RECENT IMMIGRANTS IN TORONTO'S INNER SUBURBS: SETTLEMENT PATTERNS, CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS FOR INTEGRATION

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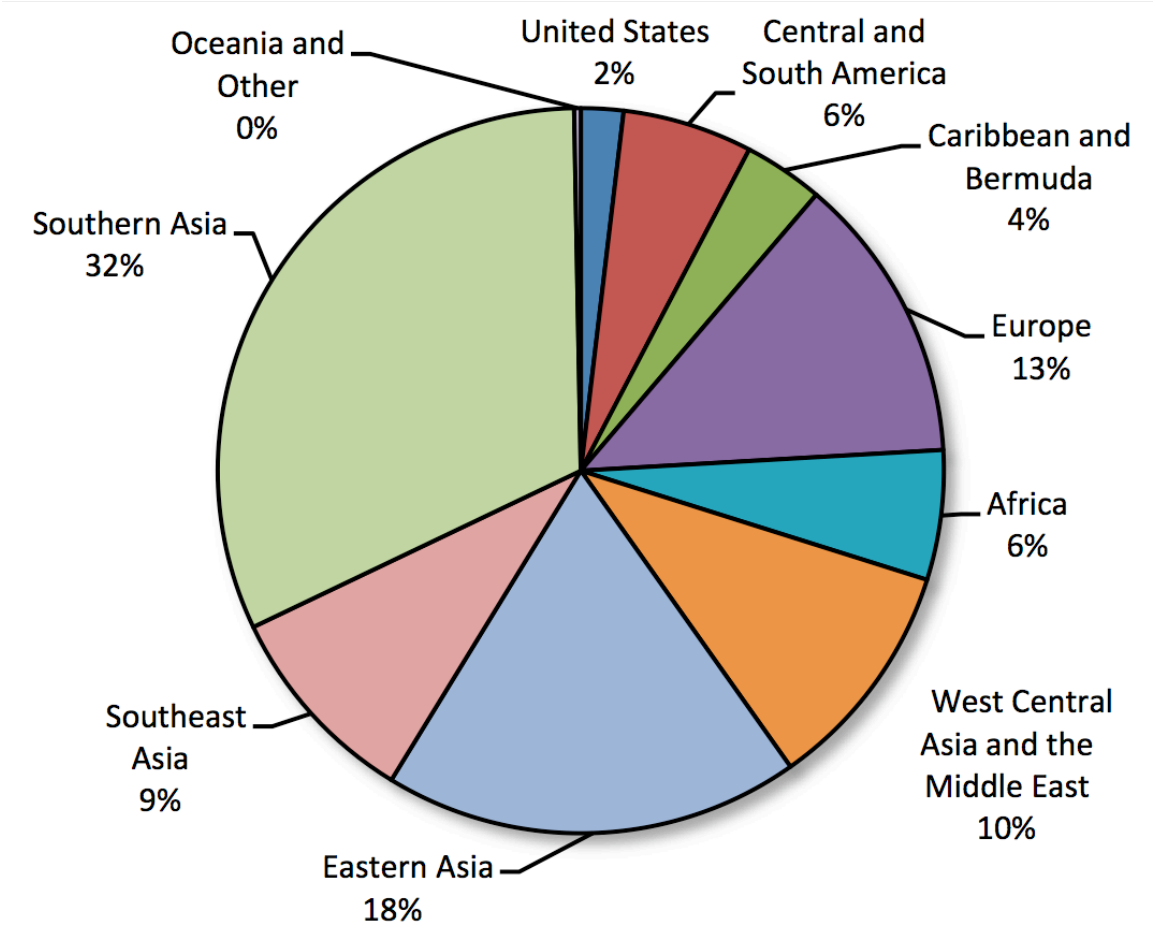
Outline/Objectives

- Provide the Toronto context
- Document the increased suburbanization of Toronto's immigrant population, 1971 and 2006
- Suggest reasons for immigrant suburbanization and continued settlement in ethnic enclaves
- Provide details of the spatial diversity and correlates of immigrant settlement
- Discuss challenges faced by newcomers in the inner suburbs and neighbourhood based strategies to revitalize the inner suburbs

The Toronto Context

- Canada's major immigrant receiving city
- Higher proportion of foreign-born population than all major USA cities (46% in 2006)
- Major shift in source countries beginning in the 1970s from Europe to Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, the Middle East and Africa
- Extremely diverse group of new immigrants in terms of country of origin, race, religion, educational attainment and job skills: "The World in a City"
- "Toronto continues to offer newcomers a poor quality of life" (Toronto Community Foundation, 2009:26)

“The World in a City”: Place of Birth of Toronto’s Immigrants, 2001-2006



Increased Suburbanization of Toronto's Immigrant Population, 1971 and 2006

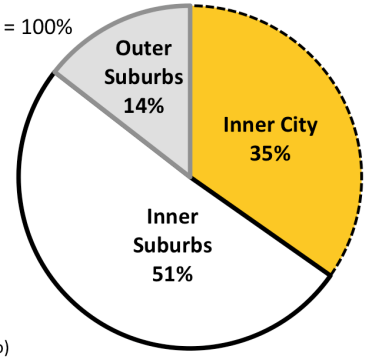
- Increased Suburbanization
  - Re-segregation of inner-city immigrants in the suburbs (challenges the spatial assimilation model)
  - Settlement of new immigrants directly in the suburbs by-passing inner-city immigrant reception areas
- 1965-1971: European immigrants settled primarily in immigrant reception areas close to the downtown core
- 2001-2006: Almost all of Toronto's newly arrived immigrants settled in the suburbs
  - Ethnic background and economic status of these immigrants are extremely diverse
  - Tendency to locate in ethnic enclaves (spatial mosaic)
  - Two different groups of recent immigrants differentiated by economic status and ability to bid for housing

Percentage of the Total Immigrant Population in the Inner City, Inner Suburbs and Outer Suburbs and Percentage of the Population Immigrant by Census Tract, Toronto CMA, 1971 and 2006

Toronto Census Metropolitan Area = 100%

1971

900,000 Immigrants



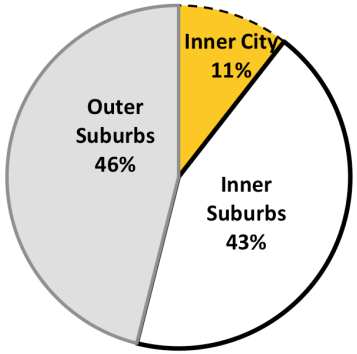
Inner City
(former City of Toronto)

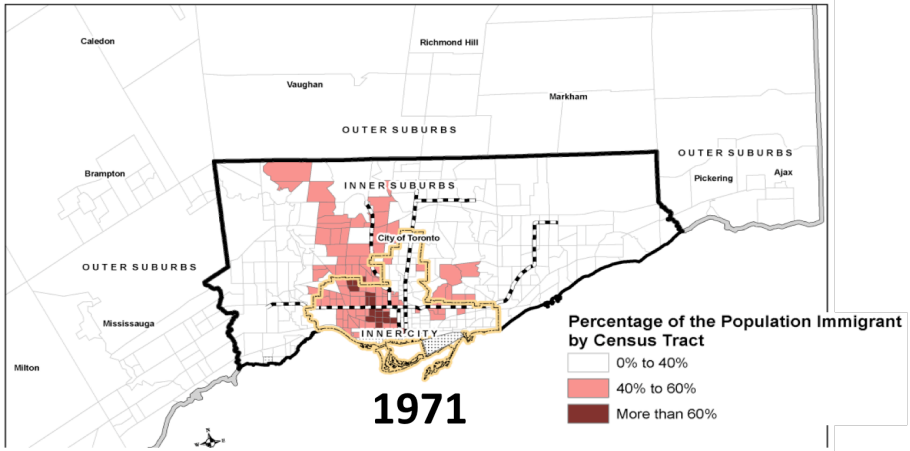
Inner Suburbs
(former cities of Scarborough, North York, Etobicoke, York, East York)

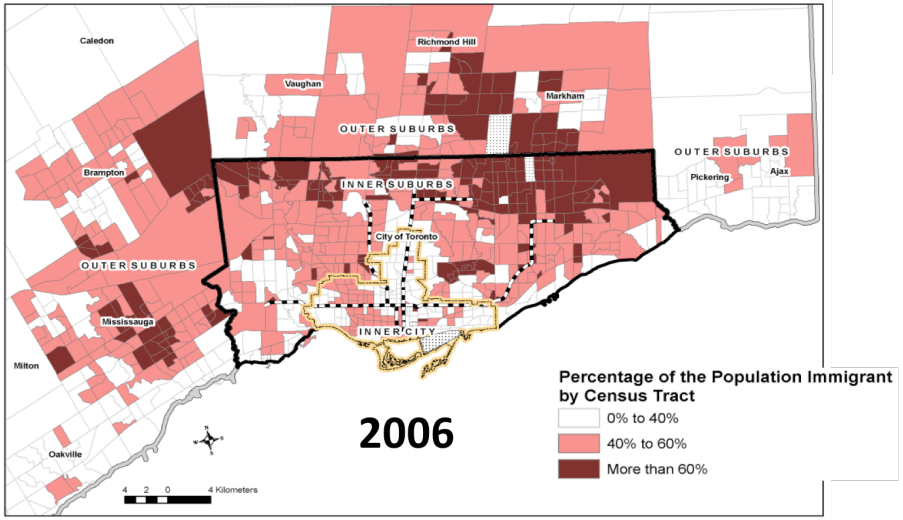
Outer Suburbs
(the "905 Region" adjacent to the City of Toronto and within the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area)

2006

2.4 million Immigrants







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Source: Statistics Canada, Census 1971 and 2006

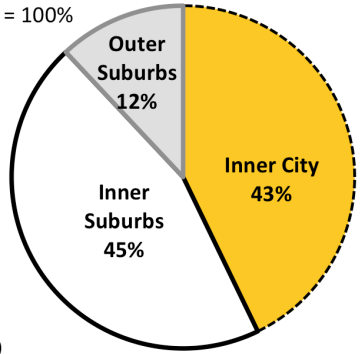
www.gtuo.ca
www.NeighbourhoodChange.ca

Percentage of the Total Recent Immigrant Population in the Inner City, Inner Suburbs and Outer Suburbs and Percentage of the Population Recent Immigrant by Census Tract, Toronto CMA, 1971 and 2006

Toronto Census Metropolitan Area = 100%

1971

285,000 Immigrants Arrived 1965-1971



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(former City of Toronto)

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Outer Suburbs
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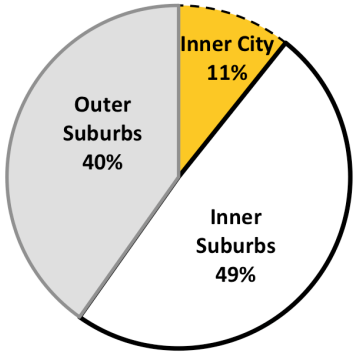
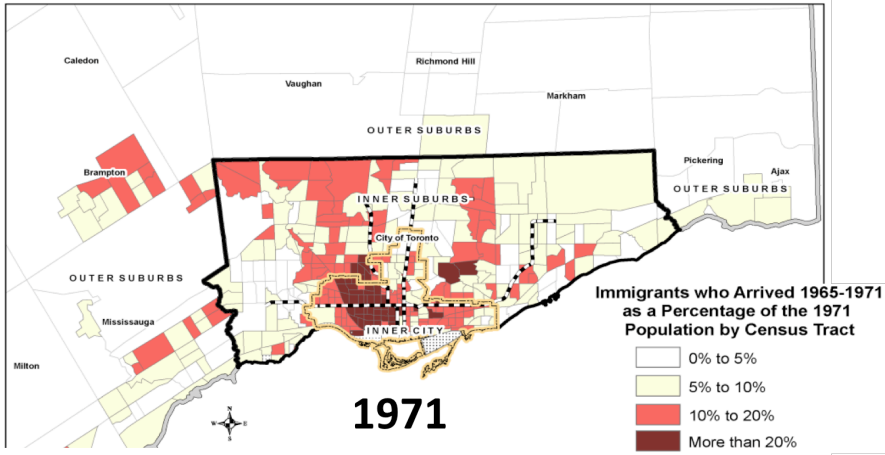
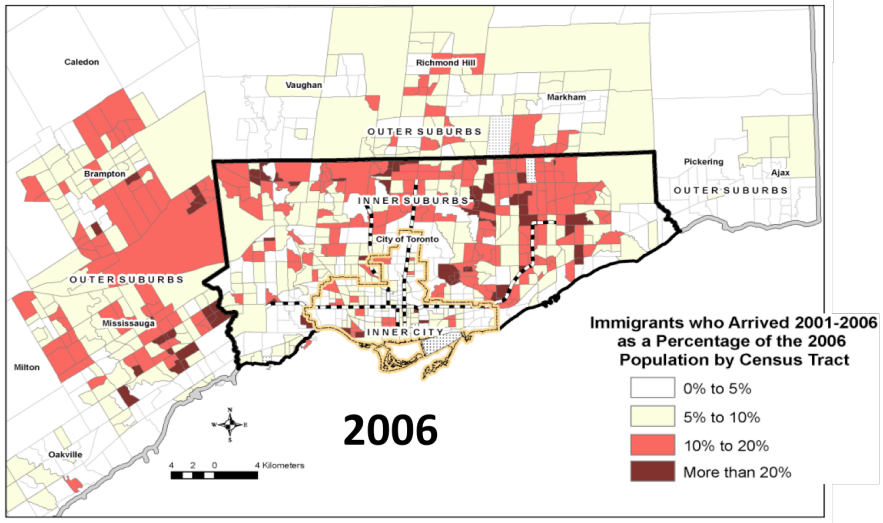
2006

450,000 Immigrants Arrived 2001-2006







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Source: Statistics Canada, Census 1971 and 2006

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Reasons for Suburbanization of the Immigrant Population

- Job Opportunities: Decline of manufacturing jobs and shift of many remaining low-skilled jobs to the suburbs
- Housing Market and Policies: Large scale gentrification of the inner city resulting in a decline of affordable rental housing and displacement of working class populations
- Expanded housing opportunities in the suburbs
  - Single family ownership housing satisfies the desire by inner-city immigrants and a select group of newcomers for affordable home-ownership, newer housing, more space
  - Aging but relatively affordable high-rise rental apartments in the inner suburbs provide housing for newcomers who because of low SES have few options

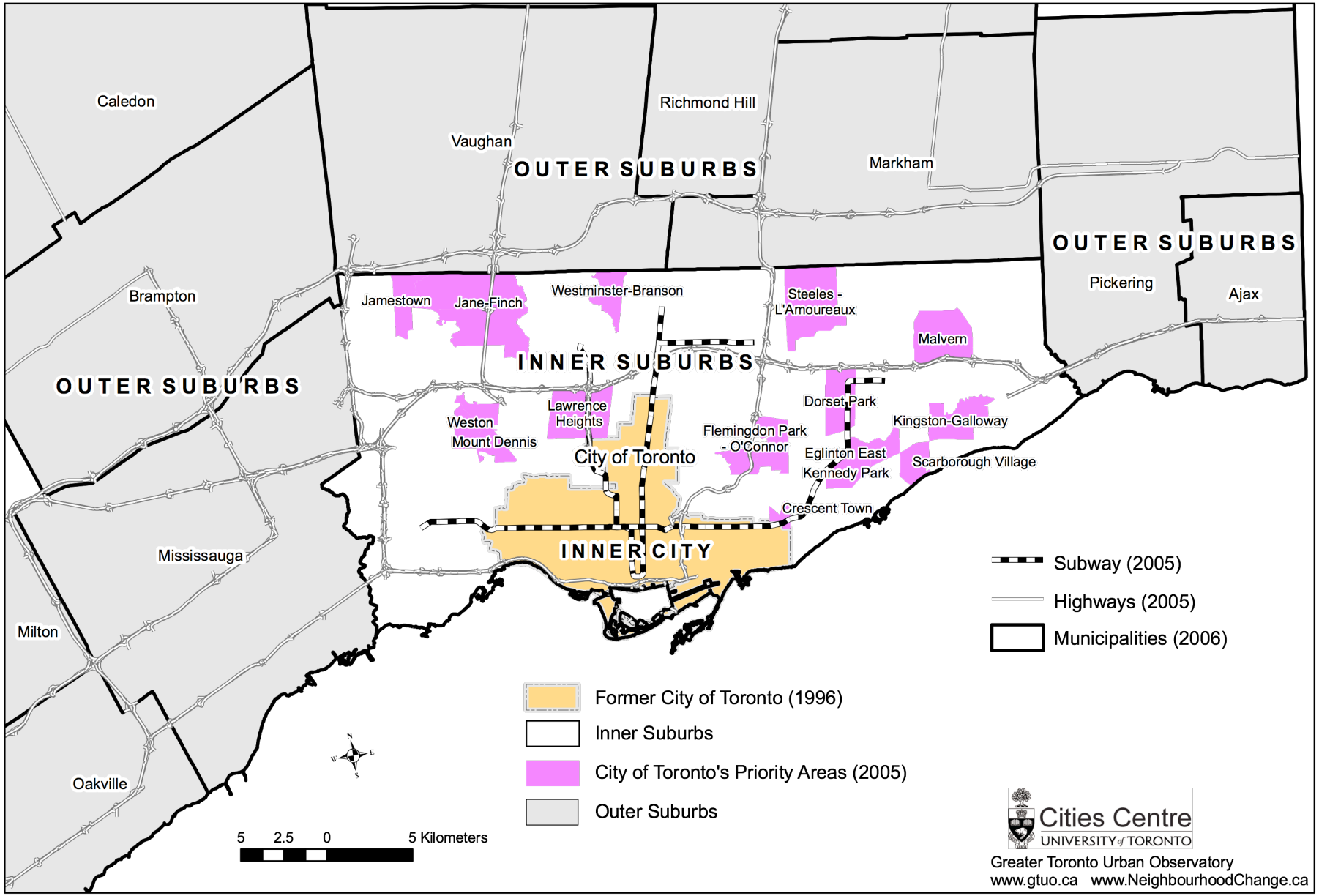
Reasons for Continued Settlement in Ethnic Enclaves

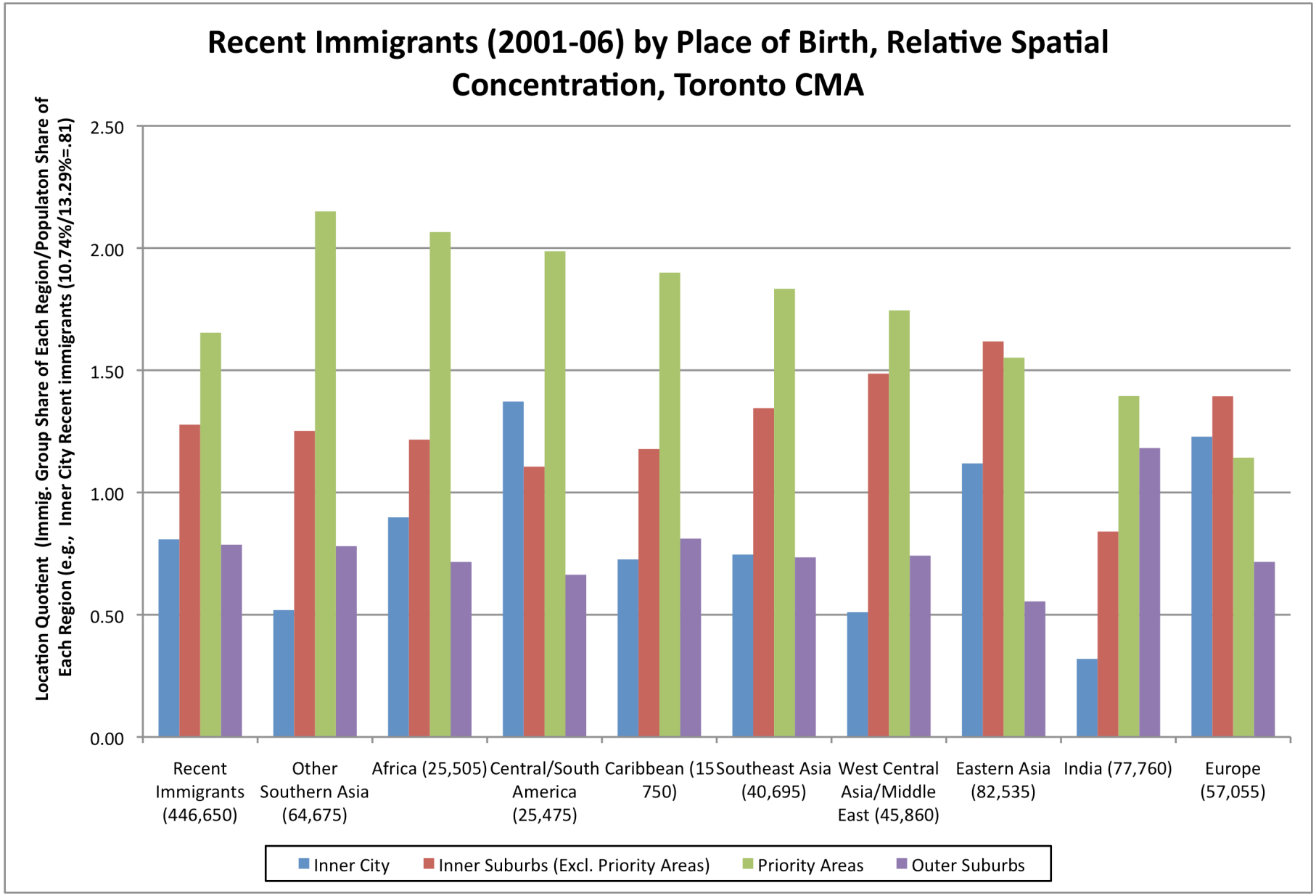
- Multiculturalism in a general sense. The Canadian “spatial mosaic” model. Preserve cultural autonomy of individual groups while promoting integration in terms of language training, job training, employment
- Canadians generally view immigration positively. More likely to consider immigration as an opportunity than a problem in spite of media reports about the presumed failure of multiculturalism in Europe
- Social networks are very important and have been historically
- Settlement support from co-ethnics and community-based organizations rather than direct participation from the state

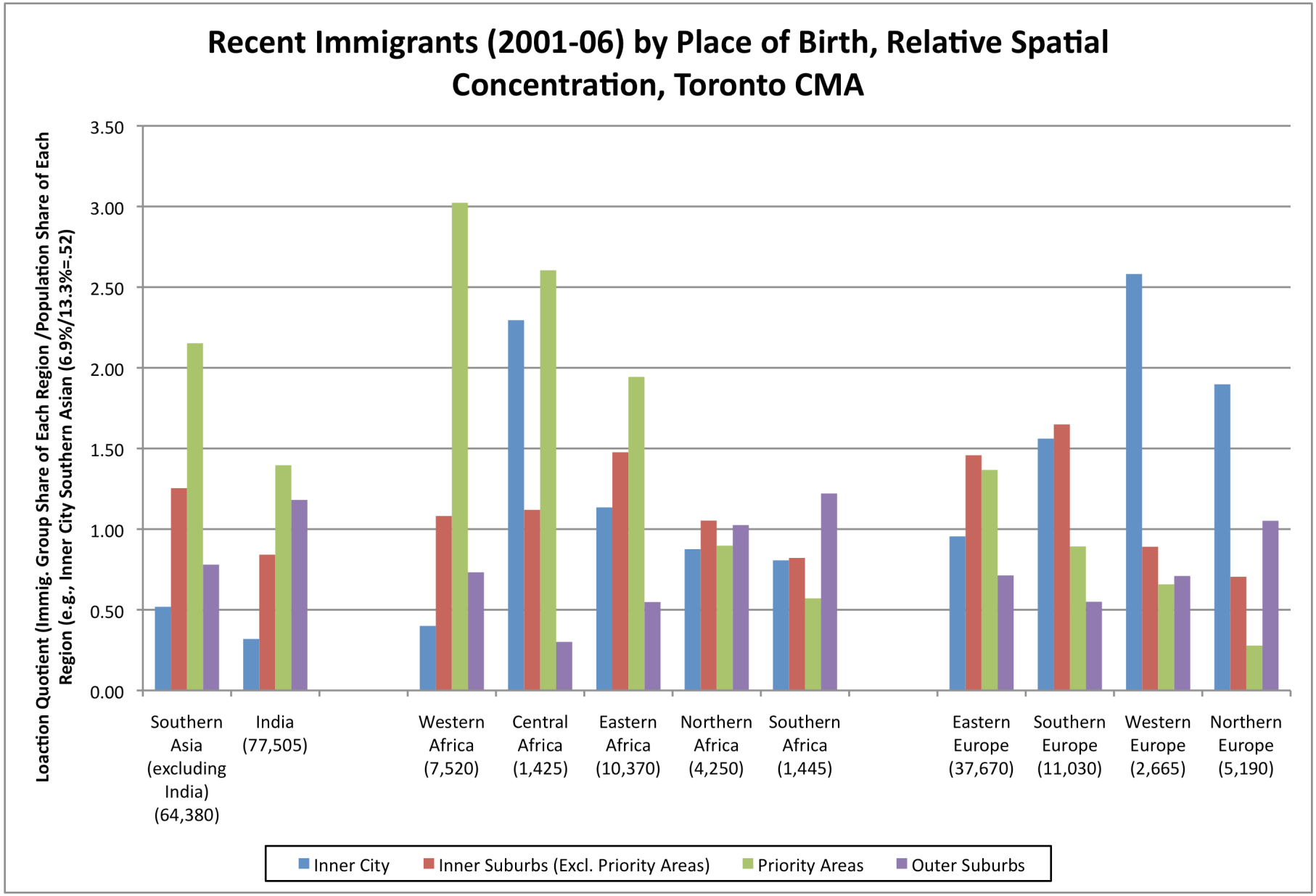
Spatial Diversity and Correlates of Immigrant Settlement

- Focus on recent immigrants (2001-2006) by place of birth
- Within four areas
  - Inner City
  - Inner Suburbs
  - Priority Areas in the Inner Suburbs
    - 13 city-defined neighbourhoods targeted for infrastructure investment based on poverty, underemployment, new immigrants and weak community infrastructure
  - Outer Suburbs
- Expectations
  - Recent immigrant groups with low education, high unemployment, higher incidence of female parent families and low incomes will be concentrated in the inner suburbs, especially the priority areas

Location of Toronto's Inner City, Inner Suburbs, Outer Suburbs and the City of Toronto's 13 Priority Areas (2005)




Recent Immigrants (2001-06) by Place of Birth, Relative Spatial Concentration, Toronto CMA
Location Quotient (Immig. Group Share of Each Region/Populaton Share of Each Region (e.g., Inner City Recent immigrants (10.74%/13.29%=.81)
2.50
2.00
1.50
1.00
0.50
0.00
Recent Immigrants (446,650)
Other Southern Asia (64,675)
Africa (25,505)
Central/South America (25,475)
Caribbean (15750)
Southeast Asia (40,695)
West Central Asia/Middle East (45,860)
Eastern Asia (82,535)
India (77,760)
Europe (57,055)
Inner City
Inner Suburbs (Excl. Priority Areas)
Priority Areas
Outer Suburbs


Recent Immigrants (2001-06) by Place of Birth, Relative Spatial Concentration, Toronto CMA
Loaction Quotient (Immig. Group Share of Each Region /Population Share of Each Region (e.g., Inner City Southern Asian (6.9%/13.3%=.52)
3.50
3.00
2.50
2.00
1.50
1.00
0.50
0.00
Southern Asia (excluding India) (64,380)
India (77,505)
Western Africa (7,520)
Central Africa (1,425)
Eastern Africa (10,370)
Northern Africa (4,250)
Southern Africa (1,445)
Eastern Europe (37,670)
Southern Europe (11,030)
Western Europe (2,665)
Northern Europe (5,190)
Inner City
Inner Suburbs (Excl. Priority Areas)
Priority Areas
Outer Suburbs

Toronto CMA, Recent Immigrants, 2001-06: Concentration Index vs. No Degree, Unemployed, Lone Parent & Low Income for 16 Place of Birth Groups, 2006

	No Degree	Unemployed	Lone Parent	Low Income
Inner City	.06	-.28	-.02	-.13
Inner Suburbs	.24	.31	.47	.60*
Priority Areas	.60*	.64**	.71*	.57*
Outer Suburbs	-.34	-.26	-.56*	-.45

1. Toronto CMA: observations = 16 place of birth groups arriving in the Toronto CMA, 2001-2006
2. Correlation = rank order correlation, coefficients in red are statistically significant
3. Concentration Index = Ratio of over- and under-representation by place of birth for IC, IS, PN, OS
4. No Degree = % recent immigrants 15 years and over with no degree etc. at the bachelor's level or above
5. Unemployed = unemployment rate for recent immigrants 15 years and over in the labour force
6. Lone Parent = % recent immigrants who are members of a lone parent family
7. Low Income = % recent immigrants who are in economic families below the low income cut-off level before tax

Challenges Facing Recent Immigrants in the Inner Suburbs

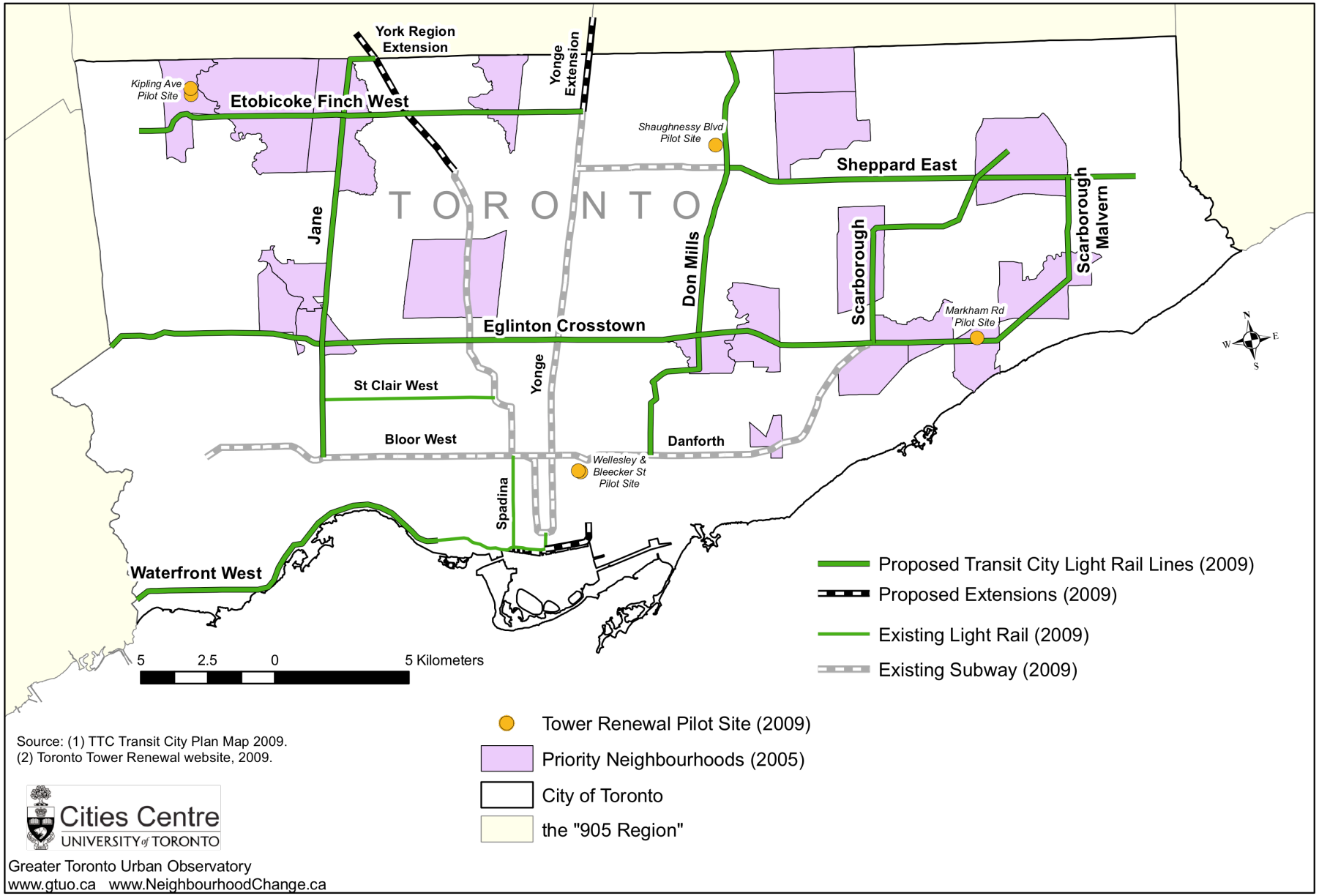
- Housing
  - Affordability and Supply
  - Suitability
  - Quality
- Transportation
  - Inner suburbs are poorly served by public transport
  - Limited east-west connections within the inner suburbs
- Community Infrastructure
  - Lack of community infrastructure and suitable activities for youth
- In Sum
  - Toronto does not have ghettos in the US sense but does face challenges creating inclusive and welcoming communities

Neighbourhood-Based Strategies for Revitalizing Toronto's Inner Suburbs

- City of Toronto
  - Transit City
  - Tower Renewal
  - Social Housing Revitalization
  - Community Safety
- United Way Toronto
  - Targeted Investment
  - Action for Neighbourhood Change
  - Community Hubs

Neighbourhood-based Strategies for Revitalizing the Inner Suburbs:

City of Toronto's Priority Neighbourhoods, Tower Renewal Pilot Sites and Transit City Plan



Source: (1) TTC Transit City Plan Map 2009.
(2) Toronto Tower Renewal website, 2009.

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Greater Toronto Urban Observatory
www.gtuo.ca www.NeighbourhoodChange.ca

Looking Ahead

- December, 2010:
  - Toronto elected a more conservative mayor and council. Mayor's objective is to strip costs from the city budget, eliminate some crucial revenue streams and eliminate most of Transit City
  - Federal government cuts to settlement services
- Will the immigrant enclaves in Toronto's inner suburbs become " . . . . successful antechambers to urban life or . . . . places of dangerous isolation and poverty?"

  (Saunders, D., *Arrival City:The Final Migration and our Next World,* 2010, p. 314)