

Toronto's Third City

Dramatic Change in the Inner Suburbs

1970 to 2005

David Hulchanski

with Larry Bourne, Rick Eagan, Maureen Fair,
Richard Maaranen, Robert Murdie, Alan Walks

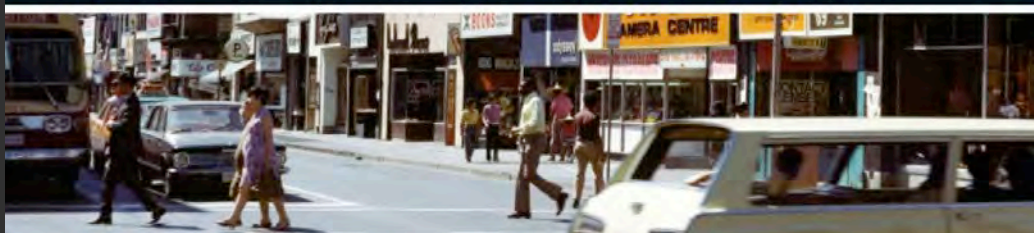
St. Christopher House & University of Toronto
Neighbourhood Change Community University Research Alliance
May 2011



THE THREE CITIES WITHIN TORONTO

Income Polarization Among Toronto's Neighbourhoods, 1970-2005

BY J. DAVID HULCHANSKI, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



www.NeighbourhoodChange.ca

“Divided Cities”

- Socio-spatial polarization
- Income inequality
- Income polarization
- Ethno-cultural & skin colour segregation

Divided cities are not new.
Cities have always been divided.
What is new?

**Today: A new socio-spatial order
with stronger (more rigid) divisions,
and greater inequality**

“Those changes may be summarized as an increase in the **strength** of divisions in the city and the **inequality among them.**”

– Peter Marcuse & Ronald van Kempen, 2000, p.272



Neighbourhoods Matter

Research has found outcomes associated with neighbourhoods, such as

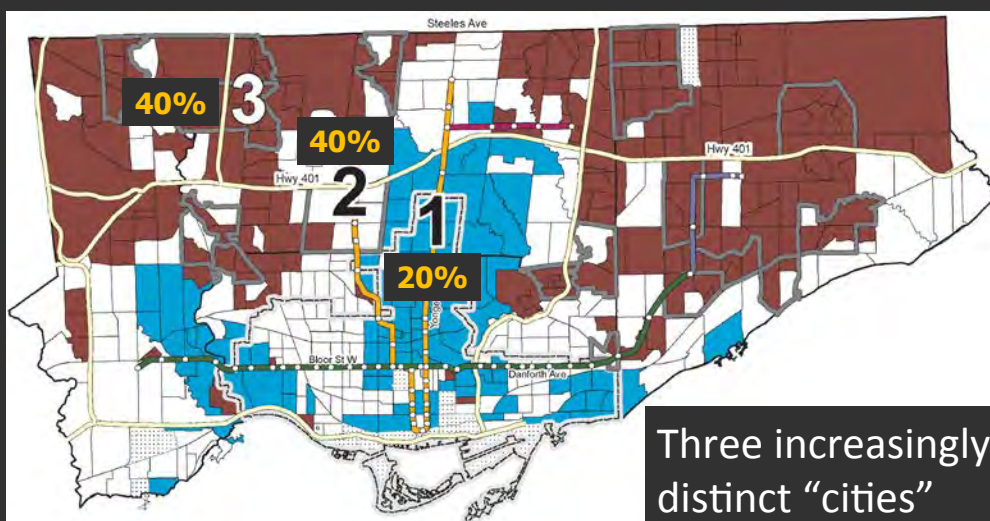
- school dropout rates;
- childhood achievement;
- transition rates from welfare to work;
- deviant behaviour;
- social exclusion; &
- social mobility



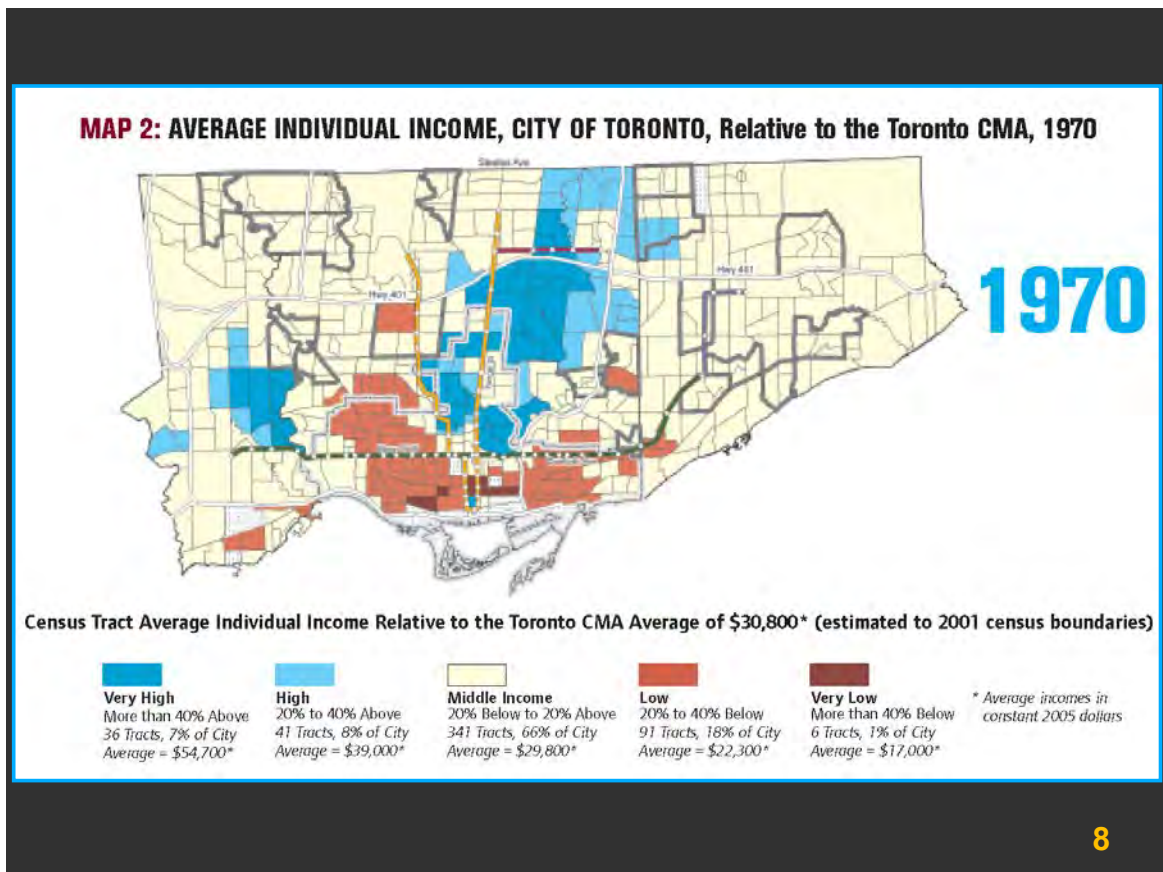
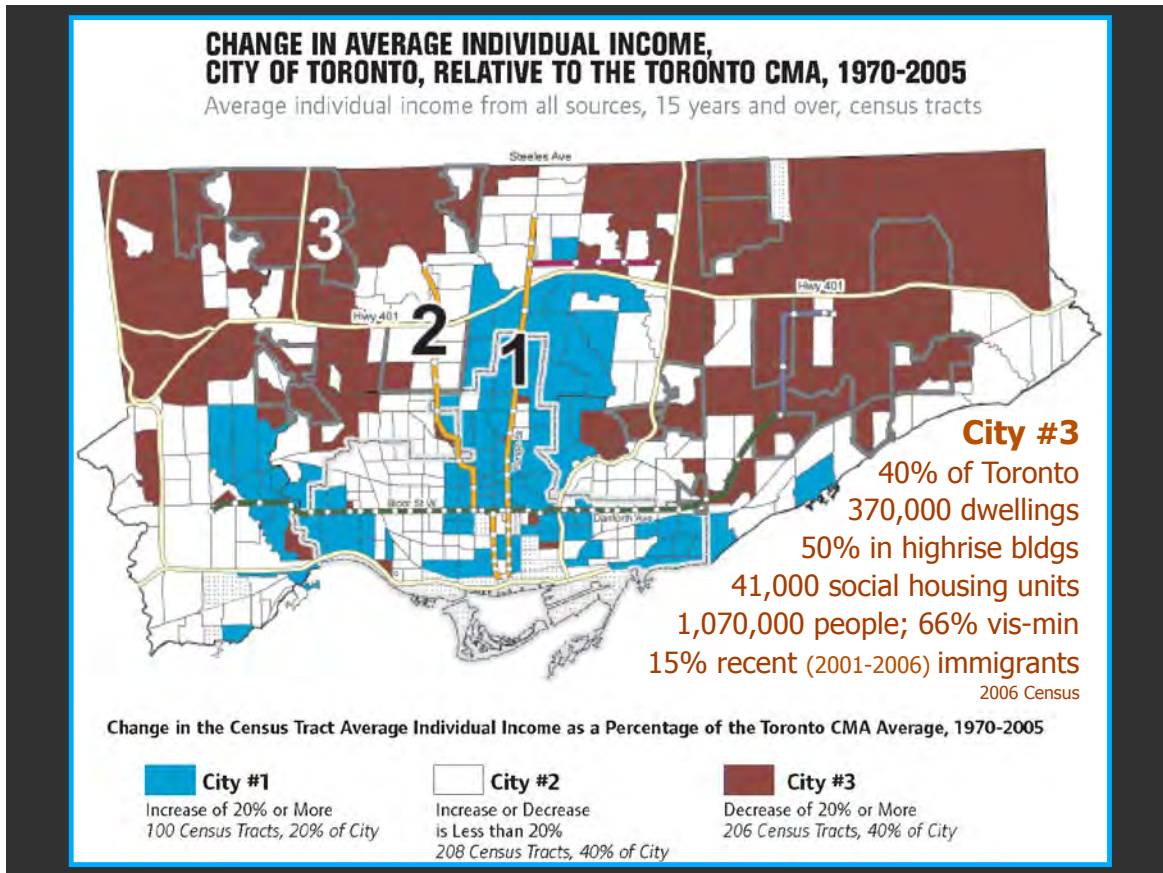
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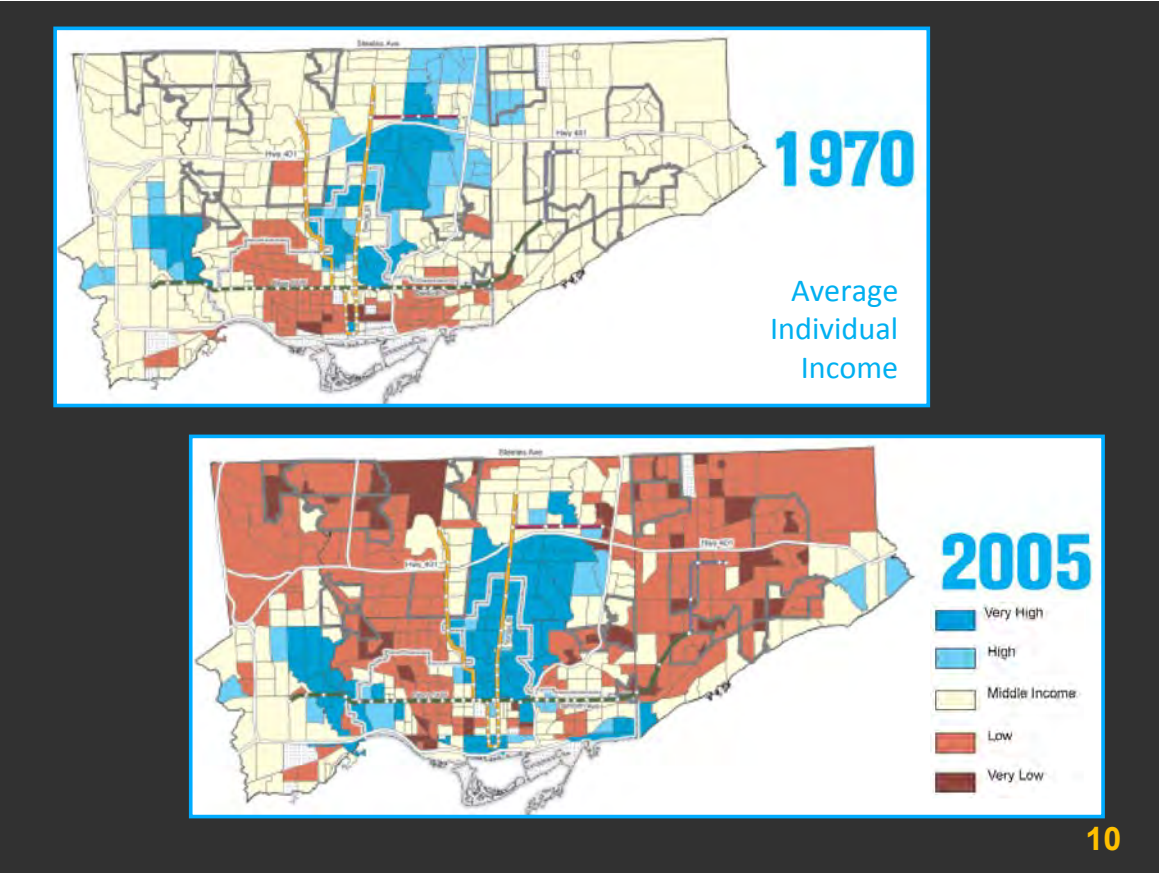
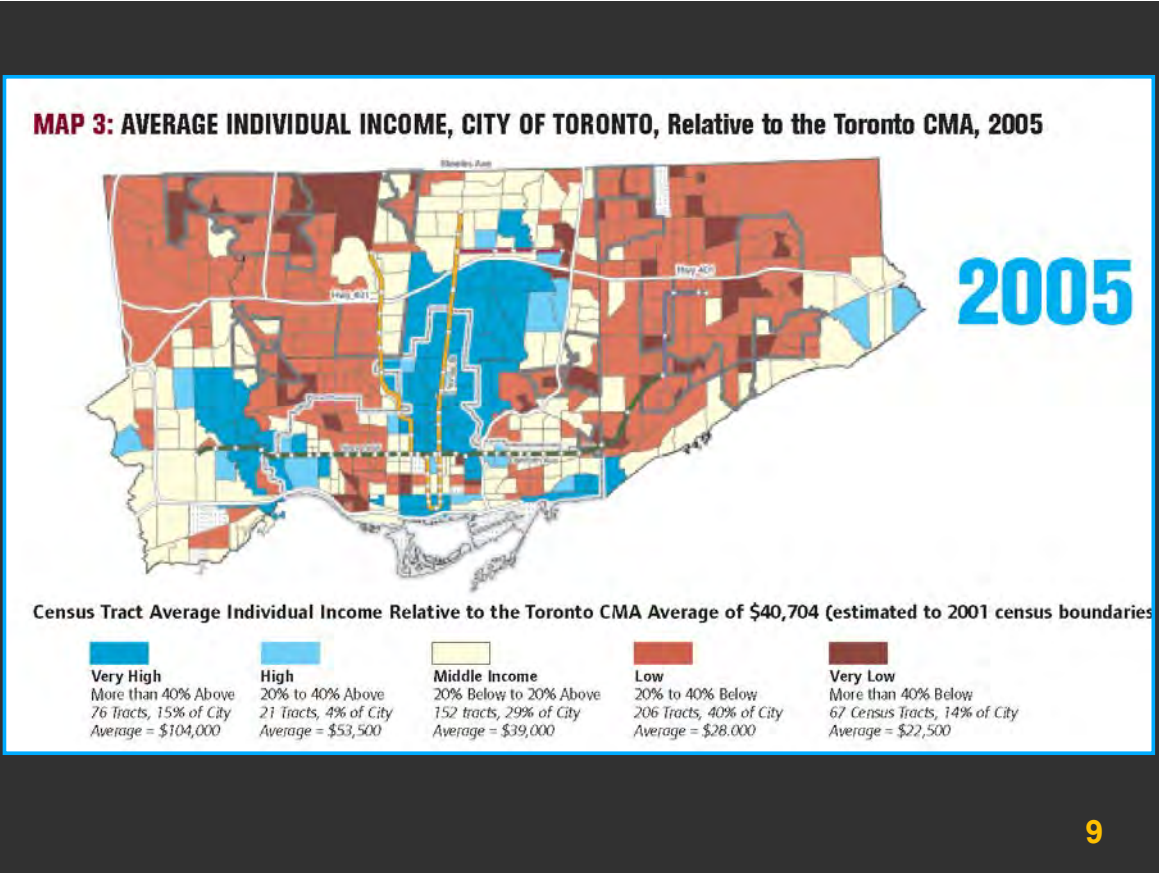
35 Year Trend in Toronto

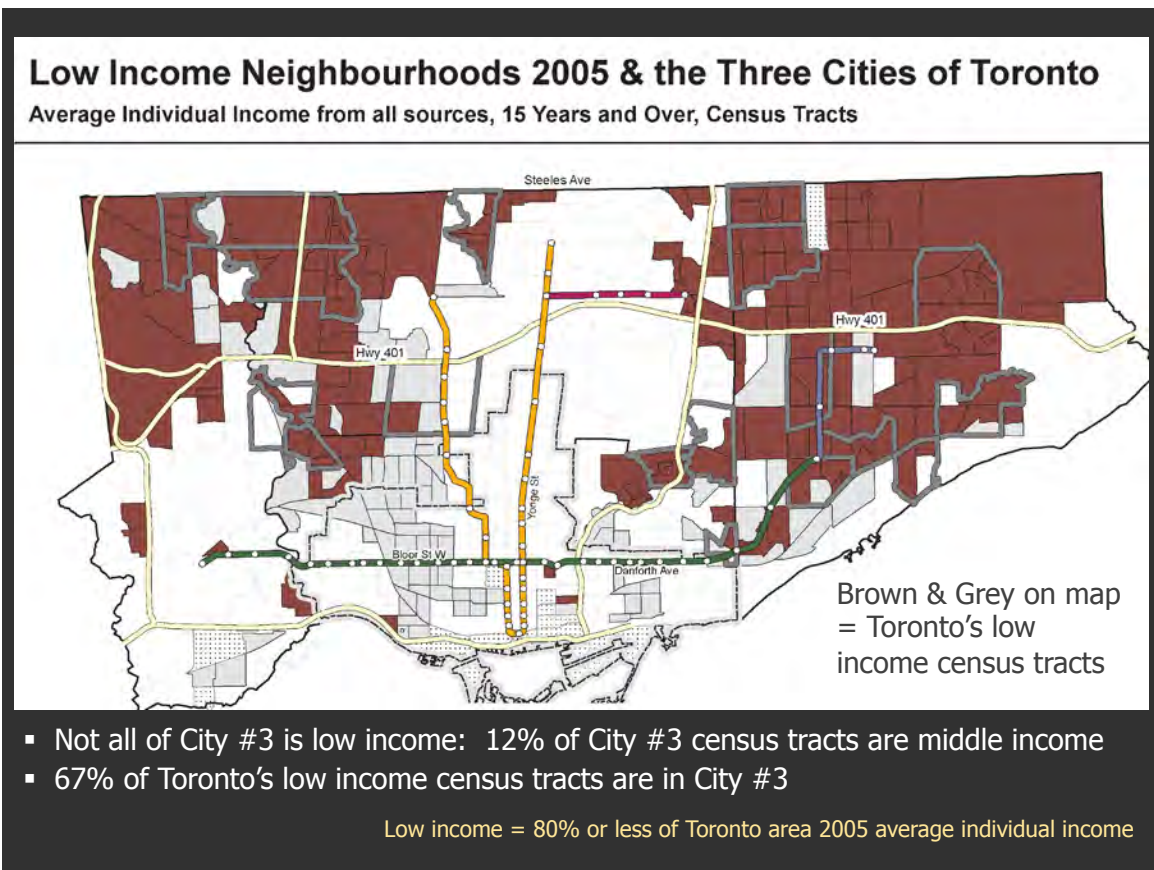
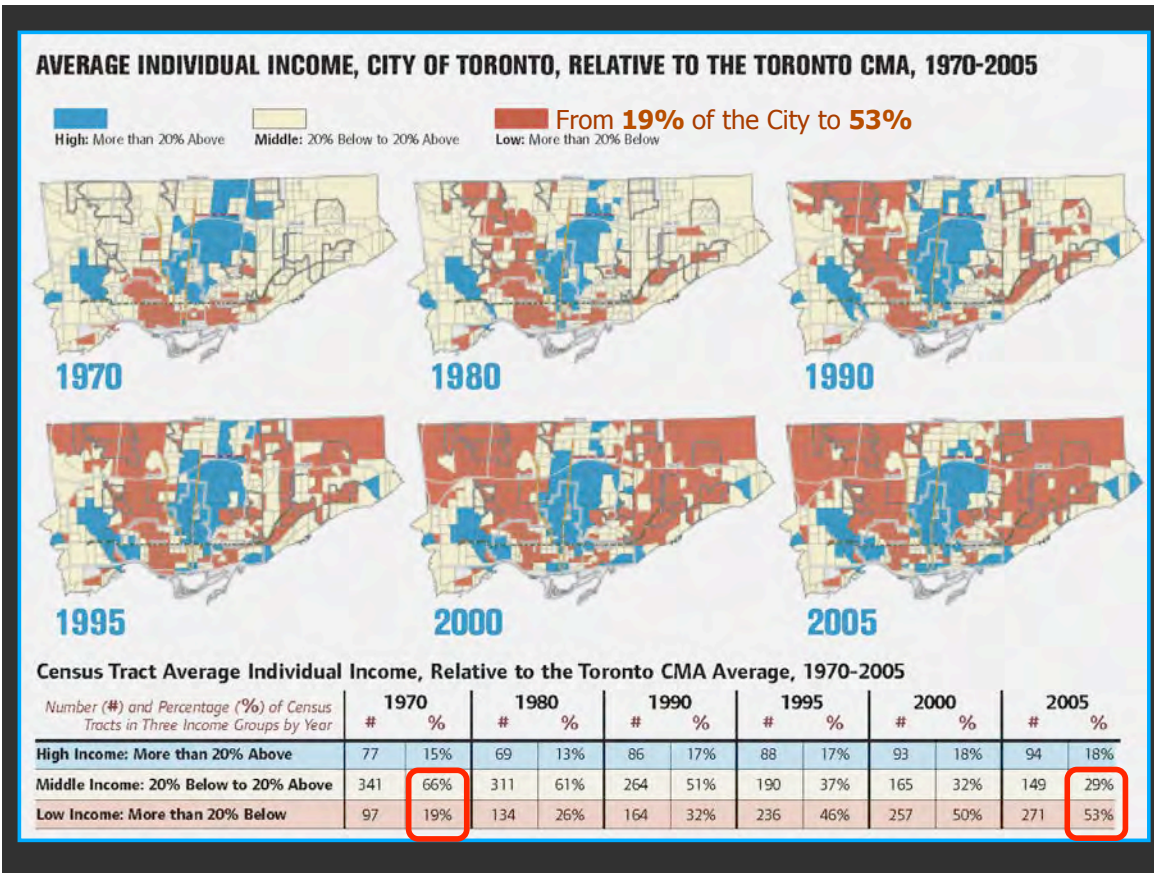
A new socio-spatial polarization (partitioning of urban space) on the basis of income & SES & ethno-cultural origin



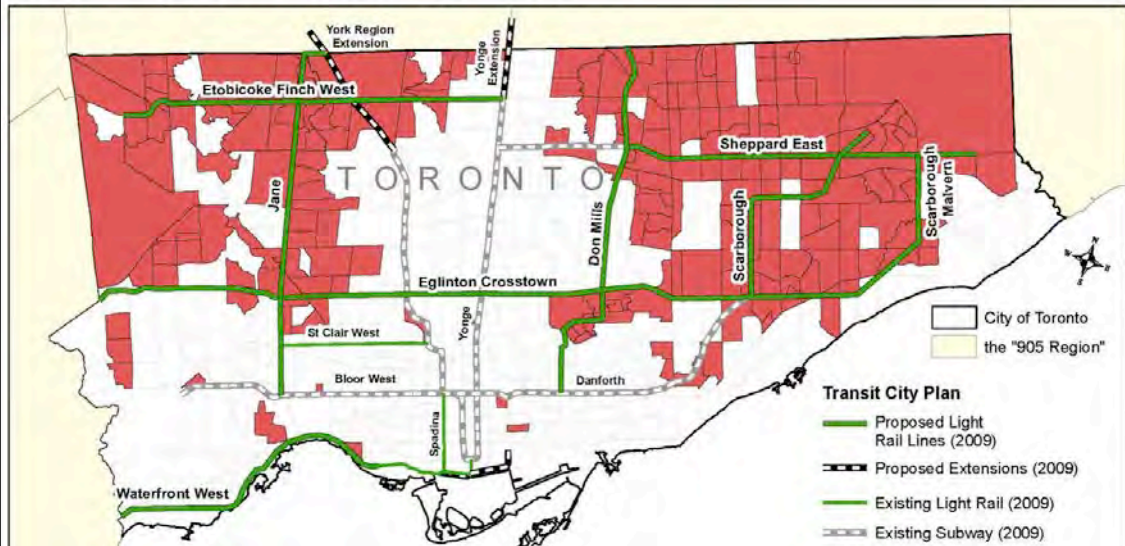
Three increasingly distinct "cities" within Toronto





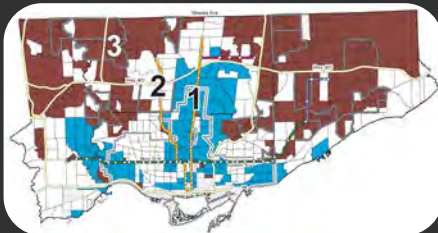


Toronto's "City #3," Neighbourhoods with Declining Incomes, 1970-2005, and the Proposed Transit City Plan 2009

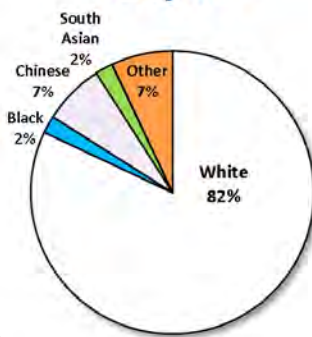


If City #3 was a separate Census Metropolitan Area (CMA), it would be Canada's 4th largest.

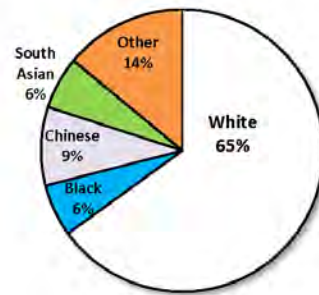
It lacks the rapid transit and many services of a CMA.



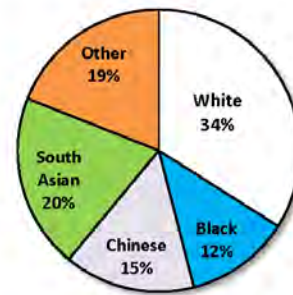
City #1



City #2

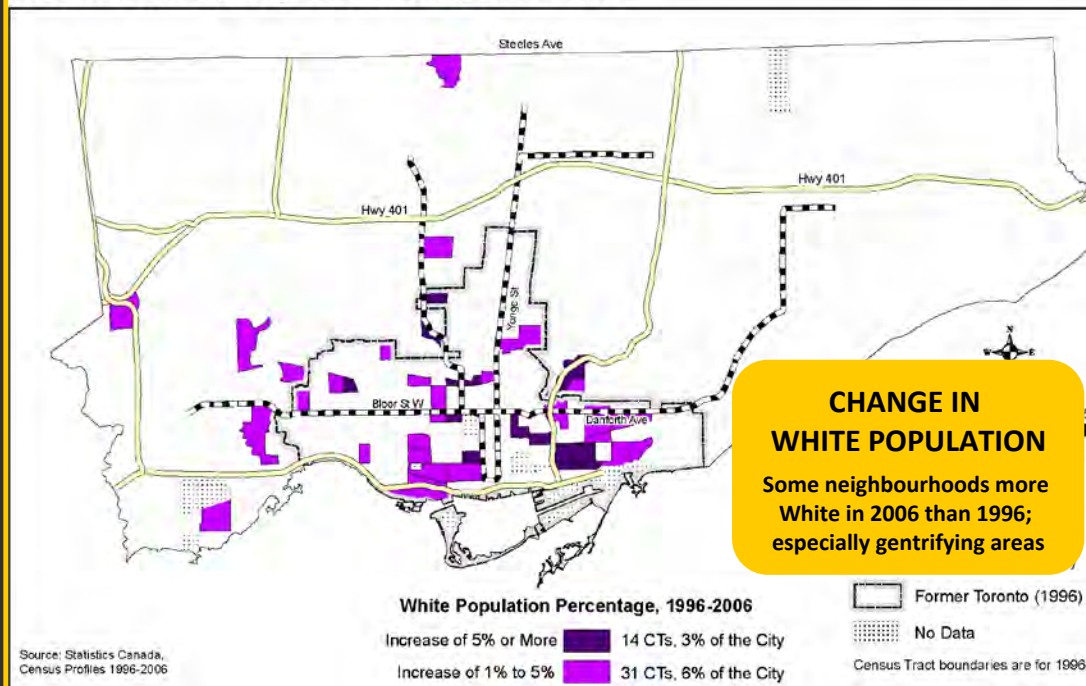


City #3



Where does Toronto's diversity live?

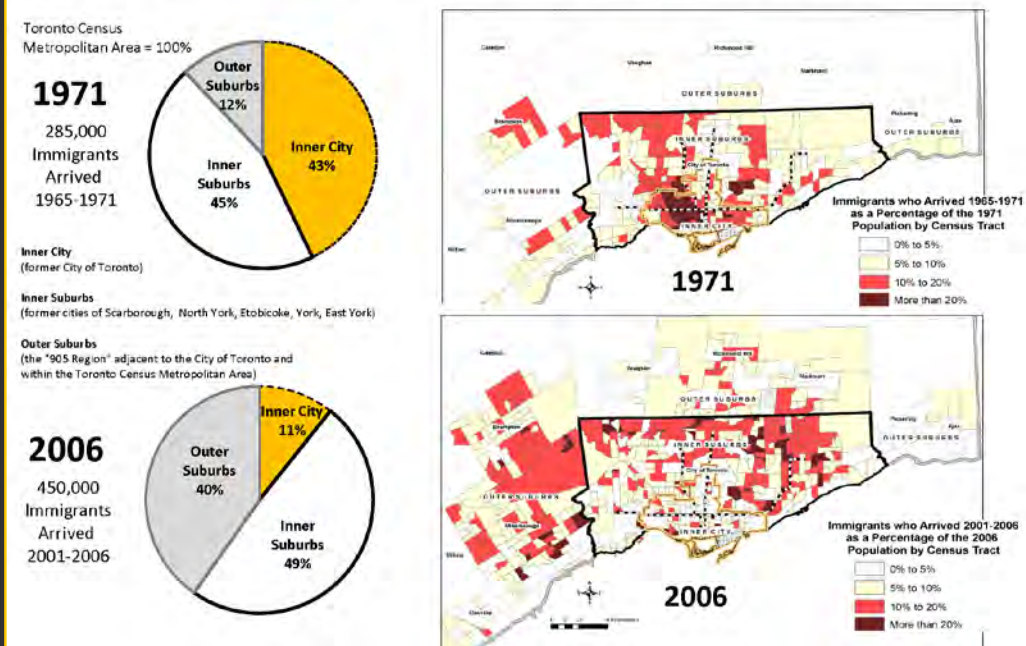
Neighbourhoods with an Increase in White Population Percentage Census Tracts, City of Toronto, 1996-2006



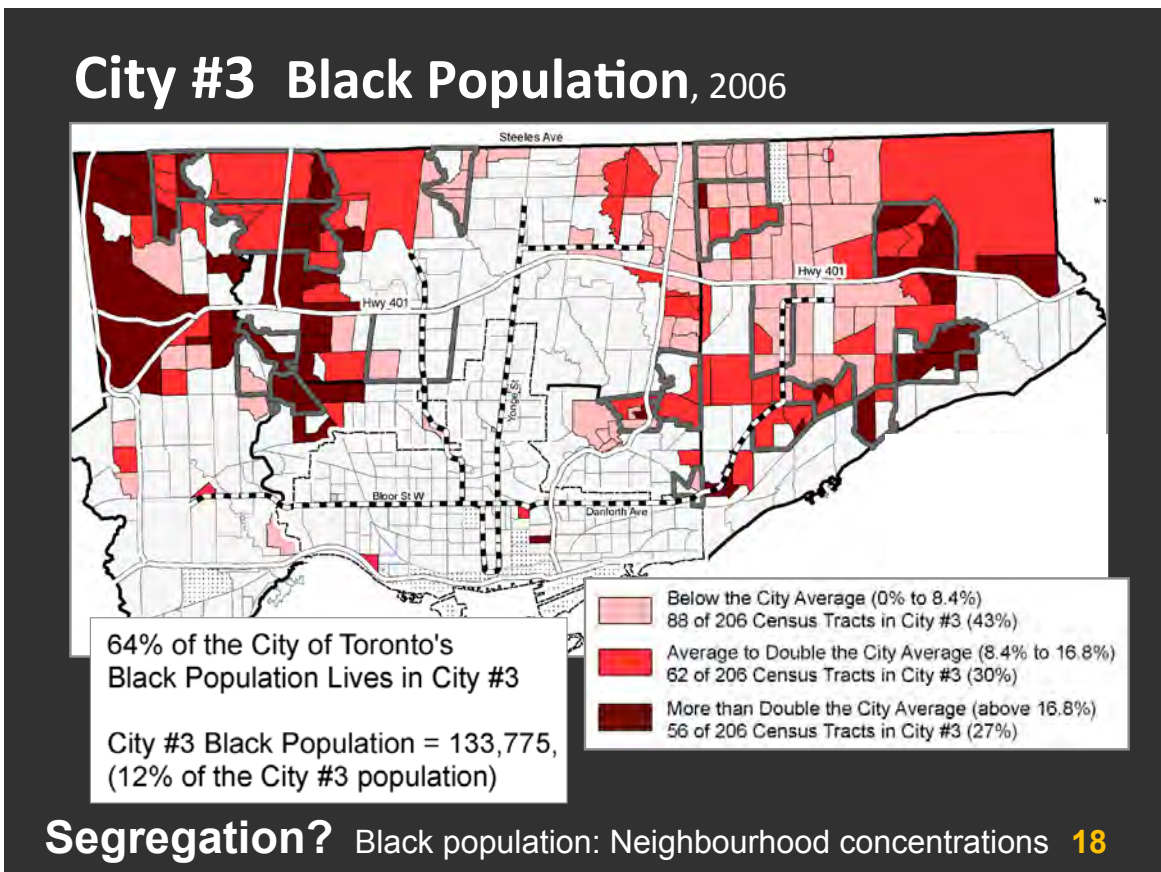
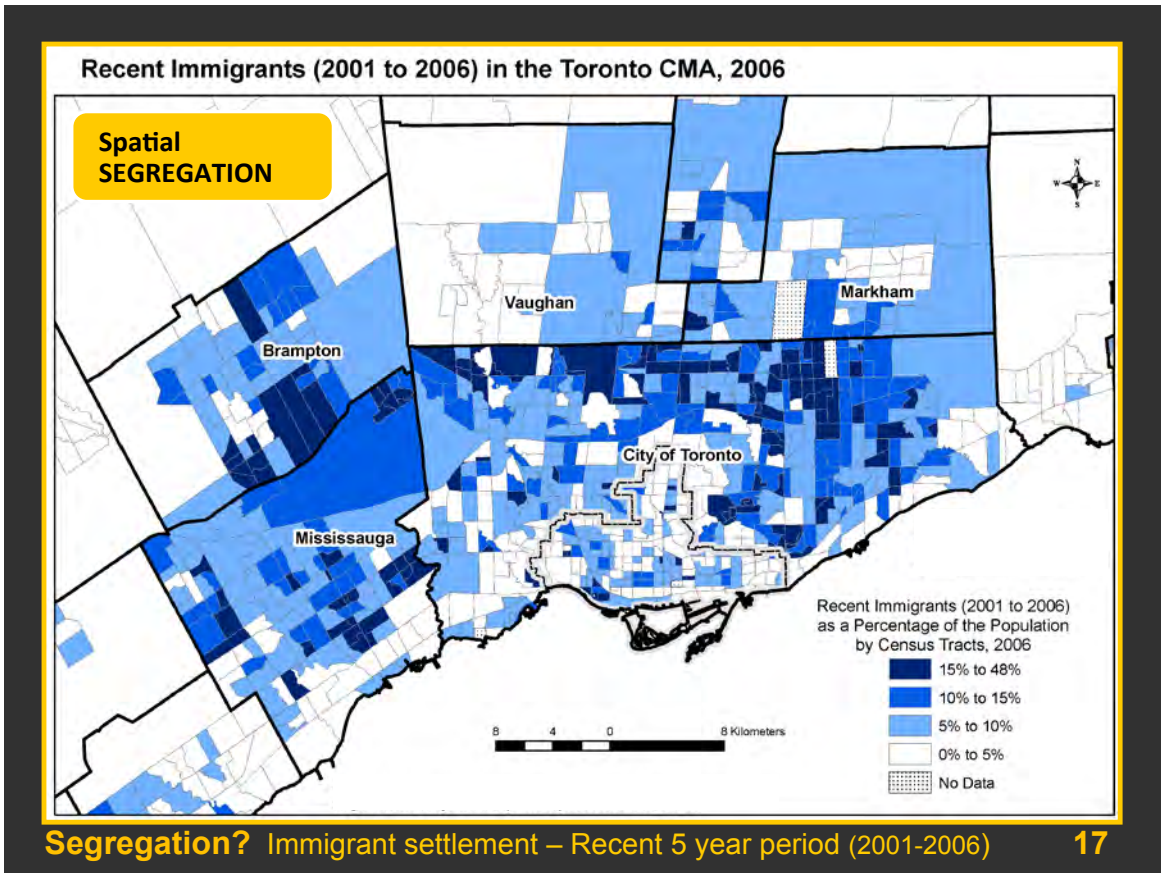
Segregation? White population, greater concentration in 9% of city, 1996-2006 **15**

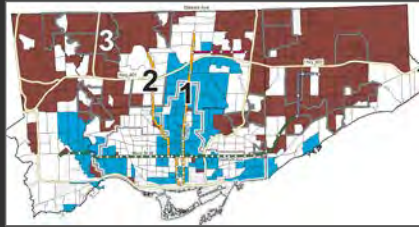
Recent Immigrants, 1971 & 2006

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



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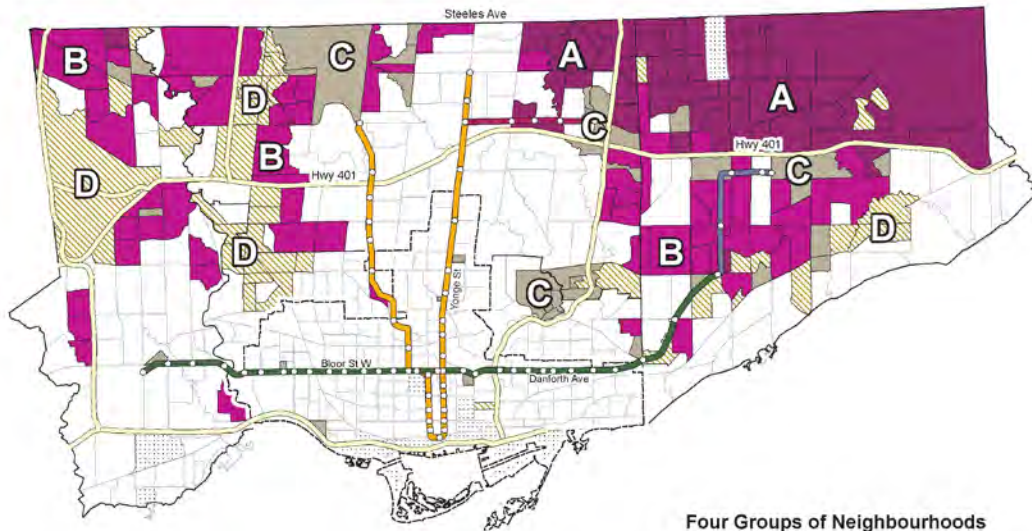




CITY #3: FOUR CLUSTERS

City #3: Four Groups of Neighbourhoods, 2006

City of Toronto, Census Tracts (2001 boundaries). Groups based on analysis using 31 variables.

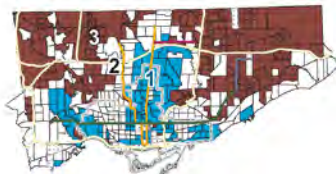


LICO after tax, 2005

A & B = 19%

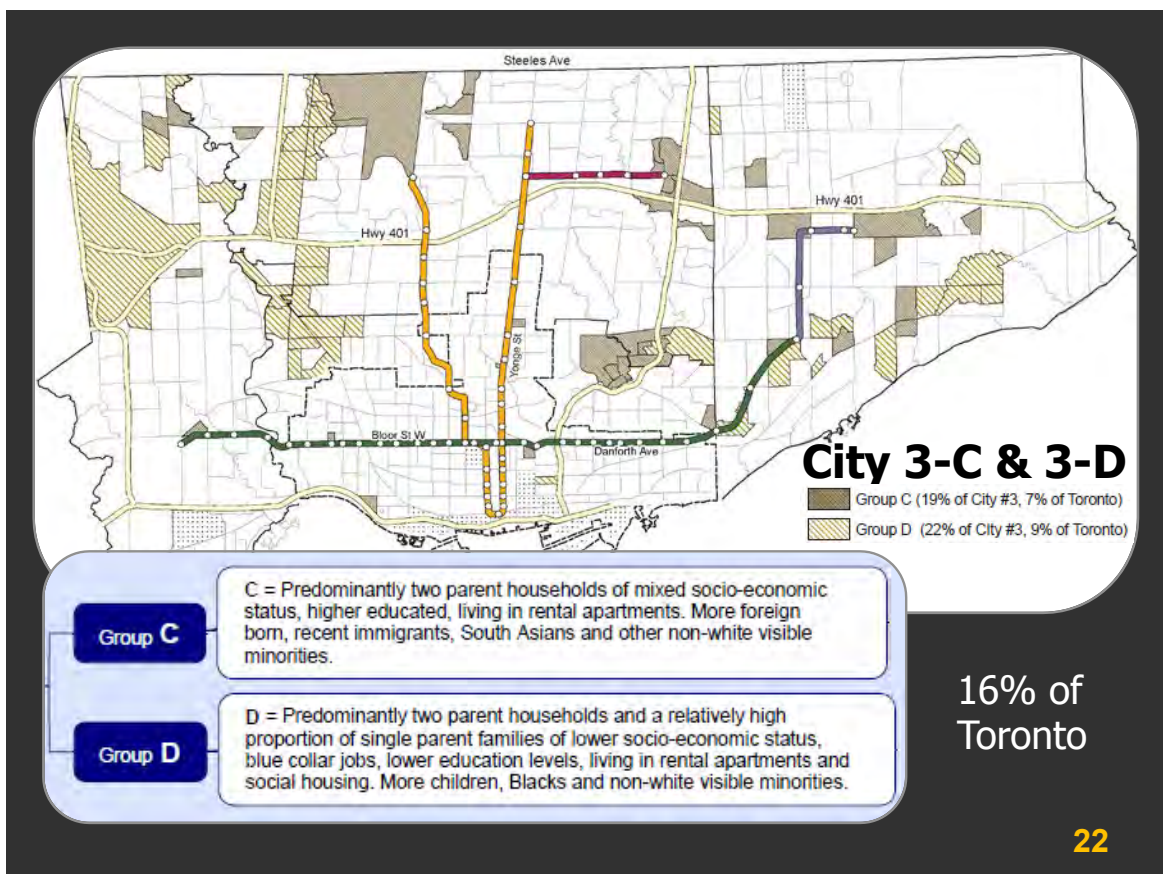
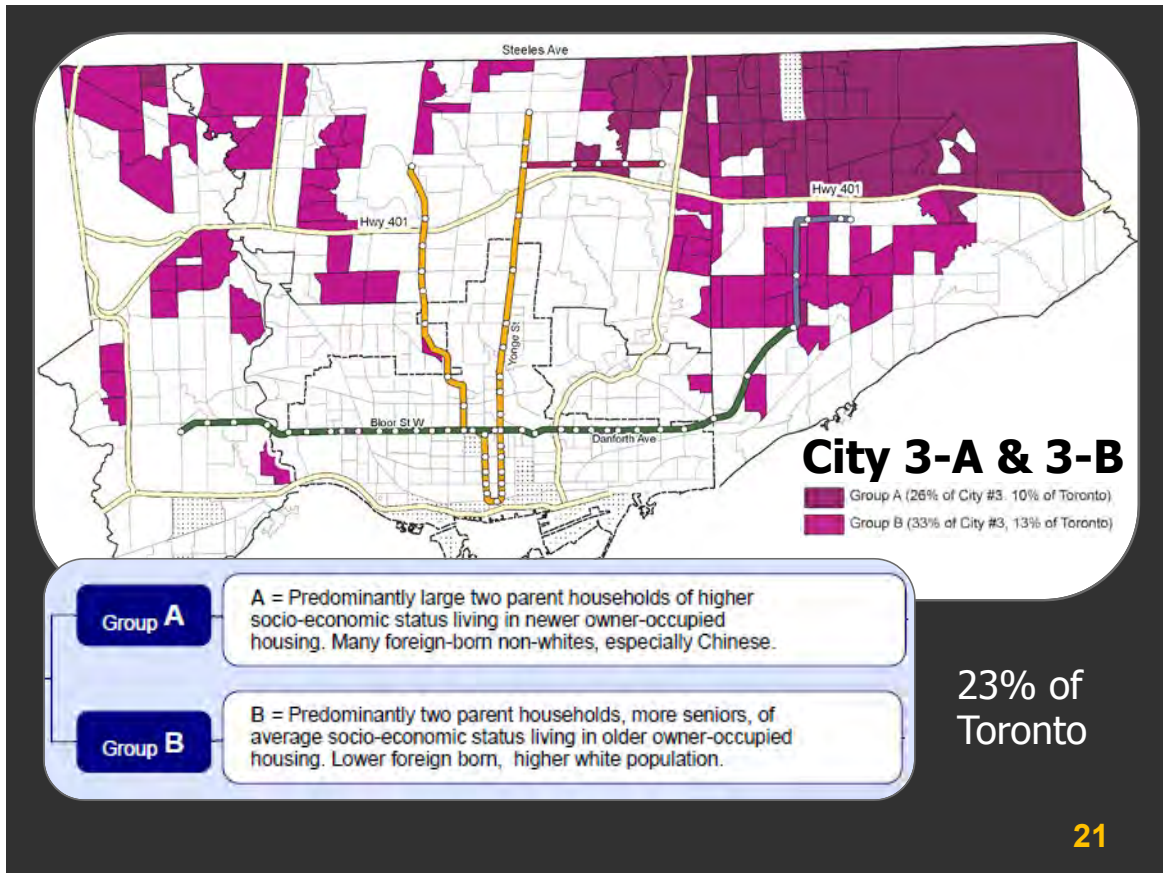
C & D = 31%

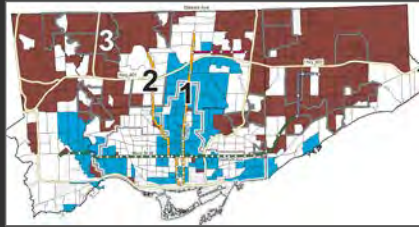
City = 19%



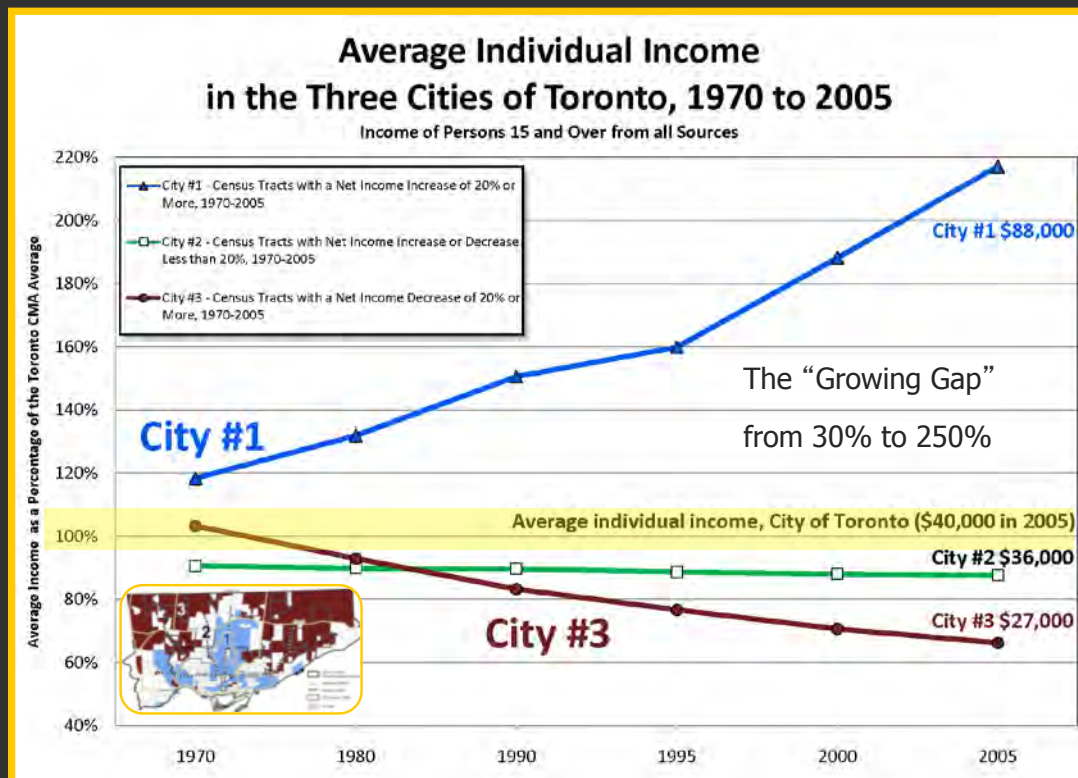
Four Groups of Neighbourhoods in City #3

- Group A (26% of City #3, 10% of Toronto)
- Group B (33% of City #3, 13% of Toronto)
- Group C (19% of City #3, 7% of Toronto)
- Group D (22% of City #3, 9% of Toronto)



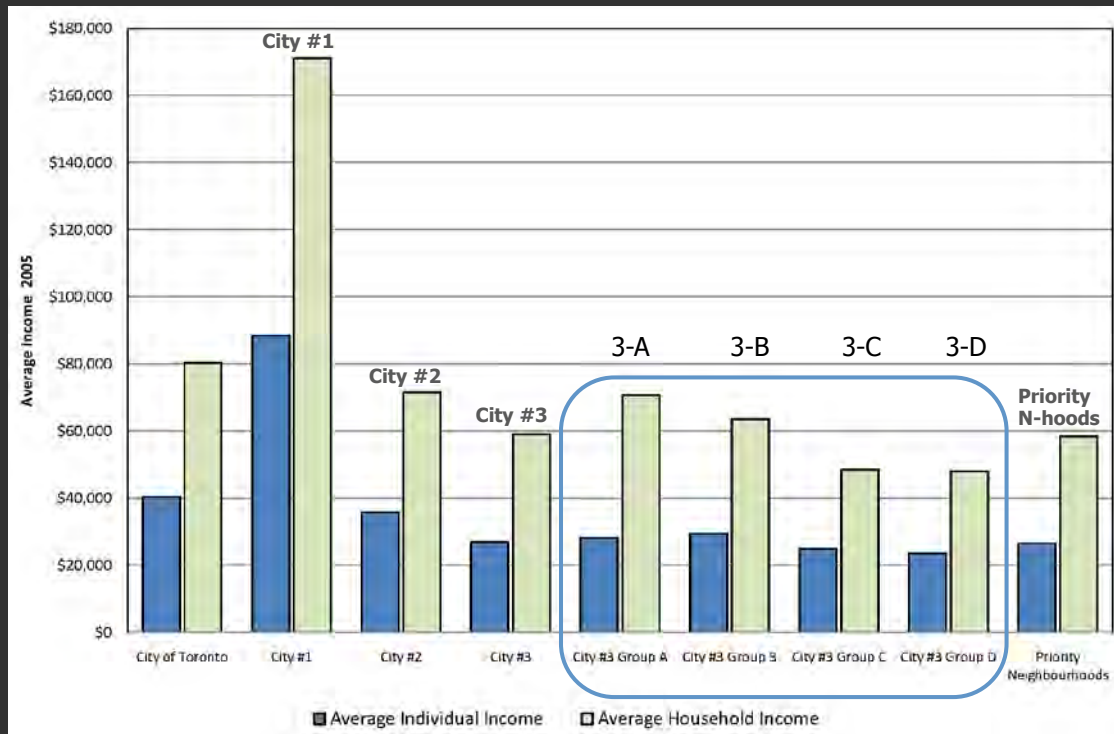


TORONTO'S "GROWING GAP" INCOME INEQUALITY



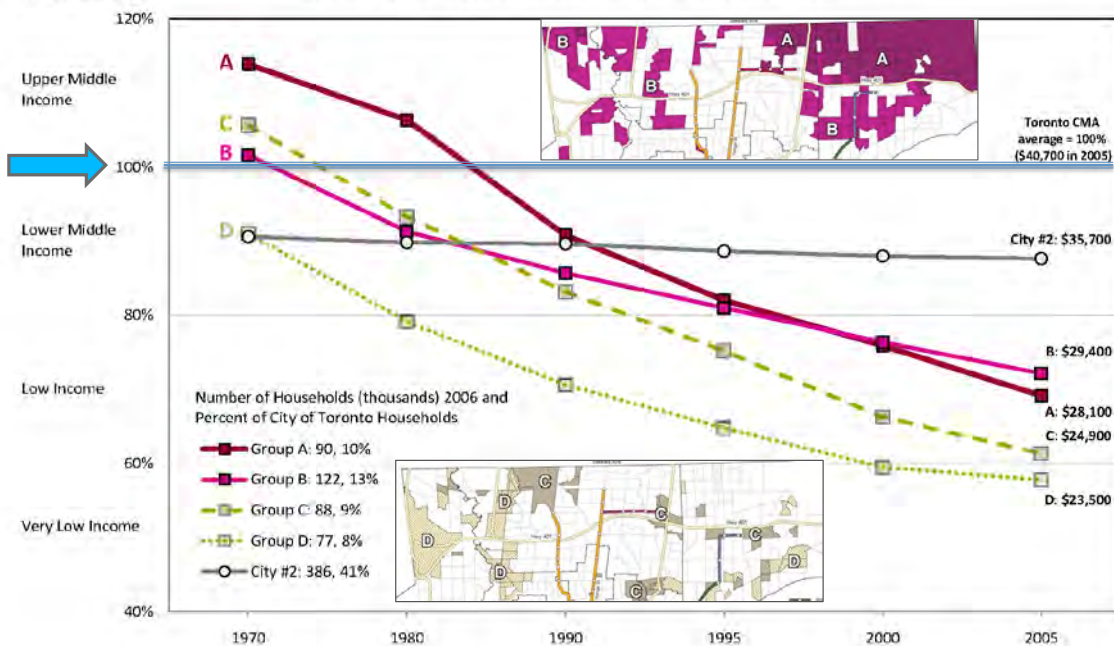
Income Inequality -- The "Growing Gap"

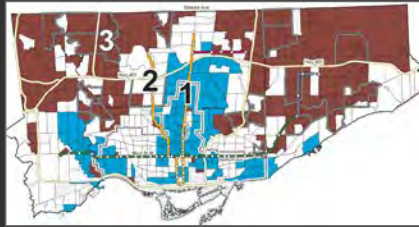
Income: Trends & 2005 Comparisons



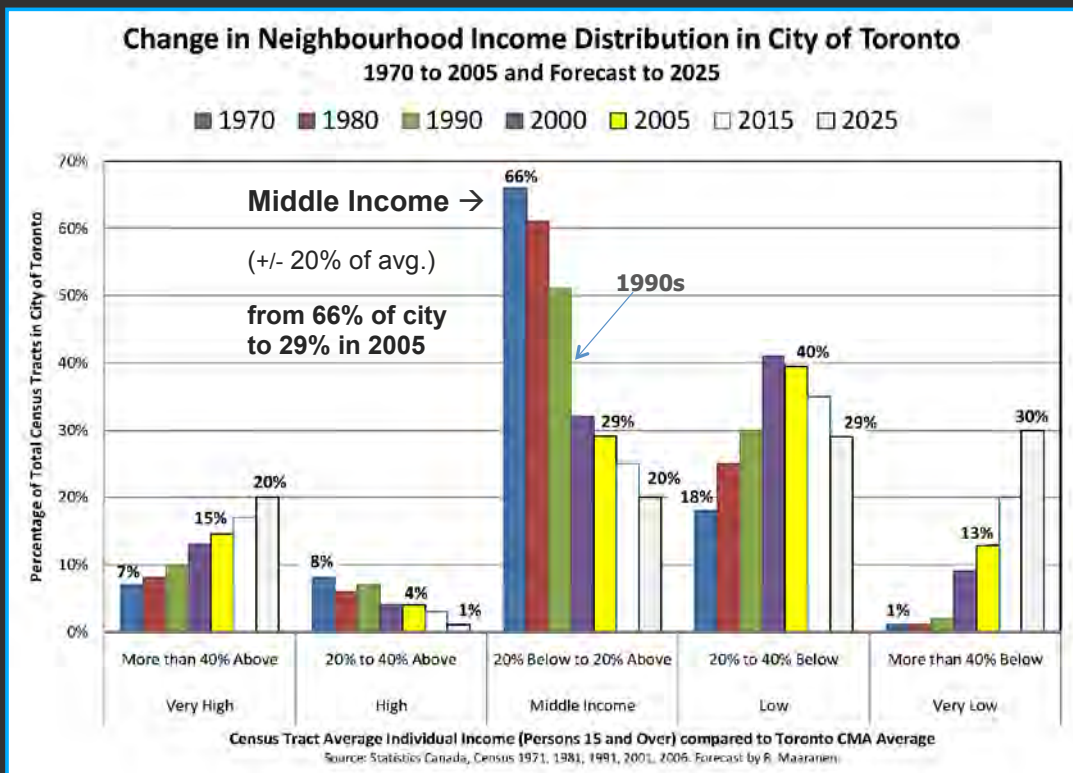
Average Individual Income 1970-2005 City #3: Four Groups of Neighbourhoods

Income of Persons 15 and Over from all Sources, Census Tracts

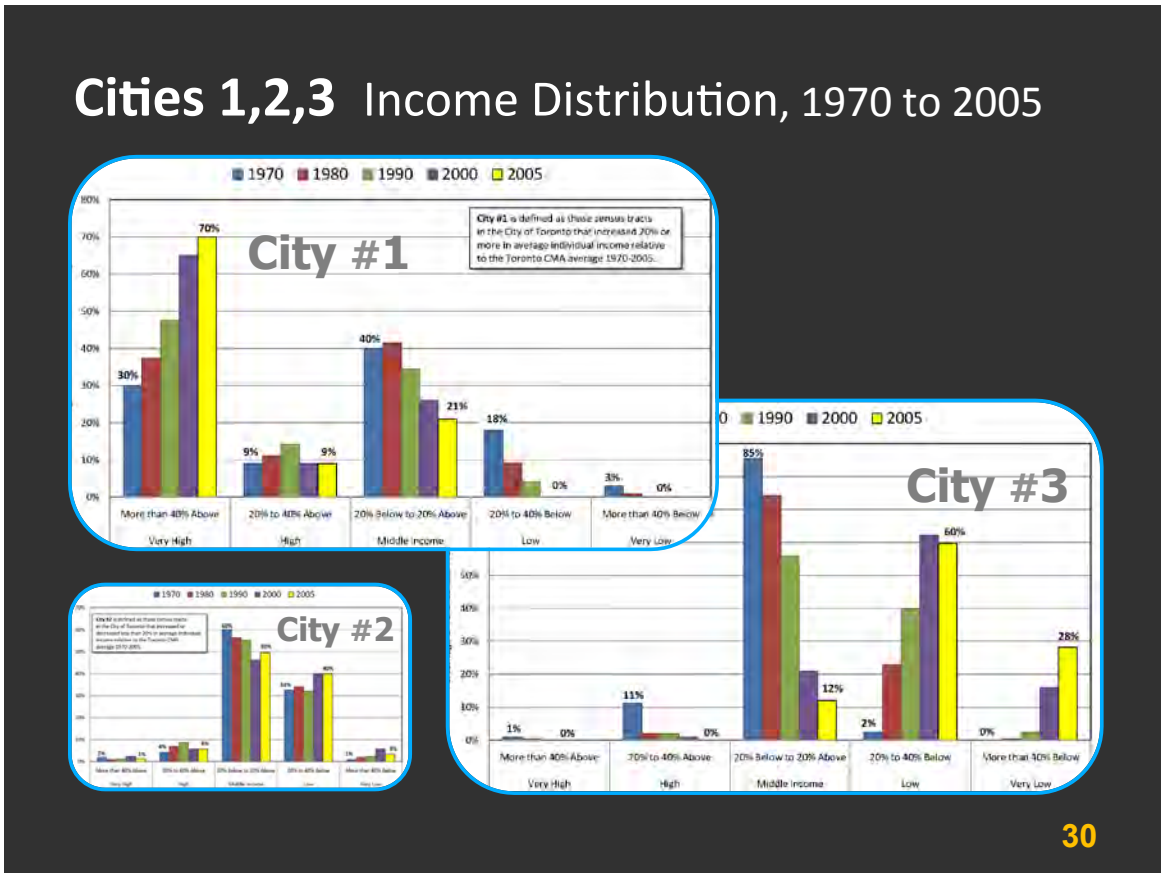
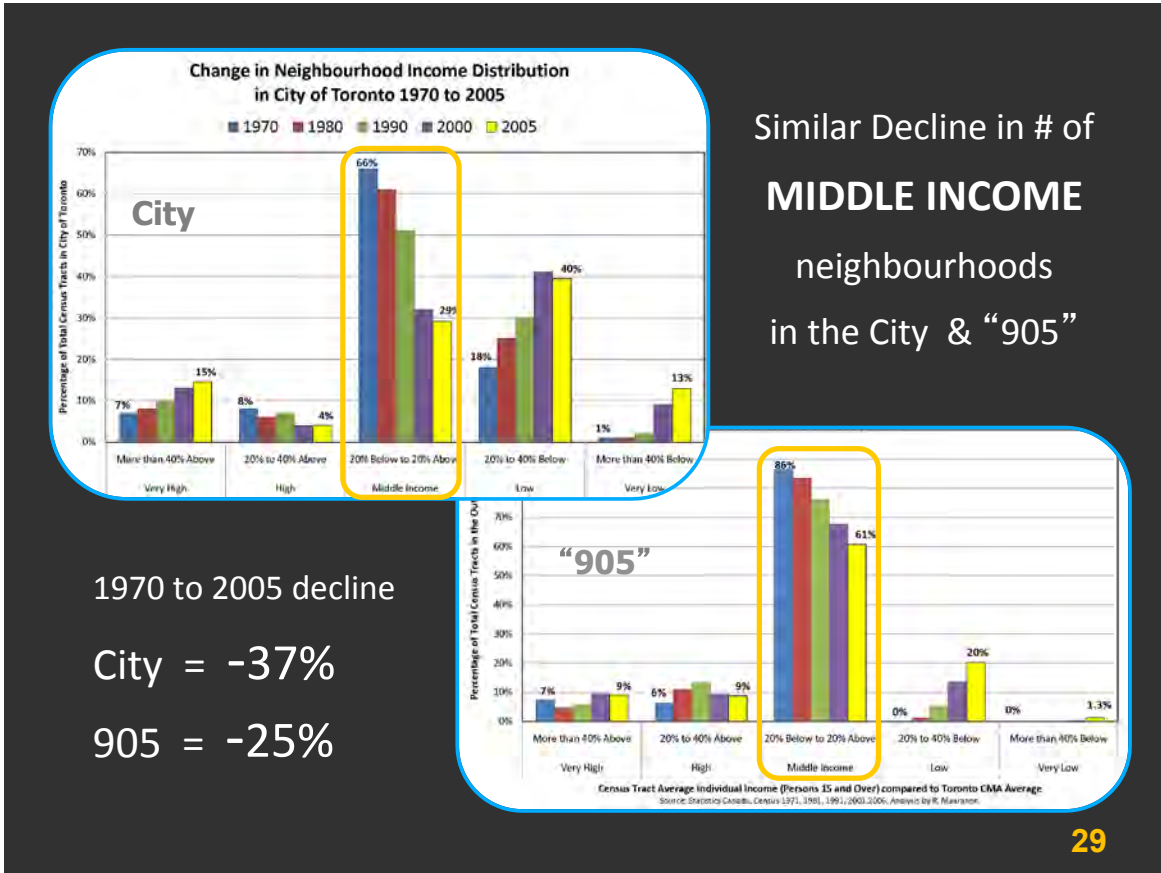




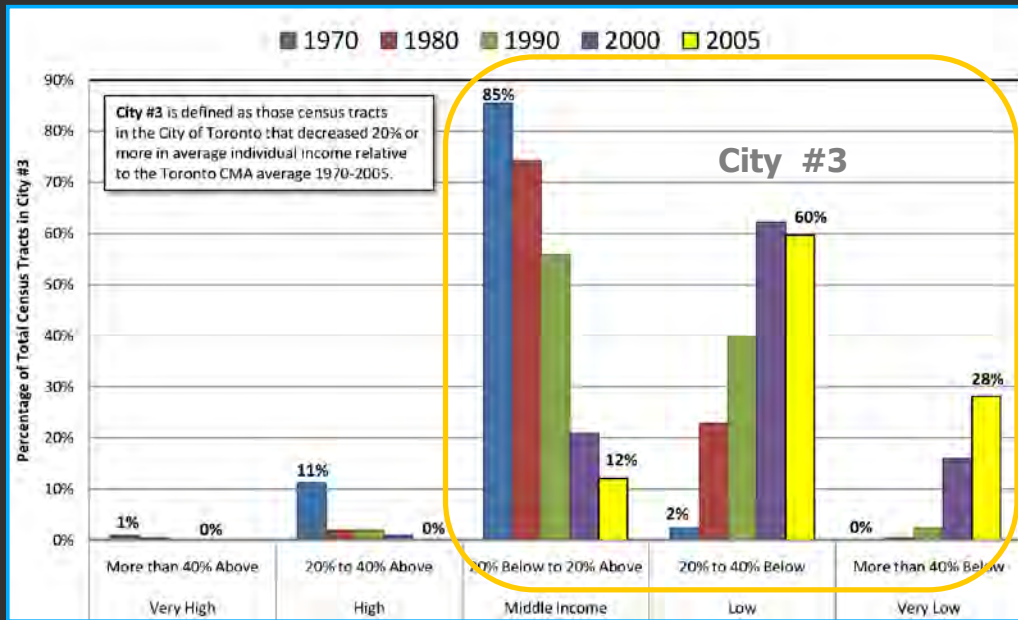
TORONTO'S INCOME POLARIZATION



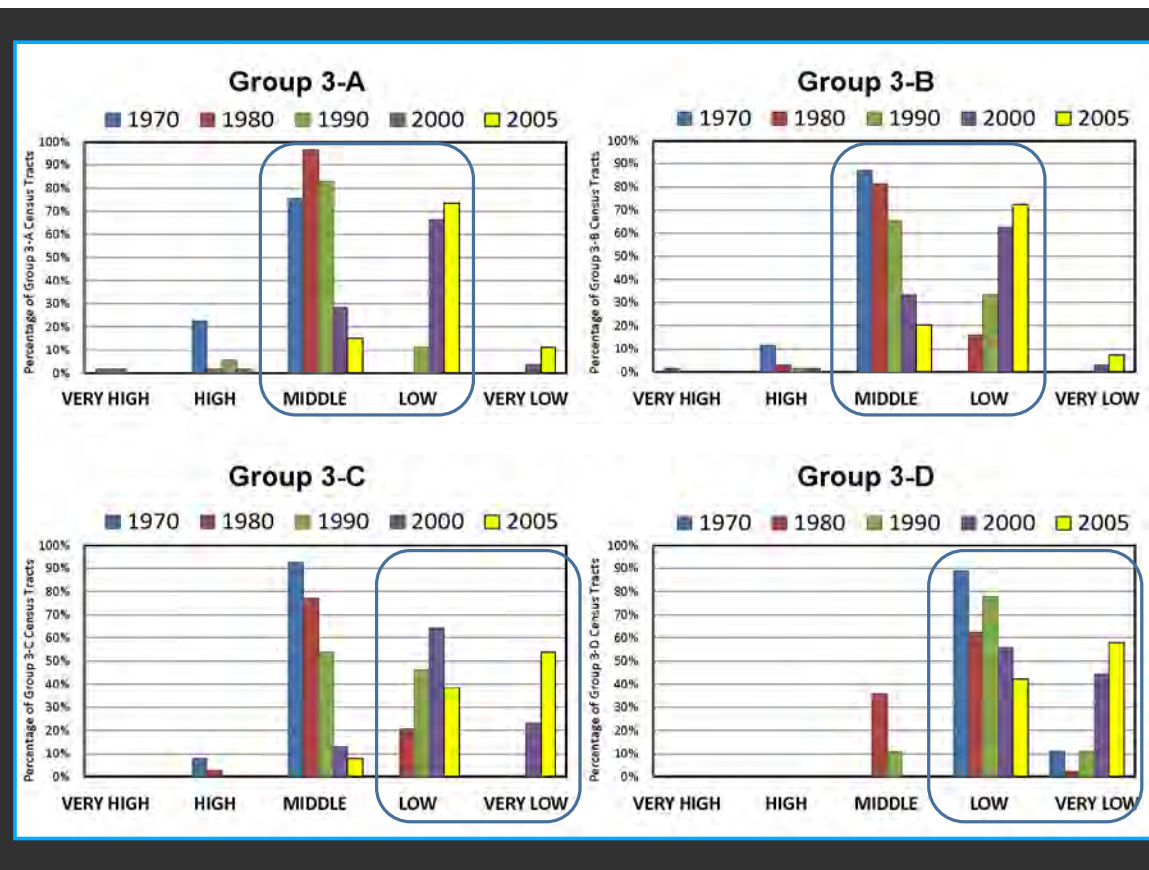
Income Polarization: the decline of the middle income group

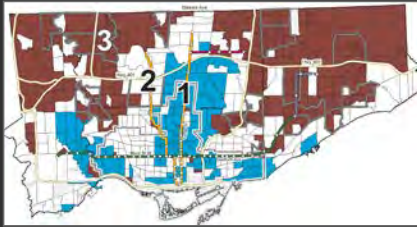


City #3 Income Change, 1970 to 2005



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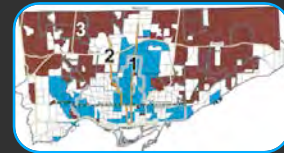




TORONTO

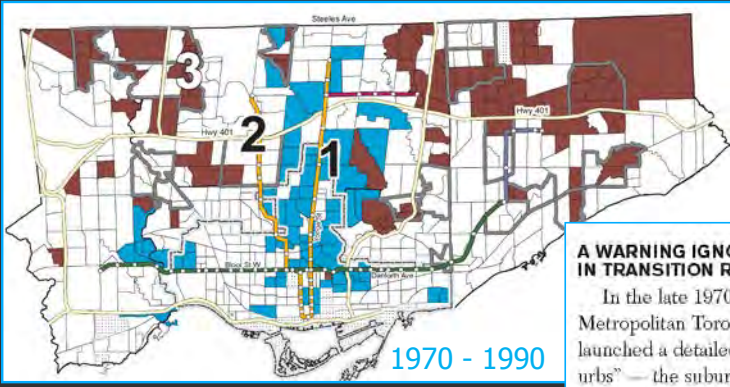
A DIVIDED CITY

Trend: A new type of socio-spatial polarization in the neo-liberal, global era city



Toronto's neighbourhoods increasingly segregated by market forces & government neo-liberal policies on the basis of

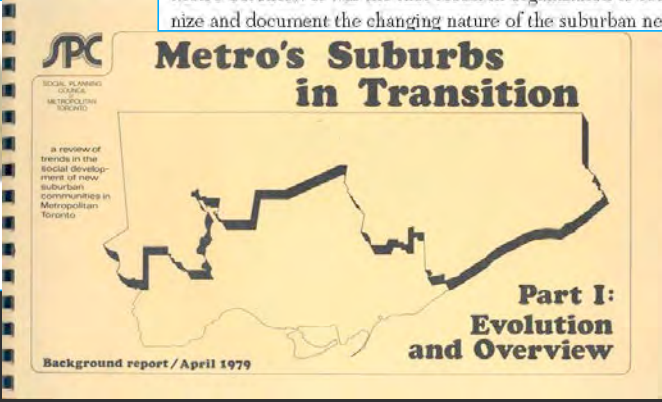

1. socio-economic status,
2. housing tenure, &
3. ethnicity & skin colour



1970s & 1980s,
a transition period

A WARNING IGNORED: THE METRO'S SUBURBS IN TRANSITION REPORT

In the late 1970s, the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (now called Social Planning Toronto) launched a detailed study of change in Toronto's "inner suburbs" — the suburban areas within the City of Toronto (then Metro Toronto). It was the first research organization to recognize and document the changing nature of the suburban neighborhood.

UK – Similar Trends

Poverty, Wealth and Place in Britain, 1968-2005

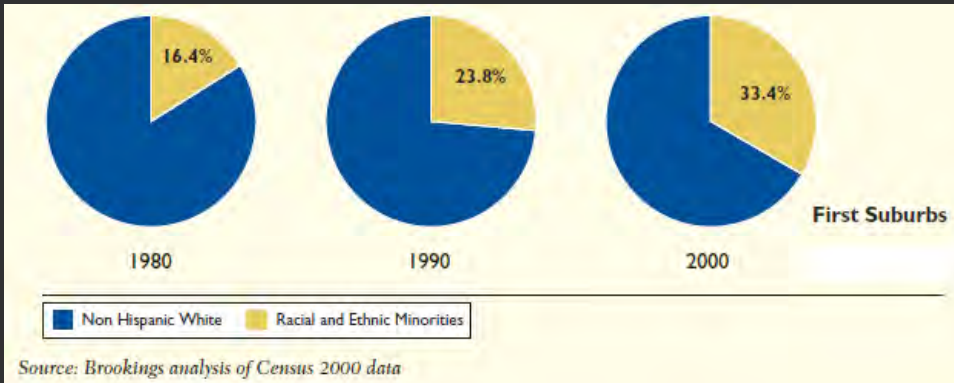
- both poverty & wealth have become increasingly spatially concentrated since 1968.
- rich & poor households are increasingly clustering together in different areas
- the 'average' group of households has gradually diminished in size during this period.
- poor, rich and 'average' households became progressively less likely to live next door to one another between 1971 and 2001.

E. Fahmy, et al. (2008) "Poverty, Wealth and Place in Britain, 1968-2005," *Radical Statistics*, 97, 11-30.

USA – Similar Trends

One-Fifth of America: A Comprehensive Guide to America's First Suburbs

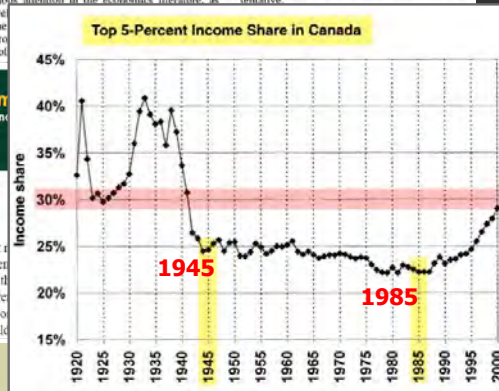
METROPOLITAN POLICY PROGRAM
THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION



“Neither fully urban nor completely suburban, America's older, inner-ring suburbs have a unique set of challenges — such as concentrations of elderly and immigrant populations as well as outmoded housing and commercial buildings — very different from those of the center city.”

Solid Trend: Greater inequality since 1980s

American Economic Review, June 2005.
The Evolution of High Incomes in Northern America: Lessons from Canadian Evidence
By EMMANUEL SAEZ AND MICHAEL R. VEALL*



TD Bank Financial Group Special Report October 22, 2010 TD Economics

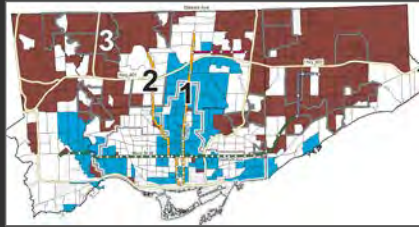
TORONTO'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY LEAVING MANY BEHIND

THE RISE OF CANADA'S RICHEST 1%

ONTARIO'S GROWING GAP

WHAT'S WRONG WITH INEQUALITY





POLICY OPTIONS

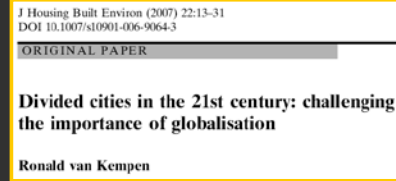
WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Questions about the Divided City

- 1. What are the IMPLICATIONS for Toronto of growing income inequality?**
- 2. What POLICY OPTIONS will help address income inequality (government plus the community and business sectors)?**

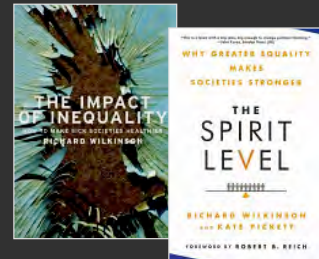
Explaining the Divided City

1. The history & physical setting of a city
2. Economic development
3. Levels of inequality
4. ‘Race’ and racism
5. **Political power** (the shift to the right, neoliberal policies, the shift of the balance of power in the economic sphere from labour to capital; devolution of responsibilities to cities)
6. **Governance** (government has become governance; fragmentation in decision making via privatization, deregulation, partnerships, and multi-actor policy-making)



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Why worry about more rigid socio-spatial divisions and greater inequality?



“Inequality promotes strategies that are more self-interested, less affiliative, often highly antisocial, more stressful, and likely to give rise to higher levels of violence, poorer community relations, and worse health.”

– Richard Wilkinson, *The Impact of Inequality*, 2005:22

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Implications of the Divided City

- Widening gap & spatial separation of rich and poor
- Guarded enclaves of the well off & well educated
- Highrise rental slums of the poor
- Sprawling suburbs of a declining middle-income group
- High crime working class and immigrant neighbourhoods
- Ghettos of the excluded, often overwhelmingly along racial and ethnic lines
- Increased conflict over public spaces and community control (e.g., NIMBY)

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What to do? Policy options?



Income INEQUALITY

- the size of the gap between rich and poor in the distribution of income and wealth

Social POLARIZATION

- the decline of the middle; the movement towards the poles (a bimodal distribution) in income and wealth distribution

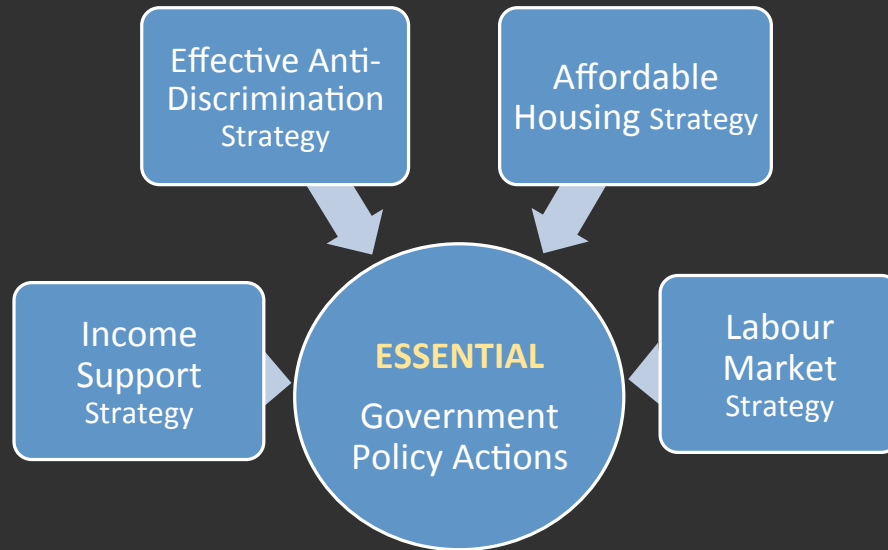
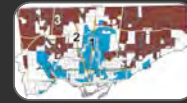
Spatial SEGREGATION

- the relative residential separation of population categories from each other; the formation of 'outcast ghettos' & 'elite ghettos'

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What can be done?

Federal & Provincial Policy Action



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Policy Options for the Divided City



- **INCOME STRATEGY**
- **ANTI-DISCRIMINATION STRATEGY**
- **HOUSING STRATEGY**
- **LABOUR MARKET STRATEGY**

-
1. Inclusionary Zoning
 2. Rental Housing Rehabilitation
 3. Eliminate vacancy decontrol
 4. Maintain existing rental buildings with 6 or fewer units
 5. “Tower Renewal” initiative

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Policy Options continued



6. Second suite incentive program
7. Encourage rooming houses, SROs, supportive housing
8. Reduce parking requirements & related reg. reforms
9. Prov. share of land transfer tax to municipalities
10. Energy program for low-income households
11. Support small independent neighbourhood businesses
12. Active social / community development planning
13. _____
14. _____

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1,200 rental high-rise buildings in Toronto
Built from 1950s to early 1980s
Most are in clusters of 5 or more
280,000 apartments
Half of Toronto's rental housing
Few community services
Aging buildings
Often overcrowded
Energy inefficient

SOLUTION
Tower Neighbourhood Renewal
www.towerrenewal.ca
era.on.ca/blogs/towerrenewal
www.cugr.ca

Priorities: + \$1.4 Billion

City's hopes rest with PanAm bid

Article

Published On Wed Nov 04 2009

A favourable outcome is by no means guaranteed regarding the odds of hosting the PanAm Games. The city has done everything right – so far – and must now connect with key decision-makers in Ottawa, involving not just Toronto but also the province and the country.

"There's nothing left to chance," Peterson said before leaving for Guadalajara today for a meeting that culminates the city's bid for the 2015 PanAm Games.



Peterson is being joined by Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty, Mayor David Miller and a host of other local Pan Am boosters. They have a convincing story to tell.

The municipalities, province and country are ready to invest \$1.43 billion to build facilities and stage the Games for 10,000 athletes and officials from more than 40 countries in the western hemisphere.

An entire athletes' village is to be constructed in the West Don Lands area of Toronto's waterfront. A new stadium is to be built in Hamilton. And a host of other brand new sports facilities are to be built, including Olympic-sized swimming pools and a velodrome.



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Priorities: - \$4 Billion



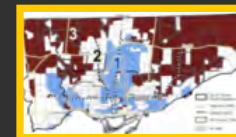
Truncated Transit City is 'wrong,' Miller says



Mayor refuses to accept province's plans as Metrolinx prepares to release proposal on which projects will go ahead

18 May 2010

Mr. Miller contends everything after 2015 may as well be unfunded because the promised money isn't there yet, and that the province is effectively denying transit to inner suburbs that need it most. Metrolinx president Rob Prichard argued that's not the case, and that Metrolinx is investing too much money to make these projects a reality.



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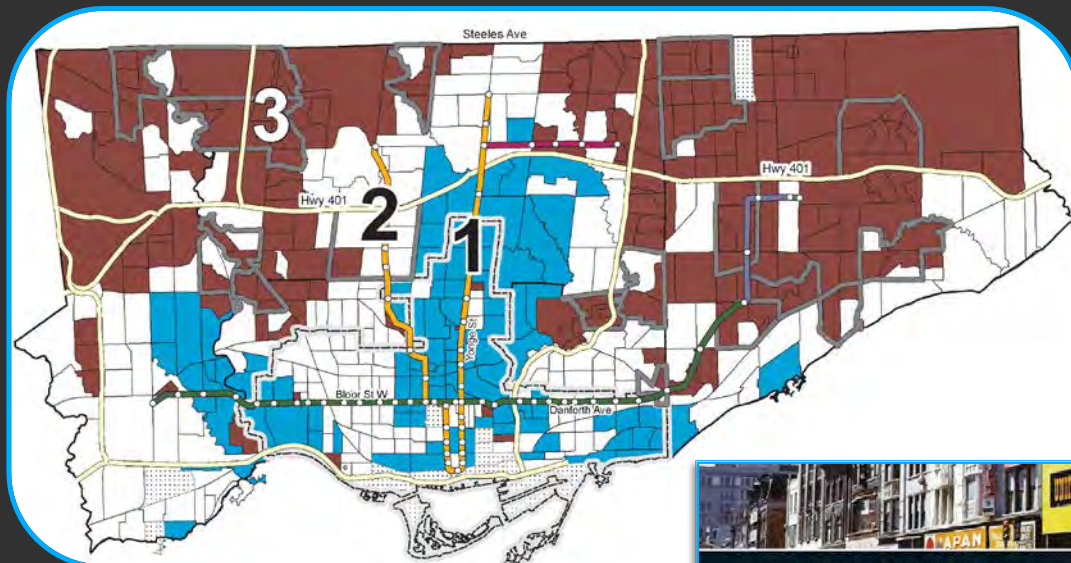
Toronto: Justice Denied

Mark Kingwell: A just city ...

A just city demands

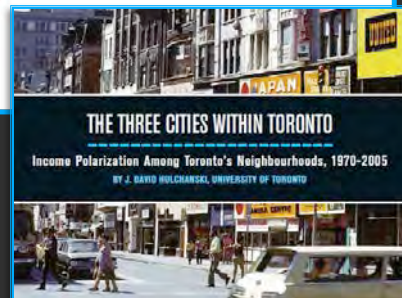
“over and over, that all development be, at some level, in the service of everyone.”

– Mark Kingwell, “Toronto: Justice Denied,” *The Walrus Magazine*, May 2008



For further information

www.NeighbourhoodChange.ca



The four groups within City #3 were created using K-means cluster analysis in SPSS with 31 variables from census 2006 data. Cluster analysis is a statistical technique that groups observations (in this case, City #3 census tracts) together based on their common housing and socio-economic characteristics. The objective is to create groups containing census tracts that are similar as possible to each other and as different to each other as possible from tracts in the other groups. Many different cluster solutions were run and a four group solution (condensed down from a seven group solution by re-classifying a few outliers) was deemed to be a reasonable, logical, comprehensible summary of neighbourhood variation within City #3.

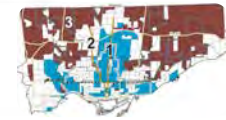
Census 2006 variables used in the cluster analysis:

1. Population per sq km	17. Other visible minority (non-Chinese, non-Black, non-South Asian) pop. percentage
2. Dwellings per sq km	18. Population 25 years and over with a university degree percentage
3. Social housing (1999) as a percentage of dwellings 2006	19. White collar professional occupations percentage of the workforce
4. Rented housing percentage	20. Blue collar occupations percentage of the workforce
5. Single detached housing percentage	21. Sales and service occupations percentage of the workforce
6. Apartment housing percentage	22. Self-employed percentage of the workforce
7. Children & youth under 20 years of age percentage	23. Unemployment rate
8. Seniors 65 years and over percentage	24. Average monthly rent
9. Persons per household (same as persons per dwelling)	25. Average dwelling value
10. Lone parent families as a percentage of family households	26. Average household income
11. Canadian born population percentage	27. Economic family income from government transfers percentage
12. Recent immigrant percentage (arrived 2001-2006)	28. Dwellings built before 1971 percentage
13. Visible minority population percentage	29. Dwellings built after 1971 percentage
14. Chinese visible minority population percentage	30. Longitude of census tract geographic centre (the x-coordinate of the centroid)
15. South Asian visible minority population percentage	31. Latitude of census tract geographic centre (the y-coordinate of the centroid)
16. Black visible minority population percentage	

Sources:

1. Statistics Canada, Profile Series, Basic Cross-Tabulations, Topic-Based Tabulations Census 1971 to 2006.
2. Statistics Canada, Custom Tabulations: E0985, E0982, E01171

Data analysis: Richard Maaranen, Data Analyst, Cities Centre, University of Toronto.



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