

## Ethnic Enclaves and Social Cohesion

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### Abstract

Ethnic enclaves have a vibrant local commercial and services infrastructure. They are not altogether places of poverty and despair, at least not in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA). Their social benefits outweigh the disadvantages of the predominance of one ethnic group. Social cohesion is largely promoted through the equality of economic opportunities, open society and public education. These are supra-neighbourhood processes, and institutionalizing them through the metropolitan, provincial and societal policies are ways to promote social cohesion. Neighbourhoods play an insignificant role in these processes.

**Keywords:** Ethnic enclave, social cohesion, multicultural Toronto

### Perspectives on Ethnic Enclaves

Canadians often express concern about neighbourhoods dominated by persons of one ethnic background, particularly of visible minorities. While immigration has become necessary for population growth and labour supply, immigrants' concentration in a neighbourhood or city is viewed with apprehension.<sup>1</sup> This ambiguity is reflected in the celebration of the food, music and crafts of Chinese malls, India Bazaars and Italian markets, and the simultaneous characterization of corresponding neighbourhoods as places that breed segregation and social exclusion. Residential concentrations of ethnics are regarded as ethnic ghettos while their commercial clusters are lauded as an economic asset. This duality is the idiom of discourse about the ethnic geographies of cities.

Ethnic concentrations come in many forms. A cluster of households of one ethnicity in a building or street is a small and unobtrusive agglomeration of ethnics (in a neighbourhood). When a particular ethnic group forms a large proportion

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of a neighbourhood's population, it becomes a geographic concentration. Mere living side by side without any community bonds and shared sentiments does not make an ethnic neighbourhood. It is the emergence of formal and informal community institutions and symbols that converts a concentration into an ethnic neighbourhood and eventually an enclave. Formally, a residential enclave is an area where a particular ethnic group numerically dominates, and has spawned corresponding religious, cultural, commercial and linguistic services and institutions. An enclave is a culturally and economically distinct area (Marcuse 2005; Peach 2005; Qadeer 2005).<sup>2</sup> We will examine ethnic residential enclaves through the lens of the Toronto CMA.

Ghetto is another type of local community. It is an ethnically and/or racially segregated area of poor living conditions. Residential segregation is a necessary but not sufficient condition for a ghetto. Poverty, deprivation and discrimination are the defining conditions of ghetto.

Cities are always organized in spatially differentiated neighbourhoods—rich here, poor there, young families in suburbs, seniors and singles in downtown. The point is that spatial and functional differentiations by class, income, ethnicity, life style or family type and activities are the organizing principles of cities. As long as these differentiations are neither imposed, nor are they a source of poverty and exclusion, they do not constitute ghettos. By this criteria, ethnic neighbourhoods and enclaves per se are not ghettos. It is not right to assume the spatial concentration of a group to be a symptom of ethnic discrimination and social pathology.

Apart from the media and public at large, academic literature also portrays ambiguity about ethnic enclaves. Academic researchers and commentators of varying theoretical orientation differ in their views about enclaves. Some regard them positively, others regard them poorly and a few are unconcerned. Those steeped in the Chicago sociological tradition and the 'melting pot' perspective tend to view enclaves as cultural ghettos, obstructing the assimilation of ethnics; whereas others inspired by European theoretical traditions and multicultural perspectives regard enclaves as expressions of cultural pluralism and sites of social capital formation.<sup>3</sup>

Poverty in cities is also woven into the narrative of ethnic neighbourhoods and immigrants' exclusion. The conjunction of poverty and immigrants' concentration has been interpreted as a fall out of racial and ethnic minorities' residential segregation. This narrative is inspired by the American experience of Black ghettos. Anecdotal accounts and popular beliefs maintain that ethnic enclaves of visible minorities, white enclaves are seldom mentioned, inhibit "immigrant off springs from succeeding as citizens" (Francis 2002,16). Yet Canadian cities present a complex picture that does not bear out these beliefs.

Kazemipur and Halli analyzed the causes of the rising poverty rates in Canada in 1990s, particularly in urban areas. Their comprehensive study led them to

the conclusion that, “spatial concentration of poverty in Canada has not followed the American Cities” (Kazemipur and Halli 2000, 136). They further conclude that, “race does not influence social trends drastically in Canada.....even ethnicity is far from creating rigid boundaries among people” (p. 157).

Another study of the 1971-91 period examined the existence of immigrants as an underclass in Canadian cities. The concept of underclass is more wide ranging than poverty of individuals and families. It refers to multiple deprivations and has a spatial dimension. Neighbourhoods with high rates of welfare, unemployment, mother led families, deficient work or education skills are the elements defining the term underclass (Ley and Smith 1997, 1). Measuring the incidence of these indicators at the census tract (CT) level in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, Ley and Smith concludes that, “while immigration plays a role in membership of multiple-deprived tracts, deprivation displays far greater heterogeneity and indeed a majority of members in such tracts are native-born (Ley and Smith 1997, 35). They observe that “underclass concept has limited purchase in Canada’s largest cities” (p. 41). Both of these studies point to the weak correlation between immigrants’ concentration and neighbourhood poverty. It points out that broader economic conditions and societal institutions have determining influence on poverty and deprivation.

More recently the United Way of Greater Toronto examined the geography of neighbourhood poverty in the city of Toronto, not Census Metropolitan Area (CMA), for the period 1981-2001. From our perspective, the key findings are: i) poor neighbourhoods are concentrated in the city and they have increased over time, ii) visible minority and immigrant families make a large percentage of the total poor families in these neighbourhoods (United Way of the Greater Toronto 2004, 4). Cursorily read, this report may suggest that immigrant neighbourhoods and poverty are one and the same. But on reflection it is obvious that as immigrants start at the bottom and with continual immigration, a lot of the poor are bound to be immigrants. Yet it does not mean that most immigrants are poor. Furthermore ethnicity is a characteristic of both immigrants and born- Canadians. Therefore ethnic enclaves are not just places of immigrants’ concentration and poverty.

Hou and Picot of Statistics Canada have attempted to construct a statistical profile of visible minorities’ geographic concentrations at the CT level in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver in 2001. Yet they have misinterpreted visible minorities’ spatial concentrations as places of segregation and locales of ghettos. By mislabeling the measure of relative concentration as the Isolation Index, they observe that the residential concentrations promote “social isolation and reduce minorities’ incentives to acquire host-country language or to gain work experience and educational qualifications” (Hou and Picot 2004, 13). Incidentally, Isolation Index is essentially a measure of the composition of a CT’s popula-

tion. Relative proportion of a group's population in a CT is interpreted to be the probability of one of its members meeting others of the same group. This is conceptually a weak assumption.

When Siddiqui of *The Toronto Star* observed that Hou and Picot's study "resurrects, even if unintentionally, the very worst clichés about immigrants," the authors in reply to his queries conceded they had no direct evidence of immigrants behaviours but were only "recycling the assumptions found in academic literature" (Siddiqui 2004). Other commentators, such as Francis, are more direct about calling enclaves "impediments to social advancements" (2002, 102). All in all, one streak of the academic and journalistic thought regards enclaves as ghettos in the making and an obstacle to the assimilation of immigrants. Much of their argument is based on the notion that ethnic enclaves impede the social cohesion of Canadian society.

Yet those subscribing to the pluralistic models of Canadian society, or those steeped in the ideology of multiculturalism have a favourable view of ethnic enclaves and neighbourhoods (Harney 1985; Kymlicka 1998; Fong 1996; Peach 2005). In an assessment of Canadian experience of minority enclaves, Hiebert (2003) concludes that, "enclaves exist but definitive evidence of ghettoization does not." Preston and Murnachan in discussing the segregation of immigrants in Canadian cities observe that, "segregation is largely voluntary, an attempt to maintain cultural identities and heritage" (Preston and Murnaghan 2005, 68).

We can cite many other writers and commentators on both sides of the public debate about the social impacts of ethnic enclaves, but the critical point is that social cohesion and economic integration of minorities, including immigrants, are the criteria by which enclaves are assessed. A brief digression in defining social cohesion and economic integration is in order at this juncture.

### **Social cohesion**

Simply put, social cohesion is an attribute of the quality of social bonds and institutions in a society or community. It is the basis of social order and nationhood. It is essentially a societal process and individuals or groups contribute to it but are not its primary agents. The Canadian Government's Policy Research Initiative (PRI) defines social cohesion as: "the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity within Canada based on a sense of trust, hope and reciprocity among all Canadians" (PRI 1999, 22). The key phrases here have been emphasized.

Apart from being a process, social cohesion is also a state in the sense that societies can be more or less cohesive. Maxwell takes a political approach towards social cohesion by describing it as a "society that accepts diversity and manages conflict before they become fights" (Maxwell 2003). Socially such a society is based on the inclusion of all its members. "People belong: they are not allowed to

be excluded” (Dahrendorf et.al.1995, vii).

A study commissioned by the European Commission concludes that the process of social cohesion promotes a “reduction of disparities, inequalities and social exclusion, and strengthens social relations, interactions and ties” (Berger-Schmit 2000, 4). It is not meant to counter diversity and homogenize identities but to build institutions that create a common ground of civil, economic and political rights enabling individuals and (ethnic) communities to fulfill their full potential.

Similarly, equality of economic opportunities for immigrants as well as long established citizens (i.e native-born Canadians) is a necessary condition for social cohesion. The removal of institutional barriers, such as ethnic discrimination in the job market or the undervaluing of foreign credentials, is thus a part of the process of building social cohesion. In all, social cohesion is a comprehensive concept including political, social and economic integration. The question is how space enters in the equation of social cohesion.

Spatial segregation affects social cohesion negatively. To the extent this proposition is valid, any assessment of enclaves boils down to determining whether they spatially and socially segregate their residents. Thus, the degree of segregation becomes the indicator of their contribution to social cohesion. Later we will point out some limitations of this proposition, but our immediate task is to assess the scope of segregation in the CMA’s enclaves. We will let the data speak to this question.

### **Ethnicity in the Toronto Area**

Toronto’s Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) is the largest metropolitan area of Canada. It had a population of 4.6 million in 2001 which by now should be approaching 5 million, growing largely with immigration. Almost 46 % of immigrants landing in Canada settle in the Toronto area.

In 2001, foreign-born immigrants were about 44% of the CMA’s population. The declining rate of natural growth has made immigration the primary force of population growth in Canada. Furthermore, a majority of immigrants have been coming from Asia, Latin America and Africa resulting in a larger proportion of visible minorities. They are destined to become a majority in the CMA, if present trends continue, particularly as immigrants’ children born in Canada multiply.<sup>4</sup> Ethnicity is a defining condition of Canada now, and it will be in future all the more so in the Toronto area.

The City of Toronto has a long history of ethnic neighbourhoods, beginning with Irish Catholics’ concentration in Victorian Cabbagetown, Blacks’ settlement around Church Street and Queen’s Street East and Eastern European Jews’ enclave in St John’s Ward at the time of the First World War. Harney calls these enclaves “little homelands” (1985, 11). This tradition has continued with successive waves

of immigrants up to the present times. One break with the history is that current ethnic neighbourhoods are not just in the old parts of the central city, but in the newly developing suburban municipalities and even farther out in exurbia. We have mapped the CMA's ethnic concentrations by the Census Tract (CT) based on the data of 2001 census of population using the following criteria.

Two types of concentrations, primary and secondary, have been identified using the following measures. 1) Primary concentration is a CT where the majority, more than 50%, of population, is of one ethnic background. 2) Secondary concentration is a CT where persons of a particular ethnicity are the single largest group without being in the majority, about 25-49% of a tract's population. Our criteria are more finely tuned than a gross ratio of 30% used by Hou and Picot.<sup>5</sup>

Applying these criteria, all CTs of the CMA were mapped for the respective proportions of six major ethnic groups of relatively new immigrants, namely Italians, Jews, Chinese, South Asians, Caribbeans and Portuguese.<sup>6</sup> These procedures yielded Map-1, which shows all areas of primary and/or secondary concentrations for each of these groups. It should be noted that the map is about the ethnic distribution of population, which includes both immigrants and Canadian-born of ethnic origins. They are based on the sum of single and multiple ethnicities self-reported by respondents in the long form of the Canadian census.

What is striking is that the ethnic concentrations, by and large, occur in clusters of CTs creating relatively large swaths of territories with high concentrations of one or the other ethnic group. These clusters of CTs have fostered corresponding places of worship, ethnic stores, professional services and other local institutions of distinct ethnic provenance. They have evolved into enclaves. For example there are now six Chinatowns—four of these are suburban Chinese malls located in the middle of Chinese ethnic enclaves. Though not so well organized, similar commercial and (professional) office clusters of South Asians, Jews, Italian and Greeks and other ethnic groups have emerged in the midst of their neighbourhoods. The metropolitan structure is evolving towards a polycentric spatial system of multicultural forms.

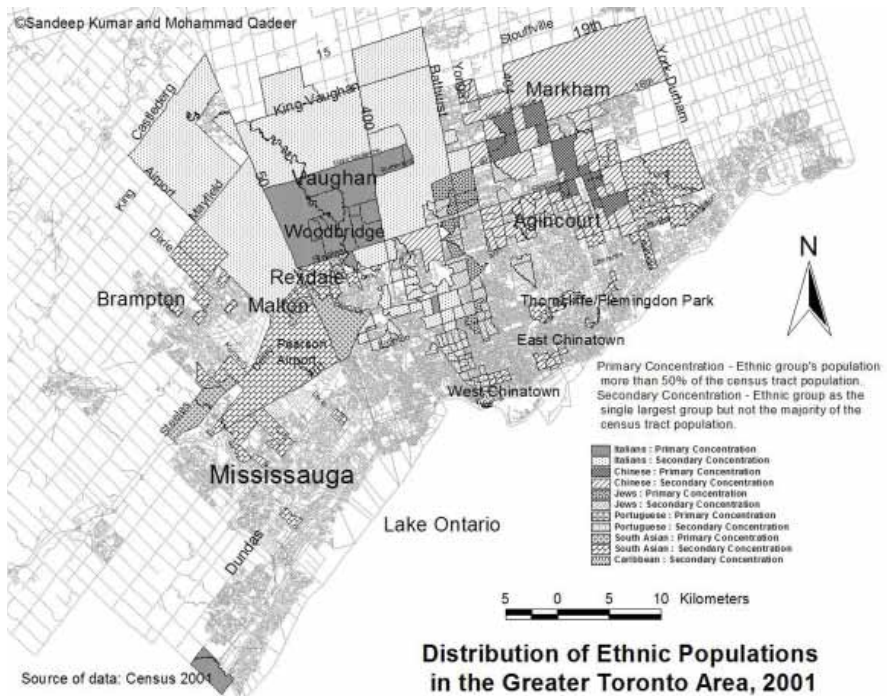
### **Structure of the Toronto Area's Ethnic Enclaves**

Map-1 shows that ethnic enclaves are now essentially a suburban phenomenon. The only large enclave in the central city is the Jewish concentration in the North-central part of Toronto. Anchored to Bathurst Street, it is comprised of 14 CTs of the primary concentration and 23 of the secondary in 2001. Little Italy, the historic Chinatowns, Portuguese village and South Asian clusters are relatively small and secondary concentrations in Toronto city.

The Toronto Metropolitan Area has two distinct ethnic sectors. In the northeast has emerged a large cluster of Chinese dominated CTs, both primary and secondary, extending northward from Sheppard Avenue into municipalities of Markham

and Richmond Hill. This area has many Chinese shopping malls and business/office parks, including Pacific Mall purportedly the largest Chinese shopping mall in Canada.

Map 1



The northwestern sector of the metropolitan area has a second large ethnic concentration, namely the Woodbridge neighbourhood, which is essentially Italian in character. Bakeries, community centres, churches and cultural clubs complement Woodbridge's residential concentration. There are smaller Italian and Chinese concentrations in other parts of the metropolitan area, but these two stand out. The Chinese enclaves encompass about 203,395 persons out of the total Chinese population in the CMA of 435,700. Similarly 137,425 Italians lived in enclaves out of a total population of 429,560. Obviously only a minority of both groups lived in enclaves.

South Asians are the third group to form ethnic enclaves, though these enclaves are scattered across the metropolitan area. A number of CTs in Mississauga and Brampton, spilling into the northern Etobicoke, have secondary concentrations of South Asians. Similarly, Eastern Scarborough has another cluster of CTs with

a secondary concentration of South Asians. In both areas, there are churches, mosques, mandirs, halal butchers, Indian restaurants, immigration lawyers and consultants, travel agents and cultural associations, which turn these areas into enclaves. Apartment buildings in Flamingdon Park and Thorncliff Park in East York and St. James town in Toronto are small but well-known South Asian primary enclaves.

Portuguese are the other ethnic group from the six we have studied that has a noticeable territorial concentration. Arrayed along Dundas and College Streets in the center-west of the city of Toronto are about 20 CTs with secondary concentrations of Portuguese. Being the locus of Portuguese religious commercial and cultural life in the city, these areas qualify as enclaves.

What stands out is the absence of an enclave of Blacks in the CMA. Concentrations of Blacks are at the scale of an apartment building, a few hundred people in any one area, but they do not reach the CT level, except one.

GIS analysis points out the following characteristics of the Toronto's enclaves:

- National origins, language and religion are the binding elements of enclaves. Race is an ancillary factor.
- Out of the three large enclaves, Jewish, Italian and Chinese, two are of people of white and European ancestry. Chinese and South Asians are the only visible minority enclaves. There is no sizable enclave of Blacks.
- By and large, the CMA's enclaves are not comparable to Harlem or South Bronx in New York or Watts in Los Angeles in size. The most common forms of concentrations are secondary in character, where a particular ethnic group is not a majority. We will discuss the internal diversity of enclaves later in this article.
- Ethnic concentrations have spawned ethnic economies and a wide range of ethnic commercial and service establishments as well as religious and cultural institutions. Concentration of a sizable number of one particular ethnic group precipitates thresholds for the viability of ethnic businesses, professional services and religious/cultural organizations. These are advantages of enclaves for residents as well the larger communities.
- Enclaves have shifted the locus of ethnicity to suburbs. One finds upscale Chinese restaurants in Markham and Richmond Hill and South Asian strip plazas in Brampton and Mississauga, for example.

Having some idea of the structure and scope of ethnic enclaves in the Toronto area, we can now directly address the central question of this article. What contributions do enclaves as urban neighbourhoods make towards promoting social cohesion, if any? To answer this question, we will begin with an analysis of the degree of social segregation of these neighbourhoods.

## Dynamics of Ethnic Concentration in Toronto's Enclaves

One of the indicators of social cohesion is the probability of social encounters among individuals and groups of varying backgrounds. Presumably, encounters lay the ground for better mutual understanding and sharing of values. One commonly used measure of this indicator is the degree of concentration of an ethnic group in enclaves of the CMA.

Table -1 shows the proportions of the six ethnic groups living in enclaves for 1996 and 2001. Two observations stand out: 1) only a minority of each ethnic group in the CMA live in enclaves; Jews had the highest proportion (49%) of their population living in enclave though still a minority of them lived in the enclave. Chinese followed closely (47%), while South Asians (34%) and Italian (32%) are a distant third in the degree of concentration. In 2001, Caribbean/ Blacks were almost completely de-concentrated, with less than 1% living in enclaves. 2) Comparing the proportions of 1996 and 2001, the decline in concentration ratios of long established ethnic groups, such as Jews, Italians and Portuguese, is observable. During the same period of time, the proportions of Chinese and South Asians living in enclaves increased, while Blacks almost disappeared from the map of enclaves. There may be a tendency towards leveling of concentration after initial settlement, as a new immigrant group establishes its roots in Canada.

**Table 1: Population living in ethnic enclaves**

% of Ethnic Group Living within an Enclave	1996			2001		
	No. of Respondents Living in Enclaves	No. of Total Ethnic Respondents in CTs	Percentage of Ethnic Respondents Living in Enclaves	No. of Respondents Living in Enclaves	No. of Total Ethnic Respondents in CTs	Percentage of Ethnic Respondents Living in Enclaves
Blacks	2455	87210	2.82%	0	0	0
Caribbean	5415	239675	2.26%	420	260745	0.16%
Chinese	146020	358765	40.70%	203395	435700	46.68%
Italian	137155	413745	33.15%	137425	429560	31.99%
Jews	88050	155915	56.47%	79255	161250	49.15%
Portuguese	41510	161450	25.71%	37175	171790	21.64%
South Asian	98600	374470	26.33%	164935	487110	33.86%
TOTAL CTs			813			932

Source: Statistics Canada's ethnicity data

## Are Ethnic Enclaves Sites of Segregation?

Segregation is the antonym of integration. A simple measure of segregation is the spatial distribution of an ethnic group's population in a city. Ideally, a group's

population should be evenly distributed in all CTs or similar territorial units (i.e. 50% of a group's population should be living in 50% of CTs). This ideal is rarely realized because people settle where they can afford to live and where services they want are convenient and accessible; their choice is not determined by a pull or push towards their ethnic group only. Yet this measure is a first cut to indicate the degree of concentration of the group.

Table-2 shows the distribution of 50% of a group's population by CTs for the six ethnic groups and English (for comparison) in the Toronto CMA. Jews are the most concentrated followed by two pairs of ethnic groups with similar degrees of concentration, namely Portuguese and Chinese as one close pair and Italians and South Asians as another. Even persons of English ancestry are not evenly distributed, though they are relatively more dispersed than other groups.

**Table 2: Ethnic Segregation in the Toronto Area**

Ethnic Group	Percentage of CTs in which 50% of the group's population lives.
Jews	3.6
Chinese	10.1
Portuguese	10.6
Italians	13.4
South Asians	13.4
Caribbeans/Blacks	17.2
English	24.7

Source of Data: Statistics Canada.

Note: The lower the percentage of CTs, the higher is the level of concentration.

Table-3 suggests that enclaves are internally diverse because most CTs (215) have secondary concentrations. Chinese, Italians, Jews or South Asians may be the largest single group in these CTs, but 51-75% of the CT population had a different ethnic background. Only 60 out of the total of 931 CTs in the CMA had a majority of their population belonging to respective ethnic groups. There is no CT that is exclusively inhabited by one ethnic group. Everyday, an ethnic group will encounter people of different ethnic backgrounds at bus stops, in neighbourhood stores and on residential streets and parks.

If we compare the number of primary and secondary CTs for various groups, it can be observed that the number of both primary and secondary CTs of Italian, Jews, Portuguese and Caribbean concentrations decreased over the five year period. This observation affirms the earlier conclusions that ethnic concentration for older immigrant groups begin to decrease over time. There seems to be a flattening of the curve of concentration around 60-70% of a CT's population.

**Table 3: Total Number of Census Tracts in Ethnic Enclaves**

Ethnic Group	No. of CTs in 1996		No. of CTs in 2001	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
Caribbean	0	2	-	1
Chinese	13	47	20	69
Italian	19	42	15	41
Jews	11	31	14	23
Portuguese	2	21	1	20
South Asian	-	41	10	62
Blacks	-	1	-	-
Total	45	185	60	216

Data Source: Statistics Canada

Finally, all these ethnic groups are comprised of persons of considerable (sub)cultural and linguistic differences. Jews include persons of German, Russian, Israeli and other national origins. Cantonese-speaking Chinese differ from Mandarin-speaking Chinese, and the socio-cultural backgrounds of these groups differ from Hong Kong Chinese and Taiwanese, despite sharing the same language. South Asians come from different religions, speak different languages and look similar only to strangers. The point is that an ethnic concentration has almost as many internal cultural differences as could be imagined among different groups. One conclusion to make from these findings is that ethnic segregation in the Toronto Area is tempered by a fair degree of internal diversity.

### **Are Enclaves Potential Ghettos?**

The concentration of ethnic minorities raises apprehensions about Toronto's enclaves turning into ghettos. It is an apprehension that is not borne out by the internal conditions of enclaves.

To begin with, ghettos are largely the product of exclusion and externally imposed segregation of a minority. Toronto's enclaves are primarily the outcome of people's choices for homes and businesses, within the parameters of affordability and accessibility. There is no evidence of any systematic steering of ethnics towards certain neighbourhoods by public policy, social processes or real estate agents. What brings about the concentration of one group in an area is the prospective renters' or home owners' reliance on their friends and family for information about available accommodation or business opportunity. Obviously, friends and family primarily know about opportunities in their immediate surroundings. Proximity to people of one's own background comes about as a byproduct of choices made

on the basis of affordability and neighbourhood conditions one comes to know through one's contacts.<sup>7</sup>

Interestingly, Francis who has written a strong critique of the Canadian immigration policy and holds immigrants' clustering together to be the cause of their inability to assimilate, (p18, 58), herself on arriving as an immigrant lived "with other immigrants in Toronto who were from the US or Europe" (Francis 2002:10). The point of this example is that new immigrants are strangers in Canada who initially are drawn to their co-ethnics. They have little choice but to approach others from their homelands for support and introductions. Some degree of clustering is necessary for immigrants.

Another reason for the ethnic concentration is the draw of places of worship or congregations. For example, Orthodox Jews, Christians of Eastern orthodox denominations, and some Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus have established small territorial communities around their places of worship. In other cases, common language may be an attraction to move to enclaves, such as for Chinese new immigrants. Cumulatively, these reasons result in the spatial concentration of ethnic groups in some areas. Overall, enclaves are largely the product of market forces and personal choices.

Regarding the defining conditions of ghettos, namely poverty and deprivation, the Toronto's enclaves present a contradictory picture. They are not necessarily poor and blighted areas. There may be rental buildings here or housing co-ops there with high incidence of the poverty and other deprivation, but at the scale of a CT (which has an average population of 5,000) enclaves have almost a full range of metropolitan household incomes. They certainly are not the neighbourhoods of despair.

Overlaying Maps 2 and 3 on the map of ethnic enclaves (Map -1), we have gleaned the following observations:

- Using the CMA's percentage of families (19%) below \$30, 000 annual income in 2001 as an area's base line of the incidence of poverty, we compared Map 2 to Map 1. We found a U-shaped band of high poverty CTs in the city of Toronto. The majority of CTs in Jewish, Italian and South Asian enclaves are below the CMA average of poverty, though South Asian areas have a sprinkling of CTs that are slightly above the CMA rate of poverty. Some CTs of the Chinese enclave located in Agincourt, South Asians living in Rexdale and parts of the Portuguese secondary enclave in downtown Toronto stand out as CTs of high poverty. Generally, ethnic enclaves have CTs of both below average and above average levels of poverty, not unlike the rest of the metropolis. Ethnic enclaves are not largely poor areas.
- Map-3 shows the distribution of families earning more than \$70,000 annual income by the percentage of CT families. The overall CMA average for families making more than \$70,000 was 45%. Map-3 also shows that CTs of "much above average" family income, (identified by dark shading) are on the

metropolitan fringes and in the city center straddling Yonge Street. Enclaves largely fall in areas of above average incomes with a sprinkling of “below CMA average” CTs. Again, enclaves have their fair share of affluent families.

This cartographic analysis indicates that enclaves are not areas of high concentration of poverty or deprivation. There are small clusters of poverty in enclaves, reflecting the metropolitan pattern. Most enclaves are in the suburban areas that have a higher proportion of single-family homes and a corresponding high rates of ownership. These indicators, combined with the internal diversity of enclaves and the fact that enclaves are formed by choice, suggests that enclaves are not ghettos.

### **Do Enclaves Impede Social Cohesion?**

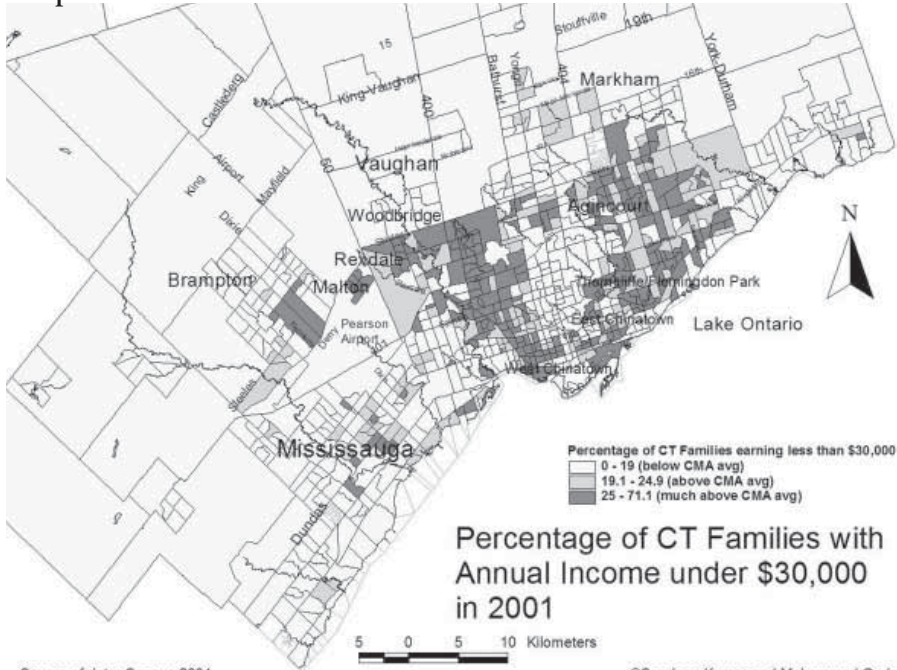
Urban neighbourhoods by themselves have a limited direct role in fostering social cohesion. Residentially, they may segregate people or be poverty-stricken, which may then affect residents’ economic and political opportunities. Yet on all these counts, their limited influence has little direct impact on building an overall community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunities.

Urban neighbourhoods have long lost the character of territorial communities of primary relations and strong neighbourly bonds. Modern social life is based on communities of interest, occupational associations, voluntary organizations and social networks that are spread all across a city. (Wellman and Leighton 1979; Keller 1968) A neighbourhood is at best a weak social organization of local interests. Its social relations are mediated through children’s schools, play groups and local services. It also has some symbolic meaning. The point is that neighbourhoods do not have a primary role in fostering a strong sense of belonging to a society or nation, or in determining individuals’ life chances. Having grounded our discussion in empirical facts, we are in a position to answer the question about the relationship between enclaves and social cohesion.

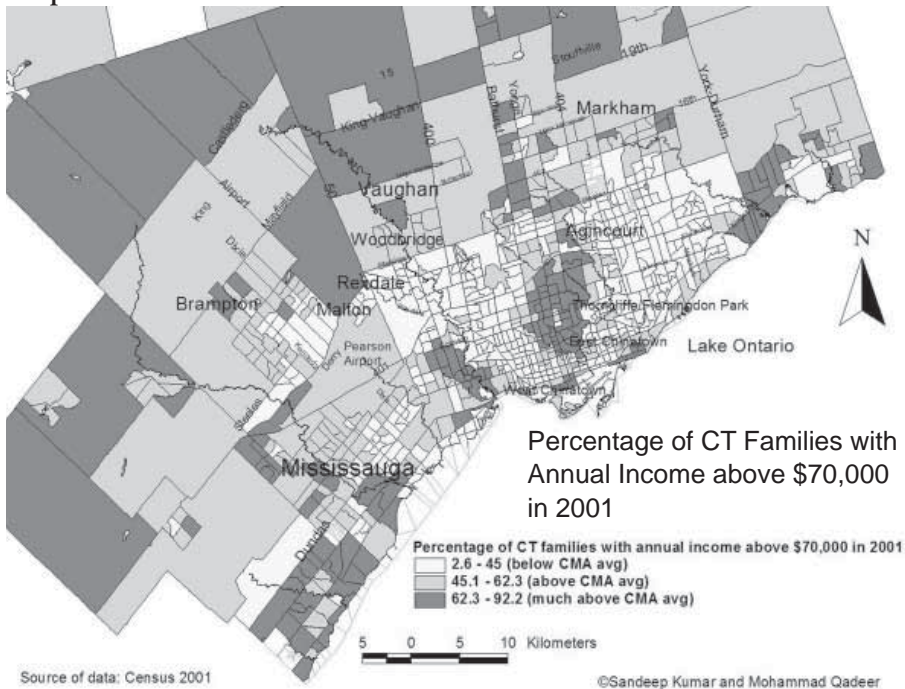
### **Social Cohesion and Enclaves : Advantages and Disadvantages**

The choice of ethnic households to live in areas of high concentration of their own group has two implications. First, living in such neighbourhoods must be viewed as beneficial on balance. There are distinct advantages of the critical mass of ethnics in a neighbourhood. Elderly and homebound women find companionship among those who speak their language and have many common interests and values. It facilitates the socialization of children in their heritage culture. Politically and socially, minority communities feel strength in numbers. They can form voters blocks that politicians are compelled to pay heed to. Ethnic stores, services and places of worship become viable and emerge to enrich an area. Places of worship can be established closeby. Organizing religious and cultural activities is easy.

Map 2



Map 3



Ethnic neighbourhoods enliven suburbs and introduce a variety of new forms and functions in a metropolitan area.

Against these advantages are the possibilities of children not being fully attuned to the mainstream values and being delayed in learning English. An ethnic neighbourhood is easy to identify and stereotype and in extreme circumstances may become the target of prejudice and violence, as has happened in France and Britain in recent years. Yet in an open society, the advantages of enclaves outweigh the disadvantages.

Second, the contemporary neighbourhood is a community of polite but limited social relations. People normally have largely nodding acquaintance with other residents of their street, not to speak of a whole neighbourhood.

Persons of one ethnicity may be a majority in a neighbourhood, but their work places, educational and health services, professional associations and social networks are spread all across a city. The activity system of a typical urbanite brings her/ him in contact with persons of diverse backgrounds in areas far and away. It is therefore not appropriate to assume that ethnic composition of one's residential area defines the scope of one's social life. Thus terms like Isolation index are not the true measures of the social segregation/ integration of a person or group.

Educational institutions, political/ economic organizations, professional groups and voluntary associations are the critical sites of social cohesion. Schools and universities, newspapers and mass media acculturate citizens in common values and national sentiments. Equality of job opportunities and the opening of the political processes to minorities and immigrants promote social integration. All in all, it may be that enclaves symbolically tie together residents more than a typical neighbourhood; but they neither inhibit their contacts with the larger community, nor do they provide full range of facilities and services necessary for modern living.

Enclaves are not a barrier to social inclusion, but even if they were there are no policy instruments in a democratic and market-oriented society to direct people away from living in neighbourhoods of their choice.

Strengthening public education, increasing employment equity, fostering open society and promoting political participation are the processes that promote social cohesion. Institutions where such activities are enacted, such as schools, places of work, governments, media and sports and arts, are the sites where social cohesion can be fostered. They need to be inclusive of all segments of society.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The national newspapers usually brand ethnic enclaves as ghettos. Carey's (2001) report on Toronto's high-rise buildings full of immigrants sum them up as "High-rise ghettos." Among academic and other public commentators such views are not uncommon. For example see Francis 2002.

<sup>2</sup> Portes and Bach (1985) consider an economic ethnic enclave to be a set of activities

dominated by an ethnic group, Koreans in flower trade or Punjabi taxi services at the Toronto airport for example.

- <sup>3</sup> For a summary of the two contrasting viewpoints see Introduction in Varady (2005).
- <sup>4</sup> Statistics Canada projects that by 2017, visible minorities will be 50.6% of the CMA population.
- <sup>5</sup> We have used single and multiple responses of the long census questionnaire as the estimated ethnic population and the sum of responses as the total population of a CT. According to Statistics Canada, ethnicity refers to a person's ancestral and/or cultural background. The concept of ethnicity is somewhat multidimensional as it includes aspects such as race, origin or ancestry, identity, language and religion. The term is applicable to both immigrants and Canadian-born.
- <sup>6</sup> South Asians include East Indians, Punjabis, Pakistanis, Tamils/ Sri Lankans and Bengalis. Similarly, the group name "Caribbean" includes Jamaicans, Trinidadians, Guyanese and others. Jews have identified themselves both as an ethnic and religious group. Ethnicity is entirely based on the respondents' self-identification in response to the Canadian Census.
- <sup>7</sup> Our small study of South Asian households in Mississauga's and Brampton shows that "being near one's own type" was not the primary reason when households to choose their homes (Kumar and Qadeer 2006). For a Chinese enclave, a similar observation was reported in Kumar and Leung (2005).

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