in a particular neighbourhood, they were much less forthcoming in terms of neighbourhood problems. Housing costs and/or high taxes are the leading reasons given by respondents in all groups, followed by a range of other factors. For example, a number of Afro-Caribbeans and Latin Americans (Toronto) mentioned limited parking as a problem, while Haitians reported poor public transit and some Montréal Latin Americans said shops and services were too far away.

Respondents may not have been forthcoming about neighbourhood dislikes, but many more showed a strong sense of where they would not live in Toronto and Montréal. When asked if there were neighbourhoods that they would avoid, 92% of Afro-Caribbeans, 82% of Toronto Latin Americans, 74% of Haitians and 49% of Montréal Latin Americans responded in the affirmative. Among those who said there were neighbourhoods they would not live in, crime and the 'type of people' were the most frequently cited reasons among Afro-Caribbeans (63% and 14% respectively). *All* of the Toronto Latin American respondents also cited crime, followed by alcohol/drugs (31%) and the 'type of people' (17%). Crime was also the leading factor given by Haitian and Montréal Latin Americans (46% and 61% respectively), followed by the 'type of people' (Haitians) and overcrowding (Latin Americans).

Respondents were also asked if they could name specific neighbourhoods where they would not live. Most of the Toronto respondents were either reluctant or unable to identify specific places within the city, and those who did answer this question mentioned a variety of inner city neighbourhoods (no one neighbourhood stood out). Among Haitian immigrants, the most frequently mentioned area where they did not want to live was the suburban municipality of Montréal Nord (where a significant number of Haitian immigrants presently reside), as well as Rivière des Prairies and Point aux Trembles, also suburban areas, on the east side of the Island of Montréal. A wide variety of inner city neighbourhoods were also mentioned, most notably the largely working class francophone neighbourhoods of St. Henri and Hochelaga/Maisonneuve, as well as Parc Extension and Parc Jerry, two of the more ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in the inner city. A small number of Montréal Latin Americans also mentioned St. Henri and the downtown core in general as areas to avoid, as well as an array of inner city neighbourhoods on the Island of Montréal.

In response to other questions, we have already seen that family and friends are not incidental factors in affecting the choice of neighbourhoods in which to live. When asked directly whether it was *very* important to them to live close to their relatives and to see them a lot, over 60% of Toronto and Montréal Latin Americans and Haitians said it is a *very*

important factor. The need to see kin and friends *very* frequently was only cited by 45% of Afro-Caribbeans, although an additional 34% said that it was *somewhat* important.

Family and friends are clearly important factors in selecting a neighbourhood, but the ethnicity of neighbours is considerably less significant for most individuals. When asked directly about the ethnicity of their neighbours, just over 50% of Latin Americans in both Toronto and Montréal said that many of their neighbours were also Latino. In contrast, 66% of Afro-Caribbeans and 72% of Haitians said that most of their neighbours were *not* from their ethnic group. This may well account for why many respondents did not feel that the ethnicity of neighbours is a positive feature of their neighbourhood.

Respondents were also asked to rank whether it is *very* important, *somewhat* important or not important at all to live in a neighbourhood with other people from their ethnic or national group. A minority of people in all groups indicated that it is *very* important to them that neighbours be from the same ethnic group, although the number of respondents who fall into this category ranged from 8% of Afro-Caribbeans to 43% of Latin Americans in Montréal. However, if the *very* and *somewhat* important categories are combined, a majority of respondents in all groups, except Afro-Caribbeans[10], attached some degree of importance to the ethnicity of neighbours.

Neighbours can potentially contribute a great deal to feelings of belonging or being 'at home' in a particular place, and this is a subject that will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Yet neighbours are important for more than just their ascribed qualities of ethnicity or kinship. Perhaps highlighting the role played by cultural backgrounds, many of the respondents in all of the groups did not feel they were much like their neighbours in terms of lifestyle. Less than 20% of Afro-Caribbean, Montréal Latin American and Haitian immigrants felt that they were pretty much like their neighbours, while the largest proportion in each of these groups took a middle ground position saying that only *some* of their neighbours are like them (Afro-Caribbeans - 34%; Haitians - 44%; Latin Americans - 41%). Importantly, it must be noted that up to a quarter of Afro-Caribbean and Haitian immigrants said that it was impossible for them to judge (24% and 18% respectively). The responses of Latin Americans in Toronto are quite different from those of the other three groups. Among Toronto Latin Americans, 49% said that their neighbours are pretty much like them in lifestyle, but a large

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[10] Only 42% of Afro-Caribbeans said living in a neighbourhood with other Afro-Caribbeans nearby was either very or somewhat important.

segment (36%) also said that they were quite different.[11] Very few people in this group opted for a middle ground position of some neighbours being alike and others different (11%). Clearly, the Toronto Latin Americans diverge from the other three groups in how they assess similarities and differences between themselves and their neighbours.

Latin Americans in Toronto not only feel that they share a similar lifestyle with their neighbours, but they also display a strong degree of trust in their neighbours (Table 6.5). The largest proportion of all groups, except Afro-Caribbeans, believe that their neighbours can be trusted. Half of the Afro-Caribbean respondents, however, believed that their neighbours could *not* be trusted, which is considerably greater relative to the other three groups. Out of all of the groups in the survey, Haitians appear to have the greatest trust in their neighbours (54%). Although one might speculate that this may be a function of their greater period of time in Canada on average compared to the other groups, or that home owners are more likely to know their neighbours and therefore be more trusting (Michelson 1977), the data do not support either hypothesis. A slightly smaller proportion of Haitians who have been in Canada over 20 years say that their neighbours can be trusted, while owners and renters are virtually indistinguishable.

Table 6.4: Trust in Neighbours Among the Four Sample Groups				
	Can Be Trusted	*Cannot Be Trusted*	*Cannot Say*	*Total*
Caribbeans	39.5	50.0	10.5	100.0%
Toronto Latin Americans	48.9	40.0	11.1	100.0%
Haitians	53.8	20.5	25.6	100.0%
Montréal Latin Americans	48.6	40.5	10.8	100.0%

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[11] Interestingly, 51% of Toronto Latin Americans also said that many of their neighbours were from the same ethnic or national background, and this would tempt one to suggest that one of the reasons why such a large percentage also indicated that they shared a similar lifestyle is due to a similar ethnic background. However, when responses to ethnicity of neighbours and lifestyle of neighbours are cross-tabulated for the Toronto Latin American sample, only 46% of respondents who said that most of their neighbours were Latin Americans *also* indicated that their neighbours were like themselves in terms of lifestyle. For all of the groups, assessment of lifestyle was only weakly related to the ethnicity of neighbours. Other factors, such as family status, household income and housing type, are equally if not more important in making these assessments about lifestyle.

This section began by drawing attention to the fact that the type of setting where people live can be just as influential as the type of dwelling in influencing housing choices. Our respondents most certainly were able to identify a number of factors that they both liked and disliked about their cities and neighbourhoods, and among the more important positive qualities was the presence of kin and friends nearby. It would be incorrect, however, to suggest that many of the immigrants we surveyed particularly identified with their neighbours. In fact, one suspects that most respondents made a clear distinction between neighbours (considered to not be kin) and relatives and friends, even when propinquity would allow them to define either kin or friends as 'neighbours'. While most people thought it was important to live in neighbourhoods where there were other people from their ethnic group, the majority did not feel that they had a great deal in common with their neighbours in terms of lifestyle, although most believed that their neighbours could be trusted. As will be discussed in the next chapter, neighbours rest on a qualitatively different plane from kin and friends; a plane which while different, and perhaps less emotionally significant, is nevertheless important in the settlement process and feeling 'at home' in a new environment.

Summary

This chapter has examined the housing differences and inequalities that exist among Afro-Caribbean, Haitian and Latin American immigrants in Canada's two largest cities, as well as some of the reasons that begin to account for these differences and their persistence. Given the limitations of small and non-representative samples, an emphasis here has been place on identifying inter-group differences in housing status and dwelling/neighbourhood satisfaction. Determination of the reasons for the differentials uncovered here, and the relative significance of sets of factors - cultural, socio-economic, demographic etc. - lies beyond both the objectives and capabilities of this present study. The analysis nevertheless has suggested avenues for further research, and there is a remarkable degree of convergence with results obtained of immigrant housing conditions in other cities (e.g. Sarre *et al.* 1989). For instance, the predominance of women, particularly women living alone with children, is an important factor in accounting for the housing status of Afro-Caribbeans and Latin Americans in Toronto relative to most other groups. The overall weak economic position of Latin Americans and their experiences as refugees likewise influence their housing conditions, what dwellings they look for and levels of satisfaction. Yet between group differences do not necessarily disappear

with time or in the way we might imagine. Even among Afro-Caribbean and Haitian immigrants who have been in Canada for a long period of time, housing status does not approximate that of the British/French Canadians (see Chapters IV and V) and, although many aspire to the norm of single-detached housing, relatively few have reached this goal. In fact, all four of the groups are more likely to be renters, with Latin Americans standing out as both the newest immigrants and the most poorly housed by measure of conventional standards of tenure, dwelling type and age, and number of rooms. Indeed, if differences in housing status are one of the most apparent social markers between neighbours, then all of our groups diverge strongly from the 'host' population.

The reasons given for the types of housing and neighbourhood choices made, levels of satisfaction and aspirations for future housing provide some insight into the causes for housing status differentials. They also highlight a dynamic interplay between choice and constraint in influencing decisions about where to live, as well as the instrumental and cultural importance of kin and friends. In weighing where to live, kin and friends play a critical role and one that continues for a considerable period of time. Significantly, all of the groups we surveyed are not simply immigrants in the process of *becoming* Canadians in terms of the housing objectives and status. Their conditions reflect a series of choices and constraints that arise out of particular migration experiences, objectives and life circumstances, factors that persist for years after arrival and continue to influence status to the present. Certainly more research is required to appreciate the meaning of these differences, especially in the long term, and their implications in terms of understanding the dynamics of social status and discrimination at the neighbourhood level (Sarre *et al.* 1989).

It would be incorrect, however, to argue that any of the immigrant groups are particularly unhappy with their housing and neighbourhoods, or indeed with Toronto or Montréal as places to live. In fact, most express high degrees of satisfaction on virtually all counts regarding housing and neighbourhoods. But their experiences and perceptions of housing and neighbourhoods are often quite different, and once again point to the need to move beyond some overarching sense of the 'immigrant experience' in Canadian cities. We need to examine seriously the daily experiences of the diverse cultures that make up the migration flows to our cities. To that end, this chapter has begun to look at the key role played by networks of family, friends and neighbours who are factors in selecting a city, as well as a neighbourhood, in which to live. For many of the immigrants we interviewed, perceptions of their city and neighbourhood were filtered through social networks that provide all manner of support - counseling, companionship and practical. The discussion of kin, friends and

neighbours begun here will be pursued in the next chapter where attention focuses squarely on social networks. Understanding the housing and neighbourhood status of immigrants, as well as the processes involved in adaptation to a new city, requires that we look at social ties - weak and strong, close at hand and dispersed - that provide a context for the settlement experience. The housing landscapes of Toronto and Montréal are structured by inequality, but they are also differentially understood and interpreted by the immigrants themselves on the basis of their own diverse histories, perceptions and networks.

CHAPTER VII
A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION OF SOCIAL NETWORKS:
THE IMPORTANCE OF KIN, FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS

Previous chapters have focused on the housing experiences of immigrants in Toronto and Montréal, outlining both dwelling conditions and status differences between groups, as well as some of the possible factors which underlie these differences such as length of time in Canada, cultural norms and values regarding housing, socio-economic constraints and discrimination. In this chapter we move away from housing conditions per se and instead examine the communities developed by immigrants in Toronto and Montréal. The challenges and opportunities faced by immigrants who settle in our largest cities extend beyond just finding housing, the types of dwellings occupied or residential satisfaction. Few are the people who can live in isolation, and for many one of the critical issues in assessing the success or failure of a new life in Canadian cities is whether they feel part of a community. Unfortunately, much of the discussion about immigrant settlement and their sense of community is dominated by archaic notions about the nature of the migration process itself and how new immigrants 'adjust' to a new city and society.

This is perhaps best illustrated by Oscar Handlin's (1951) influential history of American immigration - *The Uprooted*. Handlin's treatment of the immigration experience and life in America is one of alienation, isolation and loneliness in the face of overwhelming assimilation pressures. Immigrants are treated as a homogeneous group of peasants who move from rural agrarian societies to urban industrial America, severed from lives dominated by primary social relationships. *The Uprooted* is overwhelmingly a discussion of the collapse of traditional communities and the immigrants' inability to build anew (Handlin 1951, 95).

> Loneliness, separation from the community of the village, and despair at the insignificance of their own human abilities, these were the elements that, in America, colored the peasants' view of their world. From the depths of a dark pessimism, they looked up at a frustrating universe ruled by haphazard, capricious forces. Without the capacity to control or influence these forces men [sic] could but rarely gratify their hopes or wills. Their most passionate desires were doomed to failure ... (Handlin, 1951, p. 97).

Handlin focuses on immigrants living in the large American cities and describes lives

dominated by filth, crowded and unhealthy tenements, delinquency, gambling, insanity, and contagious poverty. The physical differences between the European village and American inner city, and most of all the change in density, transformed social life so completely that it was impossible to re-establish the communities which immigrants left behind in New World cities (Handlin 1951, 134). Thus their lives were dominated by disorganization rather than the norms, values and mores of the communities they left behind. Significantly, the city was an active agent in this process of disorganization, malaise and ultimately assimilation.

This view of immigrant life in nineteenth and twentieth century North American cities has most certainly been challenged by an impressive number of studies that have furnished, by means of a wide array of quantitative and qualitative methods, a far more critical and contextually specific reading of constraint, opportunity and community development as experienced by particular immigrant groups (Occhipinti 1996; Germain 1995; Renaud *et al.* 1993; Iacovetta 1992; Anderson 1991; Sarre *et al.*1989; Zucchi 1988; Hiebert 1987; Mormino and Pozzetta 1987; Harney 1985; Zunz 1982; Lieberson 1980; Lees 1979; Conzen 1976; Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Gans 1962). These studies have made great strides in understanding the nature of community development, especially at the level of particular immigrant reception neighbourhoods. They have also furnished considerable evidence for the existence of immigrant urban villages, both in the past as well as today, in the central parts of many cities. However, are such socially and spatially distinct neighbourhoods the only ways in which immigrant communities and the nature of community life might be imagined?

In this chapter we look within, as well as beyond, the neighbourhood to create an overview of the types of communities that each of the four immigrant groups have created in Toronto and Montréal. Rather than begin with the neighbourhood as the basic unit of analysis, we start with social networks. The term 'network' usually refers to the relatives, friends, associates, neighbours and acquaintances with whom individuals maintain active social relations. Obviously there are important differences in the degree of involvement with particular members of the network; typically we see nuclear family members more frequently than friends who live in another province or country. By beginning with the people with whom our respondents associate it is possible to study communities defined by networks of interest rather than strictly locality. How do networks of informal relations bring immigrants and their households into broader social structures? As Wellman *et al.* (1988) have argued, such an approach implicitly de-emphasizes the neighbourhood, the space traditionally conceived as embodying community, but recognizes that in modern cities communities can be multiple, dispersed and very dynamic. "[The network approach] has given us the flexibility to discover

both local solidarities and far-flung, ramified communities. Most important, the network approach has enabled us to see which attributes of ties and networks best foster sociable relations, interpersonal support, informal social control, and a sense of personal identity - the traditional output variables of community studies" (Wellman *et al.* 1988, 131). Once again, this does not mean that locality is unimportant for the city and neighbourhoods where people live are major social contexts and they can influence the types of networks an individual potentially might create. "Where people live can, to varying degrees, mold their networks, by shaping the pool from which they draw, and the ease with which they can sustain, their relations" (Fischer 1982, 5).

A network approach has the potential to yield considerable insight into the types of social support that immigrants use, as well as the characteristics of the communities they develop. At a fundamental level, the network analysis is premised on the notion that the people who constitute an individual's network constitute the group that might be called upon for all kinds of support - practical, emotional and/or companionship. Building a network, in essence, is part of building a life (Fischer 1982, 5). As such network analysis provides considerable insight into the nature of urban immigrant life due to its explicit interest in the social supports that individuals draw upon for everyday and extraordinary needs, the ways personal and group identities are constructed, and the broader social structures in which people participate. In this respect, the significance of social networks has been extremely well captured by Cohen and Shinar who argue that:

> Relations with members of the network provide the individual with recognition of his [sic] uniqueness, with a feeling of belonging and identification with society, and with the ability to have and maintain self-identity. The major characteristics of the network is the fact that it is based on primary relationships. The existence of such a network seems to be a necessary condition for efficient and rewarding functioning in society (1985, 73).

Are immigrants alienated and alone? What is the importance of family members relative to friends for immigrants who arrive in a new city? Are these immigrants part of a community? What is the significance of ethnicity? Do immigrant groups in the same city create different types of community? What is the significance of locale and especially neighbours? What kinds of interactions happen at the neighbourhood scale? These are some of the questions that this chapter examines. The first section looks at the nature of kin support within the four immigrant groups. If an individual has family living in their city of residence, we investigated

who these relatives are (nuclear family or more distant kin) and where they live relative to the respondent. The chapter then moves on to examine who within an individual's social network is called upon to provide various kinds of support and where they live. Finally, we turn to the neighbourhood and the significance of social ties between neighbours. As is true of many studies of social networks, this chapter is based on responses to mostly closed-ended survey questions and is limited in the degree to which the full complexity of personal communities can be explored. It is a first-step examination of immigrant networks that is intended both to highlight the diversity that exists within and between immigrant groups, and begin the process of developing a deeper understanding of immigrant settlement in terms of the subtleties of social interaction, community building and personal identity.

Immediate Family and Extended Kin

For the most part, individuals construct their own social networks, but some components of these networks, namely parents and close kin, are pretty much pre-determined. We cannot choose our parents, sisters and brothers, nor do we get to choose our in-laws. Often we maintain ties with relatives out of a sense of obligation or concern rather than compatibility, although kin are often indispensable in times of great material and/or emotional need. As several studies of immigrant migration from rural to urban areas have shown, relatives can be key links in the initial settlement process often providing accommodation and employment contacts (Olson 1991; Zucchi 1988; Mormino and Pozetta 1987; Hiebert 1987). Furthermore, although for some people relatives can be a source of frustration, most social network studies have found that kin make up approximately half of most people's active and intimate ties (Wellman et al. 1988; Fischer 1982). It is for these reasons that we begin the analysis of our immigrants' social networks with family ties.

Due to the very fact of migrating, we expected that most of the immigrants would have smaller and less elaborate networks of close family and extended kin than might be found among people who live their entire lives in Toronto or Montréal. To gauge the size of the family network, we asked respondents how many of their relatives live within their metropolitan area.[1] An average of just over 3 relatives were mentioned by Afro-Caribbean

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[1] We asked respondents both who these relatives are (e.g. brother, mother, cousin, aunt etc.) and where they live in each city. Initially we hoped to simply get a count of the number of people who are relatively close-by, and consequently asked respondents to name only relatives who live within a 30 minute drive. However, they consistently overestimated the amount of distance that normally could be covered in a half hour, naming people who live further away. As a consequence, in calculating the size of the kinship network we include all the relatives mentioned in

(3.8), Toronto Latin American (3.1) and Haitian (3.3) immigrants. Slightly fewer kin were given by Montréal Latin Americans (2.4). A small number of people in each group have quite large networks, the largest being one described by a Toronto Latin American woman who said she has 9 relatives living in the metropolitan area. Relatively few Afro-Caribbean and Haitian immigrants report having no relatives in their city (16% and 18% respectively), while the same is true for a much larger percentage of Latin American immigrants (47% Toronto; 43% Montréal). As might be expected, this is primarily a function of length of time in Canada, with the number of people citing no relatives in the area falling dramatically among those who have been in Canada for more than 5 years. Canadian immigration policy does allow immigrants to sponsor close family members, but the process does take time and few immigrants embark upon the process of sponsoring family immediately after arrival.

A large number of respondents do not have family members living in their own home. This is particularly marked among Haitians (66%), while among the other groups the number of such individuals is smaller but still significant (Afro-Caribbeans - 40%; Toronto Latin Americans - 31%; Montréal Latin Americans - 35%). Out of the four groups, Toronto Latin Americans stand out as having the largest number of immediate family members - only 13% say they live with just one other relative, and a further 33% report living with 3 to 5 family members. In contrast, Afro-Caribbeans and Latin Americans in Montréal are more likely to live with just one or two other family members (Afro-Caribbeans - 45%; Montréal Latin Americans - 51%). In addition, the vast majority of individuals in all groups indicate that they have no relatives living in their neighbourhood.[2] Approximately 75% of Latin Americans in both cities and Afro-Caribbeans have no relatives living within their neighbourhood, a situation that is true of only 59% of Haitians. In fact, 23% of Haitians report that they have one relative living in their neighbourhood and a further 15% cite either 2 or 3 relatives.[3]

Among those individuals *who do in fact* have relatives in their city, most of these kin members live at a considerable distance away. Haitians again lead in being able to cite at least

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connection with this question, as well as all other relatives who are mentioned during the interview and who live in the metropolitan area. If we were to use this question again, we would replace 'a half-hour drive' with 'metropolitan area' in order to standardize responses.

[2] The neighbourhood was defined as being approximately a 5 minute drive away from where the respondent lives.

[3] The number of responses in the other groups is very small and cannot be interpreted as anything more than chance. As a consequence, they will not be discussed here.

one family member who lives within their district,[4] and the same is true of 50% of Afro-Caribbeans. In contrast, only 30% of Latin Americans in both cities report that at least one relative lives in their district. In fact, very few Latin Americans say that they have relatives living further away than either their neighbourhood or district, but still within the bounds of metropolitan Toronto or Montréal (approximately 5%), whereas approximately 33% of Afro-Caribbeans and Haitians indicate that they have more far flung relatives.

The size of the respondents' kin networks undoubtedly is a function of their length of time in the country and whether they were either sponsored by other relatives, thereby giving them a built-in network, or they (or other family members) subsequently sponsored relatives and in so doing created or added to networks. Other factors, such as period of immigration, marital status, and socio-economic status also play roles in influencing the number of kin named. For instance, disregarding place of birth, as the length of time in Canada increases, so too does the number of relatives respondents name. Twenty-six per cent of all immigrants who have been in Canada for 5 years or less say they have no relatives, compared to 17% of those who have been here for 6 to 10 years and 5.3% of respondents who have been here for more than 10 years. In addition, 20% of male but only 9% of female respondents report having no relatives. Marital status is also a significant factor as 29% of single respondents indicate that they had no relatives living in their city, compared to 17% of divorced and 14% of separated respondents.[5] Married and widowed people are able to cite the largest number of relatives compared to the other groups (83% in both of these groups say they have 3 or more relatives living in their city, compared to only 55% of single people). Socio-economic status is also a factor in that people living in lower-income households are more likely to say they have no relatives compared to those in upper income households. Measuring socio-economic status in terms of household income, we found that 19% of individuals living in households that earn less than $30,000 per year say they have no relatives compared to only 7.5% in the middle-($30-54,999) and none in the highest income category (over $55,000). In contrast, 88% of respondents in high-income households name 3 or more relatives compared to only 61% of those in low-income households. These findings largely match those reported by Fischer (1982) based on a much larger sample size. He found that: "... married people named more kin than did the widowed or divorced, who in turn named more kin than the never married.

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[4] The district was defined as being approximately a 30 minute drive away from where the respondent lives.

[5] Given the manner in which this answer was coded, anyone who was living with a spouse by default had at least one relative living in their city.

Women named slightly more than men. Middle-income respondents named more than either low- or high-income respondents" (Fischer 1982, 80-81).

As is the case for most city people, the immigrants we studied have at least one family member in their metropolitan area they can call upon for support and most have fairly large networks of kin. Although a number of individuals do not have any kin support, the majority are far from isolated and without a set of potential ties from which to create a network, if not a community, of primary and secondary contacts. Kin, however, are only one potential source of support and the next section will examine the relative importance of family members versus friends in providing particular kinds of aid and support.

Providing Support: Personal Networks of Kin and Friends

Family members are the least discretionary, and for many the most important, components of a social network and therefore we asked a number of questions about them during the interview. They are not the only possible ties and the respondents cited neighbours, coworkers, people who they met through organizations such as a church or club, and a vast number of friends as associates in their networks. The objective, however, was not to compile a list of the number of individuals each respondent knows. Instead, we were much more interested in whether the respondent had sufficient social support, who provided that support and where the helpers, companions and confidants lived in relation to the individual. It is possible to imagine at least 3 different kinds of support an individual might receive: practical, companionship and counseling. Practical aid comprises various kinds of material assistance, companionship refers to visiting or participating in social activities with another person, and finally counseling alludes to advice and discussion of personal matters (after Fischer 1982, 127).

Practical Support

Respondents were asked about various kinds of aid they might receive from kin or friends, namely whether they received any assistance with relatively minor household repairs in the past three months. Just over 50% of Afro-Caribbeans, Toronto Latin Americans and Haitians received such aid, compared to only 32% of Montréal Latin Americans. Among those people who did receive aid, a diverse array of relatives were cited by all individuals regardless of birthplace, as well as large number of friends. In fact, approximately 40% of Afro-Caribbean, Toronto Latin American and Haitian respondents, as well as 52% of Montréal

Latin Americans, named friends. The "friends" category, of course, includes a diverse number of people and in general the associations are voluntary rather than ascribed, and not necessarily reciprocal. Wellman *et al.* (1988, 145) succinctly describe the importance of friends as follows: "Although friends are rarely routine contact, they are often considered intimate and active ones" (Wellman *et al.* 1988, 145). Friends are also one of the largest individual components of most networks.

For the most part, people who help with minor household repairs and aid do not live in the same house as the respondent (Table 7.1).[6] Toronto Latin Americans have the highest percentage of home-based helpers (35%), followed by Afro-Caribbeans (27%), Haitians (10%) and Montréal Latin Americans (7%). The largest proportion of helpers for Toronto and Montréal Latin Americans are people who live in the same neighbourhood (42% and 50% respectively), whereas among Haitians the largest number live in the same district (41%). In contrast, for Afro-Caribbeans an equal number of helpers come from the neighbourhood, district and Toronto metropolitan area (26% from each area). In terms of obtaining instrumental or practical aid from outside of the household, the majority of such helpers for all of the groups are relatively close at hand. In general, people tend not to draw on associates who live a considerable distance away to provide such assistance, and most often look to relatives and friends who are closer at hand. Fischer (1982, 132) also found that for practical support a variety of relatives and friends helped with tasks around the house. In this respect, the behaviour of our sample of immigrants appears to depart very little from that of the mainstream population.

Companionship Support

To assess whether respondents had companions with whom they could socialize on a fairly informal basis, we asked about friends and relatives who they met just to talk with or share spare-time activities and hobbies. A very large percentage of individuals in all groups responded yes to this question: 76% - Afro-Caribbeans, 80% Toronto Latin Americans, 92% - Haitians, and 78% - Montréal Latin Americans. The majority of people named as companions for such activities are friends - 68% of people named by Afro-Caribbeans are friends, as are 76% and 65% of those given by Toronto and Montréal Latin Americans. Haitians are slightly different in that a minority of respondents cited friends (46%). Instead an array of different

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[6] For all of the social support questions, respondents were asked where their associates live, and up to three possible people and their locations were coded.

Table 7.1: Percent of People Cited Who Provide Different Kinds of Social Support Based on Where They Live Relative to Respondents

Practical Support: People who help with household chores and repairs

	Home	Neigh.	District	Metro.	Total
Caribbean	22.6	25.8	25.8	25.8	100.0
Tor. L.A.	34.6	42.3	15.4	7.7	100.0
Haitian	10.3	24.1	41.4	24.1	100.0
Mont. L.A.	7.1	50.0	21.4	21.4	100.0

Companionship Support: People with whom can share social activities

	Home	Neigh.	District	Metro.	Total
Caribbean	4.5	22.7	40.9	31.8	100.0
Tor. L.A.	4.3	45.7	30.4	19.6	100.0
Haitian	5.3	33.3	28.1	33.3	100.0
Mont. L.A.	0.0	48.8	34.1	17.1	100.0

Counseling Support: People who can talk to about important decisions

	Home	Neigh.	District	Metro.	Outside	Total
Caribbean	29.3	17.1	22.0	19.5	12.2	100.0
Tor. L.A.	18.9	29.7	32.4	13.5	5.4	100.0
Haitian	6.7	31.1	28.9	28.9	4.4	100.0
Mont. L.A.	12.5	28.1	37.5	21.9	0.0	100.0

Counseling Support: People who can confide in about personal matters

	Home	Neigh.	District	Metro.	Outside	Total
Caribbean	20.7	15.5	25.9	24.1	13.8	100.0
Tor. L.A.	16.3	27.9	27.9	18.6	9.3	100.0
Haitian	9.8	22.0	29.3	36.6	2.4	100.0
Mont. L.A.	14.8	29.6	33.3	18.5	3.7	100.0

relatives were named who run the gambit of possibilities, with brothers (8% of companions) and sisters (9%) being among the most frequently cited.

Among only those respondents who say they do get together socially with other people,

virtually none of their companions live in the same household (less than 5% of the people reported) (Table 7.1). Latin Americans in both cities tend to cite more companions who live either in the same neighbourhood or district compared to either Afro-Caribbeans or Haitians who are more likely to name people living in the same district or elsewhere in the greater metropolitan area. As an example, 46% of the companions given by Toronto Latin Americans live in the same neighbourhood and another 30% live in the same district. In contrast only 23% of the people named by Afro-Caribbeans live in the same neighbourhood, while 41% and 32% respectively live in the same district or elsewhere in the greater Toronto area. Among all of the groups, friends and relatives mentioned as companions are drawn from a broader set of locations than are potential helpers, although very few report that all of their companions came from the same area. By far the majority name individuals who live relatively close-by, as well as others who are more distant. In this regard, the quality rather than proximity of the relationship seems to be of greater importance. Out of all of the groups, Latin Americans are much more likely to indicate someone who lives nearby. This may reflect either more restricted mobility among Latin American immigrants or the fact that many of their companions are from the same ethnic background and thus live in close proximity. As was shown in Chapter III, Latin Americans in both cities are quite strongly concentrated in particular areas.

Counseling Support

Counseling is perhaps the most personal of the three kinds of support and was assessed by means of two questions: one about decision making and another about people with whom respondents felt they could confide. First people were asked if they had people they could rely on for advice when they need to make important decisions, and the vast majority of respondents said that there was at least one person they could turn to for assistance. However, fewer Latin American immigrants in both cities are able to say that they have someone they can confide in (62% - Toronto; 65% Montréal) relative to both Afro-Caribbeans (82%) and Haitians (80%). The most frequently named people who provide such advice to Toronto and Montréal Latin Americans and Haitians are friends (74%, 61% and 61% of each group respectively). In contrast, only 33% of people cited by Afro-Caribbeans are friends and instead most said they rely on an array of different relatives, with mothers (19% of all people named), sisters (19%) and spouses (11%) leading over other relatives by a considerable margin. To a degree the Afro-Caribbeans, by relying more on relatives than friends for counseling assistance, more closely approximate the behaviour of the larger population. Fischer (1982, 80) contends that kin constitute only about 25% of the people who his respondents saw socially

but 48% of the people they sought out for counseling. The stronger reliance on friends among Latin Americans may reflect their recency of their arrival, and as a consequence many respondents could have only a limited number of relatives who they can seek out for advice. In fact, examining all the respondents, we found that 68% of all the people cited by respondents who have been in Canada for 5 years or less are friends, while only 51% and 57% of the people identified by those who have been in Canada for 6 to 10 years and over 10 years respectively are friends.

Compared to the people called upon for the other two types of aid, there is a stronger tendency among respondents who do report using others for advice to turn to people who live within the home *or* to those who live a considerable distance away (Table 7.1). Twenty-nine percent of the people cited by Afro-Caribbeans live within the respondent's dwelling, and the same is true of 19% and 13% of Latin Americans living in Toronto and Montréal respectively. In contrast, only 7% of the people cited by Haitians live in the same dwelling. Afro-Caribbeans are particularly interesting for they rely strongly on both local and distant confidants. Several Afro-Caribbean respondents named people who do not live in the same city as important people who they turn to make decisions (12% of the people mentioned did not live in metropolitan Toronto). In contrast, the largest number of people reported by Haitians were individuals who lived in the same neighbourhood (31%), district (29%) and the greater Montréal area (29%). Among Latin Americans in both Toronto and Montréal, the largest proportion of confidants reported live in the same district as the respondent followed by the same neighbourhood.

As a second measure of counseling support, people were asked about the people they turn to if they need to discuss a personal matter. First, respondents were asked how frequently they confide in someone else, and then who these confidants are and where they live. A fairly large proportion of individuals in all four groups said they *usually* talk to someone - 47% of Afro-Caribbeans, 36% of Toronto Latin Americans and Haitians, and 30% of Montréal Latin Americans. Afro-Caribbeans are far more likely to talk with someone than respondents in the other three groups. In fact, only 16% of Afro-Caribbeans said they *hardly ever* turn to someone else, compared to 38% and 43% of Latin Americans in Toronto and Montréal respectively and 36% of Haitians.

Once again, friends are an important source of counseling aid for many immigrants. For all of the groups, approximately 50% of the people name friends as confidants (Afro-Caribbeans - 50%; Toronto Latin Americans - 67%, Haitians - 49%, Montréal Lain

Americans - 47%).The large number of friends is somewhat unexpected given studies of associates in the general population tend to show that relatives are preferred over friends as close confidants. However, our results may be a function of migration and the absence of close relatives with whom to discuss personal matters. As evidence of this, friends make up a larger share of the confidants among those people who have recently migrated to Canada (66%) compared to those respondents who have been in Canada for more than 5 years (51%). Importantly, for all groups female relatives, most notably daughters and sisters, are among the most frequently cited relatives in whom respondents confide. For example, 14% and 9% of all people identified by Afro-Caribbeans are sisters and mothers respectively, 9% of those cited by Toronto Latin Americans are sisters, and 17% of those reported by Montréal Latin Americans are daughters. This bias towards female confidants is strongly influenced by the gender composition of the sample. We found that female respondents are much more likely to seek out the advice and ear of other women, while the male respondents are more likely to turn to friends or their spouse.[7]

For all of the groups, the vast majority of people reported as confidants do not live within the home of the respondent (over 79% in each group) (Table 7.1). Among Afro-Caribbeans, the largest percentage of confidants live within their district (26%), whereas confidants for Latin Americans in Toronto are equally split between the neighbourhood and district (28% in each). For the Montréal groups, the largest number of confidants for Haitians live in the greater metropolitan area (37%), whereas among Latin Americans confidants are somewhat closer at hand with the largest number living in the same district (33%). As was true for associates sought out for their advice, a fairly large number of the people used as confidants about personal matters by Afro-Caribbeans did not even live in the same city as the respondent (14%). This finding illustrates a point made by several network analysts that close and intimate social ties, be they friends or family, do not necessarily have to be within close spatial proximity. Fischer, for instance, found that the distant relations named "... often represented latent or sentimental relations: respondents recalled whom they might turn to at some future time or whom they cared for" (1982, 169-70). Furthermore, he argues that these people remain in the respondents' social support networks even when distances are great "... precisely because they were intimate or crucial associates, a qualification not so stringently

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[7] Among all of the respondents, 29% of confidants reported by female respondents for personal problems are sisters, daughters and mothers compared to only 9% of those reported by male respondents. In contrast, 61% and 9% of confidants cited by male respondents are friends and spouses respectively, while only 50% and 3% of confidants given by female respondents are from these two groups.

applied to nearer associates" (Fischer 1982, 176). Given that migration itself often entails leaving behind close kin and friends, it is somewhat surprising that the other groups did not cite very many long-distant associates.

Practical, companionship and counseling types of support illustrate the importance of social context in influencing who is called upon the provide aid. What is required often is crucial in determining whose assistance is sought, as well as how far away that person is from the respondent. For instance, relatives are more often used for practical aid and as confidants, whereas friends are preferred by many for socializing and receiving advice about important decisions. We suspect that cultural norms and the simple availability of close relations may also exert a strong influence on the people our respondents turn to for various kinds of assistance. Certainly the results speak against an over-arching pattern of immigrant social networks and instead encourage more detailed study of cultural norms regarding relationships with family and friends. It is also important to emphasize that the respondents did not live in spaceless realms. They sought out and used associates who were both nearby and far away, depending on what was needed, how important it was, and how easily they could overcome the limitations and costs of distance. In a world that is shrinking because of telecommunications technology, many respondents do maintain distant attachments, be they across the city or somewhere else entirely, that are intimate and crucial.

Adequacy of Social Supports

In assessing the social support networks of the immigrant groups it is not sufficient to examine just who the associates are and where they live. There is a considerable difference in the character and potential strength of a social support network depending on the number of associates that an individual can draw on. A person with only two associates is in a considerably weaker position relative to someone who can call upon nine people as she/he stands a better chance of finding a friend or relative who is available. The critical question, however, is not so much the absolute size of an individual's network, although this is important, but rather whether that person has *adequate* support. Based on work by Fischer (1982) and Wellman *et al.* (1988), we define 'adequate support' as the availability of at least two or more people who can provide assistance. People who have only one person for support are seen as having 'marginal' support primarily because they are at risk of being without support if their one associate is unavailable. Those people who cannot cite even one person are

defined as having 'inadequate' support.[8]

In terms of practical support, such as helping with household chores, a large number of respondents in each group have no other person they turn to for support (Table 7.2). There is a strong distinction between Afro-Caribbean and Haitian immigrants on the one hand and Latin Americans on the other, highlighting not just cultural differences but the influence of length of residence in Canada. A larger percentage of respondents who have lived in Canada for 5 years of less have inadequate practical support relative to those people who have been in Canada for a longer period of time.[9]

In contrast, fewer people in all of the groups had inadequate companionship support (Table 7.2). Once again, however, a larger percentage of Afro-Caribbeans and Haitians have adequate social support relative to Latin Americans. In fact, Haitians stand out as being particularly well supported in this regard with 77% being able to name at least 2 people who they see socially. Again, length of time in Canada is a critical factor with 42% of immigrants in the most recent cohort having inadequate companionship, with the rate dropping markedly in the two subsequent period of immigration cohorts.[10] Length of time in Canada, however, is not the only factor as in general people who are unconstrained by family responsibilities or income tend to associate socially with more people. Most certainly the Latin Americans are the poorest of all the groups and often have children living in their households.

The levels of counseling support resemble to a considerable degree those already discussed in regard to helping (Table 7.2). Roughly the same percentage of people in each immigrant group have no one to turn to for *advice* when making an important decision (between 54% and 67%), and a very small percentage of individuals in the three groups have 'adequate' support. The same patterns hold true with regard to someone to *confide in*, except for Afro-Caribbeans. Unlike the other groups where approximately 70% of respondents cite no

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[8] It is important to note that in answering these questions some respondents said that they had people they could turn to for the type of support being discussed, but when asked who these people were and where they lived could not name people. In terms of evaluating the adequacy of support, calculations are based on the people who were actually named.

[9] Seventy-one percent of individuals who have been in Canada for 5 years or less have inadequate practical support, compared to 64% and 60% of respondents who have been in Canada for 6 to 10 years and 11 years or more respectively.

[10] Only 32% and 27% of immigrants who have been in Canada for 6 to 10 years and 11 years or more have inadequate companionship support.

Table 7.2: Adequacy of Social Support Among Respondents				
Type of Support	Questions Names were Given on	Number of Names for Each Category of Adequacy		
		Inadequate	Marginal	Adequate
Practical	*Help Around the House*	*0*	*1*	*2+*
	Afro-Caribbeans	50%	26%	24%
	Tor. Latin Am.	76	16	9
	Haitians	51	36	13
	Mont. Latin Americans	76	24	0
Companion-ship	*Activities/ Hobbies*	*0*	*1*	*2+*
	Afro-Caribbeans	32%	18%	50%
	Tor. Latin Am.	47	20	33
	Haitians	15	8	77
	Mont. Latin Americans	30	35	35
Counseling	*1. Personal Matters*	*0*	*1*	*2+*
	Afro-Caribbeans	18%	50%	32%
	Tor. Latin Am.	73	11	16
	Haitians	69	26	5
	Mont. Latin Americans	70	19	11
	2. Seek Advice	*0*	*1*	*2+*
	Afro-Caribbeans	58%	24%	18%
	Tor. Latin Am.	67	20	13
	Haitians	54	26	21
	Mont. Latin Americans	65	27	8

one, among Afro-Caribbeans only 18% say there is no one they turn to as a confidant and 32% named two or more people. It is not clear why such a large percentage of Afro-Caribbean respondents have either marginal or adequate counseling support, at least in terms of confiding about personal matters, although a much lower percentage of recent Afro-Caribbean immigrants and women have inadequate support relative to similarly defined cohorts in the other groups.

Self-Evaluation of Networks

As the final step in assessing immigrant social networks, we asked respondents how they evaluate their networks, that is whether they are happy with the support they can call upon. A majority of respondents in each group feel that they know enough people who they can rely on to help with things like work around the home, with Afro-Caribbeans leading the other groups by a considerable margin (Table 7.3). This result for Afro-Caribbeans is somewhat surprising given that a much smaller proportion of these respondents actually used others for this kind of assistance in previous months. In terms of companionship, the two Latin American groups are much more likely to indicate that they want to know more people who they can get together with to have a good time. Over 70% of Latin Americans wished they knew more people to socialize with, compared to only 32% of Afro-Caribbeans and 36% of Haitians. Similarly, a large proportion of Afro-Caribbeans and Haitians feel they have a sufficient number of people who they can use as confidants about personal matters. It is necessary to note, however, that considerably fewer Latin Americans indicate that they wish to have more people to confide in relative to people with whom they can socialize. It would seem that a small number of confidants is sufficient, but a large number of associates for social activities is preferred.

Length of time in Canada is one of the critical factors that sheds light on differences in network evaluations between the groups. Over 90% of recent Latin American migrants (those who have been in Canada for 5 years or less) wish they knew more companions for socializing, compared to only 40% of recent Afro-Caribbeans and no Haitians. Similarly 74% of recent Toronto Latin Americans and 83% of Montréal Latin Americans wish that they knew more people with whom they could share personal problems.[11] Significant numbers of Afro-

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[11] No recently arrived Haitians and only one Afro-Caribbean said they wished they knew more confidants.

Table 7.3: Evaluation of Networks by Respondents			
Know enough people who can rely on for practical support?		*Wish Knew More*	*Know Enough People*
	Afro-Caribbeans	15.8%	84.2%
	Toronto Latin Americans	46.7	53.3
	Haitians	41.0	59.0
	Montréal Latin Amer's	36.1	63.8
Know enough people to social with?			
	Afro-Caribbeans	31.6%	68.4%
	Toronto Latin Americans	73.3	26.7
	Haitians	35.9	64.1
	Montréal Latin Amer's	70.3	29.7
Know enough people to talk with about personal matters and problems?			
	Afro-Caribbeans	10.5%	89.5%
	Toronto Latin Americans	48.9	51.1
	Haitians	17.9	82.1
	Montréal Latin Amer's	51.4	48.6

Caribbeans and Haitians have lived in Canadian cities for more than 30 years and as a consequence many recent migrants arrive with pre-existing social support networks in place. In contrast, Latin American migration is a much more recent phenomenon, particularly from Central America and Peru, and as a consequence most of these migrants do not have the advantage of fairly large kin and friendship contacts when they arrive. Furthermore, there is a strong distinction between Latin Americans and the other two groups in terms of how they migrated to Canada. At the present time, migration from the Caribbean is dominated by family sponsorship and consequently these migrants also have a rudimentary family support network to tap into when they arrive. In contrast, migration from Central America and Peru is more strongly dominated by refugees and independent migrants who are only now in the process of constructing networks and more formal community structures (Occhipinti 1996).

Neighbours, Neighbouring and the Importance of 'Weak' Ties

Close kin and friends are among the most important ties in most people's social networks, and these can provide, as has been discussed above, an array of different kinds of support. As important and strong as these close relations are, they are not the only people that make up an individual's set of personal contacts. People also cross paths with others who are perhaps more appropriately described as acquaintances than friends or family. Among the set(s) of such 'weak' or 'absent' network ties are those with neighbours, the people with whom most of us share some of our most personal of spaces.[12] This chapter ends by looking at neighbours primarily because the type of neighbouring that immigrants experience can be an important element in developing a sense of belonging in a new society. The intent here is not to reify neighbours and neighbouring, as countless studies have shown neighbours for the most part to be instrumentally rather than emotionally or intimately useful to most people. Rather the objective is to examine how comfortable the immigrants we studied are with their local residential surroundings where contacts with the norms, values and attitudes of a larger population are often readily experienced and contested (Ray et al. 1997).

The instrumental or routine, rather than intimate, nature of ties with neighbours dominates the research literature on the social networks of the population at large. As Wellman et al. note in their study of social networks among 'East Yorkers',[13] "Neighbors predominate among routine ties - making up almost half of the total if couples are counted as two. Neighbors are rarely intimate: their relationships are based upon quick physical access for companionship and small amounts of aid. Only a minority of currently active neighbors have anything to do with East Yorkers outside of their immediate neighbourhoods" (1988, 142). While Wellman et al.'s findings corroborate those of other studies (e.g. Fischer 1982), they shed relatively little light on the deeper social importance of the kinds of companionship that occur at the neighbourhood level. True these ties are rarely intimate, but does that mean they are unimportant? The places where we live are far from insignificant aspects of daily life, and the actions, behaviours, culture and status of neighbours can be influential in feeling 'part of' a

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[12] Weak and absent ties will be defined in more detail below. In short, these are ties between people who 'know' each other by sight but the interactions between them is limited. For example, nodding hello to a neighbour.

[13] This is a small but in-depth sample of individuals who either live or in 1968 lived in East York, an older inner suburban municipality of Metro Toronto. An initial large scale survey of 845 adults was conducted in 1968, and from this initial sample 33 individuals were re-interviewed in 1979 using a very open ended interview format rather than a structured questionnaire as had been used in the previous survey.

place (Cooper Marcus 1995). Immigrants in particular may be more likely than the general population, at least in the first few years after arrival, to be more oriented towards the neighbourhood because of mobility constraints (transportation, knowledge, money) and networks that are denser due to a limited number of potential contacts among friends and kin. In addition, as 'outsiders' they may be much more aware of neighbourhood features and patterns of neighbouring that have become commonplace or routine for long-time residents. As has been emphasized in earlier chapters, immigrants do not settle into the city at large, but rather into particular neighbourhoods and social contexts. Their experience of the city is not usually a metropolitan one, but instead begins at the neighbourhood and radiates outwards in a ripple fashion. Even if ties to neighbours are routine and weak, they nevertheless may be important in furnishing a feeling of 'home' in a new place and culture.

In the previous chapter, it was noted that may of the people we interviewed indicated relatively high levels of satisfaction with their neighbourhoods. We found that one of the reasons people give for selecting their city is the presence of family and/or friends, and that one of the major advantages of living in particular neighbourhoods is the presence of these individuals nearby. In contrast, the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood is not *very* important for most respondents, and many do not feel that they are like their neighbours in terms of lifestyle. However, if the focus shifts to the types of neighbouring that individuals actually engage in, it appears that neighbours are far from incidental actors for many respondents.[14]

In terms of the most superficial, but perhaps most frequent, level of neighbouring, over 85% of Afro-Caribbean, Haitian and Montréal Latin American respondents say that they talk informally with their neighbours, most often while walking in the area or when they are doing outside chores. It is necessary to note, however, that 69% of Toronto Latin Americans report that they do not interact with their neighbours in this routine manner. One of the possible factors influencing the kind of neighbouring is the type of housing occupied. A very large percentage of Toronto Latin Americans (53%) live in rental high-rise apartments and as a consequence may have a more limited number of 'neutral' places where they can meet neighbours. In fact, of those Toronto Latin Americans who say they do not talk with their neighbours, 64% live in high-rise apartments. This finding is not surprising given that other

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[14] It was left up to the judgement of respondents to define neighbours. For the most part, respondents saw neighbours as living within very close spatial proximity of their home, i.e. a couple of houses or apartments on either side.

researchers have shown that people living in high-rise apartments are less likely to know their neighbours compared to those who live in smaller scale dwellings where doors open onto the street or common green spaces (Michelson 1977; Cooper Marcus 1976).

It is tempting to dismiss such cursory interactions as relatively unimportant, a sentiment readily conveyed by labels that have been used to describe them, such as 'weak' or 'absent' ties (Granovetter 1973). The strength of a tie is usually evaluated in terms of the combination of the amount of time, emotional intensity, intimacy or mutual confiding, and reciprocity that exists between different individuals (Granovetter 1973, 1361). Weak ties are usually regarded as those which are less intense and direct between individuals and most often link people from different primary networks together. Typically, empirical studies have defined strong ties as those between relatives or friends, while weak ties exist between 'acquaintances' (Ericksen and Yancey 1980; Lin *et al.* 1981). In this context, 'absent' ties are very weak 'weak' ties and usually connote "... both the lack of any relationship and ties without substantial significance, such as a 'nodding' relationship between people living on the same street, or the 'tie' to the vendor from whom one customarily buys a morning newspaper" (Granovetter 1973, 1361).

If we do regard so called 'absent' ties as benign, we may well run the risk of underestimating the emotional significant of neighbouring, particularly for people who have not spent their entire lives in Canadian society. Some researchers suggest that weak and absent ties may not simply be just less important forms of strong ties, but instead are qualitatively and functionally different forms of social interaction and should be examined as such (Henning and Lieberg 1996). Such very weak ties, often constituted within neighbourhoods, may be numerous and demand little in terms of personal commitment, but they seem to furnish some individuals with that elusive sense of belonging to a place. In their study of a neighbourhood just outside of Stockholm, Henning and Lieberg argue that:

> The number of weak ties in the neighbourhood are [sic] three times greater than strong ties if one compares the mean values for the total number of contacts. The significance of weak ties was underlined by the inhabitants who stated that these contacts meant a "feeling of home", "security" and "practical as well as social support". Only 10 per cent stated that these contacts were of little or no significance (1996, 22).

It is possible to examine neighbouring in a bit more detail than just whether neighbours acknowledge each other on the street, and consequently we asked additional questions that

tried to elicit information about the amount of effort individuals put into their neighbouring relations. First we asked whether respondents ever 'dropped in' on their neighbours for a visit or if their neighbours reciprocated in the past few months. The number of people in all of the groups who engage in this more demanding form of neighbouring is considerably less compared to informal street greetings. Montréal Latin Americans have the highest positive response rate (62%), followed by Afro-Caribbeans (50%), Haitians (44%) and finally Toronto Latin Americans (31%). Again the relatively small number of Toronto Latin Americans who say they informally drop in on their neighbours points to the influence of housing on neighbouring patterns. Among those Latin Americans living in high-rise housing, 63% said that they did not drop in on neighbours.[15] It is also clear from the Montréal results that it is unlikely that Toronto Latin Americans are culturally predisposed not to interact with neighbours. Montréal Latin Americans report a very high level of dropping in on neighbours and, while very few of these individuals live in high-rise apartments, those who live in low-rise apartment blocks and duplexes/triplexes lead the way in terms of such activity (64% and 83% respectively).

It is also important, however, not to over-emphasize the degree to which neighbouring is conditioned by housing type. For instance, a large percentage of Haitian immigrants live in single-detached and duplex housing, but a relatively small number drop in on neighbours. At least 50% of Haitians living in any of the various forms of housing do not informally drop in on their neighbours, and this is particularly marked among Haitians living in low-rise apartment blocks (67%). Owning or renting a dwelling does not have a strong influence on this kind of neighbouring, nor does the gender of the respondent or period of immigration. With respect to gender, there is little consistency between birthplace groups. For instance, among Haitians a larger percentage of women than men say they drop in on their neighbours, but among Montréal Latin Americans and Afro-Caribbeans the exact opposite is true with a far larger percentage of male respondents indicating that they drop in on neighbours. In contrast, among Latin Americans in Toronto there is virtually no difference in neighbouring behaviour between female and male respondents, as very few women or men report dropping in on neighbours.

We also asked respondents about whether in the past few months they ever *invited* any

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[15] The number of Toronto Latin Americans in the sample who do not live in high-rise housing are too small in the other housing type categories (single-detached, low-rise etc.) to draw any meaningful conclusions about the impact of the type of dwelling on neighbouring activities.

neighbours to their home or had been *invited* to a neighbour's home, thereby ratcheting up the level of personal involvement. There was virtually no difference in response levels between this and the previous question about *dropping in* on neighbours. Montréal Latin Americans were again the most outgoing in this respect - 60% indicated that they had engaged in this more formal style of neighbouring - and Toronto Latin Americans were the least likely to respond in the affirmative (31%). It seems that if respondents are willing to just drop in on neighbours, they are also willing to invite them to their homes in a more formal manner as well. The levels of neighbouring found here accord strongly with those obtained in other studies. Fischer, for instance, found that, "... intense involvement with neighbors was far from typical ... Virtually all our respondents had chatted with a neighbor out of doors in the few months before the interview, and most had dropped in on, or been dropped in on by, a neighbor" (Fischer 1982, 99).

To understand the significance of this type of neighbouring would require a more qualitative approach, but nevertheless our results do highlight the fact that neighbours are important parts of many immigrants' social networks. Certainly Afro-Caribbean, Haitian and Montréal Latin Americans are not isolated from their neighbours and most know at least some neighbours by more than just sight. This is particularly true for Montréal Latin Americans, although intuitively this is not what we expected given their relative recency of arrival in Montréal and the challenges posed by language. Clearly we would like to know more about our respondents' neighbours - are those people that they drop in on or invite over from the same ethnic group? how did they meet? and what languages are used form communication? In addition, the vast majority of Latin Americans are living in rental housing and we generally expect neighbouring activities to be lower among renters because of their greater mobility and lower levels of commitment to the neighbourhood as a long-term personal and financial investment (Michelson 1977; Cooper Marcus 1976). However, Fischer found that involvement with neighbours was greater among those individuals "... with few sources of extra neighborhood (nonkin) ties: those not working or working only part time, those who had not lived elsewhere in the city, and those committed to home by marriage or home ownership" (1982, 102). The Latin American samples do in several respects accord well with this profile in that they are relatively recent migrants to the city, they have not lived in a large number other neighbourhoods, and they have relatively high rates of unemployment and under-employment, as well as low incomes. However, the two Latin American samples diverge strongly in neighbouring behaviour and it would appear that the type of dwelling occupied contributes strongly to the creation of these differences.

The responses to the questions about neighbouring by all of the groups, at the very least, point to the context dependent nature of weak ties constituted at the neighbourhood level. In particular, we need to know much more about the importance of neighbours to different groups and whether neighbouring itself is influenced by cultural norms and values. These ties may well be key to people feeling a sense of 'belonging' in a new place, but neighbours may also provide links to broader networks beyond the immediate area. As Henning and Lieberg have hypothesized, the *size* of weak ties is an important issue for weak ties may function as bridges between different (strong) networks, "... thus giving people access to resources that otherwise they could be deprived of" (1982, 23). The intent here is not to exaggerate the importance of neighbourhood-based ties, as certainly our respondents emphasize that a panoply of friends and kin are called upon for assistance with more specific and concrete problems of everyday life. Our results do, however, suggest that closer investigation of the cultural and social content, as well as meaning, of neighbourhood based absent or weak ties should be considered in studies of immigrant settlement and adaptation.

Summary

What might Oscar Handlin make of these four immigrant groups and their social networks? What might he make of the influence of Toronto and Montréal on these people? The immigrants studied here could well be frustrated by and alienated from Canadian society for any number of reasons - lack of recognition of education credentials, discrimination encountered in seeking employment and housing, racism, language problems - but few live in worlds stripped of friends and family or the rudiments of a community. As Handlin indicated, the city is an active force, bringing diverse peoples into contact, shaping the relative accessibility of associates, and influencing the form of networks in different places, but its influence is far from entirely negative.

By focusing on networks we have been able to outline some of the basic characteristics of community that exist among Afro-Caribbean, Latin American and Haitian immigrants. One of the disadvantages of such a survey-based approach is its limited capability to probe the emotional and cultural significance that respondents attach to their various associates. If we are to understand how networks influence identity significant effort should be devoted to unraveling the role played by culture. On the other hand, the relatively large sample size has allowed us to develop a detailed profile of the kinds of social support and intimates upon which respondents can count. The analysis also reveals considerable diversity within, and especially between, immigrant groups in terms of network complexity and the relative

importance of kin, friends and acquaintances. Again we have more evidence that immigrant settlement is a complex process that is influenced by time of arrival, socio-economic conditions, location in the city, type of housing occupied, and culture. Furthermore, immigrant communities are not spaceless as many of the respondents' ties are local, most people know and interact with their neighbours, but their lives are seldom confined to the borders of their neighbourhoods. They are more than able to maintain more distant associates in much the same manner as people in the general population do. In this way, distance is a cost of maintaining social relations.

Building networks is one part of building a life, and this chapter has tried to outline some of the characteristics and dynamics of this process among both new and long-established immigrants in Toronto and Montréal. Building a life, however, can take on many forms and is subject to a variety of different constraints. The analysis has shown, for instance, that Latin Americans in both Toronto and Montréal are somewhat more weakly supported than their Afro-Caribbean and Haitian counterparts, and overall have network associates who are more spatially proximate. In many ways, the Latin Americans are beginning the process of building subcultures in that they have more limited sets of kin and friendship ties and are more likely to report wanting more associates of all kinds - helpers, companions and counselors. On the other hand, Afro-Caribbean and Haitian immigrants describe forms of socializing and support that suggest most individuals have well established networks of people they can count on for several forms of support. But in subtle as well as more evident ways, differences between all *four* groups indicate that time of arrival is not the sole factor at work. For instance, even after some years, if not decades, of settlement in Montréal, family ties among Haitian immigrants are much more oriented toward the local neighbourhood and district than are those of Afro-Caribbean immigrants. In addition, Haitians are more likely to name a family member rather than a friend as a companion for social activities. Friends instead are more important as counselors than companions for Haitians, as well as for a large number of Latin Americans in both cities. In contrast, Afro-Caribbeans are much more likely to confide in family members. The diversity that exists between Haitians, Afro-Caribbeans and Latin Americans in terms of the form of social networks and types of associates used again suggests the importance of cultural norms, values and attitudes in regard to family, friends and neighbours.

(Post)modern cities may be places where little remains constant, where "all that is solid melts into air" (Berman 1982), but they persist as places where immigrants create communities around fragments of kin and friends from their place of birth, as well as an array of new associates, encountered within the constraints of various institutions, including housing,

culture, politics and racism. Social networks force us to take seriously individual experiences but with an eye cast strongly towards society's structures of opportunity and constraint. As Fischer (1982, 7) succinctly puts it: "... the relations within any individuals' personal networks are part of larger social networks - subcultures - that, linked together, define the society. It is through these ramified interconnections ... that any individual is integrated into society, first by bonds with individuals in his or her personal network, through them to a particular subculture, and through that to society as a whole."

CHAPTER VIII
CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Immigrants have been settling in, changing and building Canadian cities for a very long time, and this report has examined some of the ways in which recent immigrants are locating in Toronto and Montréal, using housing and neighbourhoods, and building social networks and communities. By examining several relatively large immigrant groups - Jamaicans, Haitians Vietnamese and Central Americans - living in the two largest cities in Canada, this study has emphasized the value of a comparative approach. There is considerable socio-economic, demographic and cultural heterogeneity within each city's immigrant population which is integral to understanding the nature of the immigrant experience in each city and, perhaps more importantly, the opportunities and constraints faced by immigrants. Critically, we see these differences manifested in where immigrants live in each city, their levels of concentration and segregation in particular areas, the types of housing occupied and form of tenure, housing and neighbourhood satisfaction, and the ways in which social networks of kin and friends are constructed, used and valued. This study has also emphasized the need to look well beyond the inner city, where most research on immigrants has traditionally concentrated, and into the largely unexplored, but socially contentious, suburbs. There is not one immigrant geography or set of housing conditions but many which differentially influence and characterize particular regions and municipalities of Toronto and Montréal. Evidence was also presented that suggests the process of settlement is considerably different in the two cities, owing in part to differences in overall segregation levels, types of housing, histories of development, and the location, accessibility and availability of kin and friends.

This chapter highlights some of the major findings contained in the preceding chapters and argues that the study overall has pointed to new types of immigrant settlement in Canadian cities with strong implications for understanding inter-group relations and the dynamics of immigrant or ethnic identity formation. Throughout the study, avenues for future research have been suggested and this chapter concludes by discussing in more detail some of the questions that demand further investigation.

Mapping and analyzing where immigrant groups live in Toronto and Montréal highlights important differences between the two cities, as well as between different immigrant groups. Montréal is a more ethnically segregated city than Toronto, with a far greater proportion of recent immigrant groups living in the inner city and surrounding older suburbs.

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The maps clearly show that relatively few immigrants live in somewhat newer suburbs off of the Island of Montréal, particularly in North and South Shore municipalities. Many immigrant groups are also under-represented in traditionally francophone areas on the east side of the Island of Montréal, although Haitians are a notable exception. Given the presence of immigrants throughout Toronto's inner city, it is also somewhat surprising that immigrants are virtually absent in some inner city neighbourhoods of Montréal, particularly those dominated by a working class francophone population. Certainly fewer immigrants, particularly visible minority immigrants, live in exurban areas of Toronto such as Richmond Hill and Vaughan, but their numbers are considerably greater in these areas relative to similar areas in the Montréal CMA. However, the suburbanization of recent and long-established immigrants is clearly shaping the social geography of both cities.

The differences in immigrant settlement patterns between the two cities, as well as the distinctions in where immigrants from different groups live in each city and their degree of segregation from one another, are interesting but shed relatively little light on the processes that give rise to these patterns. To go beyond pattern demands looking at both macro- and micro-scale factors, some of which are unique to each city and their respective histories of development, while others are more closely tied to relations between immigrants and the larger Canadian-born population, aspirations and cultural values intrinsic to individual groups, and Canadian institutional policies and practices.

Where immigrants live is intimately related to the built environment and social meanings that are accorded to neighbourhoods and districts. Simply put, immigrants do not settle on a plain devoid of history and meaning, but rather in cities nuanced by diverse morphologies and neighbourhoods that change in both physical form and meaning over time. To understand where people live implicitly demands that attention be given to housing. Analysis of the types of housing occupied, tenure, affordability and quality, perhaps more clearly than socio-economic and demographic variables, emphasizes the degree to which immigrant groups in both cities are distinctly different, both in relation to each other and the British/French Canadian population. The housing landscapes of both cities are characterized by significant variations and inequality, particularly between many of the visible minority groups studied and the British/French Canadian population. Differences and inequality can be accounted for by a number of factors, such as income, household type, length of time in Canada and gender, but the analysis also revealed that 'ethnicity' is an important independent factor. The role of ethnicity is multi-faceted, incorporating issues of choice (the cultural and family values of some groups predispose them to search out particular types of housing),

constraint, and discrimination on the basis of ethnicity.

In terms of housing status, Jamaican, Haitian, Vietnamese and Central American immigrants on average do not fare as well compared to British/French Canadians or other immigrant groups, such as Europeans/Americans and Chinese, in Toronto and Montréal. All of these groups are more likely to be renters, to live in either high- or low-rise apartments in Toronto or low-rise apartments and duplexes/triplexes in Montréal, and to spend over 30% of their incomes on housing. Most certainly, Central Americans stand out in both cities as being among the most poorly housed by conventional standards of dwelling type, tenure, affordability and location. However, even among immigrants who have lived in Canada for relatively long periods of time, such as Jamaicans and Haitians, their housing conditions and status are often far below that of the British/French Canadian population and even those of more recently arrived immigrant groups such as the Chinese and South Asians. Unraveling the factors which underlie such differentials and the long-term implications demands consideration of individual and group social, economic and cultural conditions, as well as constraints and discrimination faced by individuals from these groups in the housing market.

In both Toronto and Montréal it is also clear that a significant proportion of Jamaican, Haitian, Vietnamese and Central Americans are living in rented high- and low-rise apartments, dwellings which have relatively low status value in contemporary Canadian society. In Toronto, many high-rise apartment buildings in the inner city, and most especially in the suburbs, are important housing environments for immigrants from the Developing World. Although the majority of immigrants do not live in high-rise buildings, it is clear that many of these buildings accommodate some of the most recent and poorest immigrants in the city. In many ways, the geographies of some groups, such as Jamaicans and Central Americans, are strongly influenced by the location of high-rise apartment towers. The situation in Montréal is somewhat more complicated, and the city certainly does not have the stock of high-rise apartments that is found in Toronto. Nevertheless it seems that block style low-rise apartment buildings that were constructed in the 1950s and 1960s are becoming Montréal's new immigrant enclaves in inner city and older suburban neighbourhoods. These housing environments certainly pose new challenges for the interpretation of immigrant housing conditions and settlement which for the most part has focused on much older inner city dwellings and neighbourhoods.

Housing status and conditions highlight the degree to which *spatial segregation* is but one dimension of *social segregation* in each city. In areas where immigrants from a variety of

different birthplaces are numerous, such as northwest North York and north Etobicoke in Toronto or the west side neighbourhoods in Montréal's inner city and suburbs such as Ville St. Laurent and Dollard des Ormeaux, the different forms of housing occupied by these groups can divide them into quite different, although spatially contiguous, social worlds. In many parts of both cities, the contrast in housing occupied at the neighbourhood area level is even more evident when particular immigrant groups are compared to British/French Canadians. The dispersion of high-rise apartment buildings throughout the suburbs of Toronto means that many immigrants living in these buildings are physically neighbours with British/French Canadians living in nearby single-detached housing, although their opportunities for interaction are limited. Likewise, immigrants in Montréal are more likely to live in low-rise apartments relative to French/British Canadians within individual neighbourhood areas, although the contrast is less stark due to the high degree of occupancy of such housing by immigrant and non-immigrant groups alike throughout the city and the difficulties involved in distinguishing block style low-rise apartments from duplexes and triplexes. Nevertheless, measures of spatial segregation generally underestimate the degree to which social segregation structured around housing affects interactions between groups.

Immigrants overall, however, express strong satisfaction with their housing and neighbourhoods in both Toronto and Montréal. What each group likes about their city and neighbourhood, however, can differ significantly and reflects factors such as period of immigration, household income, gender, and the importance of family and friends. The interviews we conducted revealed a dynamic interplay between choice and constraint in housing on the part of individuals in each group. No one had a completely free choice about where to live, but neither did anyone express great frustration in finding housing, although many did complain about the cost of dwellings and taxes. The interviews provided a basic overview of housing and neighbourhood conditions and satisfaction, and did not attempt to investigate in any depth the nature of discrimination faced in the housing market by immigrants (Yinger 1995). Given the important differentials in housing conditions and status revealed in this study, more research should be given to the constraints, including discrimination, faced by visible minority immigrants in the housing markets of both cities.

To understand the housing and neighbourhood experiences of immigrants demands that serious attention also be accorded to the social networks formed by individuals which are the basis of a sense of community. This dimension of immigrant settlement received considerable attention here, and it was found that for many immigrants their perceptions of Toronto and Montréal, as well as neighbourhoods, are filtered through networks of family, friends and

neighbours who provide both material and emotional support. Very few immigrants are without either family or friends to turn to for companionship, material aid or emotional support, but it is also clear that the different groups rely more heavily on some parts of their social networks than others. The ways in which social networks are built and utilized again emphasizes differences between groups which can be in part attributed to different cultural values about the relative importance of friends, family, acquaintances and neighbours. Many of the most important people in an individual's network may not live in their immediate neighbourhood, or even in their section of the city, but combined with the weak ties furnished by acquaintances and neighbours, most people have some support in meeting the demands of everyday life and in turn feel part of a place. It is also evident, however, that the degree of social support is contingent upon factors such as length of time in Canada, socio-economic status, the type of dwelling occupied (those respondents living in high-rise apartments having relatively low levels of neighbouring), gender, and the presence of a partner and/or children.

This study suggests several questions that should be pursued in future research. Considerable attention has been given here to the experiences of immigrant groups in Toronto and Montréal, but only implicitly have the housing conditions, perceptions and aspirations of the British/French Canadian population been explored. Yet immigrant geographies, housing conditions and social networks do not function in isolation from the larger social groups which surround them. Immigrant settlement must be conceived of as a dynamic process that implicates an entire society, not just minority groups. To this end, greater attention should be focused on the ways in which the dominant or 'host' society imagines, constructs and manages immigrants, where they live and their housing. This is a particularly complex challenge in Montréal where a predominantly Québécois population is in the process of (re)defining the basis of its own identity, which in itself poses a new set of reciprocal relationships and potential conflicts for immigrants. Although the issue of identity is perhaps most acutely felt in Montréal, in no way is the Canadian-born population in Toronto monolithic in terms of cultural identity, class or social values. Fundamentally, if we are to understand more fully the ways in which discrimination and racism function in Canada, and thereby move towards a more tolerant multicultural society, attention must be given to the implicit and explicit ways in which discrimination is exercised in the landscapes of everyday life, most notably in terms of housing and neighbouring.

We also know relatively little about how immigrant groups perceive one another, and how this might influence patterns of settlement, the types of housing occupied and the form of social networks. This study has emphasized the diversity that exists within the immigrant

population, and this recognition must be extended to include the possibility that positive and negative discrimination conditions interactions between immigrants. As an illustration, Sarre *et al.* (1989) found that most immigrant groups aspired to live in housing and neighbourhoods occupied by white Britons, but that many immigrant groups deliberately tried to avoid areas occupied by other immigrants, most notably those neighbourhoods with large Afro-Caribbean populations. In the context of Toronto and Montréal where the number of groups is so great, it would be interesting to determine the degree to which social distance between immigrant groups becomes translated into housing markets and patterns of settlement.

The role of cultural values and discrimination in shaping housing inequality and the immigrant settlement process more generally implicates not only 'host' individuals but institutions as well. One of the areas that received little attention in this study was the role which institutions play in shaping the types of housing and neighbourhoods in which immigrants live. The institutions which manage and influence immigration, as well as those which manage public housing, are quite different in Toronto and Montréal and deserve greater attention. It is also important to realize that even institutions whose jurisdictions are national or provincial can have important impacts on local conditions for immigrants. For instance, the organization and provision of immigrant settlement programs have implications for the ways in which immigrants choose housing and neighbourhoods and use services.

When possible this study has emphasized the gendered nature of the immigrant settlement process, but in truth much more attention should be accorded to the differential experiences of women and men in the city. Gender is a fundamental factor which divides our society and influences opportunities, and there is little reason to believe that female and male migrants experience the city in identical ways. Indeed, the limited examination of household type and gender undertaken in earlier chapters suggests that overall housing conditions among some immigrant groups, such as Jamaicans, reflects the marginalized position of many women. Furthermore, as some evidence presented here indicates, the social networks of women and men, and the support they receive from family, friends and neighbours, are strongly influenced by gender. In some of the immigrant groups, for instance, women are more often turned to for various kinds of social support.

The research conducted here on social networks as a means for better understanding the immigrant settlement process and housing choices suggests a number of avenues for future reserach. Our analysis is suggestive of the importance of family and friends in daily life, but in truth the data are thin in that only a small number of potential associates are examined and the

nature of a questionnaire limits the ability to probe the importance of particular relationships. What are the subtleties, meanings and importance of the relationships that immigrants point to as being important? Quite simply, it is impossible to examine such issues in a large scale survey and more qualitative framework based on in-depth interviews could provide a much more rounded picture of the significance of social networks. In a similar vein, the importance of neighbours and neighbouring for developing a sense of belonging among immigrants can only be fully explored using a qualitative approach that allows respondents to talk freely about their interactions with neighbours. It is quite clear that 'community' for most immigrants is not restricted to the neighbourhood, although many have some relationships with their neighbours. Are such local 'weak' or 'absent' contacts without meaning? Do any of these contacts act as bridges to larger social networks? What kinds of information do neighbours provide? How different is the pattern of neighbouring in Toronto or Montréal compared to the places that immigrants left behind? How is the pattern of neighbouring influenced by an inner city or suburban location?

In many ways, this study represents a beginning point for research about immigrants and their housing in Canadian cities. Clearly the immigrant experience is multi-faceted and is likely to become ever more complex as cities experience more changes in their form and function in a post-industrial era, as the flow of immigrants to Canada remains high, and as cultural diversity among new arrivals continues to broaden. To appreciate the immigrant experience in all of its complexity demands that we examine the processes of immigrant settlement at a local rather than metropolitan or provincial scales. In both Toronto and Montréal a significant immigrant geography is emerging in the suburbs where housing inequality and segregation are very real parts of the suburban experience. Suburbs are as much an ideal or mental construct as they are a material reality, and as such immigrant housing and settlement in these areas poses a variety of important social, cultural and economic challenges that are experienced by people from diverse background in some of the most intimate spaces of daily life (Ray *et al.* 1997). If we are to create a truly multicultural society that accepts difference and diversity, the process must begin at the neighbourhood level in both the inner city, the traditional immigrant reception area, and the suburbs where most people, immigrants and non-immigrants alike, invest so much of their social lives and financial resources.

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APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

ENGLISH QUESTIONNAIRE

RECORD

Interview No.: _____
Date of Interview:_____
Interviewer: _____
Length of Interview: _____

Place of Interview:
- at respondent's home: Yes _____ No _____
- elsewhere _____
- repondent's location: _____ (major street intersection)
Language of Interview: _____

English Questionnaire

My first questions are about where you have lived and where you would like to live.

1.   Where were you born? _____ _____

2.   What country did you live in immediately before coming to   _____
Canada?

_____

3.   Which of these kinds of places did you live in *most* before   _____
you came to Canada?
        a) Large city (greater than 750,000)
        b) Small city (50,000 to 750,000)
        c) Small town
        d) Farm or rural area
        e) Other

4.   How long have you lived in Canada? _____ _____

5a.   How long have you lived in Montréal/Toronto?   _____
        a) Less than 6 months
        b) 6 to 11 months
        c) 1 or 2 years
        d) 3 to 5 years
        e) more than 5 years

5b.   Here are some reasons people give for picking a particular   _____
city in which to live. Which of these reasons were
important to you (and your family) in deciding to live in   _____
Montréal/Toronto.
        a) Being near relatives or friends
        b) The kind of people here   _____
        c) Where I could find a job (or where my wife/husband
           could find a job)
        d) Heard it was a good place to live
        e) Other

_____

6a.   Do you have any immediate family – such as parents,   _____
children, brothers, sisters or in-laws – living in this
area, that is, within about a half-hour drive from here?
        a) Yes
        b) No (Skip to 8)

6b.   If yes, counting only adults, who are these relatives and
where do they live (specify neighbourhood if possible).   _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

7.   Here are some reasons people give for picking a particular   _____
neighbourhood. Which of these reasons were important to
you (and/or your partner/family) in deciding to live in   _____
this neighbourhood? [Circle as many responses as apply]
        a) Being near relatives and friends   _____
        b) Being near to people from my ethnic group   _____
        c) The recreational facilities
        d) Good schools for children
        e) Being close to my work or school
        f) Being close to my partner's work or school
        g) The stores and services here
        h) Housing is affordable
        i) Liked the type of housing
        j) Other

8.   Some people feel it's very important to live close to their _____
relatives and see a lot of them; for others, it is not that
important. How important is it to you?
        a) Very Important
        b) Somewhat Important
        c) Not too Important

9.   During the past few months, have you dropped in on any of   _____
your neighbours or had any of your neighbours drop in on
you just for a casual visit?
        a) Yes
        b) No

10.   During the past few months, have you *invited* any   _____
neighbours over to your home, or have any of your
neighbours invited you over to their home?
        a) Yes
        b) No

11.   During the past few months, have you stopped and talked   _____
with any of your neighbours outside your home?
        a) Yes
        b) No

12.   In terms of general lifestyle, do you think that most of   _____
your neighbours are pretty much like you, or are they quite
different from you?
        a) Pretty much like me
        b) Some like, some different
        c) Quite different from me
        d) Can't say

13.   Thinking of the neighbourhood as a whole, would you say that _____
most of the people who live here *can* be trusted or *cannot* be
trusted?
        a) Can be trusted
        b) Can't say
        c) Cannot be trusted

14. What would you say are the best things about living in
    Montréal/Toronto? (Probe)

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

15. What would you say are the worst things about living in
    Montréal/Toronto? (Probe)

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

Now I want to ask you some questions about your housing and
neighbourhood.

16a. Note => Interviewer, what type of housing does the
     respondent live in?
            a) Detached / Semi-detached house
            b) Duplex/triplex
            c) Low-rise apartment building (less than 5 floors)
            d) High-rise apartment building (5 or more floors)
            e) Other
            _____

16b. Note => Interviewer, if the respondent does not live in a
     low or high-rise apartment building skip to 18.

17a. Do you have any immediate family - such as parents,
     children, brothers, sisters or in-laws - living in
     this building (in the case of a high or low-rise apartment
     building)?
            a) Yes
            b) No (Skip to 18)

17b. If yes, counting only adults, what is their relationship to
     you and where do they live in the building (specify floor).

     _____

     _____

18. How old is your house/apartment?   _____

19. Do you own or rent this house/apartment?
            a) Own
            b) Rent [private] (Skip to 20)
            c) Rent [public] (Skip to 21)
            c) Other (specify)
            _____

3

20a. Have you ever lived in public housing?   _____
          a) Yes
          b) No (Skip to 21)

20b. For how long did you live in public housing? _____   _____

20c. Where was this housing located?   _____   _____

20d. Why did you leave public housing?   _____   _____

          _____   _____

          _____   _____

          _____

21. Here are some reasons people give for moving. What were   _____
     your reasons for moving from your previous dwelling?
     (Circle as many responses as apply)   _____
          a) Inadequate housing
          b) Housing too expensive   _____
          c) Desire to own your own home
          d) Change in marital status
          e) Distance from work
          f) Isolated
          g) Change in income
          h) Ethnic population too high
          i) Overpopulated
          j) Wanted more privacy
          k) Other (specify)

22. How did you find your present house/apartment?   _____
          a) Newspaper
          b) Friends
          c) Relatives
          d) Real estate agent
          e) Other sources (Probe) _____

          _____

23a. Since you've lived in this neighbourhood, have you always   _____
     been in this house/apartment?
          a) Yes (skip to 24)
          b) No

23b. How long have you lived in this house/apartment?   _____
          a) Less than 6 months
          b) 6 to 11 months
          c) 1 to 2 years
          d) 3 to 5 years
          e) Longer than 5 years
          f) Don't know

24. In the forseeable future, would you like to stay in this   _____
    neighbourhood, would you like to move to some other area
    of the city, or would you rather move outside of
    Montréal/Toronto altogether?
        a) Stay in area
        b) Move to another
        c) Move out of Montréal/Toronto
        d) Don't know

25a. Are there areas of the city where you would not move to?   _____
        a) Yes
        b) No (Skip to 26)

25b. Why would you not live in these areas? (probe)   _____

    _____   _____

    _____   _____

    _____

26. Here are some reasons people give for being dissatisfied   _____
    with a neighbourhood. Do you find there to be any
    disadvantages with this location?   _____
    (Circle as many responses as apply)
        a) Price of houses/rents too high   _____
        b) Taxes are too high
        c) Limited parking available
        d) Poor public transportation
        e) No parks, playgrounds and/or community services
        f) Shops and services too far away
        g) Too noisy
        h) Other (specify) _____

27. How many rooms are there in this house/apartment, counting   _____
    the kitchen but not counting the bathroom(s)?
        a) One
        b) Two
        c) Three
        d) Four to six
        e) More than six

28. Do you have enough space in your house/apartment for your   _____
    needs/the needs of your household?
        a) Yes
        b) No
        c) Too much space

29. If you could live anywhere you liked, and didn't have to   _____
    take account of what your household wants, would you
    personally live in a house or an apartment?
        a) House
        b) Apartment
        c) Other (specify) _____

30a. If you could afford to spend twice as much money on housing, would you move to another neighbourhood, move to another home in *this* neighbourhood, or stay in this house/apartment?

        a) New neighbourhood
        b) Same neighbourhood, new place
        c) Same house/apartment
        d) Don't know

30b. Why? (probe) _____

_____

Now, some of the next questions might apply to people who you know that may live out of town, so I want to remind you that we are interested in *them*, as well as people who live nearby (and the pe ople who live with you).

31a. In the past three months, have any friends or relatives helped with any tasks around the home such as painting, moving furniture, cooking, cleaning, or major or minor repairs?

        a) Yes
        b) No (skip to 32)

31b. Who are they (relative/friend) and where do they live? (probe)

_____

_____

32a. Sometimes people get together with others to talk about hobbies or spare-time interests they have in common. Do you ever do this?

        a) Yes
        b) No (skip to 33)

32b. Who are they (relative/friend) and where do they live? (probe)

_____

_____

33a. When you are concerned about a personal matter - for example, about someone you are close to or something you are worried about - how often do you talk about it with someone?

        a) Usually
        b) Sometimes
        c) Hardly ever

33b. When you *do* talk with some about personal matters, who do   _____
     you talk with and where do they live? (probe)
                                                                          _____

     _____   _____

     _____

     _____

34a. Often people rely on the judgment of someone they know in   _____
     making *important* decisions about their lives - for example,
     decisions about their family or their work. Is there
     anyone whose opinion you consider *seriously* in making
     important decisions?
          a) Yes
          b) No (skip to 35)

34b. Whose opinions do you consider and where do they live?   _____
     (probe)

     _____   _____

     _____   _____

35a. Some people have a particular place they know they can go   _____
     to and find their friends when they want to - it might be
     a park, club, coffee shop, a restaurant, or some other kind
     of place. Do you have any place like that where you and
     your friends tend to see each other?
          a) Yes
          b) No (Skip to 36)

35b. If yes, what type of place is it and how far away is it?   _____
     (probe for multiple places)

     _____   _____

     _____   _____

35c. Why do you use this place (these places)? Please describe   _____
     why it is (they are) important.

36. Some people describe themselves by their ethnicity or   _____
     national background. How would you describe yourself?
          Note=> If asked why you want to know: We would like
          to know whether any of the people you know are of
          the same ethnicity or national background as you.

37a. Are your three best friends from your ethnic or national   _____
     background?
          a) Yes
          b) No (Skip to 38)

37b. If yes, where do these friends live?   _____   _____

     _____   _____

     _____

38a. Are many of your neighbours from your ethnic or national   _____
     background?
          a) Yes
          b) No (Skip to 39)

38b. If yes, do you ever visit these neighbours or invite them   _____
     into you home?
          a) Yes
          b) No

39. Is it important to you to live in a place where there are   _____
     other people from your ethnic or national background?
          a) Very Important
          b) Somewhat Important
          c) Not Important

40a. Do you belong to any organizations? (show card with list)   _____
          a) Yes
          b) No (Skip to 41)

40b. If yes, which of these organizations do you belong to?   _____
     (Multiple responses are ok)
          a) Business groups   _____
          b) Church connected groups
          c) Charity or welfare organizations   _____
          d) Sports clubs
          e) Ethnic or national organizations
          f) Fraternal lodges
          g) Neighbourhood associations
          h) PTA or other school related groups
          i) Political clubs or organizations
          j) Social clubs, card playing, music or hobby groups
          k) Youth groups (Scout leader, Organizer, Sports coach)
          l) Other (specify)

40c. For each organization, ask for its name and location.   _____

     _____   _____

     _____   _____

     _____   _____

     _____

41. Thinking about the people you know, do you sometimes wish   _____
     you knew more people you could talk with about personal
     matters and problems, or do you feel you already know
     enough people to talk with right now?
          a) Wish knew more
          b) Already know enough people

42. Do you sometimes wish you knew more people you could get   _____
     together with to have a good times, or do you feel you
     already know enough people like that?
          a) Wish knew more
          b) Already know enough people

43. What about having people you can rely on to help you with things when you need it, things like work around the home or lending money - do you sometimes wish you knew more people like that, or do you already know enough people to rely on for help?

    a) Wish knew more
    b) Already know enough people

Now, just a few background questions and then we'll be done.

44. You said you were (single/married/divorced/separated/widowed)?
    How long have you been _____? Number of years:_____

45. Are there any children living here?

46a. Do you have any children who do not live here with you?
    a) Yes
    b) No (Skip to 47)

46b. If yes, how many and where do they live?

    _____

    _____

    _____

47. What is your age? _____   And your partner? _____
    a) 18-24   d) 45-54
    b) 25-34   e) 55-64
    c) 35-44   f) 65 & over

48. What was the highest grade or year you completed in school? And your partner (if applicable)?
    a) Grade School 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
    b) High School 9 10 11 12 13
    c) Technical/Trade School 1 2 3 4 5+
    d) If university or college: What was the highest degree you received?
        Bachelors (e.g. BA/BSc)
        Masters (e.g. MA/MSc)
        PhD
        Other

49a. Are you attending any school or taking any classes this fall?
    a) Yes
    b) No (Skip to 50)

49b. If Yes: Is this a language training class?
    a) Yes (Skip to 50)
    b) No

49c. Are you working toward a diploma or degree?
    a) Yes
    b) No, just upgrading skills (Skip to 50)
    c) No (Skip to 50)

49d. If Yes: What diploma or degree do you expect to receive? ____
        a) High school diploma
        b) College / University degree

50a. What is your occupation? _____ ____

50b. Where is your job located? _____ ____

51a. What is your partner's occupation? (If applicable) ____

     _____

51b. Where is her/his job located? _____ ____

52. Which of the following best describes your work schedule ____
    and that of your partner?
        a) Full time rotating shifts ____
        b) Full time days
        c) Full time evenings/nights
        d) Part-time days
        e) Part-time evenings/nights

53. Please look at this card and give me the letter of the ____
    income group that includes your *personal* income before
    taxes. This figure should include all of *your* income -
    wages, salaries, child support, interest etc.
    a) None or loss
    b) Less than $10,000
    c) $10,000 to 19,999
    d) $20,000 to 29,999
    e) $30,000 to 39,999
    f) $40,000 to 54,999
    g) Over $55,000

54. Please give me the letter of the income group that includes ____
    your family/household income before taxes. This figure
    should include all of the family/household income - wages,
    salaries, interest, child support etc.
    a) None or loss
    b) Less than $10,000
    c) $10,000 to 19,999
    d) $20,000 to 29,999
    e) $30,000 to 39,999
    f) $40,000 to 54,999
    g) $55,000 to 69,999
    h) $70,000 to 84,999
    i) Over $85,000