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**TORONTO IN TRANSITION:  
DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN THE  
LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

**Michael J. Doucet  
May 1999**

**CERIS Working Paper No. 6**



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<sup>1</sup> Editor's Note: This paper was reformatted for pdf in February 2006. Every effort was taken to maintain the text, tables, and illustrations as in the original version. The material contained in the front and back covers, however, has been changed to reflect CERIS and the Metropolis Project in 2006.

## **Toronto in Transition:**

### **Demographic Change in the Late Twentieth Century**

*It was the environment back [in the early 1970s] I fell in love with. I felt that Toronto would be the Paris of North America in terms of cultural mix. It really reflected the world better than any other cities. The American cities were becoming terrible with crime. Toronto accepted people. . . . I wallowed in it. I loved it. And I've had great expectations which, for the most part, have come to fruition. I've had incredible dreams come true - John Wrye, percussionist and immigrant, 1996<sup>1</sup>*

*Diversity - Our Strength* - official motto of the City of Toronto, adopted in 1998<sup>2</sup>

### **Introduction: “The Cosmopolitan Capital of Canada”**

Make no mistake, Toronto currently is a world-class cosmopolitan city, far and away the most multicultural urban centre in Canada. By the 1990s, it was home to people from more than one hundred different racial, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds. And it was sometimes quite easy to see this diversity in action. Whenever international sporting events such as the World Cup occur, the city's multicultural and mainstream media outlets provide extensive coverage, and most teams are likely to have thousands of supporters resident in Toronto, though the 1996 census found only 55 people of Paraguayan origin in the region. According to Elaine Carey, the *Toronto Star's* demographics reporter, “Toronto [was] one of the few cities in the world that [could] boast supporters for every one of the 16 teams in the second round of soccer's [1998] World Cup.” While

University of Toronto political scientist Robert Vipond observed: “everyone knows Toronto is a multicultural city, but sometimes it takes an external event like the World Cup to demonstrate just how important and complex cultural identification is in this city.”<sup>3</sup>

During the World Cup, team victories have traditionally meant spontaneous demonstrations of joy on the streets of Toronto, with rival supporters - “peaceful tribes” in the words of one *Globe and Mail* editorial writer - competing to see who could throw the best party, thus making the quadrennial event one of the great opportunities for collectively celebrating Toronto’s diversity. Celebrations normally occur in the core retail districts of Toronto’s ethnic neighbourhoods; but where such do not exist, or are deemed to be too small, the merriment usually shifts to Yonge Street, the focus for such merriment for generations. While supporters of the Brazilian team were initially saddened by their loss to France in the 1998 final, they held a raucous street party anyway in the College Street and Ossington Avenue area, while French supporters drove up and down Yonge Street, honking their horns and waving flags.

Some have even found these celebrations to be significant benchmarks within the evolution of particular groups in their adopted home town. The first of Toronto’s great, spontaneous World Cup celebrations, for the Italian victory in 1982, which saw a crowd estimated at 200,000 converge on the intersection of St. Clair and Dufferin Avenues, was, in the words of journalist John Montesano: “the day the [Italian] community came of age in Toronto; when Italians went from being garlic-stenched labourers and seamstresses to Canadian citizens.” Others have seen the celebrations as a coming-of-age for the new Toronto itself. As one *Toronto Star* editorial writer observed at the end of the 1998 event:

the World Cup affirmed that our city has become a microcosm of the world in a new way. We doffed our North American detachment and joined most of the human race in a mid-summer outbreak of soccer fever. But there was one purely Canadian element to the revelry. There was no violence, no soccer goons, no vandalism, no serious lawbreaking.<sup>4</sup>

In many respects, the importance of a city can be gauged by the number and variety of publications that are provided for visitors. While there is, as yet, no *Michelin Guide* to Toronto, recently, two major guidebooks - *Toronto's Many Faces* by Tony Ruprecht, Gail Hanney, and Vida Radovanovic and *Ethnic Toronto* by Robert Kasher - have emerged to chronicle this demographic richness for residents and visitors alike.<sup>5</sup> Equally important, serious academic studies have been produced for several of Toronto's larger ethnic communities - the Jews, Italians, Portuguese, Chinese, and West Indians.<sup>6</sup>

It is easy to demonstrate the statistical dimensions of Toronto's multicultural richness. At the time of the 1991 census, some 40 different ethnic/racial groups each with at least 5,000 members, and 75 with at least 1,000 people each, could be identified in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA). At that time, almost 38 per cent of the population was identified as immigrant (compared to just 16 per cent for all of Canada), and about 32 per cent of all residents had neither English nor French as their mother tongue, leading one local newspaper to declare Toronto, with justification, to be "The Cosmopolitan Capital of Canada." Nor was there mere boosterism from the popular press. For University of Toronto social historian Robert Harney, Toronto was already "Canada's New Cosmopolite" by the early 1980s.<sup>7</sup>

## **The Velocity of Demographic Change in Toronto**

By 1996, 42 per cent of the population in the Toronto CMA's total of 4,263,757 people was categorized as immigrant. Few cities in the world currently approach this figure for foreign-born inhabitants. According to research conducted by Myer Siemiatycki of Ryerson and Engin Isin of York University, a very few, such as Miami, Jerusalem, and Tel Aviv, actually have proportionately higher immigrant concentrations; but these have come from rather focussed sources - Latin America in the case of Miami, and the former Soviet Union in the two Israeli cases. Toronto's migrants, on the other hand, had reached their destination from some 169 different countries of origin. Assuming standardized definitions were used, this translates into a potential representation within Toronto of people from 91.4 per cent of the current 185 members of the United Nations, and from a remarkable, if still incomplete, 76.1 per cent of the 222 separate places of birth used by Statistics Canada for the Canadian census. Some 48 ethnic groups had at least 5,000 representatives in Toronto in 1996, while 84 had at least 1,000 members each. According to one editorial writer, Toronto in the 1990s was the world's quintessential "global village," while another addressed the city's long-standing desire to be regarded as a world-class place by suggesting its demographic transformation was "putting the `world' in `world class'." For Haroon Siddiqui, a former editorial writer, Toronto, by 1998, had made the transition to a "post-modern global village."<sup>8</sup>

Some 32 per cent of Torontonians were identified as members of visible minorities in 1996, and the area was home to 42 per cent of Canada's visible minority population, even though it contained just under 15 per cent of the total Canadian population of 28,846,761 at the time. Only 11.2 per cent of the Canadian population was categorized as visible minority in 1996, with 52.6 per

cent resident in Ontario. Of the Ontario share of the visible minority population, 79.6 per cent were found living in the Toronto CMA at the time of the 1996 census. Put another way, in 1996, there were almost as many visible minority Torontonians as there were residents in any one of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, Manitoba, or Saskatchewan. And Toronto's visible minority structure was more balanced than that found in either Montreal or Vancouver. In 1996, Toronto's visible minority population was 25 per cent Chinese, 24.7 per cent South Asian, 20.5 per cent Black, and 29.8 per cent other. In contrast, Vancouver's visible minority population was 49.4 per cent Chinese, 21.3 per cent South Asian, 2.9 per cent Black, and 26.4 per cent other; while in Montreal, the figures were 11.5 per cent Chinese, 11.5 per cent South Asian, 30.5 per cent Black, and 46.5 per cent other. At the time, Toronto's visible minority population (1,338,090) exceeded that in Vancouver (564,590) and Montreal (401,425) combined by almost 40 per cent. Furthermore, and adding to the city's diversity, Toronto is officially home to almost 40,000 Canadians of aboriginal background, though some street workers place the number closer to 65,000, which would be the largest such concentration in urban Canada. These figures would surprise most Torontonians, for, as one 1990 headline described the situation: "Unseen Natives Make Toronto Biggest 'Reserve'."

Over time, Toronto has become an increasingly strong magnet for immigrants to Canada. Whereas one quarter of those who arrived in Canada prior to 1961 lived in the Toronto area in 1996, 40 per cent of those who arrived between 1981 and 1990 called Toronto home, and 42 per cent of all arrivals between 1991 and 1996 settled in Toronto. Currently, almost 36 per cent of all living immigrants to Canada can be found in the Toronto CMA (Table 1). No other Canadian city, in fact, comes close to any of the figures used to describe Toronto's demographic diversity. For example,



in 1991, Montreal and Vancouver each had only 26 ethnic/racial groups with at least 5,000 members, and their immigrant populations stood at 16.6 per cent and 27.7 per cent, respectively, with the latter figures rising to 18 per cent and 35 per cent, respectively, for 1996. Together, Montreal and Vancouver attracted a smaller proportion of 1991-1996 immigrants to Canada - 13 per cent and 18 percent, respectively - than Toronto.<sup>10</sup>

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**Table 1**  
**IMMIGRANTS LIVING IN THE TORONTO CMA IN 1996**  
**AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL LIVING CANADIAN IMMIGRANTS**  
**BY PERIOD OF ARRIVAL**

Period of Arrival	Total Immigrants Still Alive	% Living in Toronto
Pre-1961	1,054,930	25.1
1961-1970	788,580	34.2
1971-1980	996,160	36.2
1981-1991	1,092,400	40.0
1991-1996	1,038,995	42.4
All Periods Combined	4,971,070	35.7

Source: Calculated from figures in Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, 4 November 1997 and from the Statistics Canada web site.

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But much of Toronto's diversity is because of quite recent additions to the socio-cultural fabric of the city. According to research conducted by federal-government demographer T. John Samuel, Vancouver actually had a slightly higher proportion of citizens classified as members of visible minorities in 1981 than did Toronto (13.9 per cent compared to 13.6 per cent). Moreover, careful analysis of historical census data by the then-Dominion Statistician Warren E. Kalbach found that prior to 1956, Victoria, Vancouver, and Winnipeg all had higher percentages of immigrants than did Toronto. In 1911, the immigrant share of the population in the three western Canadian cities stood above 50 per cent.<sup>11</sup>

Subsequent immigration trends have reversed these positions. Today, fully 21 per cent of the population, or more than one in every five citizens, are identified as people who have arrived in Canada from a foreign country since 1981, and the sources for migrants to Toronto have changed markedly over the years (Table 2). Nevertheless, Toronto does not draw immigrants uniformly from all parts of the globe. According to a study of the most recent census period conducted by the City Planning Research Department of the City of Toronto:

106 nations were each the place of birth for more than 1,000 GTA residents. Even in the five years after 1990, 56 different countries contributed more than 1,000 people each to the Toronto region's population. They accounted for 93% of the recent immigrants; the remaining 7% came from 114 other countries.

This study also revealed that, while Asia has clearly replaced Europe as the city's main source of immigrants, Toronto's demographic structure still contains relatively few representatives from

Table 2

**Leading Sources of Migrants to Toronto:  
Pre-1961 and 1991-1996**

Country of Origin	Total Migrants
<b>A) Pre-1961 Migrants</b>	
Italy	67,665
United Kingdom	58,630
Germany	21,700
Poland	15,490
Greece	10,110
Netherlands	9,345
Hungary	8,335
Ukraine	6,390
United States	5,430
Austria	4,375
All Sources	264,630
<b>B) 1991-1996 Migrants:</b>	
Hong Kong	48,535
Sri Lanka	36,735
China	35,330
Philippines	33,210
India	33,185
Poland	18,605
Jamaica	16,780
Guyana	13,195
Vietnam	12,290
Trinidad and Tobago	11,375
All Sources	441,035

Source: From Statistics Canada as summarized in Sean Fine, "Cosmopolitan Attitude Welcomed," *Globe and Mail*, Wednesday, 5 November 1997, A10.

such regions as Central Africa and Oceania. As diverse as Toronto's population now is, it could be even more so.<sup>12</sup>

The recency of some changes needs to be underscored. Now-prominent groups, such as those of Portuguese, Spanish, and Caribbean origin, were not measurable in Toronto before the 1950s, and the bulk of the members of the city's Sri Lankan Tamil community has arrived since 1983, 36,735 alone between 1991 and 1996, making Sri Lanka second only to Hong Kong as a leading source of immigrants to Toronto during the most recent inter-censal period.<sup>13</sup> Some groups -- Koreans, Pakistanis, and Iranians -- at least doubled in size in the brief period from 1986 to 1991 (Table 3). The same can be said for four other groups for the 1991 to 1996 period. At the time of the 1996 census, 80 per cent of Somalis, 68 per cent of Sri Lankans, 56 per cent of Iraqis, and 50 per cent of Iranians then resident in Toronto had arrived since 1991. For seven other places of origin - Taiwan, Pakistan, the Russian Federation, Hong Kong, Romania, the Philippines, and China - recent arrivals accounted for at least 40 per cent of all group members living in Toronto in 1996.<sup>14</sup>

Due to such rapid growth, most recent arrivals complain about under-representation in the Census. Here, Hispanics provide a typical example. Once almost totally absent from the city, Census enumerators found 33,005 people of Spanish origin in 1991. Members of the community, however, estimated its size at closer to 200,000 by the early 1990s, and lamented the refusal of Statistics Canada to recognize Hispanic as an ethnic group for the 1991 census. Similar observations about under enumeration and recency of migration can be made for many African and Middle Eastern groups.<sup>15</sup>

Table 3

**LEADING ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE TORONTO CMA, 1991  
BY SINGLE ORIGINS**

<b>Group</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>% in '91</b>	<b>% ↑ 86-91</b>
British	747,250	19.2%	-18%
French	52,080	1.3%	-20%
Italian	311,210	8.0%	+6%
Canadian	266,420	6.8%	+3,567%
Chinese	231,825	6.0%	+83%
East Indian	141,415	3.6%	+61%
Black	125,610	3.2%	+35%
Portuguese	124,330	3.2%	+27%
Jewish	114,730	3.0%	+5%
Polish	73,435	1.9%	+43%
German	68,415	1.8%	-6%
Filipino	66,655	1.7%	+79%
Greek	63,545	1.6%	+2%
Ukrainian	42,670	1.1%	+7%
Spanish	33,005	0.9%	+52%
Dutch	32,340	0.8%	+8%
Hungarian	22,525	0.6%	+7%
Vietnamese	21,955	0.6%	+114%
Korean	21,670	0.6%	+171%
Pakistani	17,765	0.5%	+52%
Iranian	17,345	0.5%	+299%
Other Single Origins	327,690	8.4%	n.a.
Multiple Origins	939,225	24.1%	+2%

Source: Statistics Canada, *Ethnic Origin*, Catalogue No. 93-315 (Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Science, and Technology, 1993) and Allan Thompson, "British Dominance Fades in Metro, Census Finds," *Toronto Star*, Wednesday, 24 February 1993, A2.

Yet, in all these cases, arrivals of such individuals in places like New York, London, and Paris had occurred earlier than in Toronto, which should have raised at least some suspicions about Toronto's claim to the title of the world's most multicultural city. Recall from the opening quotation to this paper, percussionist John Wrye's feeling at the time of his arrival in the 1970s that Toronto would become "the Paris of North America in terms of cultural mix." Even Chicago can boast that its school children speak some 110 languages, and bilingual teachers can be found in at least 20 schools. Toronto is certainly not the only significant "port of entry" for immigrants in North America.<sup>16</sup>

And the quality of Toronto's major airport, Pearson International, the primary entry point for immigrant arrivals, means, at the very least, that some migrants are forced to arrive via rather circuitous routes. According to a 1995 *Fortune* magazine study of the best cities for business, only 50 cities were then reachable via non-stop flights from Toronto. This represented less than half the total for the world's best-connected, cosmopolitan cities - London (116), Paris (110), Chicago (132), and New York (130). Getting to Toronto may well have been half the fun for immigrants, but it was also probably twice the adventure. Sadly, Toronto's remarkable diversity still is not fully appreciated in the international community. A year earlier, the same magazine rated cities on their "openness to other cultures" as measured on a five-globe scale. Toronto did well on this measure, receiving four globes which left it tied for second place with New York, London, San Francisco, Berlin, Johannesburg, Los Angeles, Miami, Paris, Taipei, and Washington. While this put Toronto clearly ahead of 44 cities in the survey, five cities - Hong Kong, Amsterdam, Brussels, Geneva, and Zurich - were awarded the coveted five globes, and thus placed above the putative world's most multicultural city in the minds of some rather influential business writers. Equally troubling, a

major new book about ethnic change in cities, *EthniCity: Geographic Perspectives on Ethnic Change in Modern Cities*, contains no discussion of Toronto among its eleven case studies.<sup>17</sup>

Nevertheless, the velocity of demographic change in Toronto has been striking. According to a report prepared for the then-Metropolitan Toronto government in 1990, the proportion of racial minorities within Metropolitan Toronto stood at less than 3 per cent in 1961. By 1986 it had risen to 20.7 per cent, and one projection called for a further increase to 28.4 per cent by the year 2001.<sup>18</sup> Another projection conducted for the Race Relations Advisory Council on Advertising by demographer T. John Samuel estimated a visible minority share of 44.6 per cent for the Toronto CMA in 2001, compared to 19.9 per cent for the Montreal CMA and 39.3 per cent for the Vancouver CMA. A more recent study, suggested the racial minority population in Metropolitan Toronto already stood at 30 per cent at the time of the 1991 census, and projected an increase to 53.2 per cent by 2001, prompting a rather dramatic headline in the *Toronto Star*: “Minorities Set To Be Majority: Non-Whites To Be 54% of Toronto’s Population.” That figure was also confirmed in a 1998 study prepared for the Access and Equity Centre of the City of Toronto.<sup>19</sup>

Even if this proves to be an overestimate - the 1996 census found visible minorities with a 37.3 per cent share of Metropolitan Toronto’s population - the complexion of Toronto had been changed for all time in the space of a mere quarter century. It is worth noting, however, the visible minority population of New York City already stands at about 63 per cent, and, according to the Regional Plan Association, the Greater New York area will have a non-white majority by 2010. Nevertheless, at the time of the 1991 census, the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area, with 14.3 per cent of the Canadian population, was home to 33.8 per cent of all living immigrants to Canada, 38.4 per cent of all Canadians listing Asian and African origins, 30.9 per cent of those with Latin, Central,

and South American origins, and 55.9 per cent of those claiming Black origins. Shortly after the 1991 census, writer Cecil Foster suggested “the Black community in Toronto is like no other in the world,” composed, as it is, by people born in the West Indies, Canada, the US, and Africa. By the time of the 1996 census, the Toronto CMA’s share of the national population had risen to 14.8 per cent, and it was now home to 39 per cent of Canadians of Chinese origin, 49.2 per cent of South Asians, 47.9 per cent of Blacks, 34.8 per cent of Latin Americans, and 26.9 per cent of Southeast Asians. It is no wonder, given this diversity, that trade publications have now begun to pay attention to the issue of multicultural marketing and ethnic consumers, and the mainstream media could report on the ethnic diversity of such enterprises as automobile repair shops.<sup>20</sup>

### **School and Institutional Demography**

One of the quickest ways to grasp the true complexity of Toronto’s demographic structure is through a visit to the city’s schools, where even school concerts have gone multicultural. Data for 1996 for the public elementary and secondary schools in the pre-1998 City of Toronto are revealing. At that time, the city’s elementary schools were home to 44,625 students. Some 22.4 per cent of them were classified as English as a Second Language (ESL) students. Only 37 per cent came from environments where English was the language spoken at home. In all, 75 languages besides English were identified as home languages for these students. While 78.7 per cent of these students had been born in Canada, the remainder had arrived in Toronto’s elementary schools from 144 different countries. At the city’s most diverse elementary school, Rose Avenue Junior School, which serves the burgeoning St. James Town apartment complex - the most densely settled such neighbourhood



in all of Canada, where upwards of 20,000 people live in 18 high-rise apartments in an area of just 0.2 square kilometres - 64.1 per cent of the pupils were ESL students, and for another five schools, the figures stood above 50 per cent. At Rose Avenue School, Tamil was the most common home language at 36.1 per cent, with English second at 22.3 per cent, and another 29 home languages trailing behind.<sup>21</sup>

Nor was the picture much different at City of Toronto high schools, which were home to 29,934 students in 1996. Just over 25 per cent of them were classified as ESL students. English was the home language for only 45.9 per cent of them, with the rest using one of 73 other languages at home. Only 52.4 per cent of Toronto's high school students listed Canada as their birthplace in 1996. The remainder came from 153 different countries. Of the regular high schools, Parkdale Collegiate in the city's west end was regarded as the most diverse and had the highest percentage of ESL students at 52.6 per cent. Only 24.7 per cent of students at that school listed English as their home language. While that made it the largest home language for the school, more students used Vietnamese (16.9 per cent) and Tamil (15.3 per cent) than English at home. In all, three dozen home languages other than English were listed for the students of Parkdale Collegiate. Clearly, Toronto's public schools have been focal points in the demographic change that has swept over the city during the past two decades. And the change has been easy for long-time residents to see. John Barber, a native-born Torontonian and the *Globe and Mail's* urban affairs columnist, recently observed: "I grew up in a tidy, prosperous, narrow-minded town where Catholicism was considered exotic: my children are growing up in the most cosmopolitan city on earth. The same place." Marcus Gee, who grew up in Toronto and now writes on international affairs at the same newspaper, and whose young son attends an elementary school with students from 32 countries who claim more than two dozen

home languages, also has reflected on the speed of Toronto's demographic transformation. In mid-1998 he observed: "in a single generation, an almost exclusively white city dominated by people of European, mainly British, background has become the most diverse city in North America, perhaps the world." Even suburban schools have been caught in these changes. West Hill Public School in eastern Scarborough was built to house some 200 students, but is sometimes forced to deal with three times that number because of its proximity to a motel strip that is often used by federal-government officials to house newly-arrived refugees.<sup>22</sup>

Data on the diversity of students at Toronto universities are only beginning to emerge, but they point to a promising level of educational mobility, especially for members of visible minorities. A 1994 study found that 37 per cent of students at the University of Toronto identified themselves as being of East Asian, South Asian, or African descent, though the figure might have been almost 50 per cent if those with "other" visible minority backgrounds were included. The U of T study, however, did uncover some anomalies in the representation of different groups on the campus in comparison to Toronto's demographic structure. People of Chinese origin were over represented (23 per cent of U of T students, compared to 8 per cent of Toronto residents), while those who identified themselves as Black were under represented (1.5 per cent of U of T students, compared to 6.5 per cent of Toronto residents). At Ryerson Polytechnic University, visible minorities constituted 29.7 per cent of the student body in 1992, and 37 per cent of the first-year class in 1997. Harvey G. Simmons, Chair of the Department of Political Science at York University, presented a more qualitative view of the multicultural classrooms in his university:

. . . Delivering information is only one part of what universities are about. In Canada, Ontario, and, especially in Toronto, universities and colleges serve an

equally important function. Canada is a multiethnic, multiracial, multireligious society. There are students at York University who, in other parts of the world, might settle disputes with fists, knives, or guns. Some come from countries where democracy is merely a word in textbooks. Yet, in classrooms throughout York, these same students sit side by side and learn to discuss sensitive topics reasonably.<sup>23</sup>

Change can also be seen in the complexity, diversity, and size of Toronto's places of worship. While still a predominantly Christian area at the time of the 1991 census - 34.6 per cent Protestant and 35.5 per cent Catholic - the Toronto region was becoming home to increasingly large and diverse non-Christian groups. Christian affiliation, in fact, dropped from 81.0 per cent of the population in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area to 71.1 per cent between 1981 and 1991. And these figures mask important changes within the composition of the city's various Christian communities, where demographic changes were being felt as some congregations both aged and dwindled, while others changed and grew. St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church at Bathurst and Bloor Streets has seen waves of immigration effect changes to the parish and its services, and currently boasts a Hispanic congregation drawn from 21 different Latin American countries. Mass is now said in some 35 languages in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto. By the mid-1990s almost countless churches, especially in the inner city, had been either taken over by or forced to share their facilities with adherents from a variety of ethnic communities. For example, the High Park - Alhambra United Church became the Hanuhl Korean United Church in 1996. Other congregations, however, were increasing in size. By 1991, according to a recent study by demographers at McGill University, Toronto had become home to almost half of Canada's Jews. The city's Beth Tzedec Synagogue

housed the world's largest Conservative Jewish congregation, more than 3,000 families, by the early 1990s.<sup>24</sup>

Beyond the Judeo-Christian framework, changes were even more dramatic, especially in suburban areas. Toronto's first Japanese Buddhist Temple opened in 1945. Today, the region is home to almost three dozen Buddhist groups with an estimated 75,000 adherents. Late in 1990, a 3,344 square metre addition to western Toronto's *gurdwara*, or place of worship, for the area's estimated 50,000 Sikhs made the Malton facility an imposing 5,946 square metres, second in size only to the famous Golden Temple at Amritsar, India. Early in 1991 a new *gurdwara*, large enough to accommodate 12,000 worshippers, opened in Scarborough to serve Sikhs in the eastern parts of the Toronto area. Elsewhere, the tall, slender minarets of mosques have begun to pierce parts of the Toronto skyline, signalling the growing presence of Muslims in the city. Largest of these is the Bai-tul-Islam Mosque in Maple, which opened in 1992 as the Canadian centre for the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam and, with a capacity of 1,200 worshippers, is the biggest mosque in North America. By 1998, the mosque had even spawned an Islamic residential development nearby. The Sanatan Mandir Cultural Centre opened in the summer of 1996 in Markham as the first permanent religious and cultural facility for Toronto's growing Gujarati community. Today, Ramadan, the holiest time of the year for Muslims, is observed annually by an estimated 200,000 people in the Toronto area and 80,000 Sikhs march in the annual Khalsa Day celebrations, remarkable statistics that attest to the dramatic transformation of a city that was once known as "The Belfast of America," "The Athens of the Dominion," "Babylon on the Humber," and the "Rome of Methodism" or the "Rome of the Orange Order." In fact, there are about as many Muslims living in Toronto today as the total number of Torontonians in 1901. Haroon Siddiqui, editorial page editor emeritus of the

*Toronto Star*, described the Greater Toronto Area in the middle of 1998 as “home to all the world’s great faiths” and observed:

we have had an architectural bonanza in religious buildings around Toronto - a Sephardic centre in Thornhill reminiscent of the synagogues of the Middle East, an intricately carved Hindu temple in Richmond Hill, a domed Sikh *gurudwara* [sic] in Malton, a single-minaret *masjid* in Scarborough, a Chinese church here, and a Buddhist monastery there. And, more significantly, each place of worship is spawning ecumenical services to accommodate peoples of different cultures and ethnicities within each religious belief.<sup>25</sup>

### **A New Geography**

Toronto always has been a city of immigrants. According to historian J.M.S. Careless, at least 27 per cent of the city’s population was born outside of Canada at the time of each Canadian census between 1851 and 1921, with 66 per cent categorized as foreign born in the former year. The lowest figure during this period was recorded in the 1901 census; however, in every other enumeration, at least 35 per cent of Torontonians had been born outside of Canada. But while the Toronto population had a large immigrant component during this era, the place of birth for most immigrants was somewhere in Great Britain. Even in 1921, only 9 per cent of Toronto citizens had been born outside either Canada or Great Britain. It is no wonder, then, that historical geographer Peter Goheen referred to Victorian Toronto as a “British Town on American Soil.” According to geographer James Lemon, this pattern of a large immigrant population of predominantly British birth

remained in place until the 1940s. At the time of the 1951 census, Toronto's immigrant population (30.9 per cent of the total) was equally divided between those born in Britain (15.5 per cent) and those born elsewhere (15.4 per cent). Such parity has not been even remotely witnessed in the intervening years.<sup>26</sup>

As we have already seen, Toronto now draws people from a much wider and more diverse set of countries than ever before. There is, however, another difference at work in the city today; namely, where the new migrants settle once they have arrived. Traditionally, an immigrant reception area, characterized by a large stock of affordable housing and proximity to both public transit and jobs that were suitable for recent arrivals, emerged within the inner-city areas of most North American cities. In Toronto, the quintessential immigrant reception area was found around the Kensington Market, lying just west of the Spadina Avenue garment district, between College and Dundas Streets, and an area recently described by novelist William Deverell as "that little concentration of busy ethnicity in the heart of the city."<sup>27</sup> Since the late nineteenth century, successive waves of recent arrivals - Jews, Italians, West Indians, and Portuguese - have moved into and then out of the Kensington Market area. Right up to the 1970s, Kensington Market and other parts of the central city remained as the main reception areas for recent arrivals. According to the late social historian and Director of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Robert Harney, "the 1971 census [showed] that suburban Metro Toronto [continued] to have a majority of British stock but that the City of Toronto [had] a non-British majority." Today, the immigrant reception area has moved upward and outward, and many immigrants now "skip [the] downtown stage" entirely. And just to add more complexity to an already fascinating geographic pattern, it has been reported

recently that Toronto's inner-city Jewish community has undergone a striking revival due not to immigration, but rather to an influx of families who used to live in suburban areas.<sup>28</sup>

Current studies have shown that recent immigrants are much more likely to be found living in high rise complexes in areas like St. James Town, Dixon Road, Jane-Finch, Flemingdon Park, and Thorncliffe Park, or even in Toronto's bedroom suburbs, than in a traditional immigrant reception area like the Kensington market. Too little is known about these changes; but the experiences of East African immigrants of Asian origin in the high-rise communities of Thorncliffe/Flemingdon have been vividly captured in M.G. Vassanji's 1991 novel, *No New Land*.<sup>29</sup>

As Siemiatycki and Isin recently have argued: "Toronto's experience is characterized by substantial immigrant settlement in *both* the urban core and periphery." In 1991, 42.1 per cent of the residents of the St. James Town apartments spoke neither English nor French at home, compared to 20.3 per cent for the entire Toronto Census Metropolitan Area and 25.7 per cent for what was then Metropolitan Toronto. For 1996, these figures increased to 48.9 per cent, 23.1 per cent, and 28.8 per cent, respectively. Jane-Finch, a once notorious area in northwestern North York, was reported to be Toronto's most multicultural neighbourhood, with residents from some 72 countries who spoke a total of 112 languages and dialects, and was named as one of five Ontario recipients of a Caring Community Award from the Trillium Foundation because of the success of its residents and agencies in improving the quality of life there. When an Arab shopping area emerged in Toronto, it developed not in the inner city but rather in Scarborough; and that area's bountiful collection of diverse ethnic bakeries were said to be putting Scarborough "on [the] map." In 1998, *Toronto Star* restaurant critic Cynthia Wine urged her readers to "head north for [the] new Chinese hot spots" because "many of the best local Chinese restaurants are now in Markham, Agincourt, Scarborough, and Richmond

Hill.” But change also was occurring in the inner city as well. By 1998, Cuban restaurants were found to be invading the Greektown area along the Danforth.<sup>30</sup>

So striking and recent have been these changes that Lila Sarick was able to publish a three-part series in the *Globe and Mail*, “Suburb in Transition,” about the demographic changes in Peel Region, the suburban area immediately west of Toronto which contains the booming, “edge” cities of Mississauga and Brampton. By 1991, nearly one-quarter of the area’s population of 729,665 were categorized as members of a visible minority, and that percentage rose to 31.2 by 1996. At that time, more than one-third of the residents of Mississauga belonged to visible minority groups; and Westwood High School, in the Malton area of the city, counted among its 1,000 students about 600 who belonged to visible minorities and some 47 different languages. Nearly half of the students at Streetsville Secondary School come from Chinese backgrounds. As Engin Isin, an urban studies professor at York University, recently noted:

what we are learning [from the 1996 census data] contradicts the perceived wisdom that the old city of Toronto was the most cosmopolitan city in the world. . . . Our data show that, increasingly, the core of the old city of Toronto was dominated by the white, upper middle class managerial and professional class. The true cosmopolitanism, the mixture of immigrants and visible minorities, is more concentrated in the suburbs.<sup>31</sup>

In Toronto, as recent maps produced by the members of the City of Toronto’s City Planning Research Department have shown, large parts of the inner city remain largely white and devoid of immigrants. The Yonge Street corridor, from Bloor Street north to Highway 401 and roughly between Bathurst Street and Bayview Avenue, cuts through some of Toronto’s most affluent and



desirable neighbourhoods - Yorkville, Rosedale, Forest Hill, Deer Park, South Eglinton, the Chaplin Estates, Leaside, Sherwood Park, and Lytton Park. Nearly half of the top-25 Toronto neighbourhoods identified in a 1998 *Toronto Life* study lie in this part of the city, but the City of Toronto maps show this to be terra incognita to all but a handful of Toronto's recent immigrants. The only other comparably sparsely-settled immigrant areas were located in central Etobicoke, especially in the affluent Kingsway and Humber Valley neighbourhoods, and in far northeastern Scarborough which is home to some undeveloped land and the large Rouge Valley Park. Toronto's most dramatic demographic changes have occurred on the fringes of the downtown area and in the suburbs, both old and new, inner and edge.<sup>32</sup>

Just how these ethnocultural differences have influenced the residential geography of Toronto has been underscored in studies undertaken in the early 1990s by Tana Turner for both the Multicultural and Race Relations Division and the Access and Equity Centre of the old Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto (Figure 1). Using data from both the census and the Ethnocultural Database compiled by Ontario's Ministry of Citizenship, these studies emphasized the emerging diversity in suburban areas, especially with respect to the residential choices of visible minorities. For example, in both 1986 and 1991, Scarborough had the highest concentration of visible minorities amongst its population, at 26.7 per cent and 41.8 per cent,

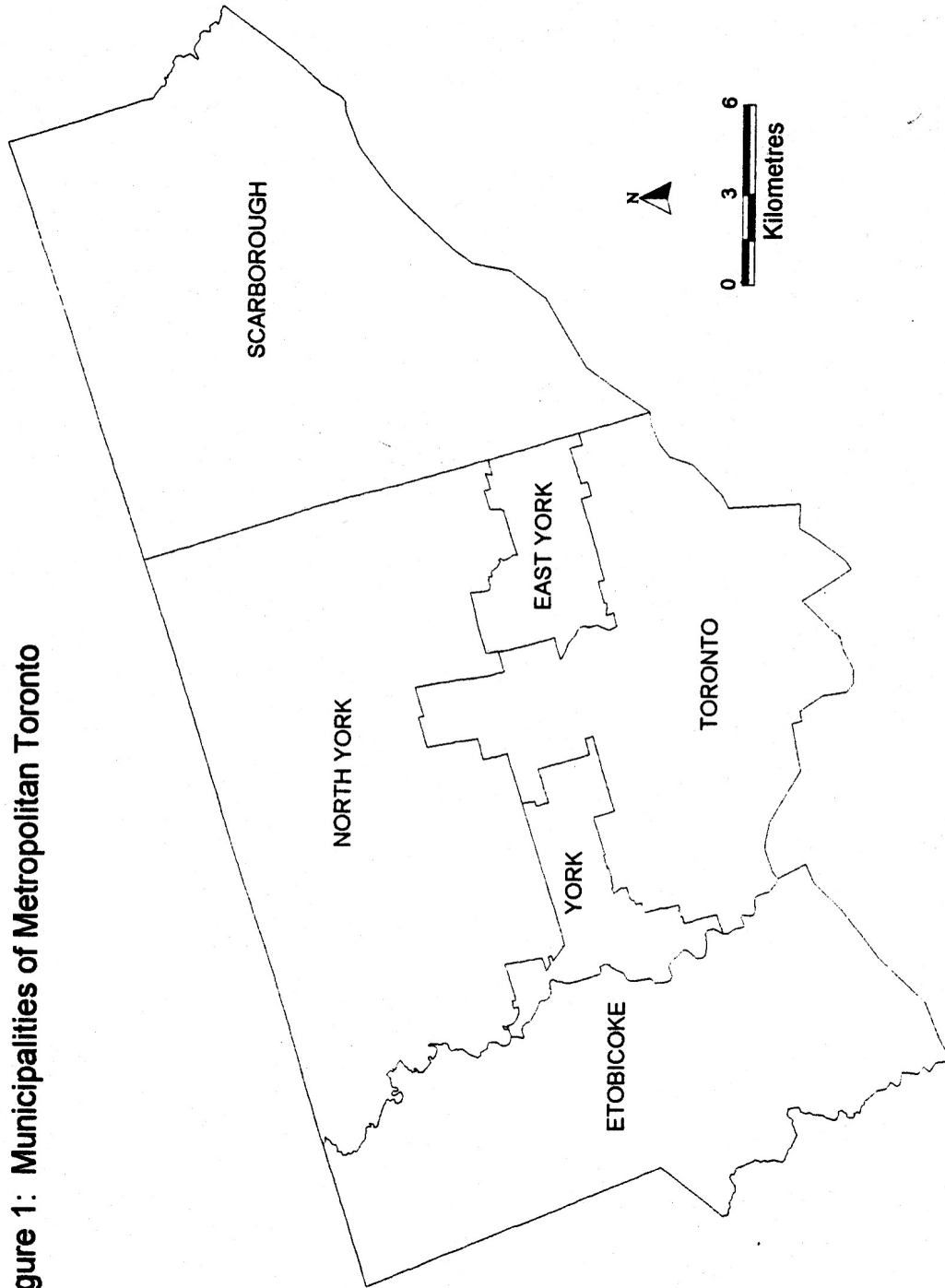
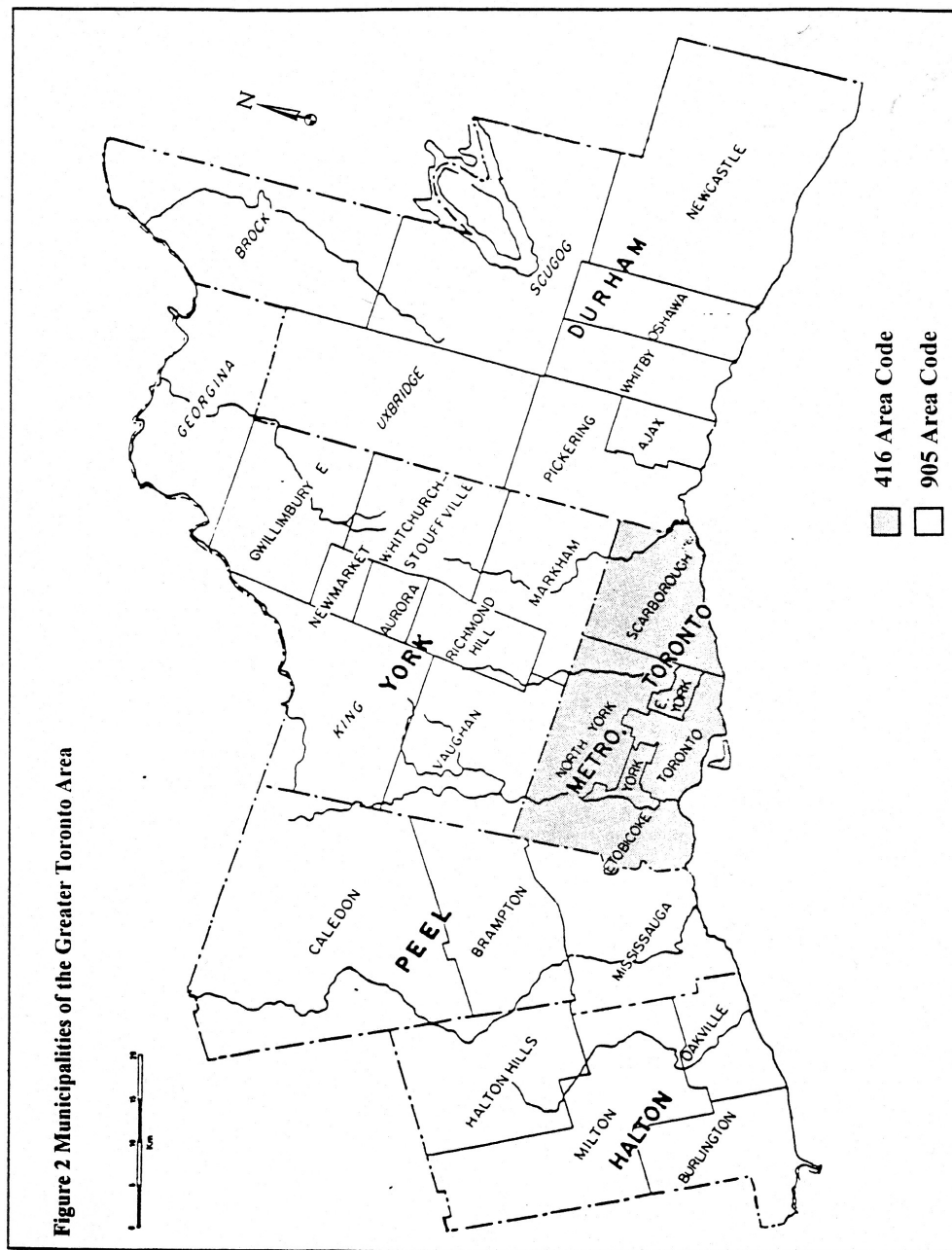


Figure 1: Municipalities of Metropolitan Toronto



respectively. In contrast, on this measure, the old City of Toronto came just fourth (18.1 per cent) in 1986, and fell to fifth place (25 per cent) in 1991 (Table 4). Furthermore, the 1991 data revealed that Scarborough was home to Metropolitan Toronto's largest concentrations of Blacks (31.1 per cent), South Asians (36.4 per cent), and East Asians (37.3 per cent), while North York housed the largest concentration of West Asians and Arabs (40.6 per cent), and the City of Toronto led only in the categories of South-East Asians (29.4 per cent) and Latin Americans (31.5 per cent). The City of Toronto, in fact, had just the third highest share of Metropolitan Toronto's Black population (18.1 per cent), and came fifth for South Asians (14.7 per cent), second for East Asians (30.7 per cent), and third for West Asians and Arabs (17.4 per cent). Yet, sizeable visible minority populations could be found throughout most parts of Metropolitan Toronto (Table 5).<sup>33</sup>

These earlier trends were reconfirmed in the 1996 census results (Table 6). Looking at the geographic entity known as the Greater Toronto Area or GTA (Figure 2), the visible minority share of the population stood at 29.6 per cent according to the 1996 census. Higher concentrations than this region-wide figure were found in nine of the area's thirty municipalities, with Scarborough leading the way at 51.9 per cent, followed by Markham at 46.2 per cent (Table 7). The old City of Toronto, at 28.2 per cent, actually had a slight under representation of visible minorities in its population mix. Significant under representation of visible minorities could be found only in the largely rural north portions of Peel and York Regions, all of Durham Region except for the municipalities of Pickering and Ajax, and all of Halton Region.<sup>34</sup>

While the City of Toronto, the largest municipality in the GTA in terms of population, was home to substantial numbers of Black, South Asian, and Chinese residents, it did not have the

**Table 4****Visible Minority Populations in Metropolitan Toronto  
Municipalities, 1986, 1991, and 1996**

<b>Municipality</b>	<b>% in 1986</b>	<b>% in 1991</b>	<b>% in 1996</b>
East York	19.4	25.6	31.1
Etobicoke	15.1	22.2	29.7
North York	21.7	31.6	39.7
Scarborough	26.7	41.8	51.9
Toronto	18.1	25.0	28.2
York	17.3	25.7	34.4
Metropolitan Toronto	19.4	30.2	37.3

Source: Tana Turner, *The Composition and Implications of Metropolitan Toronto's Ethnic, Racial, and Linguistic Populations*, Report Commissioned by the Multicultural and Race Relations Division, Chief Administrative Officer's Department (Toronto: Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1990) and *The Composition and Implications of Metropolitan Toronto's Ethnic, Racial, and Linguistic Populations 1991*, Commissioned by the Access and Equity Centre of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto (Toronto: Metro Chief Administrator's Office, 1995) and Statistics Canada, Census of 1996.

**Table 5**  
**Leading Visible Minority Groups**  
**by Metropolitan Toronto Municipality, 1991**

<b>Municipality</b>	<b>Minority Group</b>	<b>Share of Population</b>
East York	South Asians	7.7%
	East Asians	7.2%
	Blacks	4.8%
Etobicoke	Blacks	7.0%
	South Asians	6.8%
	East Asians	2.6%
North York	Blacks	7.9%
	East Asians	7.4%
	South Asians	6.1%
Scarborough	East Asians	13.6%
	Blacks	10.0%
	South Asians	9.8%
Toronto	East Asians	9.3%
	Blacks	4.8%
	South-East Asians	3.8%
York	Blacks	10.6%
	South Asians	4.1%
	South-East Asians	3.6%

Source: Tana Turner, *The Composition and Implications of Metropolitan Toronto's Ethnic, Racial, and Linguistic Populations 1991*, Commissioned by the Access and Equity Centre of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto (Toronto: Metro Chief Administrator's Office, 1995): 41-3.

**Table 6**  
**Visible Minority Groups**  
**Toronto Census Metropolitan Area, 1996**

<b>Name of Group</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>% of Visible All Minorities</b>
Chinese	335,185	25.0
South Asian	329,840	24.7
Black	274,935	20.5
Filipino	99,110	7.4
Arab/West Asian	72,160	5.4
Latin American	61,655	4.6
Southeast Asian	24,510	3.5
Korean	28,555	2.1
Japanese	17,050	1.3
Others	45,655	3.4
Multiple Origins	27,435	2.1

Source: Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, 17 February 1998. The total visible minority population in the Toronto CMA was 1,332,090.

Table 7

## Visible Minority Population in the GTA, 1996

<b>Municipality</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Visible Minority</b>	<b>Per Cent</b>
Greater Toronto Area	4,595,195	1,359,330	29.6
Metropolitan Toronto	2,363,870	882,330	37.3
Scarborough	554,525	287,665	51.9
Toronto	646,480	182,495	28.2
East York	106,780	33,235	31.1
North York	584,675	232,120	39.7
York	145,790	50,155	34.4
Etobicoke	325,625	96,660	29.7
Peel Region	849,305	265,285	31.2
Mississauga	542,450	183,925	33.9
Brampton	267,170	79,950	29.2
Caledon	39,685	1,410	3.6
York Region	589,165	143,905	24.4
Vaughan	132,315	20,950	15.8
Markham	172,735	79,780	46.2
Richmond Hill	101,480	33,040	32.6
Whitchurch	19,620	750	3.8
Aurora	34,435	2,155	6.3
Newmarket	56,355	5,575	9.9
King	18,195	395	2.2
East Gwillimbury	19,450	605	3.1
Georgina	34,375	655	1.9
Durham Region	455,420	45,150	9.9
Pickering	78,655	16,125	20.4
Ajax	64,210	12,200	19.0



Table 7 cont'd

<b>Municipality</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Visible Minority</b>	<b>Per Cent</b>
Whitby	73,205	7,140	9.8
Oshawa	133,325	6,765	5.1
Clarington	60,060	2,125	3.5
Scugog	18,700	165	0.9
Uxbridge	15,775	480	3.0
Brock	11,485	140	1.2
Halton Region	337,435	22,660	6.7
Oakville	127,520	13,260	10.3
Burlington	136,040	6,990	5.1
Milton	31,635	1,215	3.8
Halton Hills	42,245	1,195	2.8

Source: Calculated from Statistics Canada data.

largest total for any of these groups (Table 8). There were more Blacks in both Scarborough and North York; more South Asians in Scarborough, North York, Mississauga, and Brampton; and more Chinese in Scarborough (Table 9). Overall, the City of Toronto was home to 14.1 per cent of the GTA's population, and to just 12 per cent of the GTA's Blacks, 7.3 per cent of its South Asians, and 17.9 per cent of its Chinese. In each case, the overwhelming majority of group members lived outside of the inner city, and Blacks and South Asians could be said to be under represented in the core of the region.

While visible minorities are found throughout all parts of the GTA, the distribution of the various groups differs, both from region to region and from municipality to municipality. Overall, in 1996, 20.7 per cent of the GTA's visible minority population was Black, 24.6 per cent was South

**Table 8****Visible Minority Population by Region in the GTA, 1996**

<b>Region</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>South Asian</b>	<b>Chinese</b>	<b>Other</b>
Metro Toronto	192,400 (21.8)	192,575 (21.8)	220,855 (25.0)	276,500 (31.3)
Durham	15,325 (33.9)	10,350 (22.9)	5,665 (12.5)	13,810 (30.6)
York	13,755 (9.6)	27,695 (19.2)	72,325 (50.3)	30,130 (20.9)
Peel	55,875 (21.1)	96,735 (36.5)	34,945 (13.1)	77,730 (29.3)
Halton	4,290 (18.9)	7,105 (31.4)	4,475 (19.7)	6,790 (30.0)
GTA	281,645 (20.7)	334,460 (24.6)	338,265 (24.9)	404,960 (29.8)

Note: Figures in parentheses represent the percentage of the total visible minority population represented by that group in that area. Row totals sum to 100 per cent.

Source: Calculated from figures provided by Statistics Canada.

**Table 9****Visible Minority Population by Major Municipality in the GTA, 1996**

<b>Municipality</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>South Asian</b>	<b>Chinese</b>	<b>Other</b>
Scarborough	55,195 (19.2)	75,390 (26.2)	92,225 (32.1)	64,855 (22.5)
Toronto	33,650 (18.4)	24,325 (13.3)	60,400 (33.1)	64,120 (35.1)
East York	5,945 (17.9)	10,980 (33.0)	6,810 (20.5)	9,500 (28.6)
North York	48,505 (20.9)	46,800 (20.2)	50,470 (21.7)	86,345 (37.1)
York	19,190 (38.3)	6,135 (12.2)	4,205 (8.4)	20,625 (41.1)
Etobicoke	29,915 (30.9)	28,940 (29.9)	6,745 (7.0)	31,060 (32.1)
Mississauga	33,805 (18.4)	61,520 (33.4)	29,435 (16.0)	59,165 (32.2)
Brampton	21,810 (27.3)	34,720 (43.4)	5,405 (6.8)	18,015 (22.5)
Oakville	2,225 (17.0)	4,390 (33.1)	2,960 (22.3)	3,655 (27.6)
Burlington	1,325 (19.0)	2,100 (30.0)	1,095 (15.7)	2,470 (35.3)
Pickering	5,165 (32.0)	4,085 (25.3)	1,980 (12.3)	4,895 (30.4)

Table 9 cont'd.

<b>Municipality</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>South Asian</b>	<b>Chinese</b>	<b>Other</b>
Ajax	4,180 (34.3)	3,175 (26.0)	1,305 (10.7)	3,540 (29.0)
Whitby	2,355 (33.0)	1,235 (17.3)	1,210 (16.9)	2,340 (32.8)
Oshawa	2,445 (36.1)	1,360 (20.1)	840 (12.4)	2,120 (31.3)
Clarington	965 (45.4)	330 (15.5)	185 (8.7)	645 (30.3)
Vaughan	2,230 (10.6)	5,745 (27.4)	6,190 (29.5)	6,785 (32.4)
Markham	7,130 (8.9)	16,035 (20.1)	43,280 (54.2)	13,335 (16.7)
Richmond Hill	2,415 (7.3)	4,435 (13.4)	20,585 (62.3)	5,605 (17.0)
Newmarket	980 (17.6)	690 (12.4)	1,350 (24.2)	2,555 (45.8)

Note: Figures in parentheses represent the percentage of the total visible minority population represented by that group in that municipality. Row totals sum to 100 per cent.

Source: Calculated from figures provided by Statistics Canada.

Asian, 24.9 per cent was Chinese, and 29.8 per cent belonged to other groups. For Blacks, substantially higher-than-expected shares of the visible minority population were found in Durham Region and the municipalities of York, Etobicoke, Brampton, Pickering, Ajax, Whitby, Oshawa, and Clarington, with very low shares in York and Halton Regions and the municipalities of Oakville, Burlington, Vaughan, Markham, Richmond Hill, and Newmarket (Tables 8 and 9). For South Asians, the areas with higher-than-expected shares included Peel and Halton Regions and the municipalities of East York, Etobicoke, Mississauga, Brampton, Oakville, and Burlington. Those with lower-than-expected levels included York Region and the municipalities of Toronto, York, Whitby, Clarington, Richmond Hill, and Newmarket. For the Chinese, the areas of high concentration included York Region and the municipalities of Scarborough, Toronto, Vaughan, Markham, and Richmond Hill, with lower-than-expected levels in Durham, Peel, and Halton Regions and the municipalities of York, Etobicoke, Mississauga, Brampton, Burlington, Pickering, Ajax, Whitby, Oshawa, and Clarington.

And another thing is very clear from the most recent census data - central Toronto is no longer the only immigrant reception area for the region. Overall, 40 per cent of residents in the Greater Toronto Area were categorized as immigrants in the 1996 census. Ten municipalities, including the City of Toronto, registered figures in excess of the area-wide standard, with three of them - North York (52.7 per cent), Scarborough (51.3 per cent), and York (50.6 per cent) - housing immigrant majorities (Table 10). Individuals from the most recent immigration period, 1991-1996, accounted for 9.7 per cent of the area's population in 1996. Nine municipalities exceeded this figure, led by Scarborough (16 per cent) and North York (15.4 per cent). Both immigrants and new

immigrants were far less noticeable in most of Durham and Halton Regions and the primarily rural northern portions of York and Peel Regions.

Table 10

## Immigrants in the Regions and Municipalities of the GTA, 1996

Name of Area	Total Immigrants		Recent Immigrants	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Greater Toronto Area	1,837,030	40.0	446,510	9.7
Metropolitan Toronto	1,124,410	47.6	315,465	13.3
Scarborough	284,225	51.3	88,710	16.0
Toronto	271,225	42.0	68,435	10.6
East York	44,500	41.7	13,140	12.3
North York	308,165	52.7	90,120	15.4
York	73,775	50.6	19,410	13.3
Etobicoke	142,525	43.8	35,645	10.9
Peel Region	339,365	40.0	74,320	8.8
Mississauga	234,860	43.3	57,120	10.5
Brampton	96,115	36.0	16,800	6.3
Caledon	8,390	21.1	390	1.0
York Region	211,215	35.8	41,415	7.0
Vaughan	55,325	41.8	5,560	4.2
Markham	83,130	48.1	22,075	12.8
Richmond Hill	42,475	41.9	11,640	11.5
Whitchurch	3,360	17.1	125	0.6
Aurora	5,920	17.2	590	1.7
Newmarket	10,165	18.0	975	1.7
King	4,055	22.3	145	0.8
East Gwillimbury	2,655	13.7	170	0.9
Georgina	4,115	12.0	135	0.4
Durham Region	85,750	18.8	8,150	1.8
Pickering	20,800	36.4	2,200	2.8

Table 10 cont'd.

Name of Area	Total Immigrants		Recent Immigrants	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Ajax	15,815	24.6	1,960	3.1
Whitby	14,480	19.8	1,200	1.6
Oshawa	21,875	16.4	2,140	1.6
Clarington	7,755	12.9	440	0.7
Scugog	1,790	9.6	40	0.2
Uxbridge	2,155	13.7	85	0.5
Brock	1,090	9.5	75	0.6
Halton Region	76,290	22.6	7,160	2.1
Oakville	35,630	27.9	3,975	3.1
Burlington	28,315	20.8	2,390	1.8
Milton	5,470	17.2	320	1.0
Halton Hills	6,870	16.3	480	1.1

Source: Calculated from Statistics Canada data.

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A dramatic shift in the perception of the geographic structure of the Greater Toronto Area occurred during the first half of the 1990s. Faced with a rapidly growing demand for telephone service, brought about by the proliferation of fax machines, home computers, and cellular telephones, Bell Canada decided to establish a new area code for use in the outer portion of the GTA. Beginning in the Fall of 1993, the old 416 area code was reserved for exclusive use within Metropolitan Toronto, while the remainder of the GTA was assigned to the new 905 area code (Figure 2). With some justification, distinctions between the characteristics, outlook, and political behaviour of residents in the two areas quickly became noticed by the media, and the notion of 416 versus 905 rapidly took hold.<sup>35</sup>



It is possible to examine distinctions between the 416 and 905 areas using census data (Table 11). As of 1996, the two areas had very similar population totals, with the balance ever so slightly tipped in favour of 416. In the not-too-distant future, due to the potential for residential development in the outlying parts of the GTA, the population balance will shift in favour of the 905 region. For the present, however, there are some striking differences in the demographic structure of the two regions. While the 905 area can hardly be labelled “lily white,” it is not nearly as diverse as the 416 area. For example, the latter area is home to a larger than expected share of residents who either do not speak English or French at home or whose first language was something other than English or French. Among ethnic groups, only those who claim British, Canadian, or Italian as their sole origin are over-represented in the 905 area. All of the other groups examined were under-represented in that area, some dramatically so, though only with Greeks did the share resident in the 905 area fall beneath one-third of the total for the group. A similar picture emerges with respect to the members of the various visible minority groups included in the census. Only the distribution of South Asians comes close to the 416/905 population split, and even they are under-represented in the latter area. All other groups are substantially over-represented in the 416 area, which was home to more than 70 per cent of Koreans, South East Asians, and Latin Americans, and to more than two-thirds of Blacks and Arabs/West Asians. Finally, the 416 area is home to a disproportionate share of the GTA’s immigrants, especially those who arrived between 1991 and 1996. While both parts of the GTA, then, can claim diverse populations, the 416 area is much more so than the 905 area.

The old City of Toronto now houses just 14.1 per cent of the population resident in the GTA. Most of the groups under consideration here are over-represented in comparison to that figure, some

Table 11

**The 416/905 Demographic Split, 1996:  
Population, Language, Ethnic Origin, Visible Minorities, Immigrants**

Characteristic	Total in GTA	% in 416	% in 905	% in City
<b>a) Population</b>	<b>4,595,200</b>	<b>51.4</b>	<b>48.6</b>	<b>14.1</b>
<b>b) Language Characteristics</b>				
Non-Official Home Language	988,750	68.9	31.1	17.3
Non-Official Mother Tongue	1,557,505	63.8	36.2	16.1
<b>c) Selected Ethnic Groups</b>				
British	531,560	42.6	57.4	12.4
Canadian	369,010	36.2	63.8	9.7
Italian	318,160	49.9	50.1	7.7
Chinese	319,675	65.5	34.5	17.8
Portuguese	128,992	61.9	38.1	37.8
Polish	90,780	54.1	45.9	15.3
Jewish	97,885	66.4	33.6	17.9
Jamaican	100,230	65.3	34.7	7.6
Filipino	87,470	66.6	33.4	15.0
Greek	63,280	73.5	26.5	15.4
<b>d) Visible Minorities</b>				
All Groups	1,360,330	64.9	35.1	13.4
Black	281,645	68.3	31.7	11.9
South Asian	334,460	57.6	42.4	7.3
Chinese	338,265	65.3	34.7	17.9
Korean	29,245	74.4	25.6	16.6
Japanese	17,545	66.5	33.5	20.0
South East Asian	46,935	70.1	29.9	27.4
Filipino	100,440	65.6	34.4	14.5
Arab/West Asian	73,505	68.6	31.4	10.5
Latin American	62,400	76.7	23.3	18.8
<b>e) Immigrants</b>				
All Immigrants	1,837,030	61.2	38.8	14.8
Recent Immigrants	446,510	70.7	29.3	15.3

Source: Census of Canada, 1996

strikingly so. Some 37.8 per cent of the GTA's Portuguese, 27.4 per cent of its South East Asians, 20.0 per cent of its Japanese, and 18.8 per cent of its Latin Americans live in the City of Toronto. Visible minorities as a whole are slightly under-represented, and Jamaicans, Blacks, and South Asians are substantially under-represented in the City of Toronto.<sup>36</sup>

In the face of the astonishing rates of recent immigration to Toronto, the growth of the city's visible minority population, and its increasing demographic complexity, stands another remarkable change in the social fabric of the city. This is, of course, the demise of the British component within the overall population mix. In 1911, the City of Toronto was 86.5 per cent composed of those who claimed British ethnic origins. The figure still stood at 78.4 per cent in 1941. In the ensuing years, Toronto has become effectively "de-Briticised," no matter what spatial scale is chosen for analysis. Today, only about 10 per cent of the residents of the old City of Toronto, Metropolitan Toronto, and the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area claim British as a single ethnic origin, a figure that has dropped steadily and precipitously in the post-World War II period (Table 12). Taking the Greater Toronto Area as a base, the proportion of the population claiming British as their single ethnic origin now stands at just 11.5 per cent, down from 48.7 per cent in 1981. Among the urban municipalities of the GTA, the British proportion ranges from a low of 2.8 per cent in Vaughan to a high of just 21.3 per cent in Burlington (Table 13). While the population in the GTA rose by some 34.5 per cent between 1981 and 1996, those from exclusively British origins declined by 68.3 per cent over the same time period. Deaths, declining immigration from the British Isles, the increasing use of "Canadian" as a designation of ethnicity, and intermarriage all played roles in this decline, though the precise inter-relationships among this quartet of factors remain unclear at this time.

What is clear, however, is that Peter Goheen's "British Town on American Soil" has all but vanished.<sup>37</sup>

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**Table 12**  
**Per Cent British in Toronto, Metro Toronto, and the Toronto CMA**  
**1951-1996**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Toronto</b>	<b>Metro</b>	<b>Toronto CMA</b>
1951	68.9%	72.7%	72.7%
1961	51.8%	59.2%	60.7%
1971	45.8%	53.3%	56.9%
1981	39.0%	42.7%	46.3%
1991	17.0%	17.1%	19.2%
1996	10.2%	9.6%	10.8%

Source: calculated from data in the Census of Canada, relevant years and volumes.

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Table 13

## The Growth and “De-Briticisation” of Toronto by Municipality, 1981-1996

<b>Municipality</b>	<b>1981 Population</b>	<b>% British</b>	<b>1996 Population</b>	<b>% British</b>
Toronto	599,217	39.0%	646,480	10.2%
Scarborough	443,353	53.8%	554,525	10.3%
North York	559,521	35.7%	584,675	7.1%
East York	101,974	50.9%	106,780	13.7%
York	134,617	34.1%	145,790	7.6%
Etobicoke	298,713	48.0%	325,615	11.1%
<b>Metro Toronto</b>	<b>2,137,395</b>	<b>42.7%</b>	<b>2,363,870</b>	<b>9.6%</b>
Mississauga	315,056	49.5%	542,450	9.7%
Brampton	149,030	58.1%	267,170	12.7%
<b>Peel Region*</b>	<b>490,731</b>	<b>53.0%</b>	<b>849,305</b>	<b>11.0%</b>
Oakville	75,773	60.1%	127,520	17.4%
Burlington	114,853	62.6%	136,040	21.5%
<b>Halton Region*</b>	<b>490,731</b>	<b>62.8%</b>	<b>337,440</b>	<b>19.7%</b>
Pickering	37,754	66.5%	78,665	15.7%
Ajax	25,475	69.8%	64,210	17.0%
Whitby	36,698	66.5%	73,205	17.4%
Oshawa	117,519	63.2%	133,320	19.8%
<b>Durham Region*</b>	<b>283,639</b>	<b>66.9%</b>	<b>455,420</b>	<b>18.5%</b>
Vaughan	29,674	33.3%	132,315	2.9%
Markham	77,037	52.0%	172,735	8.2%
Richmond Hill	37,778	55.5%	101,480	9.4%
Newmarket	29,753	69.0%	56,360	17.3%
<b>York Region*</b>	<b>252,053</b>	<b>56.9%</b>	<b>589,165</b>	<b>10.4%</b>
<b>Entire GTA</b>	<b>3,417,701</b>	<b>48.7%</b>	<b>4,595,200</b>	<b>11.6%</b>

\* includes rural and urban municipalities in each region.

Source: calculated from Census data, appropriate year and volume.

**NOTES:**

1. As quoted in Peter Goddard, "Nexus, Zen and Now," *Toronto Star*, Thursday, 9 May 1996, G8. Wrye, a former Philadelphian, is a member of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra and a founding member of the Toronto-based percussion ensemble Nexus.
2. John Spears, "Toronto Approves New Coat of Arms," *Toronto Star*, Thursday, 29 October 1998, B3. This new motto was adopted following the creation of the new City of Toronto, an amalgamation of six former municipalities, in January of 1998. The motto of the former and smaller City of Toronto had been "Industry, Intelligence, Integrity."
3. On local coverage of the 1998 World Cup see Chris Zelkovich, "Multicultural Media All Over Sports' 'Biggest Event of All'," *Toronto Star*, Wednesday, 10 June 1998, F8. On the supporters for the teams in the 1998 World Cup see Elaine Carey, "World Cup: Why Toronto Is a City of Winners," *Toronto Star*, Saturday, 27 June 1998, A1 and A10. Using data from Statistics Canada, Carey found the 16 teams in the second round of the competition had the following levels of support on the basis of ethnic origin: England (891,730), Italy (414,310), France (237,080), Germany (224,525), Netherlands (85,255), Croatia (28,370), Romania (18,350), Yugoslavia (14,270), Denmark (13,175), Norway (10,520), Chile (8,440), Mexico (3,605), Nigeria (2,775), Argentina (2,765), Brazil (2,515), and Paraguay (55). Robert Vipond, "Meet Me by the World Cup," *Globe and Mail*, Wednesday, 22 July 1998, A15.
4. On some of the celebrations for the 1998 World Cup see Bianca T. Jacob, "Celebrating the Reggae Boyz in Toronto," *Share*, 18 June 1998, 6-7; "'Our' Boyz," editorial, *Share*, 18 June 1998, 8; Henry Stancu, "Frenzied Crowd Celebrates Win: Soccer Fans Jam Corso Italia Late into the Night," *Toronto Star*, Thursday, 18 June 1998, C8; Peter Edwards and Henry Stancu, "Iranian Fans Celebrate Soccer Win Over U.S.," *Toronto Star*, Monday, 22 June 1998, A1; Jamie Wayne, "No Matter Who Wins, It'll Be Party Time," *Financial Post*, Tuesday, 23 June 1998, 67; Nicholaas Van Rijn, "World Cup Fans Having a Ball" and Natalie James, "2nd-Round Winners Compete in the Streets: Supporters of Italy and Brazil Battle to See Who Throws the Best Party," *Toronto Star*, Sunday, 28 June 1998, A6; John Montesano, "Diversity on Display for Soccer," *Toronto Star*, Monday, 29 June 1998, A17; Jennifer Quinn, "Ecstatic Fans Savour Big Win by Brazil," *Toronto Star*, Saturday, 4 July 1998, A11; Barbara Wickens, "World Cup Fever: Soccer Fans Take Over the City's Streets," *Maclean's* 111 (6 July 1998): 19; Oscar Wailoo, "Doing the Samba in Little Brazil," *The Caribbean Camera*, 9 July 1998, 7; Jennifer Quinn and Josh Brown, "France Rules the World! Thousands Dance in Streets: And 28,000 Pack SkyDome to See Brazil Beaten 3-0," *Toronto Star*, Monday, 13 July 1998, A1. "Peaceful Tribes Take Over City," editorial, *Globe and Mail*, Tuesday, 30 June 1998, A16. On the use of Yonge Street for celebrations in Toronto see Joseph Hall, "Leafs Just One Win Away - So Get Set to 'Mafeking': Yonge St. Parties Go Back to Boer War," *Toronto Star*, Thursday, 27 May 1993, A1 and A24. On one of the only negative incidents during the 1998 World Cup see Jill Mahoney and Colin Freeze, "Soccer Rivals' Tempers Flare in the Streets: As Brazil Won Its World Cup Match, The Team's Fans Converged on Little Italy to Gloat Over the Italians' Loss," *Globe and Mail*, Saturday, 4 July 1998, A6 and John Montesano, "World-Cup Flag-Waving Had Little to Do with Soccer," *Toronto Star*, Monday, 13 July 1998, A13. This "incident" involved mostly pushing and shoving, with one beer bottle thrown through a car window, resulting in a minor injury. John Montesano, "Italian Community Came of Age During Soccer World Cup," *Toronto Star*, Monday, 20 April 1998, A15. The closing quotation is from "Adieu, World Cup," editorial, *Toronto Star*, Tuesday, 14 July 1998, A18.
5. Tony Ruprecht, Gail Hanney, and Vida Radovanovic, *Toronto's Many Faces: A Guide to the Restaurants, Shops, Festivals, Museums, and Monuments of More than 60 Cultural Communities in the City* (Vancouver and Toronto: Whitecap Books, 1990) and Robert J. Kasher, *Ethnic Toronto: A Complete Guide to the Many Faces & Cultures of Toronto* (Lincolnwood, Illinois: Passport Books, 1997). A second edition of *Toronto's Many Faces* was published by Quarry Press of Kingston, Ontario late in 1998.
6. Major scholarly studies of individual ethnic communities in Toronto include Grace M. Anderson, *Networks of Contact: The Portuguese and Toronto* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University, 1974); Susan Gabori, *In Search of Paradise: The Odyssey of an Italian Family* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); Nicholas DiMaria Harney, *Eh, Paesan!: Being Italian in Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Wilson Head, *The Black Presence in the Canadian Mosaic: A Study of the Perception and Practice of Discrimination Against Blacks in Metropolitan Toronto* (Toronto: The Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1975); Keith S. Henry, *Black Politics in Toronto Since World War I* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981); Frances Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal and

Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Stephen Speisman, *The Jews of Toronto: A History to 1937* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1979); Richard Henry Thompson, *Toronto's Chinatown: The Changing Social Organization of an Ethnic Community* (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1989); and John E. Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).

7. Tim Harper, "The Cosmopolitan Capital of Canada," *Toronto Star*, final edition, Tuesday, 15 September 1992, A1 and also as "Languages in Metro Area Tell Our Story of Immigration," *Toronto Star*, Wednesday, 16 September 1992, A1. Montreal, in contrast, had only about 15 per cent with a mother tongue other than French or English, while the figure for Vancouver was 23.7 per cent, and for Canada, as a whole, it was 13 per cent. Robert J. Harney, *Toronto: Canada's New Cosmopolite*, Occasional Paper in Ethnic and Immigration Studies (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981).

8. Myer Siemiatycki and Engin Isin, "Immigration, Diversity, and Urban Citizenship in Toronto," *Canadian Journal of Region Science* 20 (1997): 73-102. This issue was actually published in the Fall of 1998. Myer Siemiatycki was kind enough to provide me with a copy of this paper prior to its publication. The research by Siemiatycki and Isin was reported in Elaine Carey, "Is T.O. Tops in Diversity?: It Has at Least 162 Ethnic Groups - Few Other Cities on Earth Come Close," *Toronto Star*, Thursday, 11 June 1998, G14 and G16 and Marcus Gee, "Born in 169 Other Countries," *Globe and Mail*, Wednesday, 10 June 1998, A17. "The Global Village," editorial, *Toronto Star*, Saturday, 21 February 1998, K2 and "Putting the 'World' in World Class," *Globe and Mail*, Tuesday, 9 June 1998, A16. Haroon Siddiqui, "Canada's Contribution to 21st Century," *Toronto Star*, Thursday, 11 June 1998, A28. Data on group membership for 1996 were taken from "Toronto's Ethnic Makeup," *Toronto Star*, Saturday, 30 January 1999, A21.

9. Data for 1996 were taken from the Statistics Canada publication *The Daily* for 4 November 1997 and 17 February 1998. *The Daily* is available at <http://www.statcan.ca/Daily>. See also *Immigrants in Toronto*, Profile Toronto No. 2 (Toronto: Toronto City Planning Research, 1998). On true extent of Toronto's aboriginal population see Thomas Walkom, "Unseen Natives Make Toronto Biggest 'Reserve'," *Toronto Star*, Wednesday, 18 April 1990, A1 and A28; Craig McInnes, "Urban Natives Fear Self-Rule Will Leave Them Out in Cold," *Globe and Mail*, Saturday, 28 December 1991, A1 and A4; and Donna Jean MacKinnon, "The Spirit of White Eagle: Bob Crawford Sets Out on His Mission to Help Indians, Who've Been in Jail, Find Their Self-Worth," *Toronto Star*, Sunday, 10 September 1995, E1.

10. *The Daily*, 4 November 1997. See also, Elaine Carey, "Toronto Magnet for Immigrants: 441,000 Settled in Area Since 1991 - By Far the Most in Canada," *Toronto Star*, Wednesday, 5 November 1997, A1 and A30 and Alanna Mitchell, "Census Reveals Changing Face: Influx of European Immigrants to Canada Drops Below 50% for First Time," *Globe and Mail*, Wednesday, 5 November 1997, A1 and A10.

11. T. John Samuel, "Visible Minorities in Canada," paper submitted to the Festschrift for Professor Karol J. Krotki, August 1987, Table 3. Warren E. Kalbach, *The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population*, 1961 Census Monograph (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1970): 87-91.

12. *Immigrants in Toronto*, 2-3.

13. On the immigration history of these groups see the following reports prepared for P.R.W. Kendall, the then-Medical Officer of Health for Toronto: *The Caribbean Community in Toronto*, Ethnocultural and Health Profiles of Communities in Toronto No. 5 (Toronto: Health Promotion and Advocacy Section, City of Toronto Department of Public Health, 1989), *The Sri Lankan Tamil Community in Toronto*, Ethnocultural and Health Profiles of Communities in Toronto No. 6 (Toronto: Health Promotion and Advocacy Section, City of Toronto Department of Public Health, 1989), *The Portuguese Canadian Community in Toronto*, Ethnocultural and Health Profiles of Communities in Toronto No. 7 (Toronto: Health Promotion and Advocacy Section, City of Toronto Department of Public Health, 1992), and *The Spanish-Speaking Community in Toronto*, Ethnocultural and Health Profiles of Communities in Toronto No. 8 (Toronto: Health Promotion and Advocacy Section, City of Toronto Department of Public Health, 1992).

14. *Immigrants in Toronto*, 7. On the Somali influx see Daniel Stoffman, "Dispatch from Dixon," *Toronto Life* 29 (August 1995): 40-7.



15. Metro Chief Administrator's Office, *Multicultural & Race Relations Division: Programs & Services* (Toronto: Chief Administrative Officer's Department, Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1990). Figures for immigrant populations were taken or calculated from Statistics Canada, *Profile of Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations - Part B*, Catalogue No. 93-338 (Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Science, and Technology, 1993). For the City of Toronto, the proportion of immigrants stood at 39.1 per cent; for Metropolitan Toronto, it was 42.1 per cent. The estimate for Toronto's Hispanic population was taken from Lisa Wright, "Hispanics Protest Exclusion on Census," *Toronto Star*, Friday, 31 May 1991, A11. See also Jennifer Aucoin, "The Geography of the Latin-American Community in Metropolitan Toronto, 1981-1991," BAA thesis, School of Applied Geography, Ryerson Polytechnic University, 1995. According to the 1991 Census, there were 74 ethnic/racial groups with at least 5,000 members in Canada. Hispanic was included as a separate category in the 1996 Census, and 1,750 people used it as their sole ethnic designation in the Toronto CMA for that year.

16. The rise to 7.0 per cent in those who listed their ethnicity simply as Canadian in Toronto has been attributed to a campaign in the *Toronto Sun* prior to the census which urged people to respond in that way. In Montreal, only 0.3 per cent of the population responded in that fashion, while the figure for Vancouver was 1.5 per cent. Overall, 34.8 per cent of those who replied Canadian lived in the Toronto CMA. See Allan Thompson, "British Dominance Fades in Metro, Census Finds," *Toronto Star*, Wednesday, 24 February 1993, A2. Other cities with a high Canadian presence were Calgary at 3.8 per cent and Edmonton at 3.7 per cent, both of which were also home to *Sun* newspapers, and Oshawa at 13.6 per cent, which is well within the circulation area for the *Toronto Sun*. On the *Toronto Sun*'s census campaign, "Count Me Canadian," see "Really Count Yourself In," editorial, *Toronto Sun*, Sunday, 26 May 1991, Comment 1 and the full-page notice "This Time, REALLY Count Yourself In: Say Count Me Canadian," *Toronto Sun*, Sunday, 2 June 1991, Comment 16. The paper even gave advice on how to indicate Canadian on both the short and long census forms. See "We're Canadian, Eh?," *Toronto Sun*, Sunday, 26 May 1991, 4 and "Let's Count On Canadians," *Toronto Sun*, Tuesday, 4 June 1991, 2. The latter piece appeared on Census Day for 1991. In 1986, only 69,000 people in all of Canada listed Canadian as their ethnic origin (just 7,000 of them in the Toronto area). In 1991, the figure was more than 10 times higher for Canada as a whole (765,095); but it was 38 times higher in the Toronto area, a clear indication of the influence of the *Toronto Sun*'s "Count Me Canadian" campaign. On the diversity of Chicago see Richard Conniff, "Chicago: Welcome to the Neighborhood," *National Geographic* 179 (May 1991): 50-77.

17. Bill Saporito, "The World's Best Cities for Business," *Fortune* 130 (14 November 1994): 112-42 and Suzanne Barlyn, "It's San Francisco," *Fortune* 132 (13 November 1995): 84-96. Curtis C. Roseman, Hans Dieter Laux, and Günter Thieme (eds.), *EthniCity: Geographic Perspectives on Ethnic Change in Modern Cities* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowan & Littlefield, 1996). The cities examined were Los Angeles, Chicago, Sydney/Melbourne, Paris, London, Amsterdam, the Ruhr conurbation, Vienna, Milan, Madrid, Johannesburg/Durban, and Singapore.

18. Tana Turner, *The Composition and Implications of Metropolitan Toronto's Ethnic, Racial, and Linguistic Populations*, Report Commissioned by Multicultural and Race Relations Division, Chief Administrative Officer's Department (Toronto: Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1990).

19. Metro Chief Administrator's Office, *The Changing Face of Metro Toronto* (Toronto: Access and Equity Centre, The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1996). Percentages for the concentration of groups in the Toronto CMA were calculated by the author from data in Statistics Canada, *Ethnic Origin: The Nation*, Catalogue No. 93-315 (Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Science, and Technology, 1993). See also T. John Samuel, *Visible Minorities in Canada: A Projection* (Toronto: Race Relations Advisory Council on Advertising, Canadian Advertising Foundation, 1992). Elaine Carey, "Minorities Set To Be Majority: Non-Whites To Be 54% of Toronto's Population," *Toronto Star*, Sunday, 7 June 1998, A1 and A16. Tim Rees, *Together We Are One: A Summary Paper on Diversity in Toronto* (Toronto: Access and Equity Centre, City of Toronto, 1998).

20. Figures for New York were reported in John Barber, "Remarkable Experiment Playing Out," *Globe and Mail*, Thursday, 22 August 1996, A11. Cecil Foster, "Rocking the Boat," *Toronto Life* 27 (November 1993): 51. "Feature Report: Focus on Multicultural Marketing," *Marketing Magazine* 101 (18 November 1996): 16-18; Isabel Vincent, "Chasing after the Ethnic Consumer," *Globe and Mail*, Monday, 18 September 1995, A8; and Alex Gillis, "Mechanics of Multiculturalism: Staff at Toronto's Garages a Mirror of City's Ethnic Diversity," *Toronto Star*, Sunday, 2 August 1998, BE2.

21. Lynne Ainsworth, "School Concerts Go Multicultural," *Toronto Star*, Wednesday, 18 December 1991, A1 and A18. On the St. James Town neighbourhood see Margaret Philp, "The Resurrection of St. James Town: It's Run-Down, Over-Crowded, Ethnically Diverse - and on the Verge of Renewal," *Globe and Mail*, Monday, 6 October 1997, A2; Elaine Carey, "St. James Town Slips from High-Rise Dream to Concrete Nightmare: Home to 20,000, It's Canada's Densest Neighbourhood," *Toronto*

*Star*, Sunday, 29 March 1998, A1 and A6; and Mike Armstrong, "City Owes St. James Town Tenants a Whole Lot," letter to the editor, *Toronto Star*, Tuesday, 14 April 1998, A23. St. James Town is bounded by Bloor Street on the north, Parliament Street on the east, Wellesley Street on the south, and Sherbourne Street on the west.

22. Data for the students in Toronto's public elementary and secondary schools were provided to me by Lisa Rosolen of the Research and Assessment Department of the Toronto Board of Education. In 1998, the former municipalities within Metropolitan Toronto were amalgamated by the Provincial Government into a single City of Toronto. The data employed here relate to the former, or pre-1998, City of Toronto, which was a much smaller entity. John Barber, "Different Colours, Changing City," *Globe and Mail*, Friday, 20 February 1998, A8. Marcus Gee, "Born in 169 Other Countries," *Globe and Mail*, Wednesday, 10 June 1998, A17. By 1991, the costs of ESL programs in Toronto-area public and separate schools was nearly \$100 million per year. See Paul Watson, "Schools Trying to Teach Kids from 70 Lands," *Toronto Star*, Sunday, 22 September 1991, A1 and A7. Maureen Murray, "School Hit Hard by Refugee Influx: Immigration Hearing Told of Motel Housing," *Toronto Star*, Wednesday, 4 March 1998, B3.

23. On the U of T study see Alex Bozikovic, "The Changing Demographic Face of the University of Toronto: How the University's Multicultural Constitution Compares to the City It Inhabits," *The Newspaper*, 25 February 1998, 3. Figures for Ryerson were provided to me by members of the University's Office of Employment Equity. Harvey G. Simmons, "York University," letter to the editor, *Globe and Mail*, Tuesday, 22 April 1997, A16.

24. Statistics on religious affiliation were taken from Statistics Canada, *Profile of Census Tracts in Toronto - Part B*, Catalogue No. 95-354 (Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Science, and Technology, 1994). Leslie Scrivener, "They Came, They Saw, They Worshipped," *Toronto Star*, Sunday, 21 February 1999, F1-F2. On changes at the High Park - Alhambra United Church see Joan Breckenridge, "New Hues Grow from Church's White Roots," *Globe and Mail*, Saturday, 22 June 1996, A1 and A10. On St. Peter's parish see Michael McAteer, "Waves of Immigration Change Parish: St. Peter's Celebrates 100 Years of Urban Service," *Toronto Star*, Saturday, 20 July 1998, K14. The McGill study of Canadian Jews was reported in André Picard, "Half of Canada's Jews Pick Toronto as Home: Study Notes 'Demographic Revolution' Where Population Doubles in 20 Years," *Globe and Mail*, Friday, 17 February 1995, A8. Information on Beth Tzedec was taken from an interview of its Chief Rabbi by Peter Gzowski that aired on CBC Radio's *Morningside* on Friday, 29 March 1991.

25. On Toronto Buddhists see Michael McAteer, "Buddhists Flourishing in Metro: Ethno-Religious Boundaries of 35 Groups Starting to Blur, Observers Say," *Toronto Star*, Saturday, 23 May 1992, J13. On Toronto's *gurdwaras* see Frank Calleja, "30,000 Sikhs Celebrate 'Miracle' of New Temple," *Toronto Star*, Monday, 5 November 1990, A1 and A7 and Donovan Vincent, "Sikh Temple in Scarborough Draws Thousands to Opening," *Toronto Star*, Monday, 28 January 1991, A6. On the Bai'tul-Islam Mosque see Pat Brennan, "Keeping the Faith at Home Alive," *Toronto Star*, Saturday, 4 July 1998, M1 and M4 and Leslie Ferenc, "Muslims Get Spiritual 'Recharge': 7,000 Gather at Convention in Maple," *Toronto Star*, Monday, 6 July 1998, B3. Stan Josey, "Centre's a Place to Call Home: First Permanent Religious Facility for Gujarati," *Toronto Star*, Monday, 29 July 1996, A18. Desmond Bill, "200,000 Observe Ramadan: Muslims to Fast Beginning Today," *Toronto Star*, Friday, 10 January 1997, A6 and Kerry Gillespie, "80,000 March in Toronto: Sikhs Celebrate Historic Day," *Toronto Star*, Monday, 26 April 1999, A1 and A16. The population of Toronto in 1901 was 208,040. Haroon Siddiqui, "Media Caught Between Sacred and Secular," *Toronto Star*, Sunday, 21 June 1998, F3. On early Toronto nicknames see Robert M. Hamilton (comp.), *Canadian Quotations and Phrases Literary and Historical* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1952), 182; Paul Russell and Robert Jeffrey, *Toronto's Top Ten* (Toronto: Methuen, 1984), 173-4; and W.J. Keith, *Literary Images of Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 191 and 228.

26. J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1984), 201; Peter G. Goheen, *Victorian Toronto 1850 to 1900: Pattern and Process of Growth*, Research Paper No. 127 (Chicago: Department of Geography, University of Chicago, 1970), 44-57; James T. Lemon, *Toronto Since 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1985), 196. Statistics in this paragraph pertain only to the City of Toronto.

27. William Deverell, *Street Legal: The Betrayal* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1995): 157.

28. On the Kensington Market area see City of Toronto Planning Board, *Kensington: Official Plan Proposals* (Toronto: City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978) and *Kensington Part II: Final Recommendations* (Toronto: City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978); Joan Anne Moreland Davies, "Ethnic Demand Hierarchies in the Market Place: Economic and Social Exchange in Kensington Market (Toronto)," Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1976; Jeanne DeLaurentiis, *Kensington Roots* (Toronto: St.

Stephen's Community House, 1980); Robert Harney and Harold Troper, *Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930* (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1975); Barbara Myrvold, *Historical Walking Tour of Kensington Market & College Street* (Toronto: Toronto Public Library Board, 1993); and Joe Rosenthal, *Old Markets, New World* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1964). Kensington, of course, was not Toronto's only immigrant reception area. According to Harney and Troper, other such areas included The Ward (around Queen and Bay Streets) and The Junction (around Keele and Dundas Streets), along with a few smaller areas. Robert F. Harney, *Toronto: Canada's New Cosmopolite*, Occasional Paper in Ethnic and Immigration Studies (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981): 9. Joan Breckenridge, "Jewish Families Put Down New Roots in Old Parts of City: Schools, Services, Synagogues Flourish as Tide of Urbanites Flows in from Suburbs," *Globe and Mail*, Tuesday, 8 September 1998, A12 and Leslie Scrivener, "Jewish Life Reviving in the Downtown Core: New School and Full-to-Bursting Synagogue Are Signs of Revival in Urban Community," *Toronto Star*, Monday, 21 September 1998, C5 and C7. According to Breckenridge, the Jewish population in the inner city rose from 12,000 to 15,000 between 1981 and 1991, an increase of 25 per cent.

29. Isabel Vincent, "Ethnic Communities Definitely on the Rise," *Globe and Mail*, Wednesday, 1 November 1995, A12. M.G. Vassanji, *No New Land* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991).

30. Siemiatycki and Isin, "Immigration, Diversity, and Urban Citizenship in Toronto," 77. Percentage figures on the use of non-official languages in the home were derived from Census data for 1991 and 1996. St. James Town is contained within census tract 65 in the Toronto CMA. On Jane-Finch see Sara Jean Green, "Jane-Finch Fights Back, Tenderly: Much-Maligned Neighbourhood Wins Award for Its Sense of Grassroots Community Activism," *Globe and Mail*, Thursday, 17 September 1998, A14 and Laurie Monsebraaten, "Coffee, Cookies Beat Drug Deals: Jane-Finch Residents' Unique Approach Lauded," *Toronto Star*, Wednesday, 16 September 1998, A1 and A24. On the changing geography of Toronto's immigrant retail areas see Roula El-Rifai, "Arab Shopping Area Thrives in Scarborough," *Toronto Star*, Saturday, 4 July 1993, H1 and H4; Cynthia Wine, "Head North for New Chinese Hot Spots: Downtowners Can Find Good Fare - In Plazas They Never Even Knew Existed," *Toronto Star*, Saturday, 13 June 1998, M7; Steven Davey, "Hot Cuban Spot Diversifies the Danforth," *Now*, 17 September 1998, 103; and Jan Main, "Scarborough Fare: Ethnic Bakeries Put Scarborough on Map," *Toronto Star*, Wednesday, 21 April 1999, F1-F2. On Toronto's Chinese immigrants see Lucia Lo and Shuguang Wang, "Settlement Patterns of Toronto's Chinese Immigrants: Convergence or Divergence?," *Canadian Journal of Regional Science* 20 (1997): 49-72.

31. Lila Sarick, "Immigrants Skip Downtown Stage," *Globe and Mail*, Wednesday, 28 December 1994, A1 and A4; "Ethnic Melting Pot, Or Cauldron?," *Globe and Mail*, Thursday, 29 December 1994, A4; and "A Region Grown Like a Gawk Adolescent: Many Peel Residents Accept, If Not Enthusiastically Embrace, Its Multicultural Nature," *Globe and Mail*, Friday, 30 December 1994, A4. On the diversity in Mississauga schools see Maureen Murray, "[Mississauga] Schools Reflect Ethnic Explosion," *Toronto Star*, Monday, 14 December 1998, B1 and B8. Engin Isin is quoted in David Lewis Stein, "Redrawing City's Cultural Map," *Toronto Star*, Monday, 8 June 1998, B1 and B5. On the nature of edge cities see Joel Garreau, *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier* (New York: Doubleday, 1991).

32. The maps are presented in *Immigrants in Toronto*, 4-6. On the study of Toronto's best neighbourhoods see Marcia Chen, "The Best Places to Live: Toronto's Top 50 Neighbourhoods," which was published as "The Real Estate Guide" in *Toronto Life* 32 (July 1998): G1-G28. Only neighbourhoods within the new City of Toronto (Area Code 416) were considered in this study.

33. Tana Turner, *The Composition and Implications of Metropolitan Toronto's Ethnic, Racial, and Linguistic Populations*, Report Commissioned by the Multicultural and Race Relations Division, Chief Administrative Officer's Department (Toronto: Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1990): 40-7 and *The Composition and Implications of Metropolitan Toronto's Ethnic, Racial, and Linguistic Populations 1991*, Commissioned by the Access and Equity Centre of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto (Toronto: Metro Chief Administrator's Office, 1995): 31-40.

34. The GTA was a creation of the Provincial Government that began with the establishment of the Greater Toronto Coordinating Committee in 1986, followed by the unveiling of the GTA concept (Metro Toronto plus the Regions of Halton, Peel, York, and Durham) in 1987, and the establishment of the Office for the Greater Toronto Area in 1988. The GTA is larger in area than the Toronto CMA. The latter, which was developed by Statistics Canada in the early 1950s, is geographically constrained by the Hamilton CMA to the west and the Oshawa-Whitby CMA to the east. As a result, it does not truly reflect the economic region that is centred on Toronto. While areas are added to a CMA due to both outward urban expansion and commuting criteria, Burlington, Oshawa, and Whitby, which are part of the Toronto economic region, are assigned to other CMAs by Statistics Canada. They are part of the GTA. Interestingly, however, Orangeville is part of the Toronto CMA, but not included in the GTA.

35. The decision to create the 905 area was announced in 1991, but did not take full effect until 1994. As had been the case with the old 416 area, the 905 area code extends well beyond the boundaries of the GTA to include the band of south-central Ontario from Fort Erie in the southwest to Lake Simcoe in the north to Colborne in the east. See Canadian Press, "Bell Adds New 905 Area Code," *Globe and Mail*, Tuesday, 21 March 1991, A12 and "New Bell Codes Kick in Saturday," *Toronto Star*, Thursday, 24 March 1994, A4. The differences between the two areas soon became entrenched. See, for example, "When 905 Meets 416," editorial, *Globe and Mail*, Friday, 13 December 1996, A26 and Linwood Barclay, "On Front Lines of the 416-905 Area Code War," *Toronto Star*, Friday, 22 August 1997, B1. By late September of 1997, the editors of the *Toronto Star* had established a weekly "905 Connection" column about issues affecting the new area code. In mid-June of 1998, a weekly newsletter, *GTA/905 Development News*, was established by the Toronto consulting firm Urban Intelligence Inc. to monitor development activity in the outer parts of the GTA. Their other newsletter, *Novae Res Urbis*, which began publication in 1997, was then left to cover the 416 area. By early 2001, it is expected that a third area code, 647, will have to be put into use. This new area code will not have the same geographic implications as 905; for it is Bell Canada's intention to "overlay" it in the 416 area as required by the demand for new phone numbers. See Robert Cribb, "Ma Bell Short of Numbers Again: Telecom Boom Forces Plan for Yet Another Area Code," *Toronto Star*, Thursday, 7 January 1999, C1 and C5. On 1 January 1998, by virtue of the Provincial Statute Bill 103, the six municipalities of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, which itself had been created by the Province in 1954, were amalgamated into the new City of Toronto, reducing the number of municipal governments in the 416 area from seven to one.

36. In reviewing census data on ethnic origins and visible minorities, it is worth remembering both that individuals assign themselves to the categories for each variable, and the categories presented to them often appear as or are perceived to be a confusing melange of such attributes as ancestral ethnic origin, personal ethnic origin, place of birth, place of origin, citizenship, race, and religion. As a result, inconsistencies are bound to occur. For example, within the GTA, 87,480 people were identified as Filipino on the basis of ethnic origin, but 100,440 were identified as Filipino on the visible minority dimension. The figures for Chinese were 319,675 on the basis of ethnic origin, and 338,265 for visible minority.

37. All figures in this section were calculated using Statistics Canada Census data. Figures for the British population in 1996 were derived by summing together the figures for the English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh, and other British categories. The decline in the British population is so striking that some may suspect the veracity of the data. If those listing multiple origins that include British are tallied, they constitute some 48.7 per cent of the residents of the GTA, though the use of such figures is susceptible to some double counting. For example, a person who listed English and Irish roots, would be counted under both categories, and thus twice in the British group. The use of Canadian as an ethnic designation has been on the rise since the 1991 census. For Metro Toronto in 1996, the number who listed themselves as Canadian outpaced the number who listed themselves as English by 133,735 to 133,505. For the GTA, 369,008 or 8.0% of the population, reported "Canadian" as their sole ethnic origin; for the Toronto CMA, the figures were 311,965 or 7.4%. The percentages for the City of Toronto and Metro Toronto were 5.5% and 5.7%, respectively. In the 905 area code portion of the GTA, the percentage selecting "Canadian" as their sole ethnic origin stood at 10.5%, almost twice the rate in the Metro Toronto, or 416 area code, portion of the GTA.

## **CERIS**

**The Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement - Toronto (CERIS) is one of five Canadian Metropolis centres dedicated to ensuring that scientific expertise contributes to the improvement of migration and diversity policy.**

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