How Segregated is Toronto?

Inequality, Polarization, and Segregation

Trends and Processes

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14 February 2019

NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE RESEARCH PARTNERSHIP

Trends | Processes | Consequences | Policy Interventions

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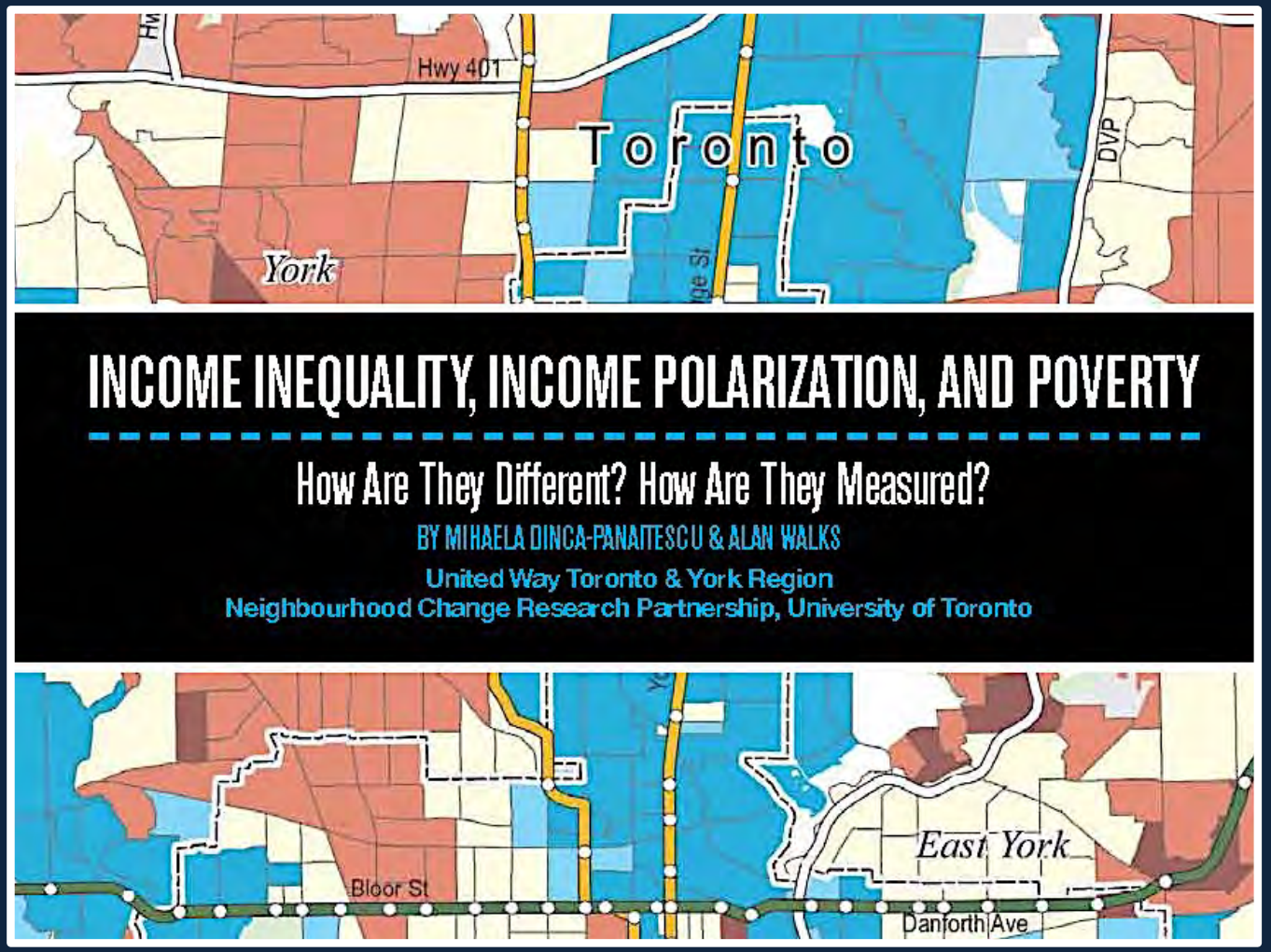
Two key national income trends — the growing gap between the rich and the poor and the progressively smaller middle-income group — have major social implications at the neighbourhood level that we are only beginning to identify, understand, and explain.

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada | Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada | Canada

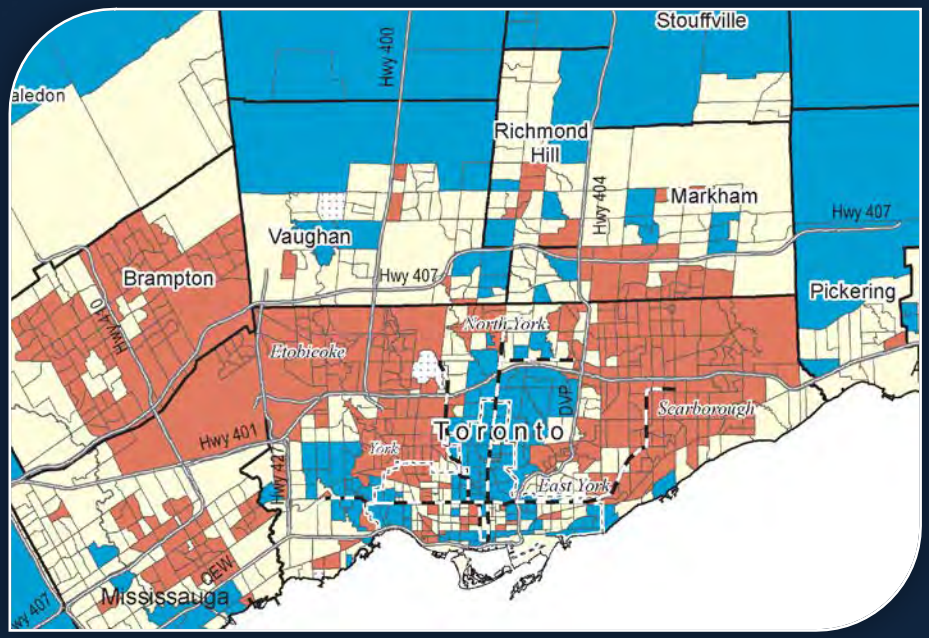
Inequality, Polarization, Poverty

They are not the same: Definitions

A primer on definition and measurement



http://neighbourhoodchange.ca/documents/2015/12/inequality-polarization-poverty-definitions.pdf



Toronto

Census Metropolitan Area

Summary of 25 year neighbourbood change trends

Socio-Spatial Trends, 1991 – 2016

INCOME INEQUALITY + 56%

INCOME POLARIZATION + 47%

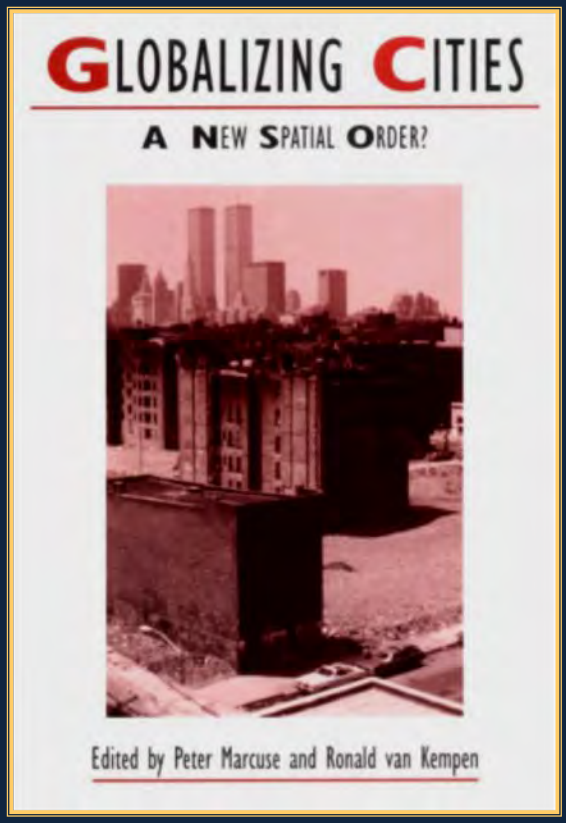
SEGREGATION + 14% VISIBLE MINORITY

+ 21% BLACK

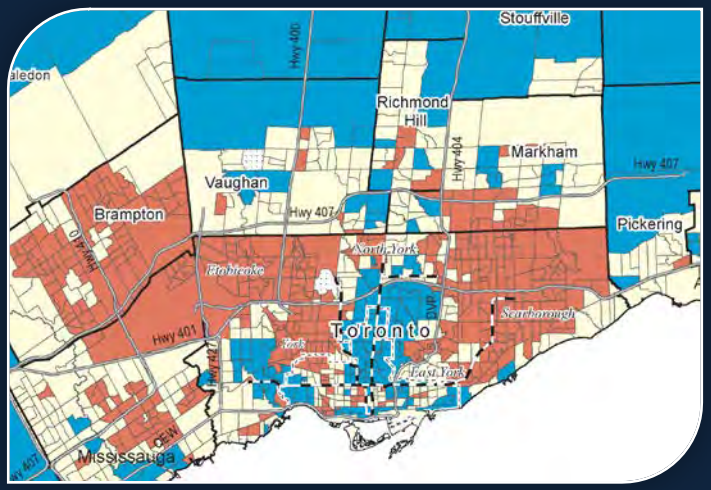
Spatial Polarization and Segregation

1990's 'Divided Cities' literature

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



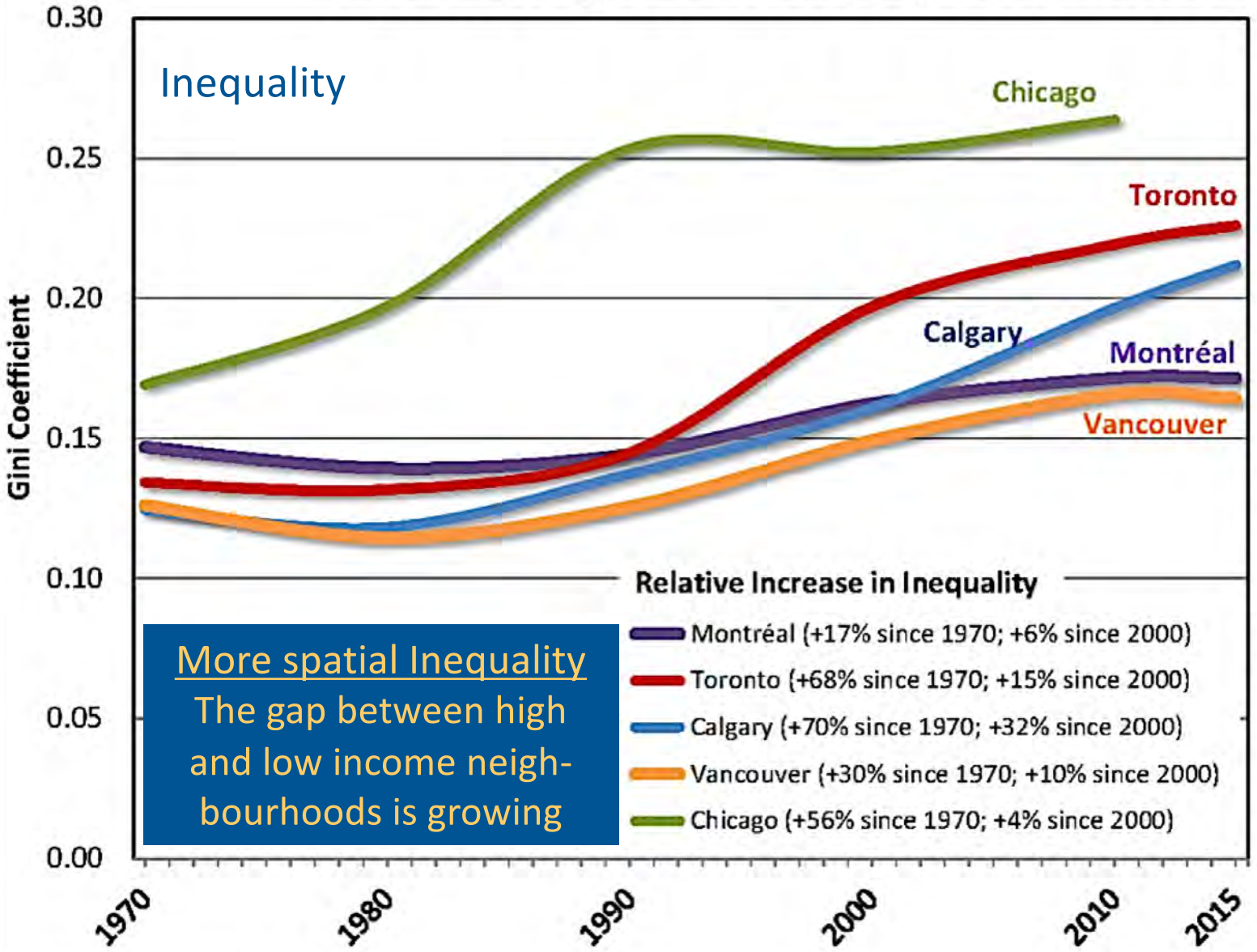
Peter Marcuse & Ronald van Kempen, 2000



Canadian Socio-spatial Trends, 1970-2015

INCOME INEQUALITY & INCOME POLARIZATION

Income Inequality Between Census Tracts
Five Metropolitan Areas, 1970–2015



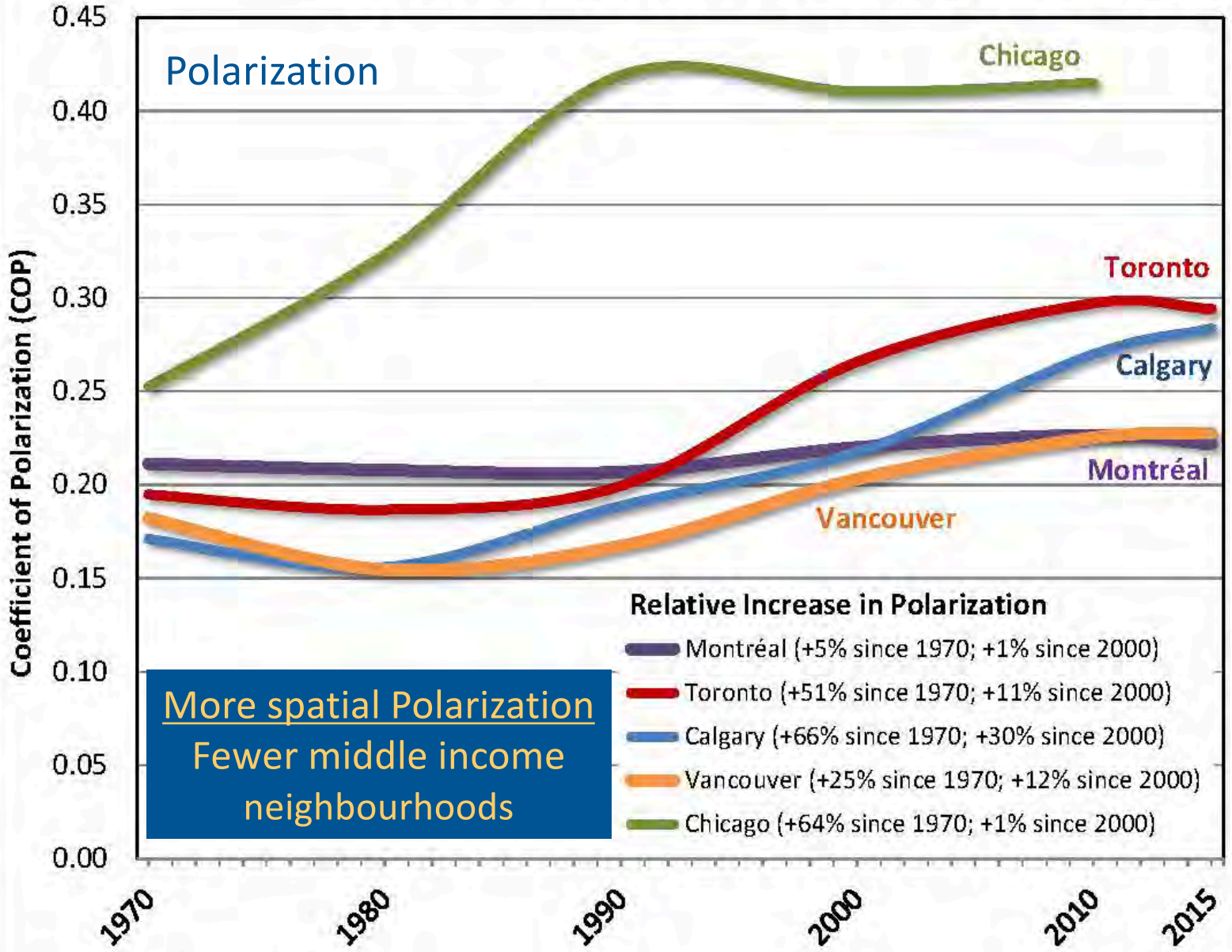
More spatial Inequality
The gap between high and low income neigh-bourhoods is growing

A Gini coefficient value of 0.0 represents perfect equality. All census tracts would have the exact same proportion of income relative to their share of the population. A Gini coefficient value of 1.0 represents perfect inequality. All of the income would be taken by one single census tract while others take none.

Notes: Calculated from census tract average individual income from all sources, before-tax. Canadian income 1970–2000 and 2015 is from the Census. Income for 2010 is Canada Revenue Agency T1FF taxfiler data.

Chicago income from United States Census 1970-2000 and American Community Survey 2010.

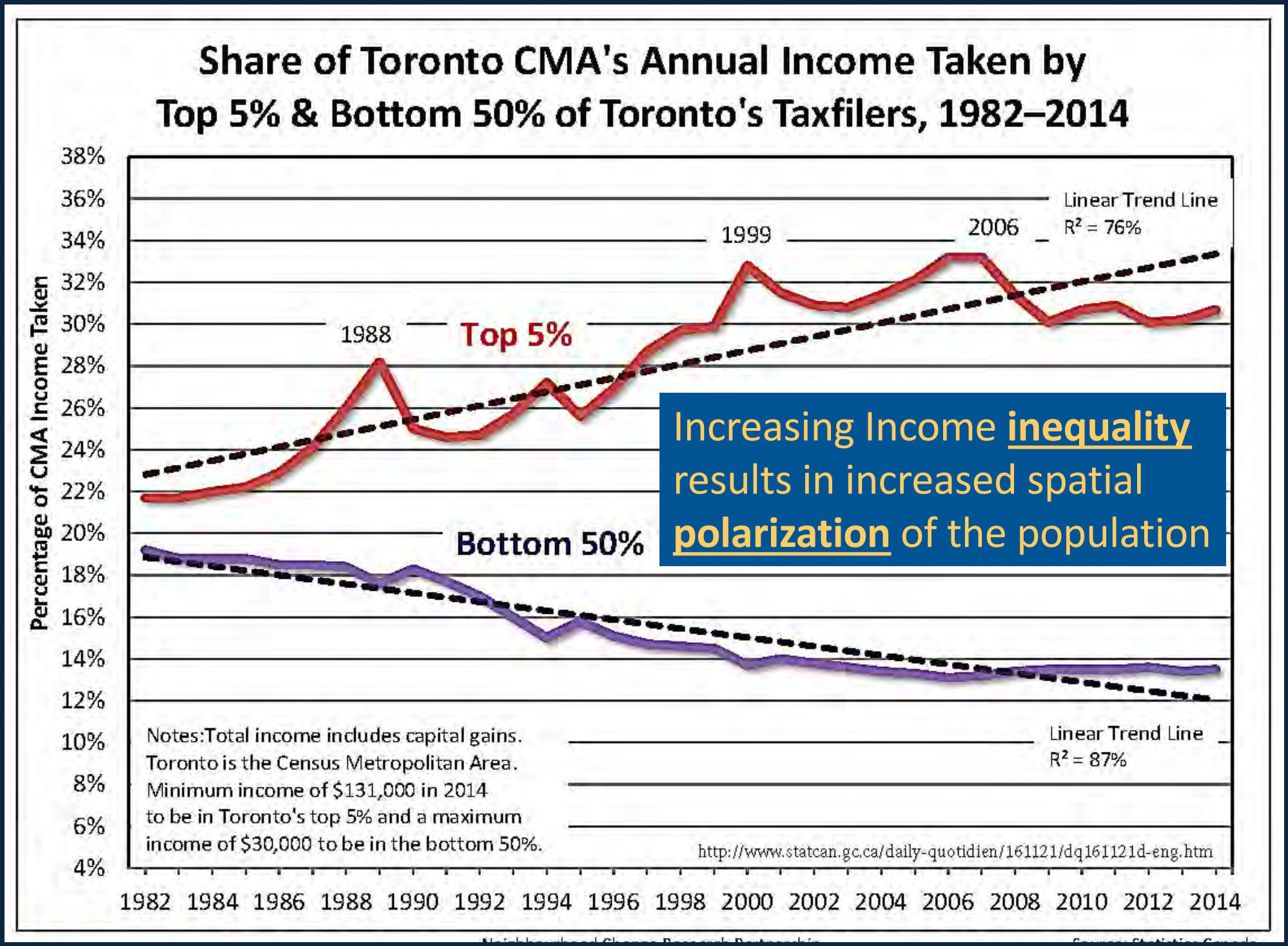
Income Polarization Between Census Tracts
Five Metropolitan Areas, 1970–2015



A coefficient value of 0.0 represents the complete absence of polarization. All census tracts would be middle income, each having the exact same average. As census tracts move away from each other, towards higher or lower incomes, the COP value increases with no maximum.

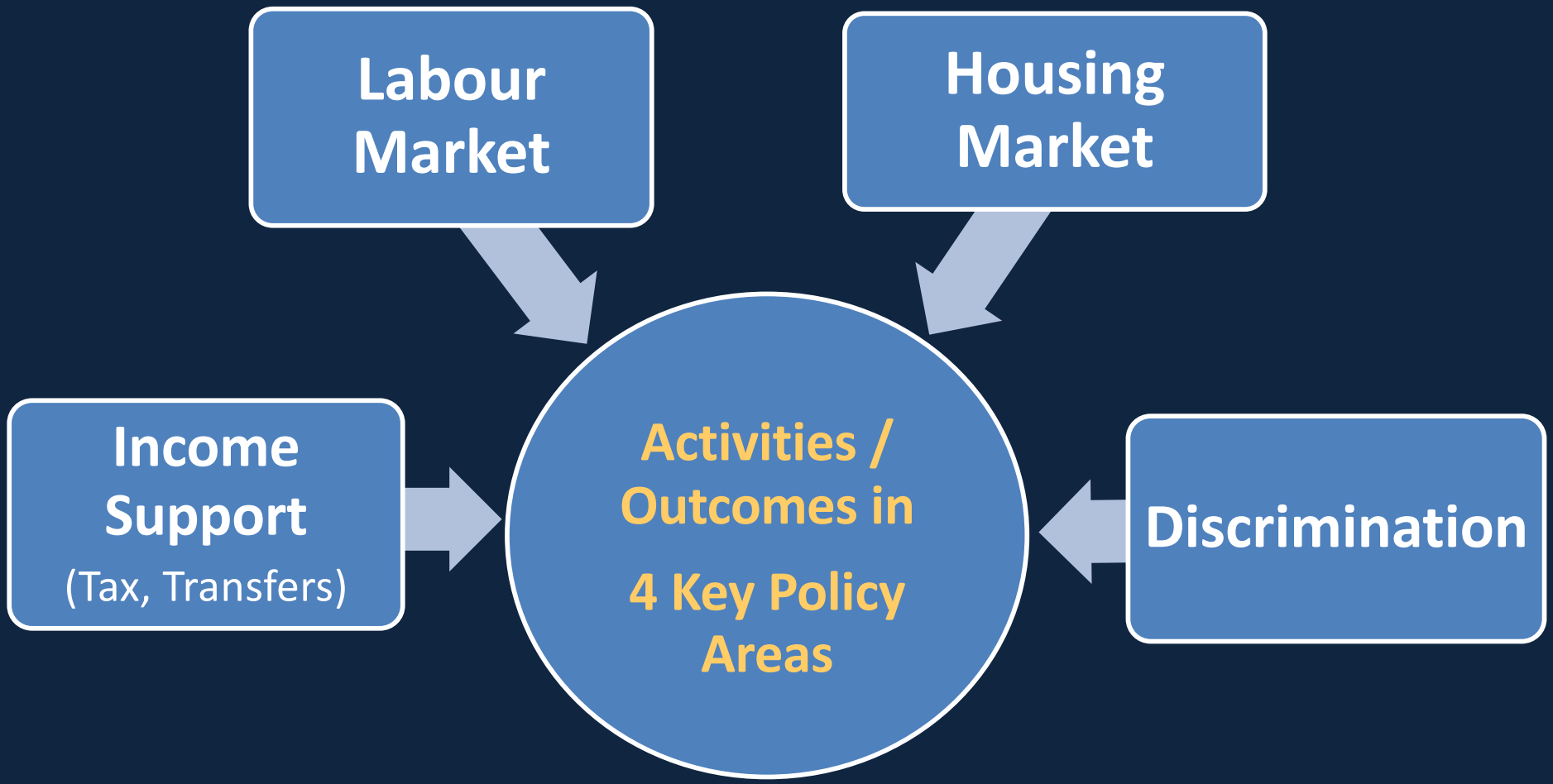
Notes: Calculated from census tract average individual income from all sources, before-tax. Canadian income 1970–2000 and 2015 is from the Census. Income for 2010 is Canada Revenue Agency T1FF taxfiler data.

Chicago income from United States Census 1970-2000 and American Community Survey 2010


Share of Toronto CMA's Annual Income Taken by Top 5% & Bottom 50% of Toronto's Taxfilers, 1982–2014
Percentage of CMA Income Taken
38%
36%
34%
32%
30%
28%
26%
24%
22%
20%
18%
16%
14%
12%
10%
8%
6%
4%
1982 1984 1986 1988 1990 1992 1994 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014
Linear Trend Line
R² = 76%
1999
2006
1988
Top 5%
Bottom 50%
Increasing Income inequality results in increased spatial polarization of the population
Notes:Total income includes capital gains.
Toronto is the Census Metropolitan Area.
Minimum income of $131,000 in 2014
to be in Toronto's top 5% and a maximum
income of $30,000 to be in the bottom 50%.
Linear Trend Line
R² = 87%
http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/161121/dq161121d-eng.htm

Cause: Specific Processes

Government / Governance



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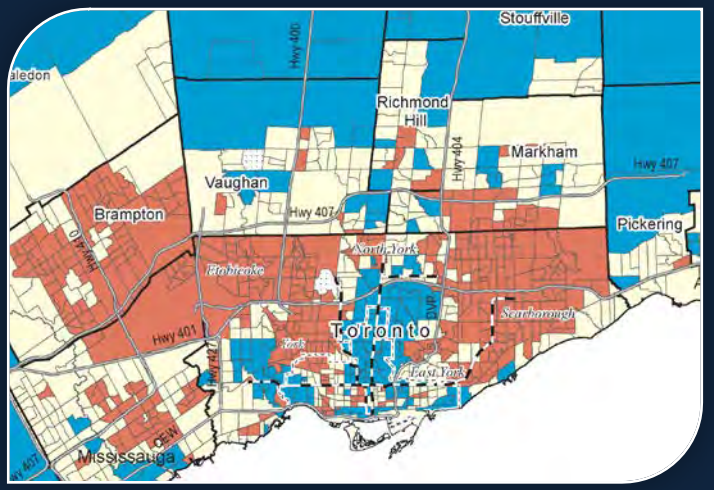
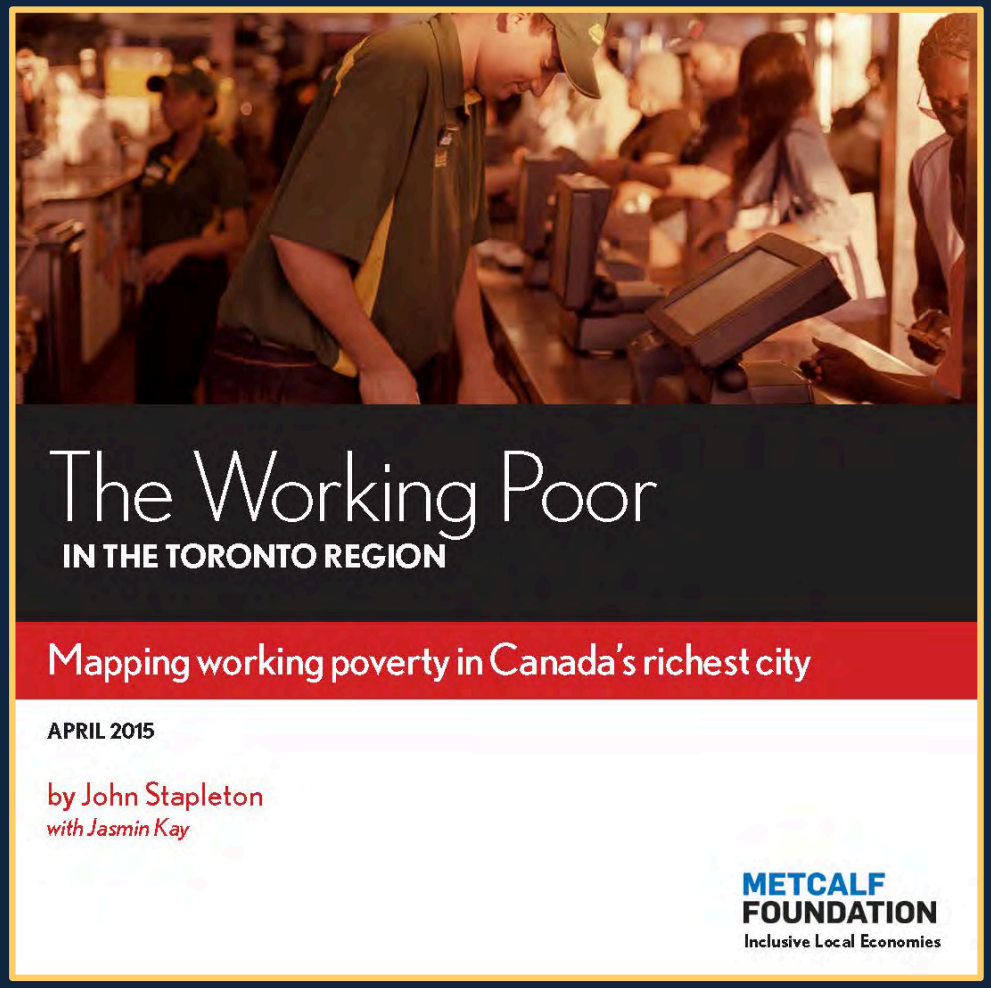


Two Examples:

Working Poor & Unemployment Rate

LABOUR MARKET DISCRIMINATION



Who are the "working Poor"?

With the assistance of Statistics Canada and other researchers the Metcalf Foundation developed a definition of the working poor as someone who:

- has an after-tax income below the Low-income measure (LIM),
- has earnings of at least $3,000 a year,
- is between the ages of 18 and 64,
- is not a student, and
- lives independently.

With data from the 2016 Census, the Toronto region analysis is currently being updated by John Stapleton with the assistance of the Metcalf Foundation and the Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership.

https://metcalffoundation.com/stories/publications/the-working-poor-in-the-toronto-region-mapping-working-poverty-in-canadas-richest-city/

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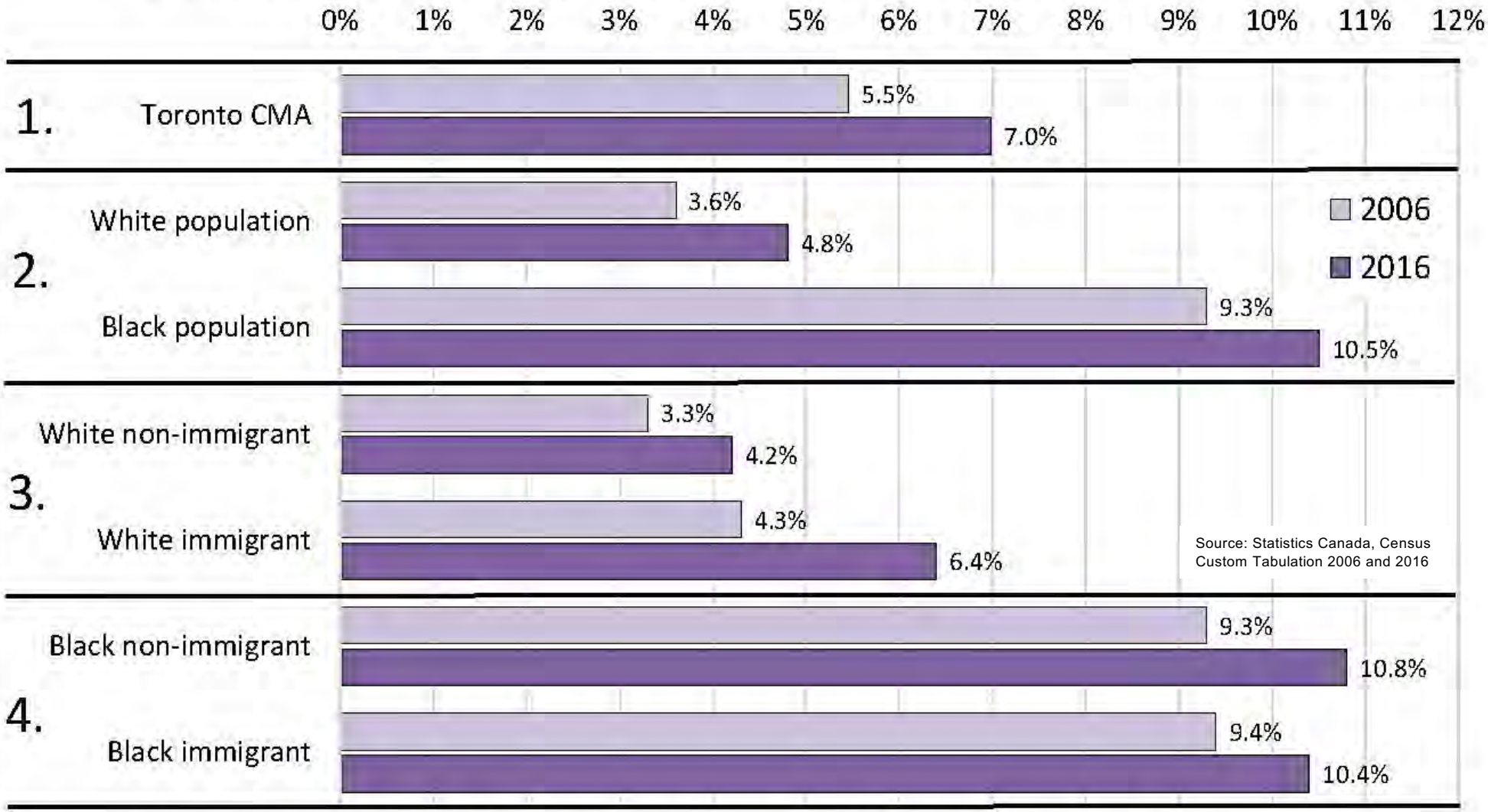
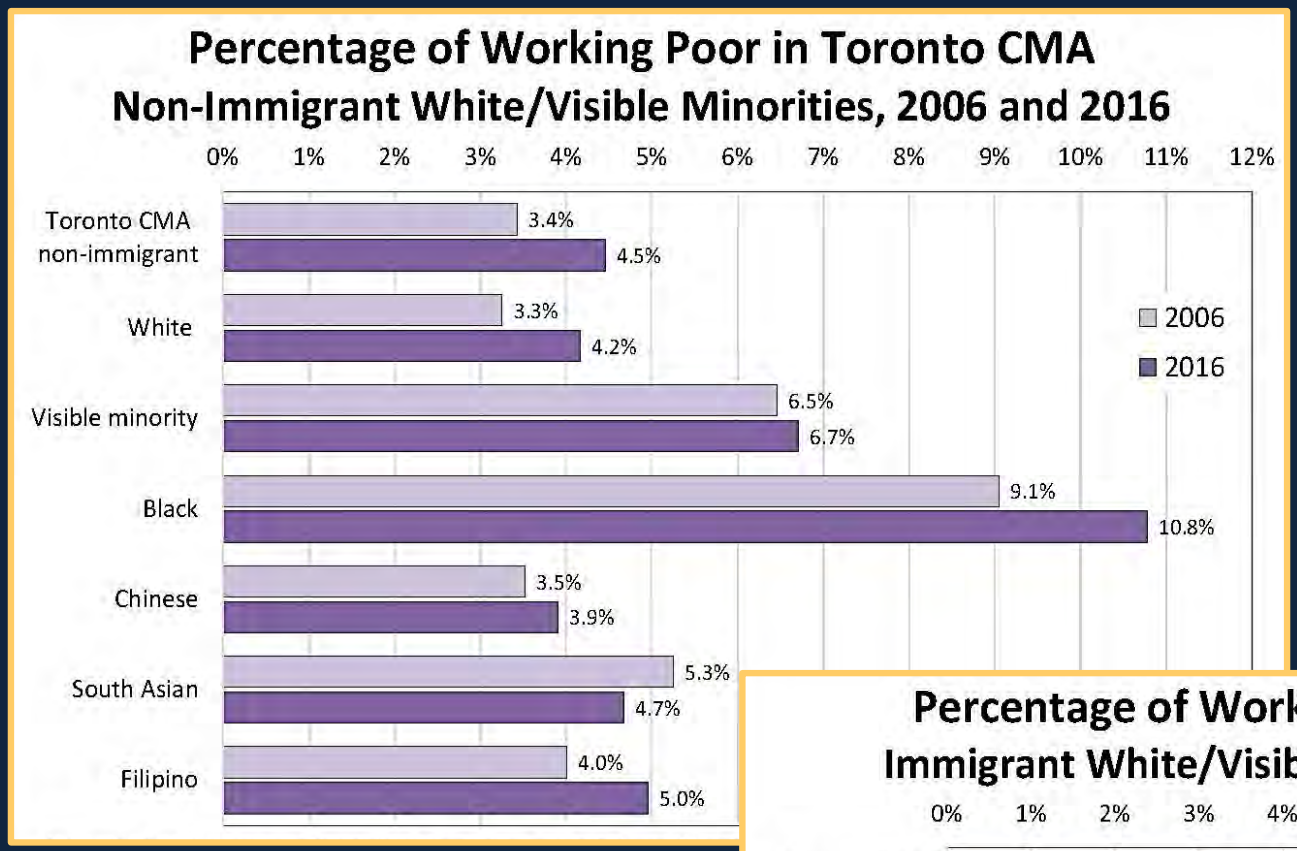
Percentage of Working Poor in Toronto CMA

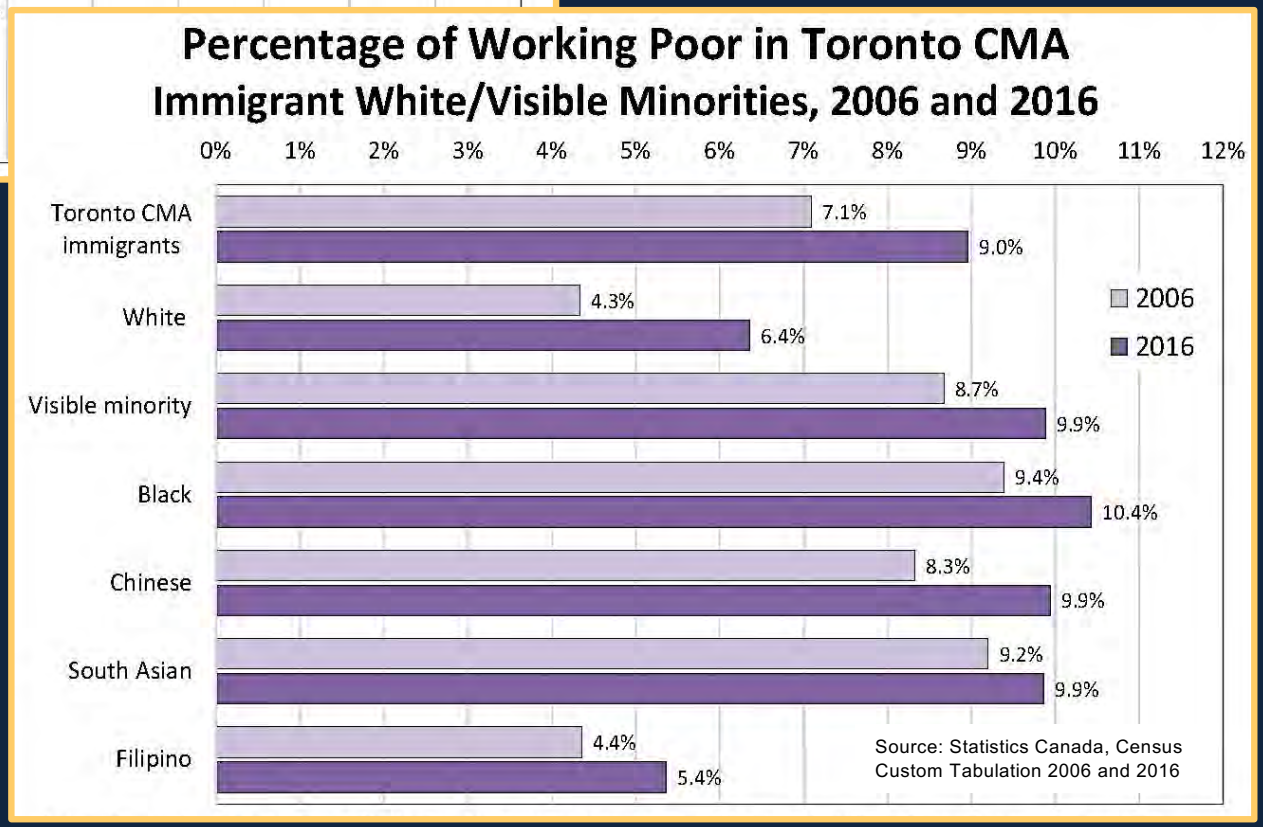
White/Black, Immigrant/Non-immigrant, 2006 and 2016



Independent working age population defined as individuals who are between 18 and 64, non-students living alone, as lone parent, or as adult couple. Excludes mutually dependent households: adult non-students living with parent(s) and multi-person non-family, non-couple arrangements. Working status refers to persons having job earnings no less than $3,000. Poor status refers to individuals with census family income below the Low Income Measure (50% of adjusted after-tax median income of all Canadians). Immigrant refers to persons born outside of Canada.

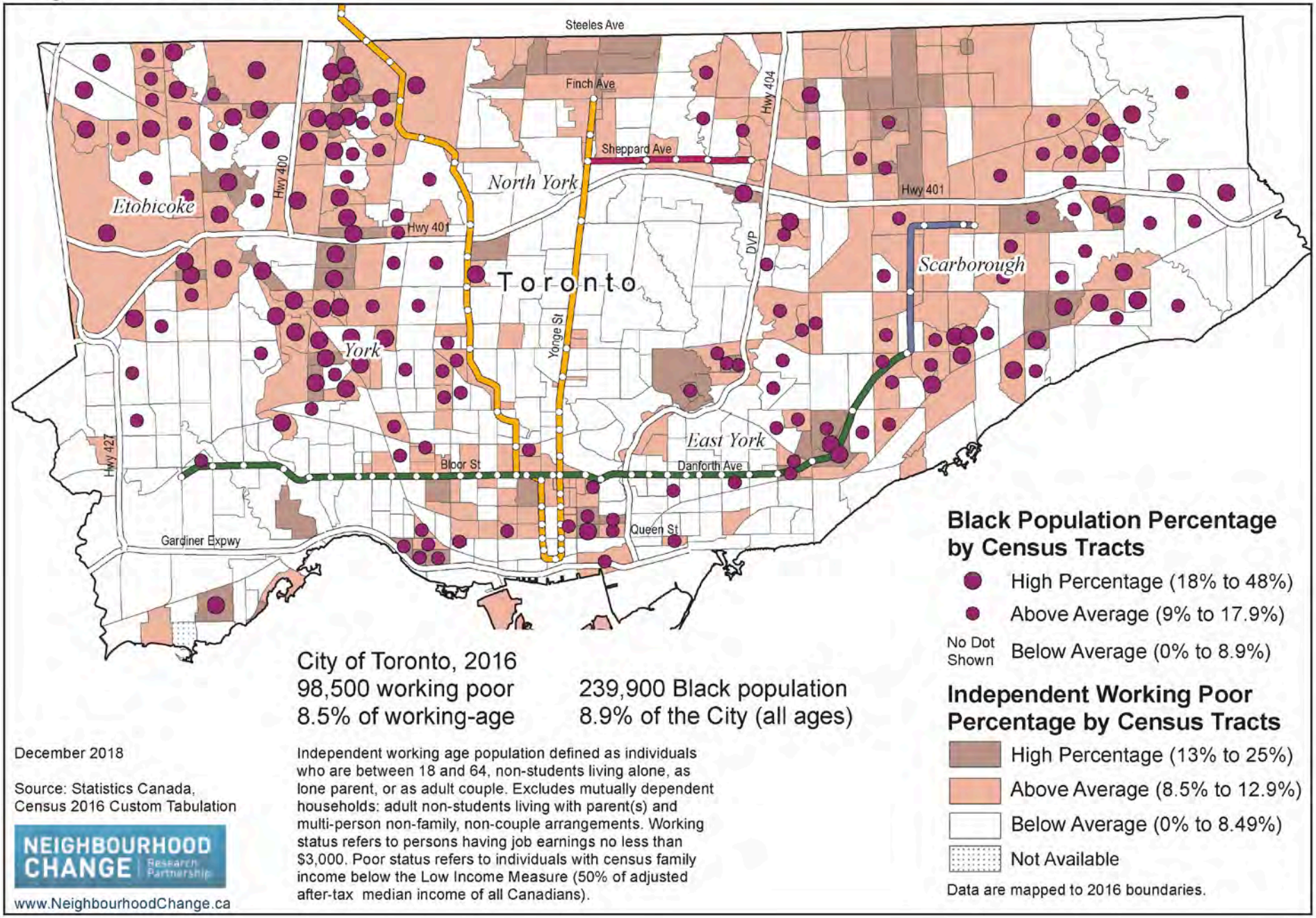


Non-Immigrant
(Canadian born) Working Poor



Immigrant
Working Poor

Working Poor Percentage and Black Population Percentage
City of Toronto, 2016



City of Toronto, 2016
98,500 working poor
8.5% of working-age

239,900 Black population
8.9% of the City (all ages)

December 2018

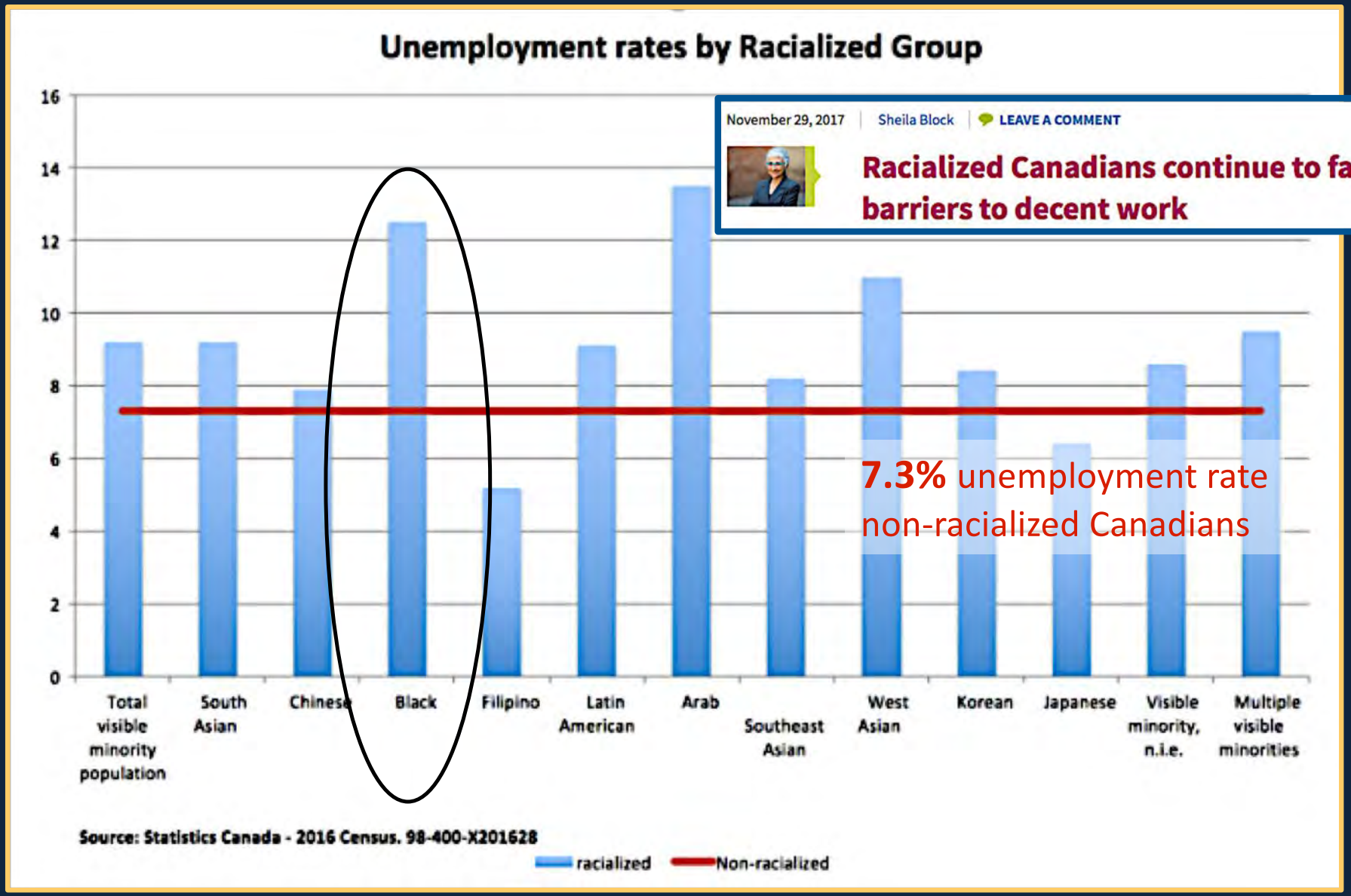
Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2016 Custom Tabulation

NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE Research Partnership

www.NeighbourhoodChange.ca

Independent working age population defined as individuals who are between 18 and 64, non-students living alone, as lone parent, or as adult couple. Excludes mutually dependent households: adult non-students living with parent(s) and multi-person non-family, non-couple arrangements. Working status refers to persons having job earnings no less than $3,000. Poor status refers to individuals with census family income below the Low Income Measure (50% of adjusted after-tax median income of all Canadians).

Black Unemployment Rate, 12.2%
Non-racialized Canadians, 7.3%



http://behindthenumbers.ca/2017/11/29/racialized-canadians-barriers-to-work/

Black, Visible Minority, Recent Immigrants, and White Education Level, Toronto CMA, 2016

Education level achieved: Black, visible minority, recent immigrants (2006-2016), and White population, age 15 and over, Toronto Census Metropolitan Area, 2016 Census

University degree CMA = 33%

18% Black; 35% VisMin; 43% R-Immg; 32% White

College/technical CMA = 25%

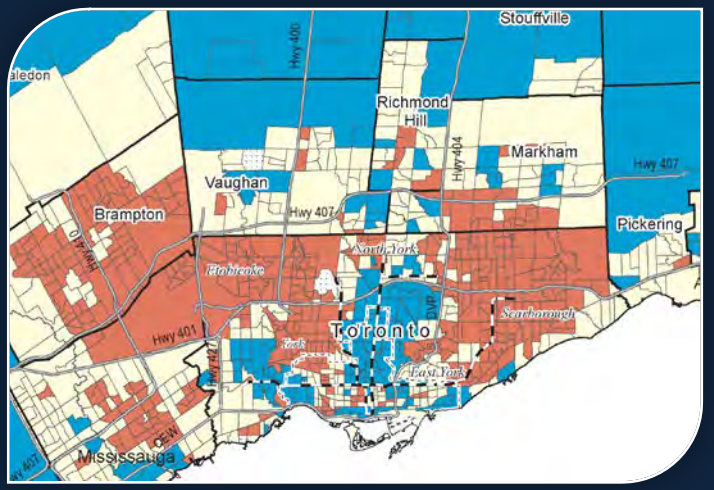
35% Black; 22% VisMin; 19% R-Immg; 27% White

High School CMA = 26%

30% Black; 26% VisMin; 22% R-Immg; 26% White

No High School CMA = 16%

18% Black; 17% VisMin; 16% R-Immg; 16% White



Definition

SEGREGATION

Segregation

1. to differentiate, distinguish, or isolate
2. the spatial separation of specific social groups from the wider population within urban space

"a social group is considered 'segregated' **if the spatial distribution** of its members … **differs significantly** from that of the larger population; the greater the difference in spatial distributions the higher the degree or level of segregation."

Bourne & Walks 2011:534.

Voluntary Segregation?

Talk about segregation often implies motivation, the intent by some, a dominant societal group, to isolate and control an "other" within society.

Many quickly raise the retort that we mainly have "voluntary" ethnic enclaves and "ethnoburbs."

Yes, we do have ethnic enclaves.

But, we also have involuntary segregation.

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Ethnic Enclaves: 'Voluntary' Concentration

"immigrant enclaves, in which newcomers to cities use local neighborhood community resources as stepping stones toward assimilation and potentially geographic dispersal."

(e.g., ethnic communities, ethnoburbs)

Bourne & Walks 2011:535.

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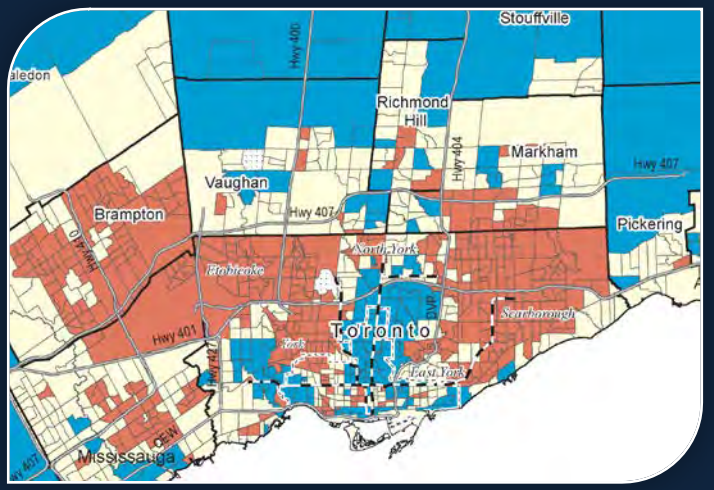
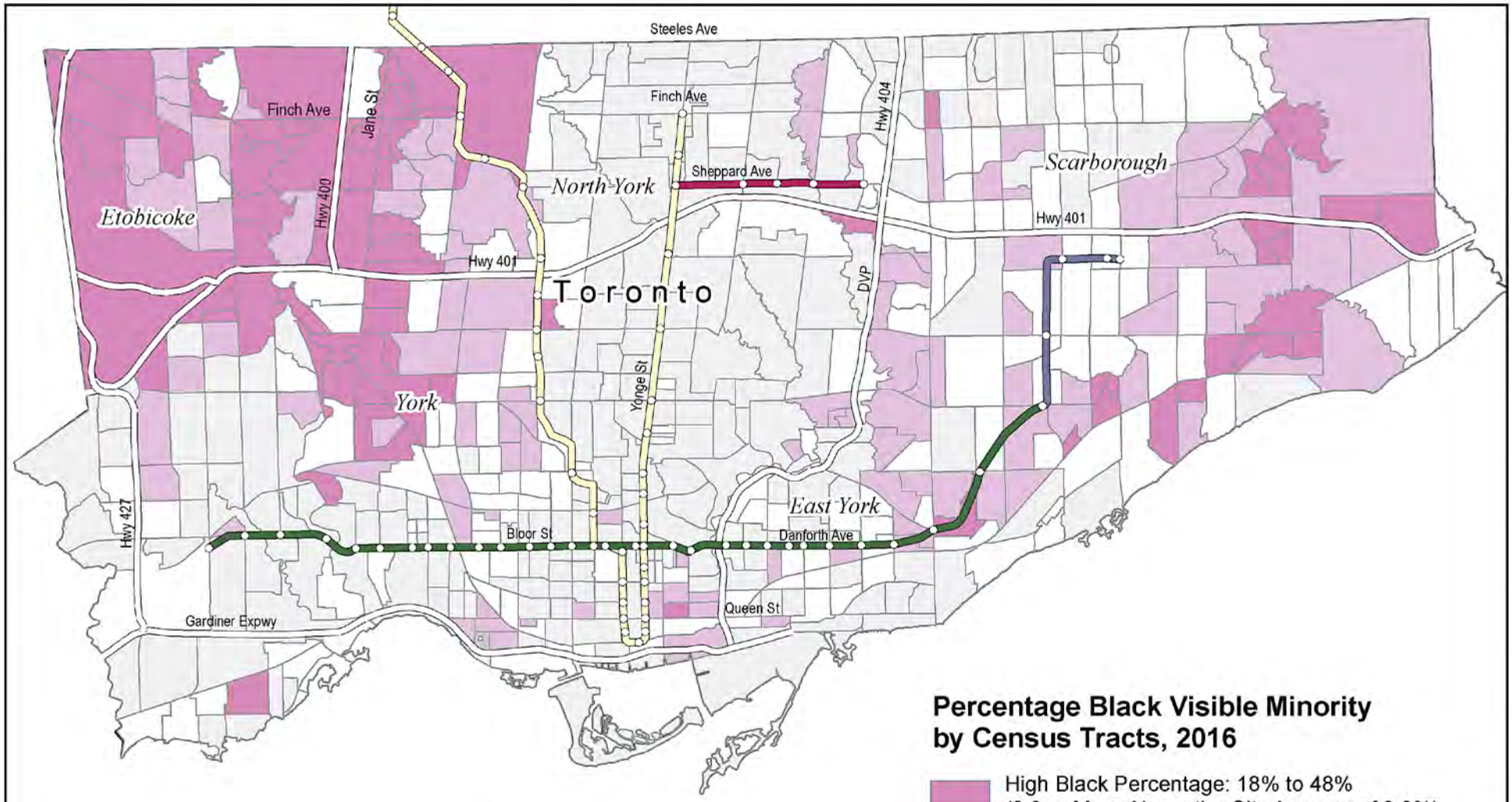


Toronto City & Metropolitan Area (CMA)

SEGREGATION

Black Population Percentage, City of Toronto, 2016



Black Population
2016 239,850; 8.9% of the City
2006 208,555; 8.4%
1996 192,400; 8.1%

November 2018

Source: Statistics Canada, Census Profile Series, 2016

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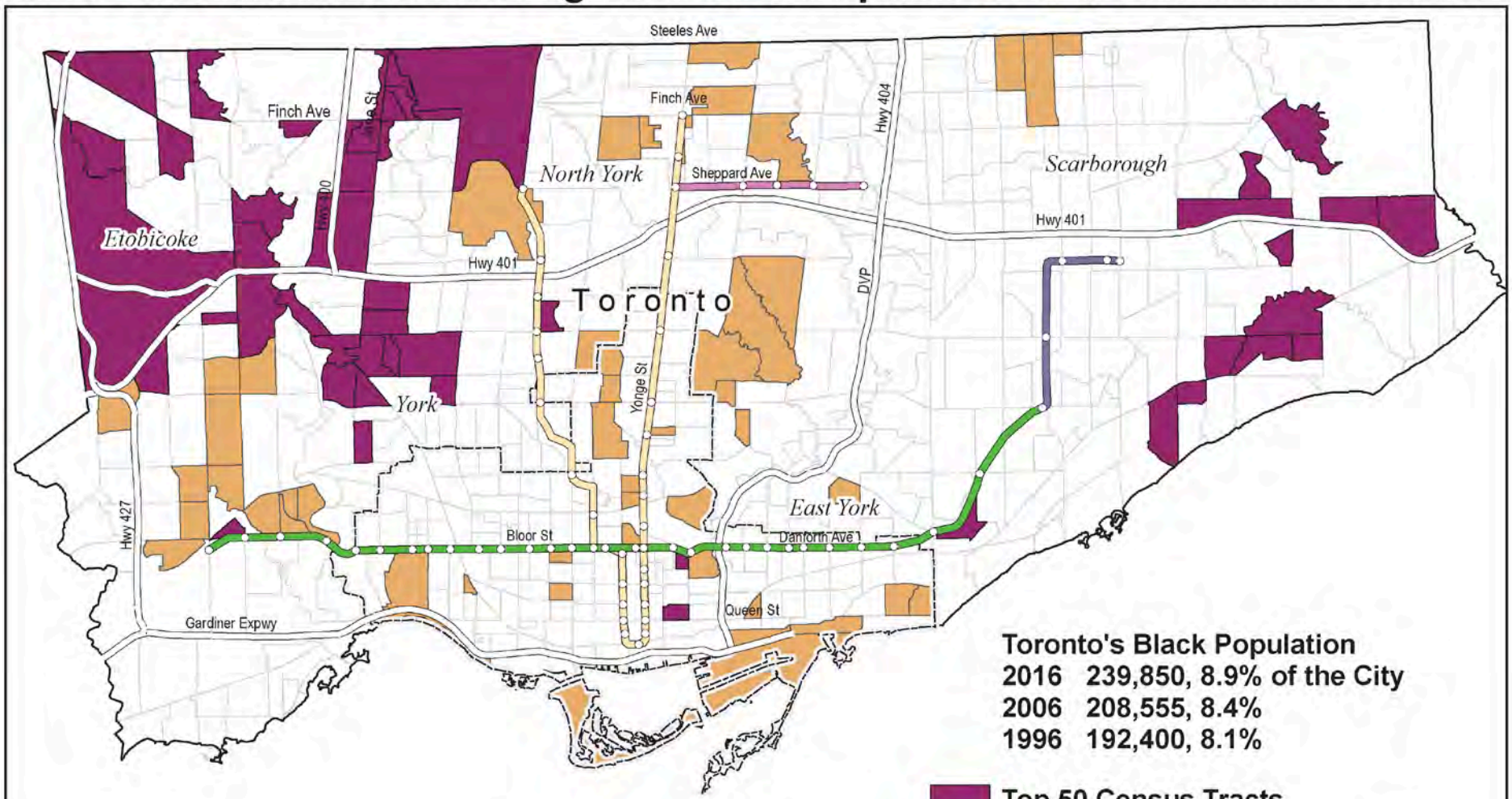
City of Toronto's Black Population, 2016

50 Census Tracts with the Highest Black Population and 50 with the Lowest



Toronto's Black Population
2016 239,850, 8.9% of the City
2006 208,555, 8.4%
1996 192,400, 8.1%

Top 50 Census Tracts
1,185 to 3,455 Black population in each CT
81,000 Black pop., 34% of the City's Black pop.
28% of the population of these CTs is Black

Bottom 50 Census Tracts
0 to 40 Black population in each CT
1,190 Black pop., 0.5% of the City's Black pop.
1% of the population of these CTs is Black

One third of Toronto's Black population lives in 50 census tracts, 81,100 people (1,620 / CT).

Another 50 census tracts house 1% of Toronto's Black population, 1,200 people (24 / CT).

City of Toronto, 2016: 570 CTs; average population 4,700.

March 2018

Source: Statistics Canada, Census Profile Series, 2016

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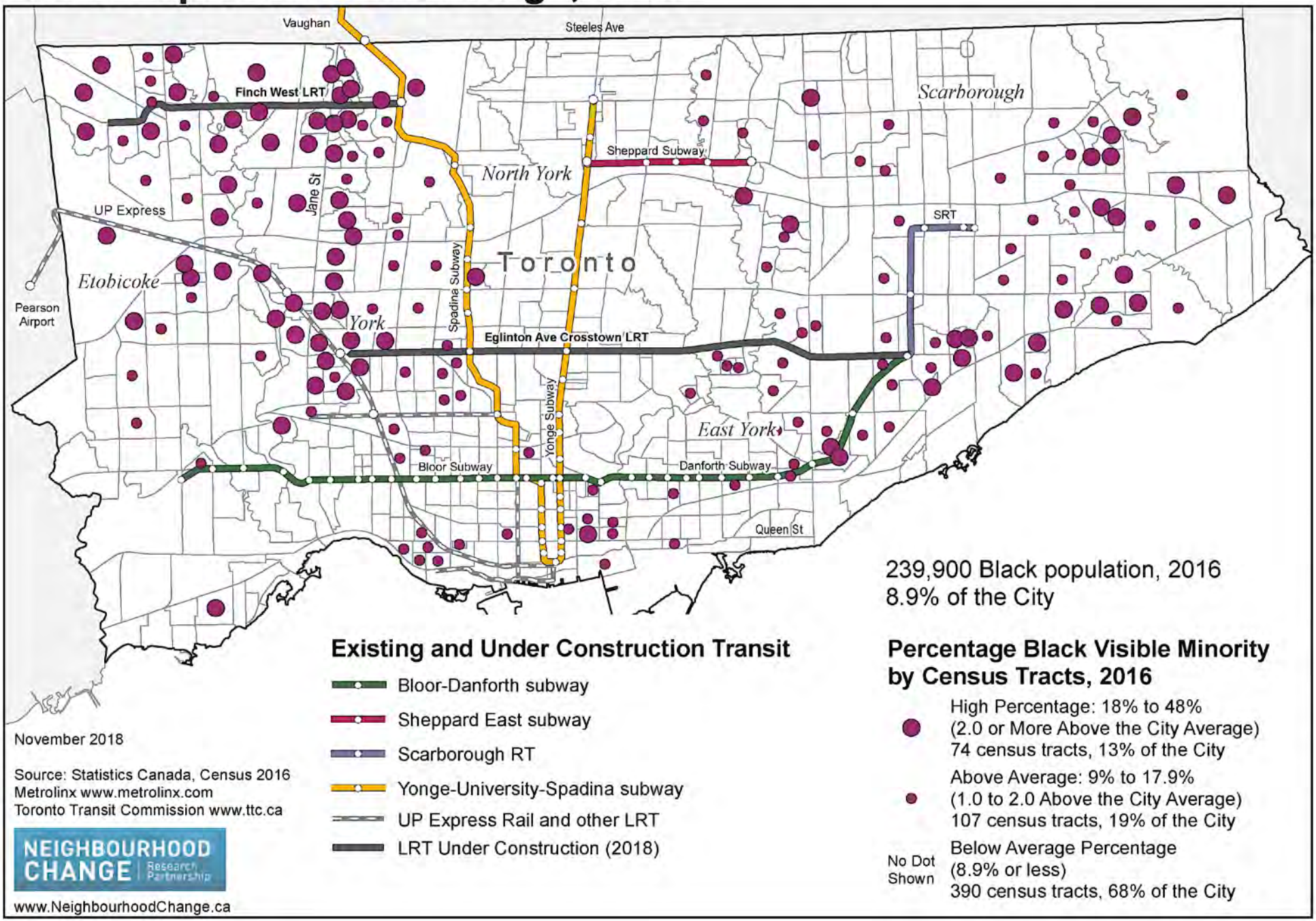
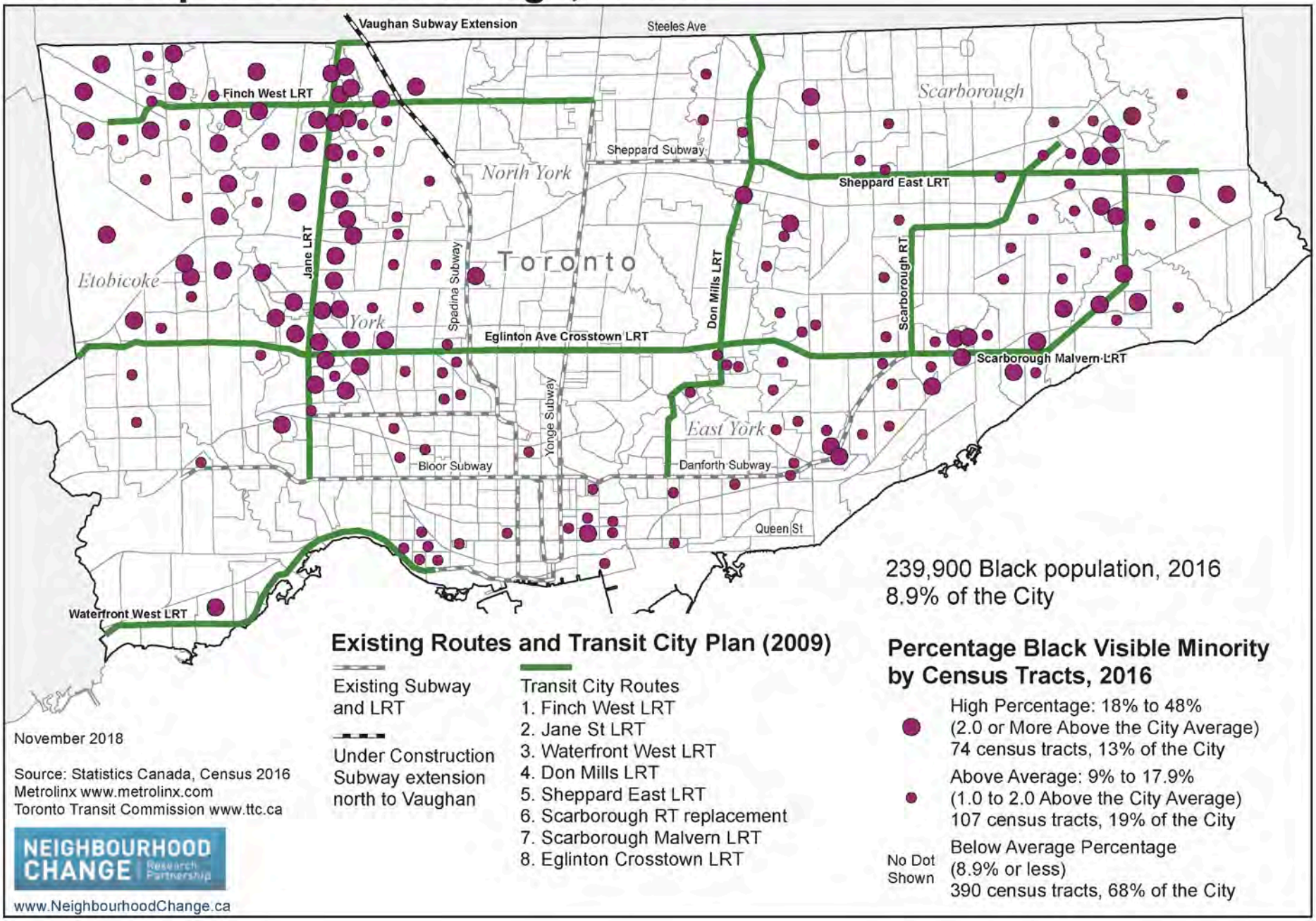
Toronto's Rapid Transit 2018, and Black Population Percentage, 2016



Toronto's Transit City 2009, and Black Population Percentage, 2016



Desmond Cole, Keynote

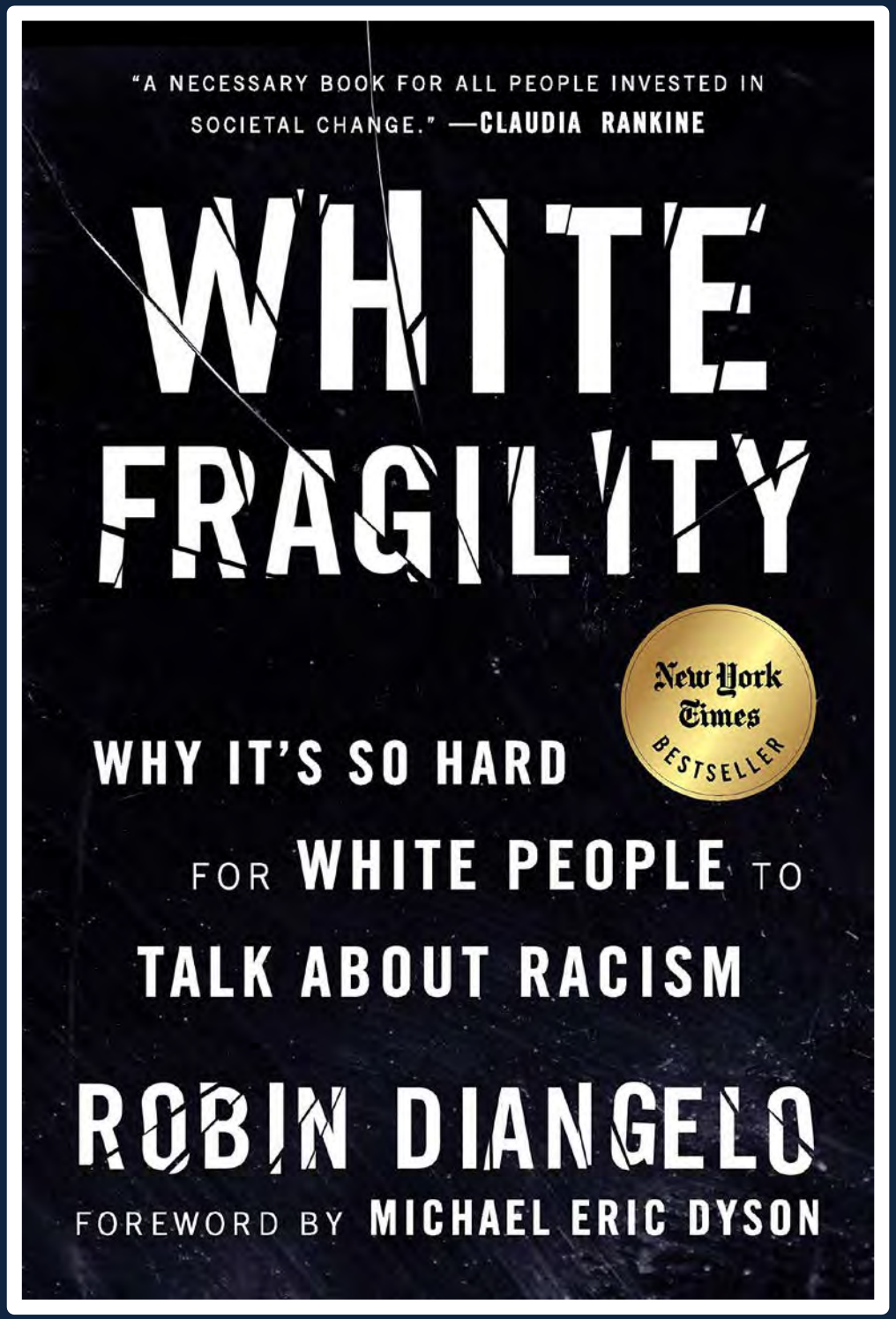
Census map shows Black people live in 'segregated' Toronto, professor says

By **DONOVAN VINCENT** Housing Reporter, Toronto Star
Thu., Nov. 8, 2018

Eleanor Green was on her local TTC bus route to her volunteer job at Centenary Hospital in Scarborough recently when she looked around at the other passengers and saw only one white face.

Future Cities Canada
Conference Toronto
7 November 2018

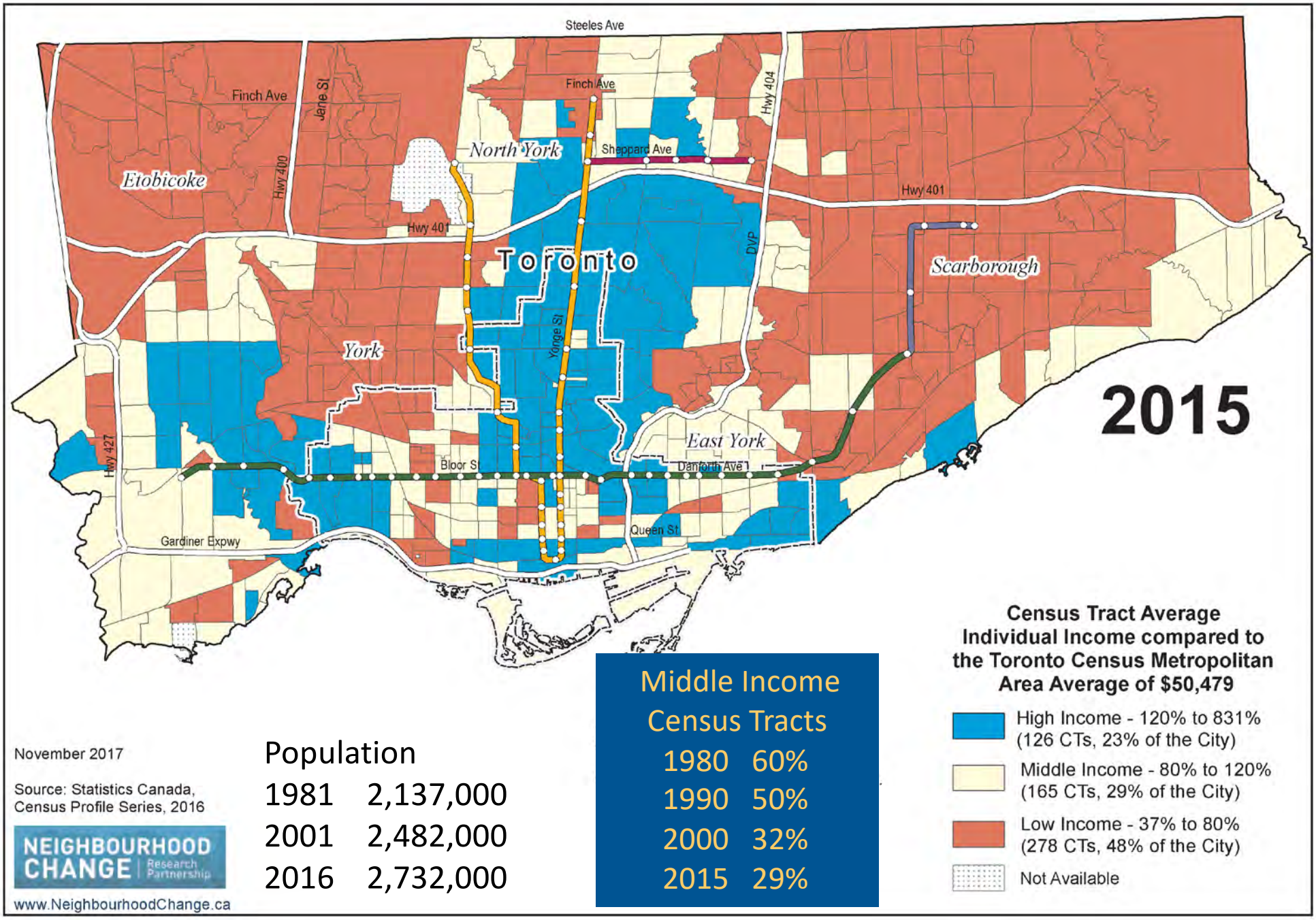
"This is called segregation. That's what it is. There is no other word for it," Cole told a hushed audience of city leaders, builders, planners, innovators and housing advocates gathered Thursday at the Evergreen Brick Works for the Future Cities Canada Summit,


"A NECESSARY BOOK FOR ALL PEOPLE INVESTED IN SOCIETAL CHANGE." —CLAUDIA RANKINE
WHITE FRAGILITY
New York Times BESTSELLER
WHY IT'S SO HARD FOR WHITE PEOPLE TO TALK ABOUT RACISM
ROBIN DIANGELO
FOREWORD BY MICHAEL ERIC DYSON

City of Toronto

- Ethnic, racial, immigrant population characteristics in three groups based on income, 2015
- Low, middle, and high income neighbourhoods (census tracts)

Average Individual Income, City of Toronto, 2015



November 2017

Source: Statistics Canada, Census Profile Series, 2016

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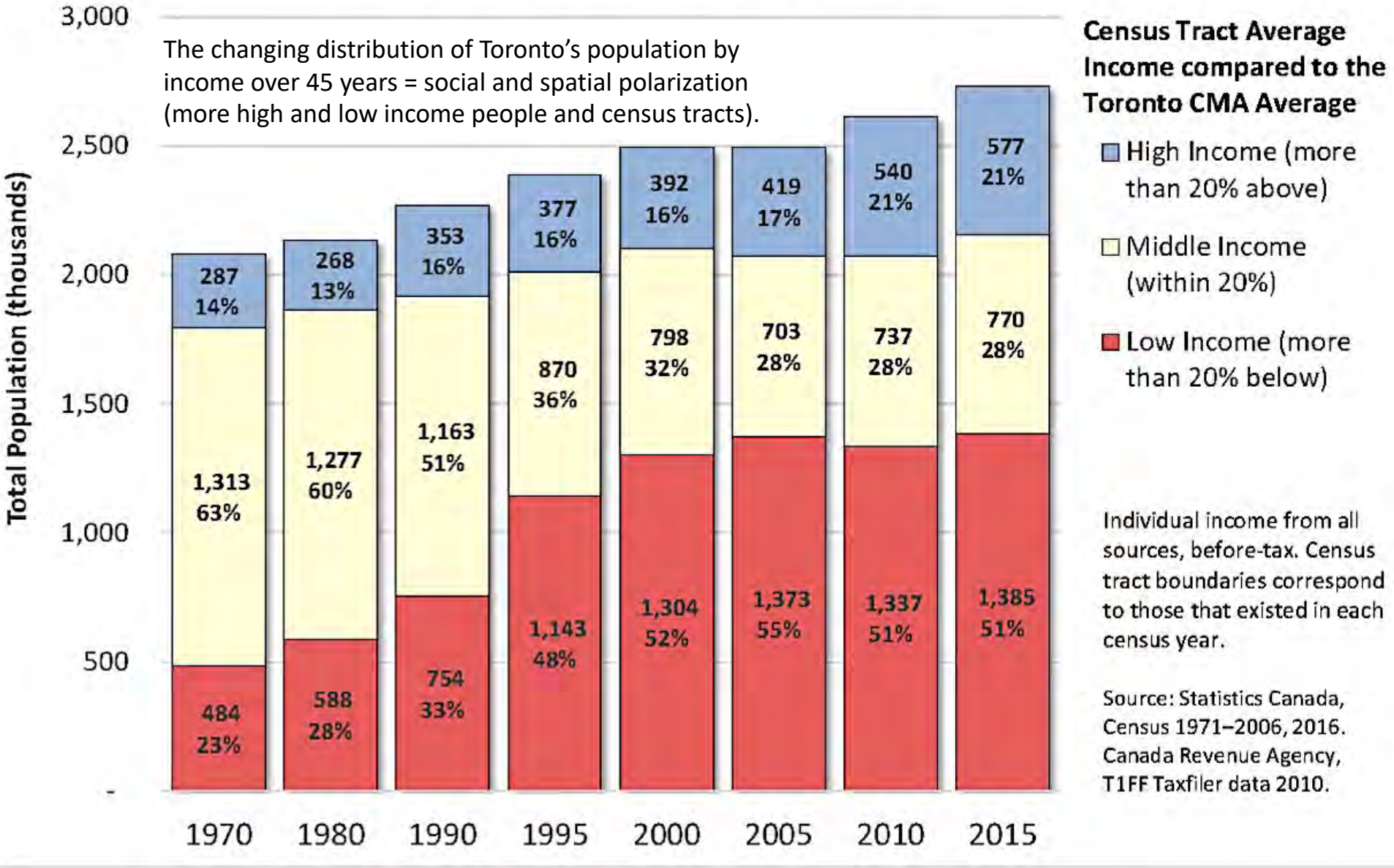
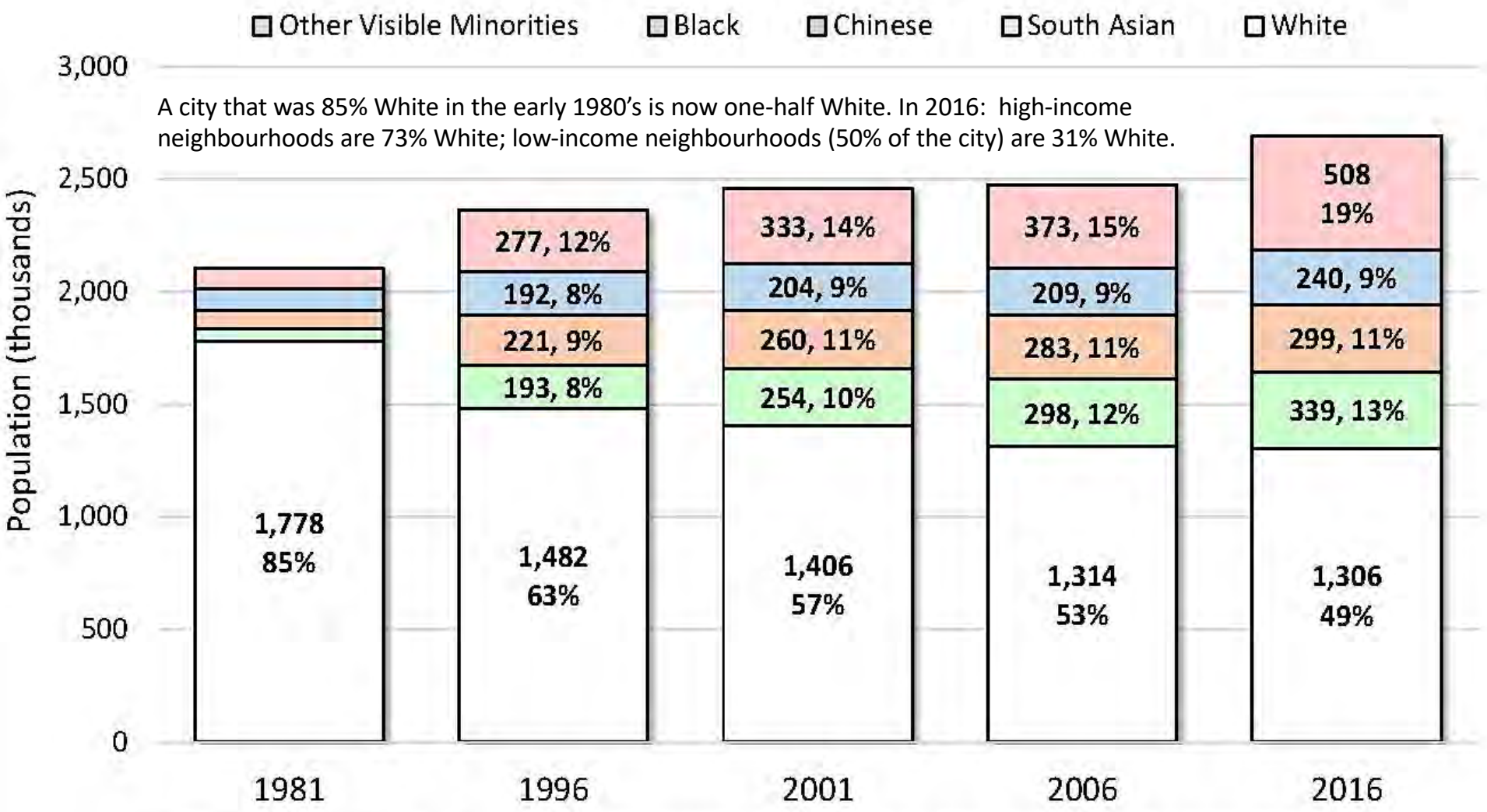
Population	
1981	2,137,000
2001	2,482,000
2016	2,732,000

Middle Income Census Tracts	
1980	60%
1990	50%
2000	32%
2015	29%

Neighbourhood Income & Population
City of Toronto, 1970–2015



Population by Visible Minority Status
City of Toronto, 1981–2016

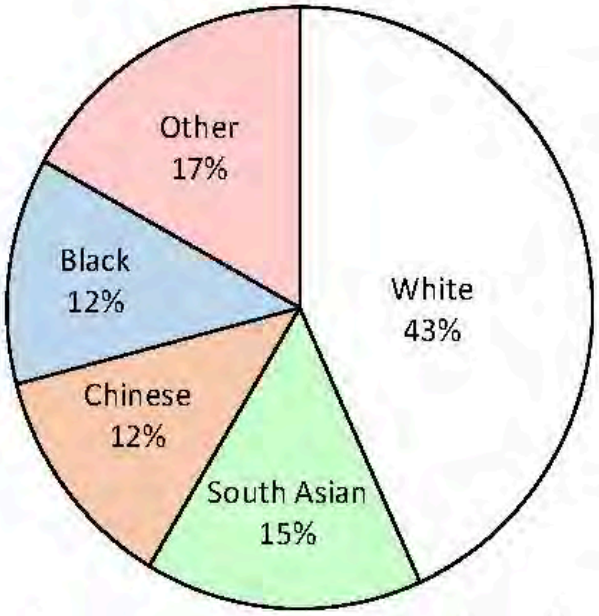


Other Visible minorities include Filipino, Korean, Japanese, South East Asian, Arab, West Asian, Latin American and other non-white groups. Visible minority status is not applicable to the Aboriginal population. Census 1981 data produced by Statistics Canada based on responses to ethnic origin, place of birth and language questions as part of a custom tabulation.

Toronto's Segregated Ethno-Cultural Population, 2001

Low Income Neighbourhoods

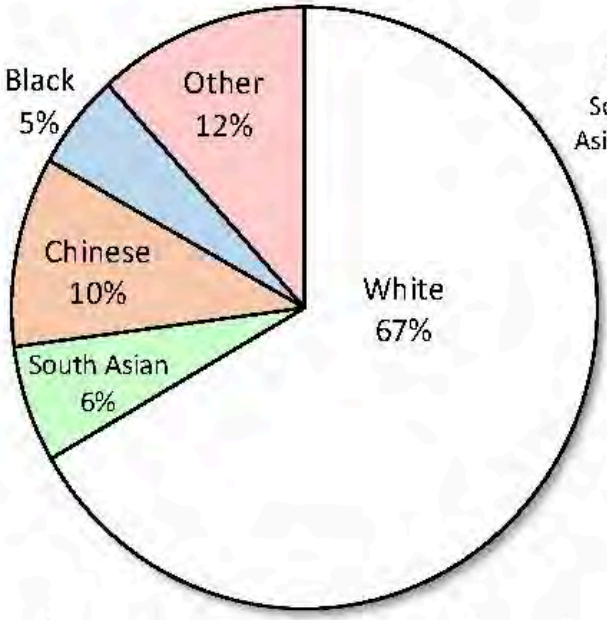
1,270,000 people
50% of census tracts



$24,000 average income (2000)

Middle Income Neighbourhoods

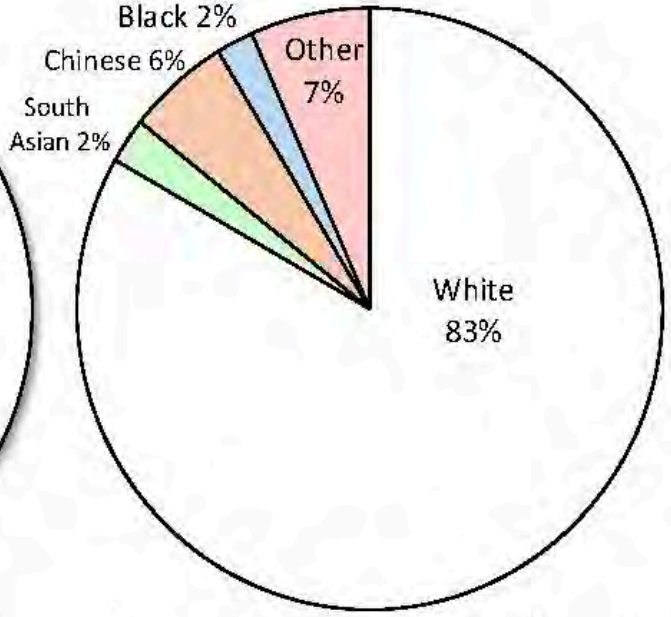
786,000 people
32% of census tracts



$33,000 average income (2000)

High Income Neighbourhoods

393,000 people
18% of census tracts



$68,000 average income (2000)

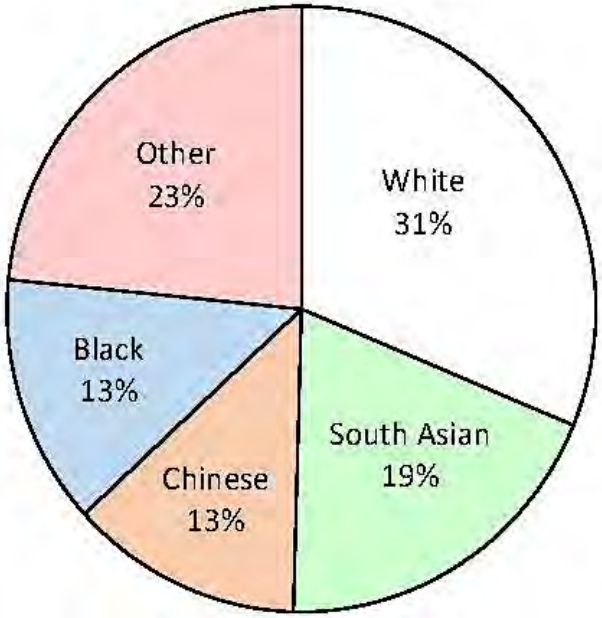
White Population 1,405,700: **57%** of the City. South Asian 253,900: **10%** of the City. Chinese 259,700: **9%** of the City. Black 204,100: **8%** of the City. Other Visible Minorities 333,400: **14%** of the City.

Other Visible minorities include Filipino, Korean, Japanese, Arab, West Asian, Latin American and other non-white groups. Visible minority status is not applicable to the Aboriginal population. **Census tract average individual Income** is from all sources, before-tax. **Low income** status refers to census tracts with an average income below 80.0% of the Toronto census metropolitan area (CMA) average income of $35,618 for 2000. **Middle income** status refers to census tracts with average income 80.0% to 119.9% of the Toronto CMA average income. **High income** status refers to census tracts with average income 120.0% and above the Toronto CMA average income.

Toronto's Segregated Ethno-Cultural Population, 2016

Low Income Neighbourhoods

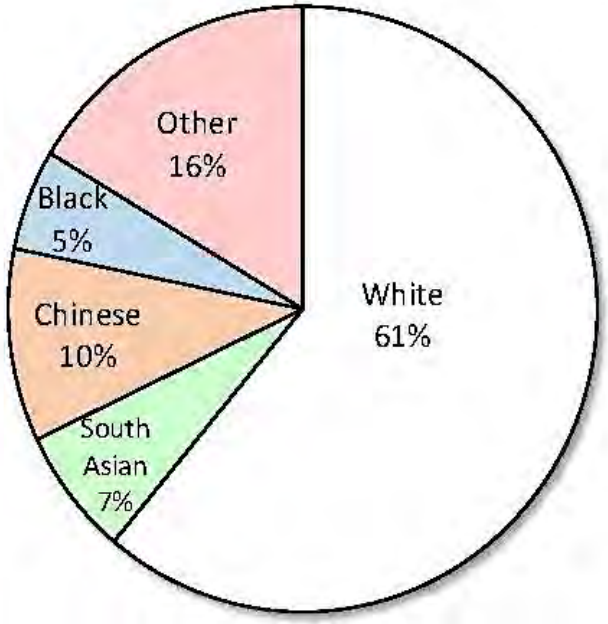
1,368,000 people
48% of census tracts



$32,000 average income

Middle Income Neighbourhoods

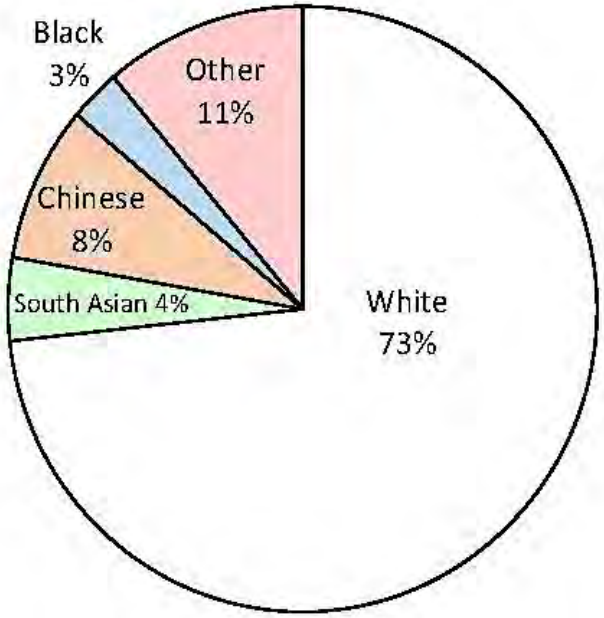
757,000 people
29% of census tracts



$49,000 average income

High Income Neighbourhoods

568,000 people
23% of census tracts

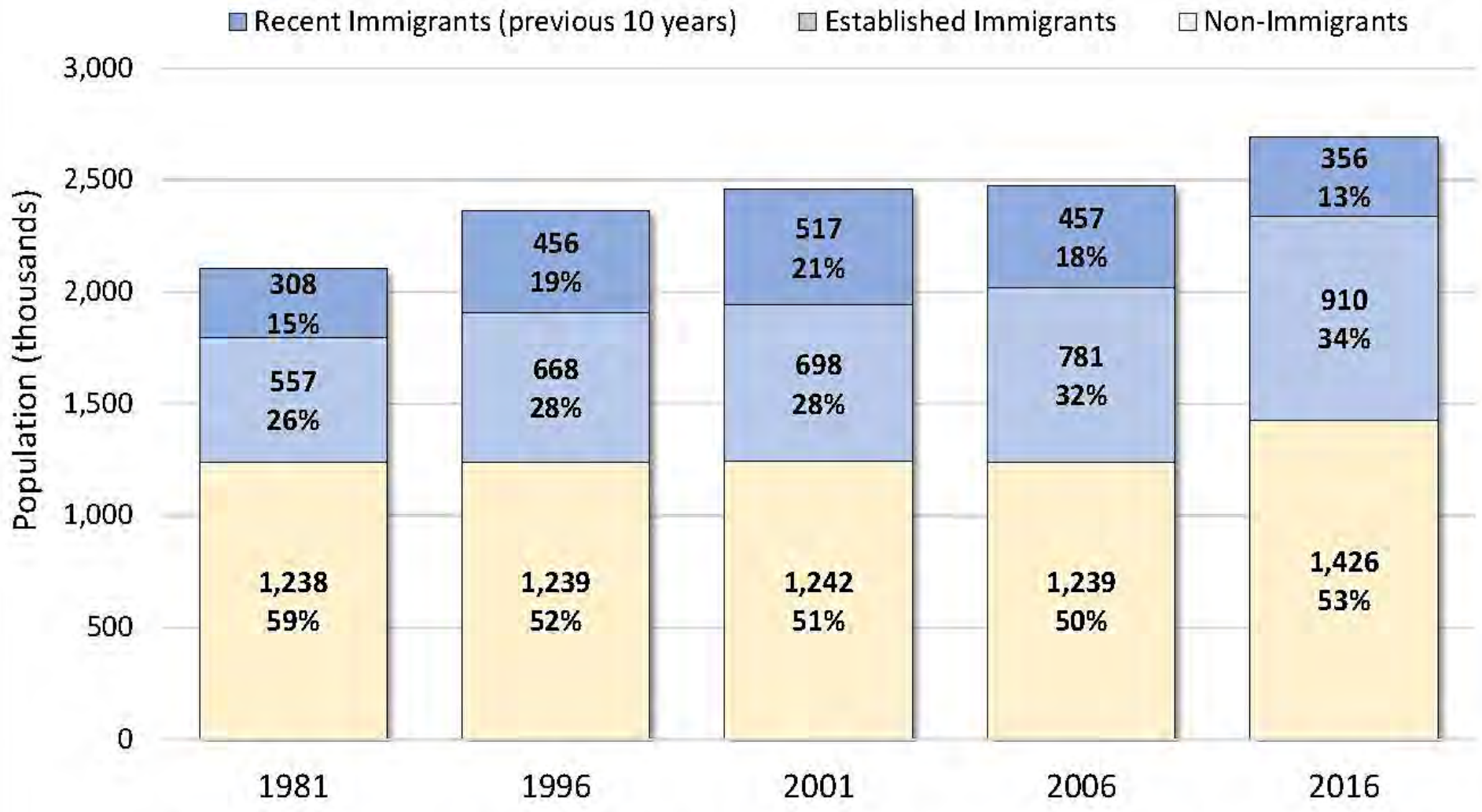


$102,000 average income

White Population 1,305,800: **49%** of the City. South Asian 339,000: **13%** of the City. Chinese 299,500: **11%** of the City. Black 239,900: **9%** of the City. Other Visible Minorities 507,600: **19%** of the City.

Other Visible minorities include Filipino, Korean, Japanese, Arab, West Asian, Latin American and other non-white groups. Visible minority status is not applicable to the Aboriginal population. **Census tract average individual Income** is from all sources, before-tax. **Low income** status refers to census tracts with an average income below 80.0% of the Toronto census metropolitan area (CMA) average income of $50,479 for 2015. **Middle income** status refers to census tracts with average income 80.0% to 119.9% of the Toronto CMA average income. **High income** status refers to census tracts with average income 120.0% and above the Toronto CMA average income.

Population by Immigrant Status
City of Toronto, 1981–2016

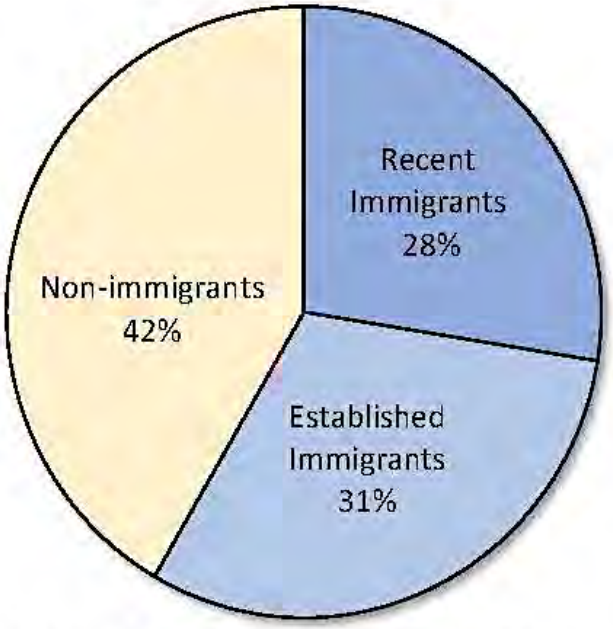


Immigrant refers to landed immigrants and permanent residents. **Non-immigrant** refers to persons born in Canada and non-permanent residents. Non-permanent residents not counted by the Census in 1981.

Toronto's Segregated Immigrant Population, 2001

Low Income Neighbourhoods

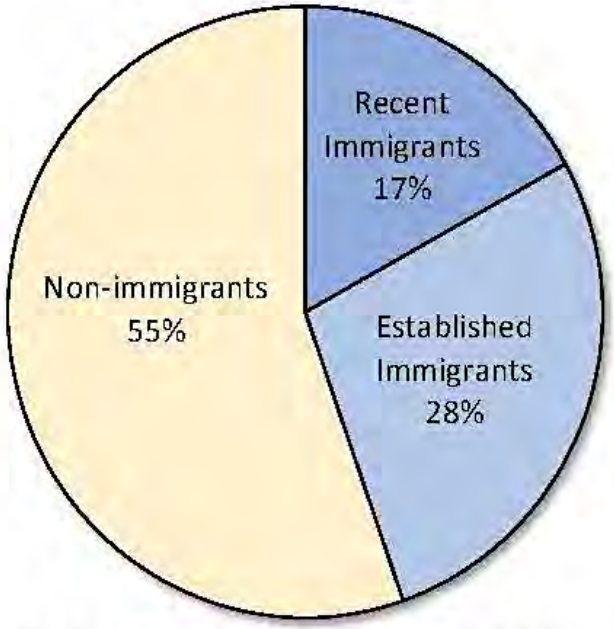
1,270,000 people
50% of census tracts



$24,000 average income (2000)

Middle Income Neighbourhoods

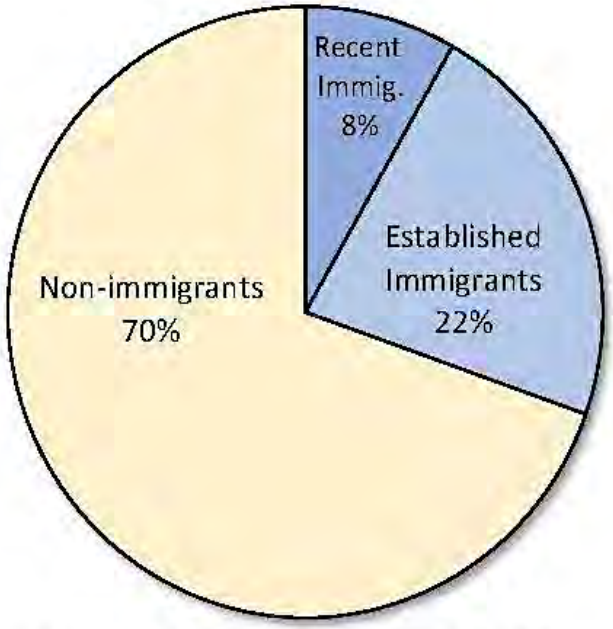
786,000 people
32% of census tracts



$33,000 average income (2000)

High Income Neighbourhoods

393,000 people
18% of census tracts



$68,000 average income (2000)

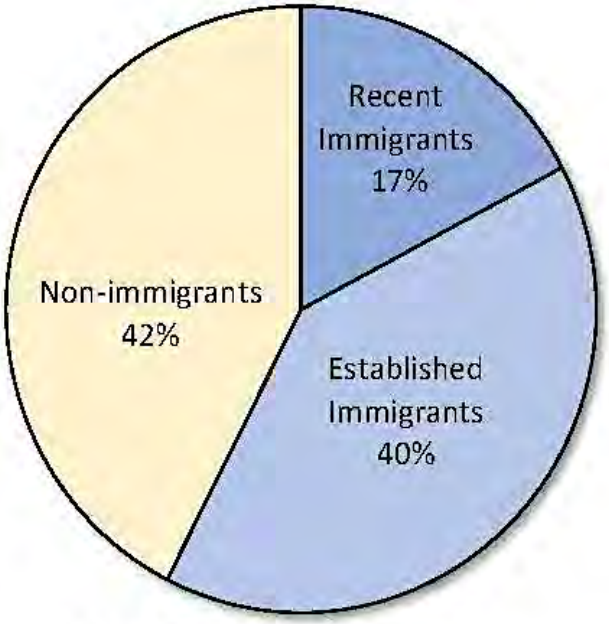
Recent Immigrants (1991-2001 arrivals) 516,600: **21%** of the City. Established Immigrants (pre-2001 arrivals) 698,000: **28%** of the City. Non-immigrants and non-permanent residents 1,242,200: **51%** of the City.

Immigrant refers to landed immigrants and permanent residents. **Non-immigrant** refers to persons born in Canada and non-permanent residents. **Census tract average individual Income** is from all sources, before-tax. **Low income** status refers to census tracts with an average income below 80.0% of the Toronto census metropolitan area (CMA) average income of $35,618 for 2000. **Middle income** status refers to census tracts with average income 80.0% to 119.9% of the Toronto CMA average income. **High income** status refers to census tracts with average income 120.0% and above the Toronto CMA average income.

Toronto's Segregated Immigrant Population, 2016

Low Income Neighbourhoods

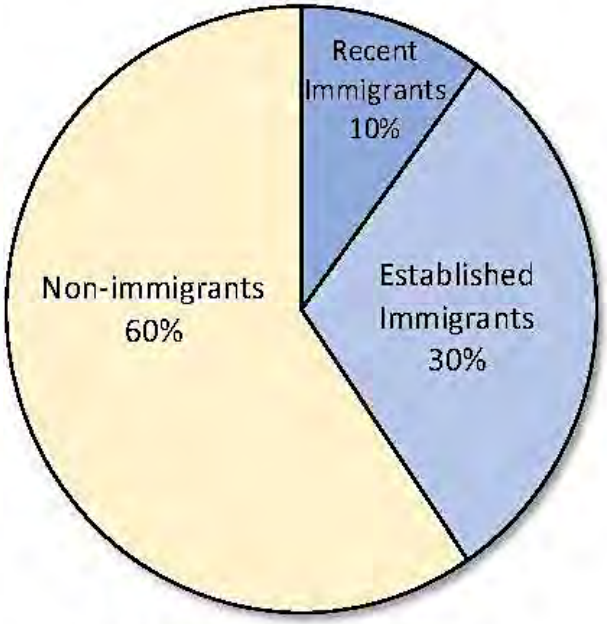
1,368,000 people
48% of census tracts



$32,000 average income

Middle Income Neighbourhoods

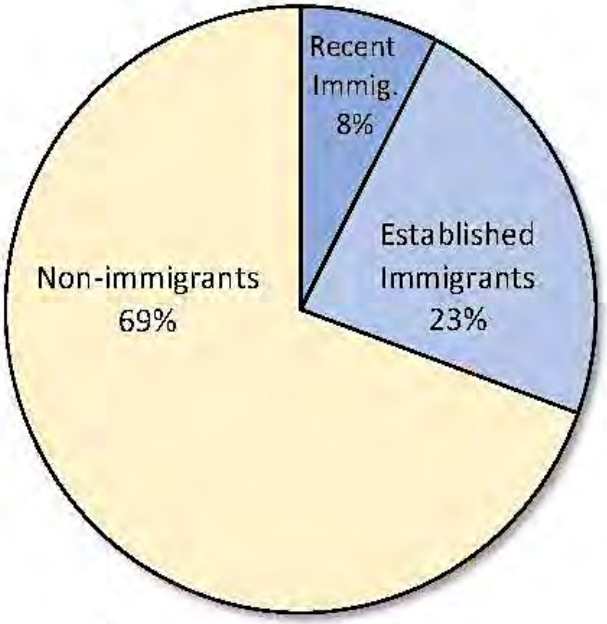
757,000 people
29% of census tracts



$49,000 average income

High Income Neighbourhoods

568,000 people
23% of census tracts



$102,000 average income

Recent Immigrants (2006-2016 arrivals) 355,700: **13%** of the City. Established Immigrants (pre-2006 arrivals) 910,300: **34%** of the City. Non-immigrants and non-permanent residents 1,425,700: **53%** of the City.

Immigrant refers to landed immigrants and permanent residents. **Non-immigrant** refers to persons born in Canada and non-permanent residents. **Census tract average individual Income** is from all sources, before-tax. **Low income** status refers to census tracts with an average income below 80.0% of the Toronto census metropolitan area (CMA) average income of $50,479 for 2015. **Middle income** status refers to census tracts with average income 80.0% to 119.9% of the Toronto CMA average income. **High income** status refers to census tracts with average income 120.0% and above the Toronto CMA average income.

Toronto CMA's Black population: 440,000 (7.5%)

48% Canadian born; 13% recent Immigrants (2006-2016)

Black Immigrant Population, 2016
Toronto Census Metropolitan Area

	City	CMA
Black population	239,850	442,020
Percent of population	8.9%	7.5%
Percent of visible minorities	17.3%	14.7%
Black immigrant population	**	228,710
Percent of Black population	**	51.7%
Percent of immigrants	**	8.5%
Black recent immigrants (10 years)	**	56,335
Percent of Black population	**	12.7%
Percent of recent immigrants	**	8.0%

** not reported in standard Census tables. **Source:** Statistics Canada, Census Profile Series 2016 and Data Table 98-400-X2016191

Populations of Selected Visible Minority Groups, 2001–2016

Toronto Census Metropolitan Area

	2001 #	2001 %	2016 #	2016 %	Percent Change
Toronto CMA Population	4,648,000	100	5,863,000	100	26%
White	2,935,000	63	2,851,000	49	-3%
Visible Minorities	1,713,000	37	3,012,000	51	76%
Chinese	409,535	9	631,080	11	54%
South Asian	473,805	10	973,145	17	105%
Black	310,500	7	441,960	8	42%
Latin American	75,910	2	132,885	2	75%
Arab & West Asian	95,815	2	229,425	4	139%

Figures compiled by Richard Maaranen, Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership, University of Toronto, September 2018.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census Tract Profile Series, 2001-2016

Neighbourhood Segregation Levels of Selected Visible Minority Groups, 1991–2016 Toronto Census Metropolitan Area

	1991	2001	2016	Change
All Visible Minorities	0.395	0.435	0.452	14%
Chinese	0.435	0.577	0.585	34%
South Asian	0.433	0.535	0.579	34%
Black	0.423	0.487	0.512	21%
Latin American	0.600	0.479	0.395	-34%
Arab & West Asian	0.633	0.501	0.488	-23%

Coefficients are indices of dissimilarity, calculated in relation to the distribution of whites (non-visible minorities) based on census tract populations. Figures for 1991 and 2001 from Walks and Bourne, Table 3 (2006). Figures for 2016 calculated by Richard Maaranen, Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership, University of Toronto, September 2018.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census Tract Profile Series, 1991-2016

‘Racial’ (skin colour) Segregation

Toronto CMA 1991 to 2016

‘Racial’ segregation

(non-Whites / Whites, index of dissimilarity)

+14% (from 39.5 in 1991 to 45.2 in 2016)

The visible minority and White populations in the Toronto CMA are increasingly not living side-by-side within and between census tracts.

Note: The Index of Dissimilarity considers number of visible minority vs White people within and between census tracts in relation to the distribution for the whole CMA. The Gini and COP only considers incomes between CTs (but not within CTs), comparing CT averages against each other in the CMA as a whole.

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Black Segregation: Toronto / Chicago

Index of dissimilarity

- **51.2** Toronto CMA in 2016, **42.3** in 1991
- **75.9** Chicago Metro in 2010, **84.6** in 1990

Walks, R.A., & Bourne, L.S. (2006). Ghettos in Canada's cities? Racial segregation, ethnic enclaves and poverty concentration in Canadian urban areas. *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien*, *50*(3), 273-297.
For USA see: https://s4.ad.brown.edu/Projects/Diversity/Data/Report/report2.pdf

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Table 1. Black-White Segregation (D) in 50 Metro Areas with Largest Black Populations in 2010

2010 Rank	Area Name	2010 Segregation	2000 Segregation	1990 Segregation	1980 Segregation
1	Detroit-Livonia-Dearborn, MI	79.6	85.9	85.6	83.0
2	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	79.6	82.2	82.8	83.9
3	New York-White Plains-Wayne, NY-NJ	79.1	81.3	82.0	81.7
4	Newark-Union, NJ-PA	78.0	80.4	82.7	82.8
5	Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL	75.9	80.8	84.6	88.6
6	Philadelphia, PA	73.7	76.5	81.4	82.6
7	Miami-Miami Beach-Kendall, FL	73.0	72.4	71.8	79.3
8	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	72.6	77.2	82.8	85.8
9	St. Louis, MO-IL	70.6	73.4	77.2	81.6
10	Nassau-Suffolk, NY	69.2	73.6	76.4	76.9
11	Boston-Quincy, MA	67.8	71.5	73.7	79.8
12	Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	66.9	72.6	75.9	78.2
13	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	65.2	68.9	70.3	72.2
14	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA	65.0	67.4	73.1	81.1
15	Indianapolis-Carmel, IN	64.5	71.0	74.4	78.8
16	Baltimore-Towson, MD	64.3	67.6	71.4	74.4
17	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	64.1	65.9	68.4	71.4
18	New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	63.3	69.0	68.3	70.0
19	Pittsburgh, PA	63.1	67.4	70.8	73.3
20	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	62.2	65.7	65.5	68.8

Logan, J. R., & Stults, B. (2011). ***The persistence of segregation in the metropolis: New findings from the 2010 census***. Census brief prepared for Project US2010, 24. https://s4.ad.brown.edu/Projects/Diversity/Data/Report/report2.pdf

Table 1. Black-White Segregation (D) in 50 Metro Areas (continued)

2010 Rank	Area name	2010 Segregation	2000 Segregation	1990 Segregation	1980 Segregation
36	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	53.1	53.9	54.7	58.0
37	Camden, NJ	52.3	56.2	59.5	60.1
38	Jacksonville, FL	52.1	53.4	57.8	67.7
39	Richmond, VA	51.6	53.2	55.6	63.0
40	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	50.2	57.8	62.3	67.7
41	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	49.3	55.2	59.1	71.0
42	Columbia, SC	48.3	47.9	50.4	57.4
43	Bethesda-Rockville-Frederick, MD	47.9	46.3	42.7	43.9
44	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	46.9	46.1	49.5	59.7
45	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	44.6	43.9	43.9	46.7
46	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	44.0	45.5	43.8	52.7
47	Raleigh-Cary, NC	41.4	40.5	41.9	46.2
48	Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	41.3	43.3	50.1	61.4
49	Charleston-North Charleston-Summerville, SC	40.8	43.9	47.8	53.4
50	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	35.9	39.0	49.0	62.9

Toronto CMA 51.2 2016 48.7 2001 42.3 1991

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

Logan, J. R., & Stults, B. (2011). ***The persistence of segregation in the metropolis: New findings from the 2010 census***. Census brief prepared for Project US2010, 24. https://s4.ad.brown.edu/Projects/Diversity/Data/Report/report2.pdf

Greater Toronto Region: Socially Unequal and Segregated

- "On several metrics, including those related to income, greater Toronto is among Canada's richest, but also most socially unequal and segregated, metropolitan areas.
- "The region has grown more unequal over the last 45 years.
- "Trends toward socio-spatial concentration and polarization are worrisome, with an increasing overlap between processes of racialization, wage and occupational polarization, and neighbourhood-based income segregation."

~ Alan Walks, "Inequality and Neighbourhood Change in the Greater Toronto Region," forthcoming, UBC Press.

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Neighbourhood Income Change Trajectories: Class, Race, Immigration Status

- "…trajectories of neighbourhood income change depend more on the class, race, and immigration status of inhabitants.
- "Residents of neighbourhoods gaining ground are more likely to have a university degree, be employed in managerial or administrative jobs, and less likely to be foreign-born or a visible minority.
- "Neighbourhoods marked by long-term income decline, meanwhile, are significantly more likely to house visible minorities, particularly South Asians and African-Canadians, and more than twice the proportion of immigrants as neighbourhoods that are gaining ground."

~ Alan Walks, "Inequality and Neighbourhood Change in the Greater Toronto Region," forthcoming, UBC Press.

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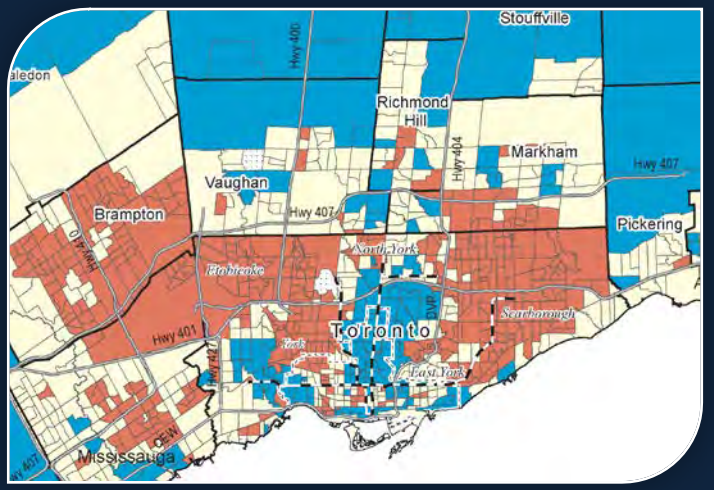

Explaining the Trends; Policy Options

PROCESSES & THE FUTURE

Toronto: Summary

1. Income inequality, income polarization, and SES/ethno-cultural/racial segregation are increasing
2. Increased dramatically since the late-1980s, especially during the 1990s, at a slower pace since
3. There is no sign of a reversal
4. We have the strongest possible evidence; evidence that is being ignored by governments
5. We know the cause: public policy; labour market and housing market dynamics; discrimination

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Macro Level Processes

Global / National Forces

- Globalization
- Neoliberalism
- Financialization
- Economic Inequality & Polarization

What about specific regional and local processes / forces / factors?

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Solution? Year-by-year reverse the negative trends

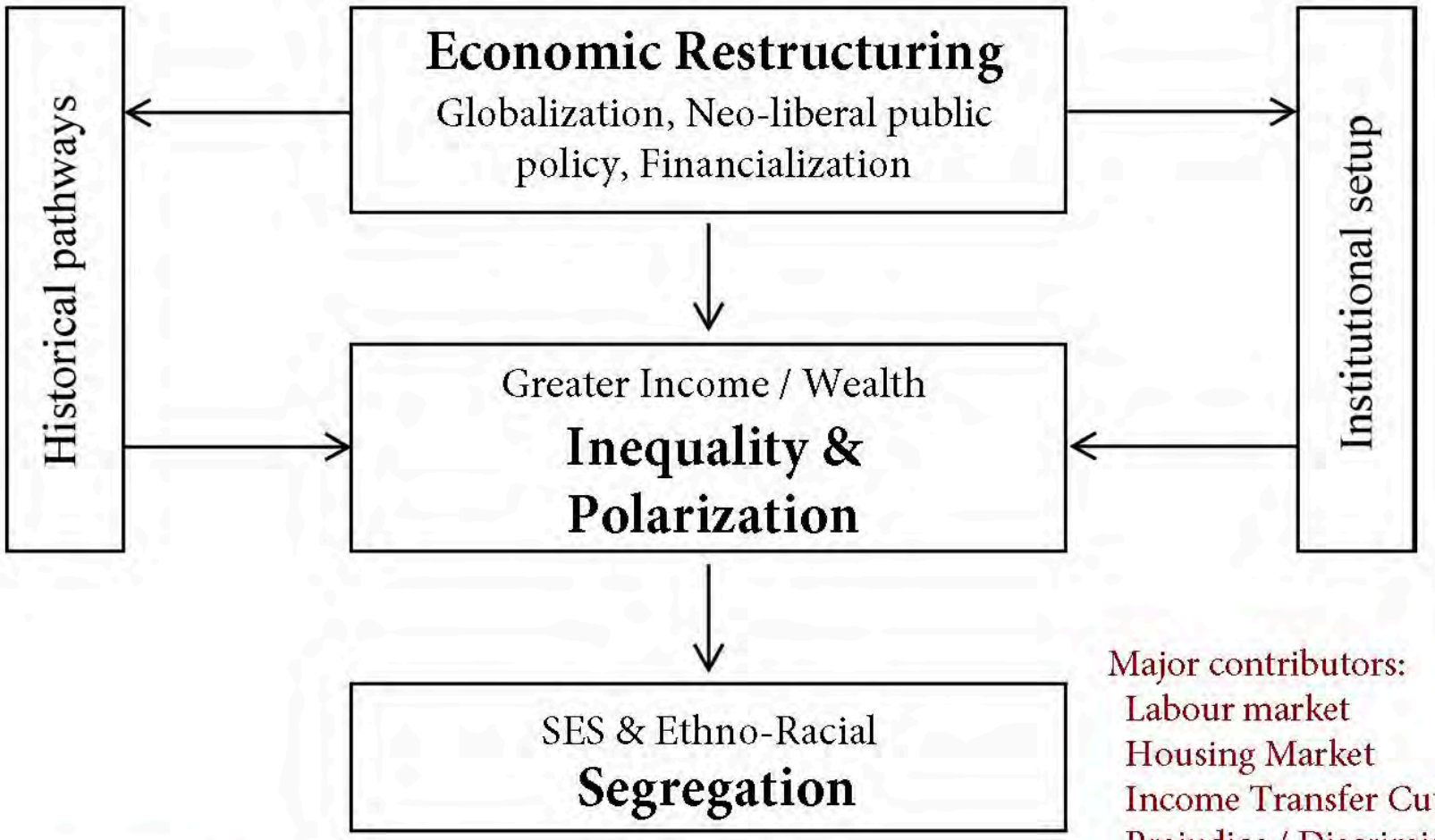
GOVERNMENT: Fair, inclusive policies

LABOUR MARKET: Wages, Regulations

HOUSING SYSTEM: Cost of Housing

TAXES & TRANSFERS: Fair Distribution

DISCRIMINATION: Effective Protections



The Macro Context for Socio-economic Segregation

Adopted from: Tammaru, Musterd, van Ham (2016) A multi-factor approach to understanding socio-economic segregation

Jan 28, 2019 / Ingrid Gould Ellen

4 Ways to Tackle Segregated Cities, and Why It Matters

1. policymakers can invest in efforts to enforce existing anti-discrimination laws to root out the discrimination that persists in the housing market.
2. Inclusionary zoning policies and incentives to encourage density around transit hubs can be effective tools.
3. localities might prioritize creating and preserving affordable housing in gentrifying areas.

Racial segregation in the United States leaves children of different races and ethnicities separated into neighborhoods with widely unequal resources and opportunities. In order to achieve racial equity, we must grapple with segregation and the unequal opportunities it has created.

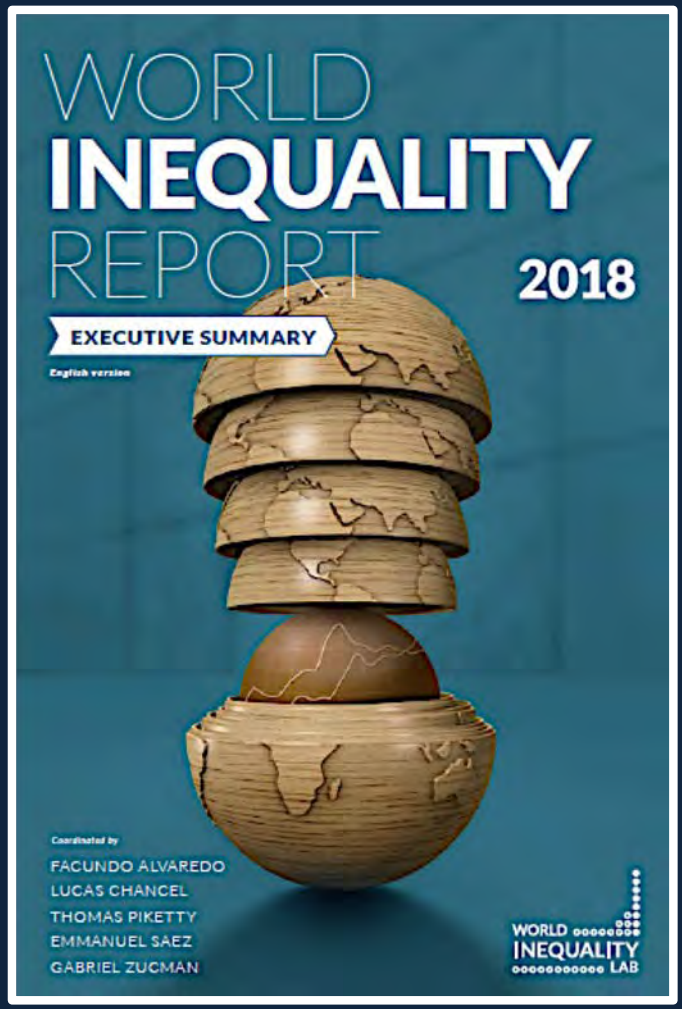
https://www.livingcities.org/blog/1279-4-ways-to-tackle-segregated-cities-and-why-it-matters

The future of global inequality: How should it be tackled?

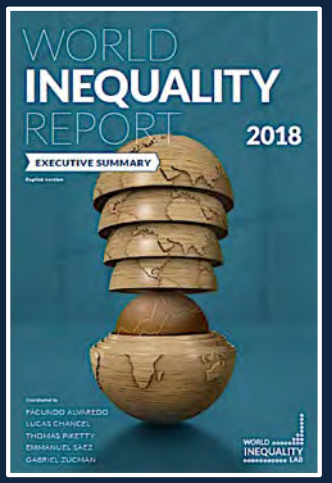
Tackling global income and wealth inequality requires important shifts in

- National and global tax policies
- Educational policies
- Corporate governance
- Wage-setting policies
- Data transparency

We project income and wealth inequality up to 2050 under different scenarios. In a future in which "business as usual" continues, global inequality will further increase. Alternatively, if in the coming decades all countries follow the moderate inequality trajectory of Europe over the past decades, global income inequality can be reduced—in which case there can also be substantial progress in eradicating global poverty.



How can inequality be tackled?



1. **Progressive Taxation.** "Tax progressivity is a proven tool to combat rising income and wealth inequality."
2. **Ownership Transparency**. "A global financial register recording the ownership of financial assets would deal severe blows to tax evasion, money laundering, and rising inequality."
3. **Address Education and Employment Exclusion**. "More equal access to education and well-paying jobs is key to addressing the stagnating or sluggish income growth rates of the poorest half of the population."
4. **Public Investment** (education, health, environment). "Governments need to invest in the future to address current income and wealth inequality levels, and to prevent further increases in them."

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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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Research Required: Power

- The analysis of power in and over cities
- How power is exercised by the drivers that possess power
- How the impacts of the exercise of power over cities can be better guided, and
- What the goals should be

Peter Marcuse (2016) "For the Repoliticization of Global City Research." *City & Community, 15*(2), 116.

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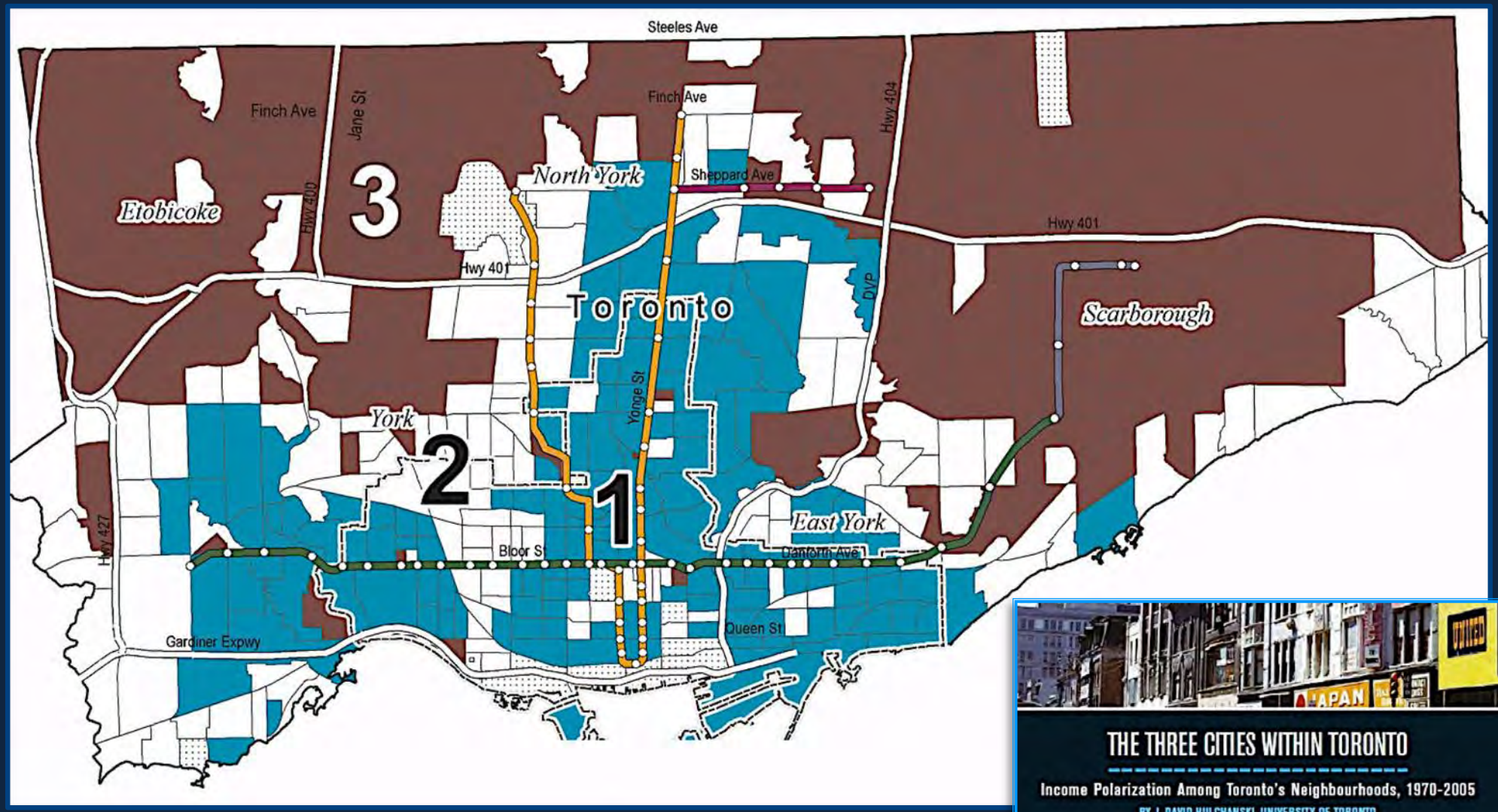
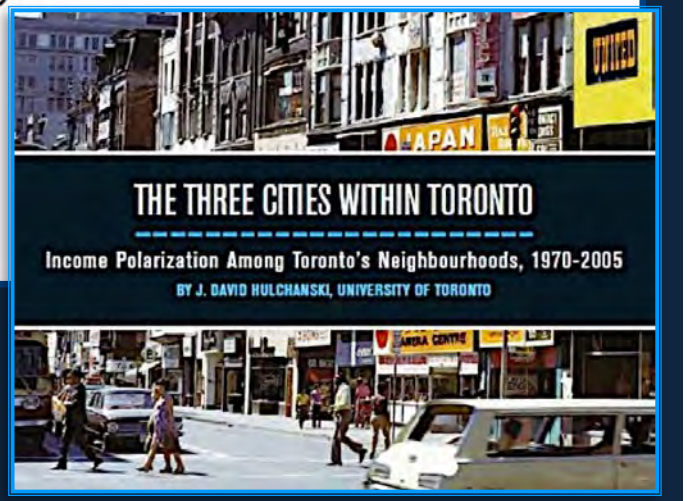




For further information

www.NeighbourhoodChange.ca

Larry Bourne, David Ley, Richard Maaranen, Robert Murdie, Damaris Rose, Alan Walks

Appendix

How Segregated is Toronto?

Inequality, Polarization, and Segregation

Trends and Processes

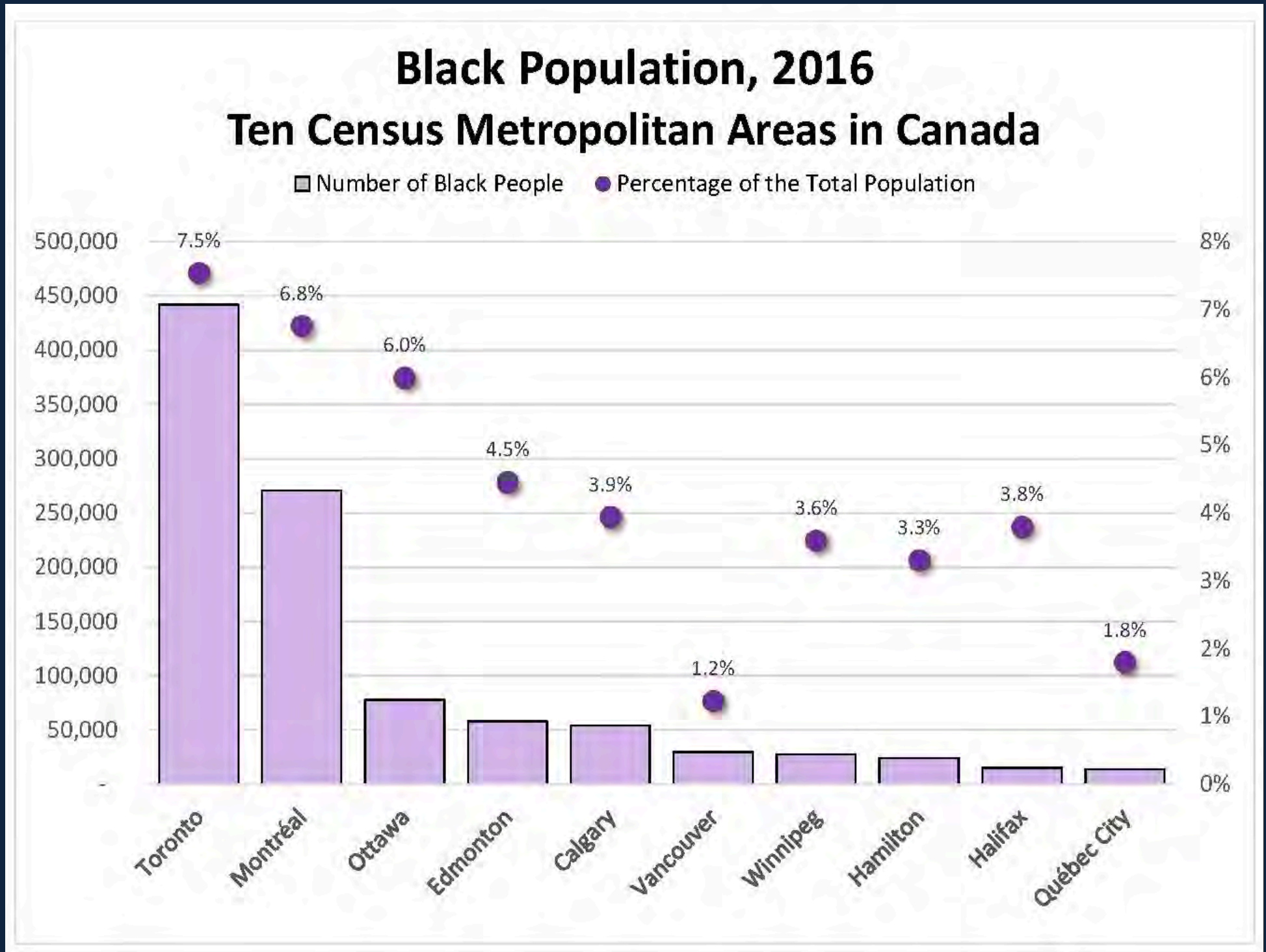
February 2018

Black Population by Region and Neighbourhood Income Status City of Toronto, 1996 and 2016

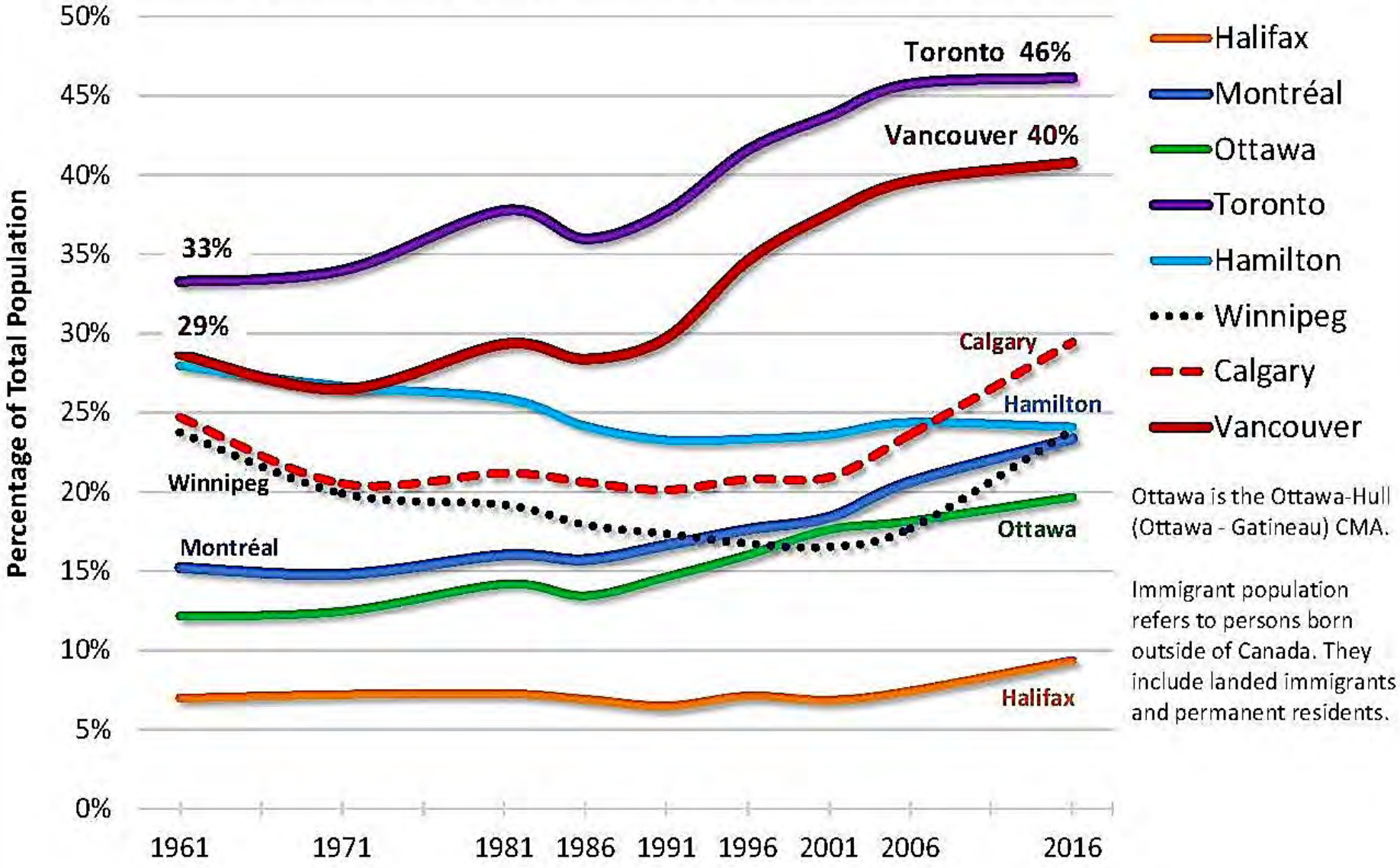
	1996 #	1996 %	2016 #	2016 %	Difference 1996-2016	Point Change	Percentage Change
Toronto CMA	274,935	6.5%	442,020	7.5%	167,085	1.0%	61%
City of Toronto	192,400	8.1%	239,850	8.9%	47,450	0.8%	25%
905 Region of CMA	82,535	4.4%	202,170	6.4%	119,635	2.0%	145%
Former Toronto	33,650	5.2%	38,565	4.9%	4,915	-0.3%	15%
Etobicoke	29,915	9.2%	40,515	11.2%	10,600	2.0%	35%
North York	48,505	8.3%	63,120	9.5%	14,615	1.2%	30%
Scarborough	55,195	10.0%	67,225	10.8%	12,030	0.8%	22%
City of Toronto	192,400	8.1%	239,850	8.9%	47,450	0.8%	25%
High Income CTs	6,720	1.8%	15,935	2.8%	9,215	1.0%	137%
Middle Income CTs	45,620	5.3%	40,840	5.4%	-4,780	0.1%	-10%
Low Income CTs	139,625	12.4%	183,020	13.4%	43,395	1.0%	31%

Source: Statistics Canada, Census Profile Series 1996 and 2016.

Income status based on census tract average individual income from all sources, before-tax of Black and non-Black residents. Low income CTs have average income less than 80.0% of the CMA average income; middle income CTs 80.0% to 119.9%; high income CTs 120.0% and higher. Figures for former cities of Toronto 2016 based on census tract totals. Population sum of CTs is a little less than City of Toronto due to random rounding and census income suppression rules. 11/2018


Black Population, 2016
Ten Census Metropolitan Areas in Canada
Number of Black People
Percentage of the Total Population
500,000
450,000
400,000
350,000
300,000
250,000
200,000
150,000
100,000
50,000
-
8%
7%
6%
5%
4%
3%
2%
1%
0%
7.5%
6.8%
6.0%
4.5%
3.9%
3.6%
3.3%
3.8%
1.2%
1.8%
Toronto
Montréal
Ottawa
Edmonton
Calgary
Vancouver
Winnipeg
Hamilton
Halifax
Québec City

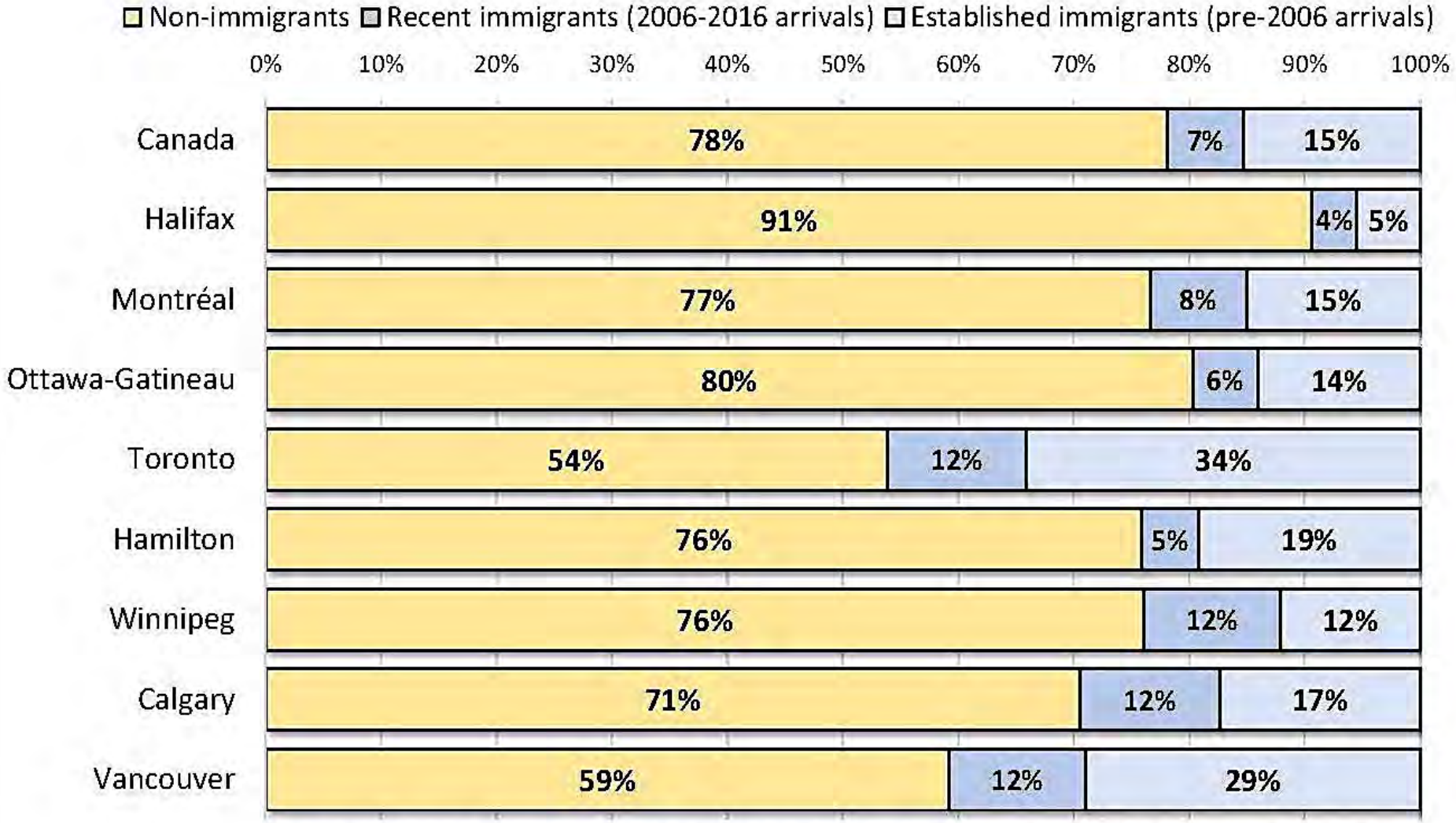
Immigrant Population Share
Eight Metropolitan Areas in Canada, 1961–2016



Ottawa is the Ottawa-Hull (Ottawa - Gatineau) CMA.

Immigrant population refers to persons born outside of Canada. They include landed immigrants and permanent residents.

Immigrant Status of the Population, 2016
Canada and Eight Census Metropolitan Areas



Immigrant refers to landed immigrants and permanent residents. Non-immigrant refers to persons born in Canada and non-permanent residents.

Index of Dissimilarity

Index of Dissimilarity

The standard measure of segregation is the Index of Dissimilarity (D), which captures the degree to which two groups are evenly spread among census tracts in a given city. Evenness is defined with respect to the racial composition of the city as a whole. With values ranging from 0 to 100, D gives the percentage of one group who would have to move to achieve an even residential pattern - one where every tract replicates the group composition of the city. A value of 60 or above is considered very high. For example, a D score of 60 for black-white segregation means that 60% of either group must move to a different tract for the two groups to become equally distributed. Values of 30 to 60 are usually considered moderate levels of segregation, while values of 30 or less are considered low.

Demographers typically interpret change either up or down in the following way:

- Change of 10 points and above in one decade - Very significant change
- Change of 5-10 points in one decade - Moderate change
- Below 5 points in one decade - Small change or no real change at all

Change can be cumulative, and small changes in a single decade – if they are repeated over several decades – can constitute a significant trend. Therefore we pay attention not only to what has happened since 2000 but also to the longer term trajectory for each group.

Logan, J. R., & Stults, B. (2011). ***The persistence of segregation in the metropolis: New findings from the 2010 census***. Census brief prepared for Project US2010, 24.
https://s4.ad.brown.edu/Projects/Diversity/Data/Report/report2.pdf

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Polarization

Is not the same as inequality; it is

- the disappearing middle,
- fewer middle-income jobs,
- the growth (absolute or relative) at both the top & bottom ends of the income distribution.

Polarization is both a fact and a process.

Process: Redistributive forces/factors causing a movement towards the poles of the distribution.

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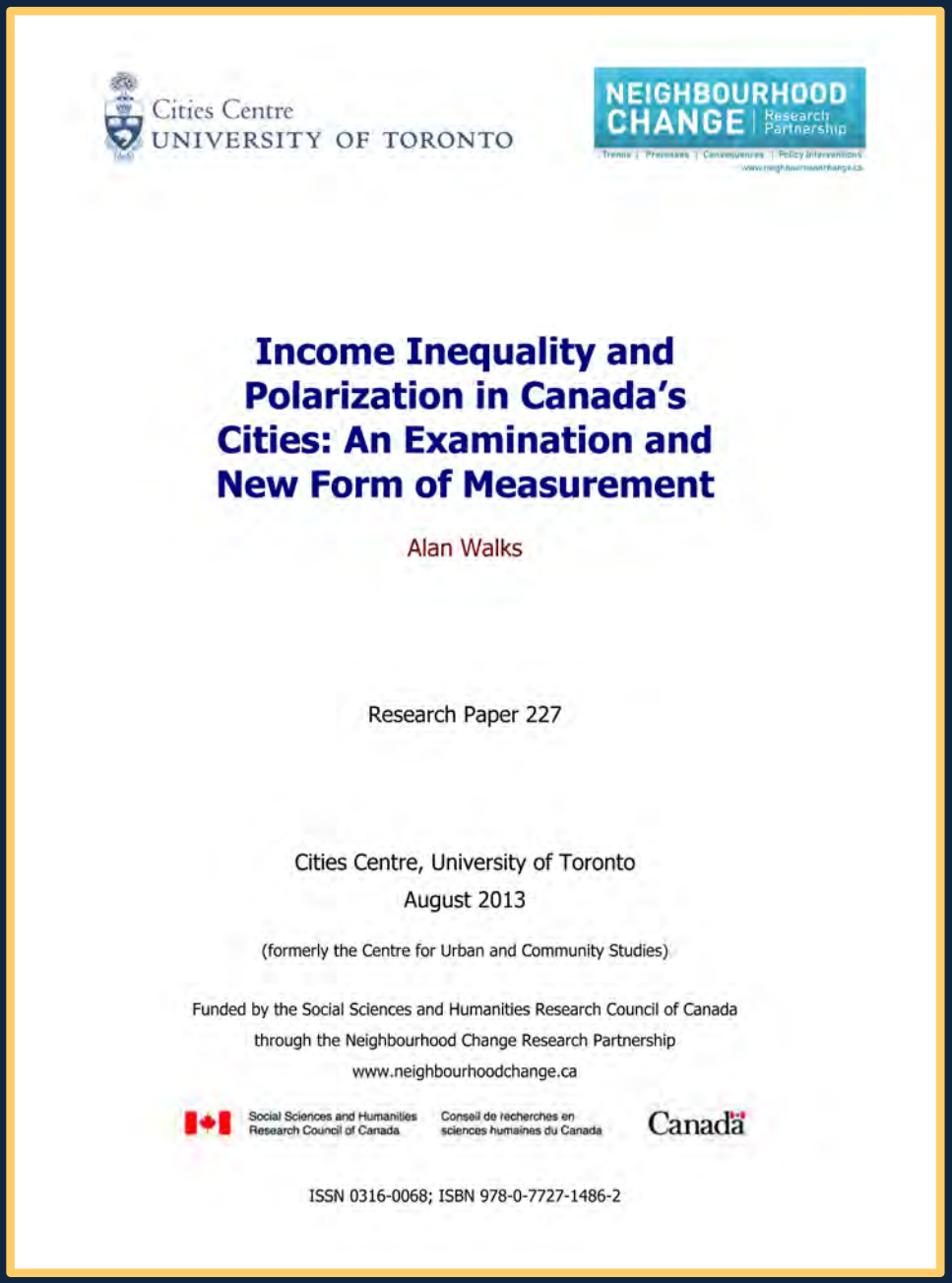

Cities Centre
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE Research Partnership

Income Inequality and Polarization in Canada's Cities: An Examination and New Form of Measurement

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Research Paper 227

Cities Centre, University of Toronto
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http://neighbourhoodchange.ca/documents/2015/02/income-inequality-and-polarization-in-canadas-cities-an-examination-and-new-form-of-measurement.pdf

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City of Toronto, 1970 - 2015

Neighbourhood Income Polarization

Decline of Middle Income Neighbourhoods (census tracts)

CENSUS TRACTS: SERIES OF MAPS

HIGH INCOME	FROM	16%	→	23%
MIDDLE INCOME	FROM	58%	→	29%
LOW INCOME	FROM	26%	→	48%

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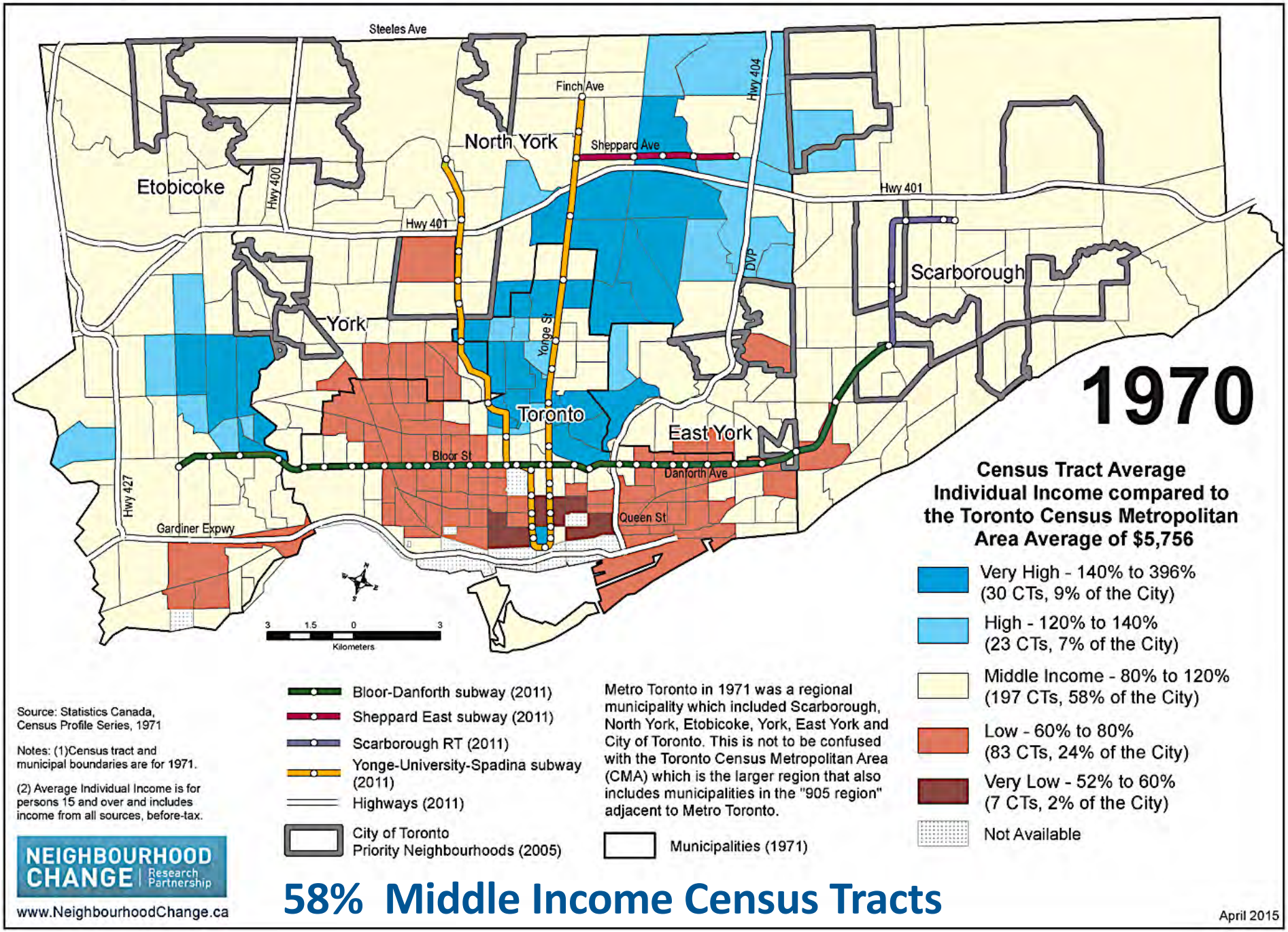
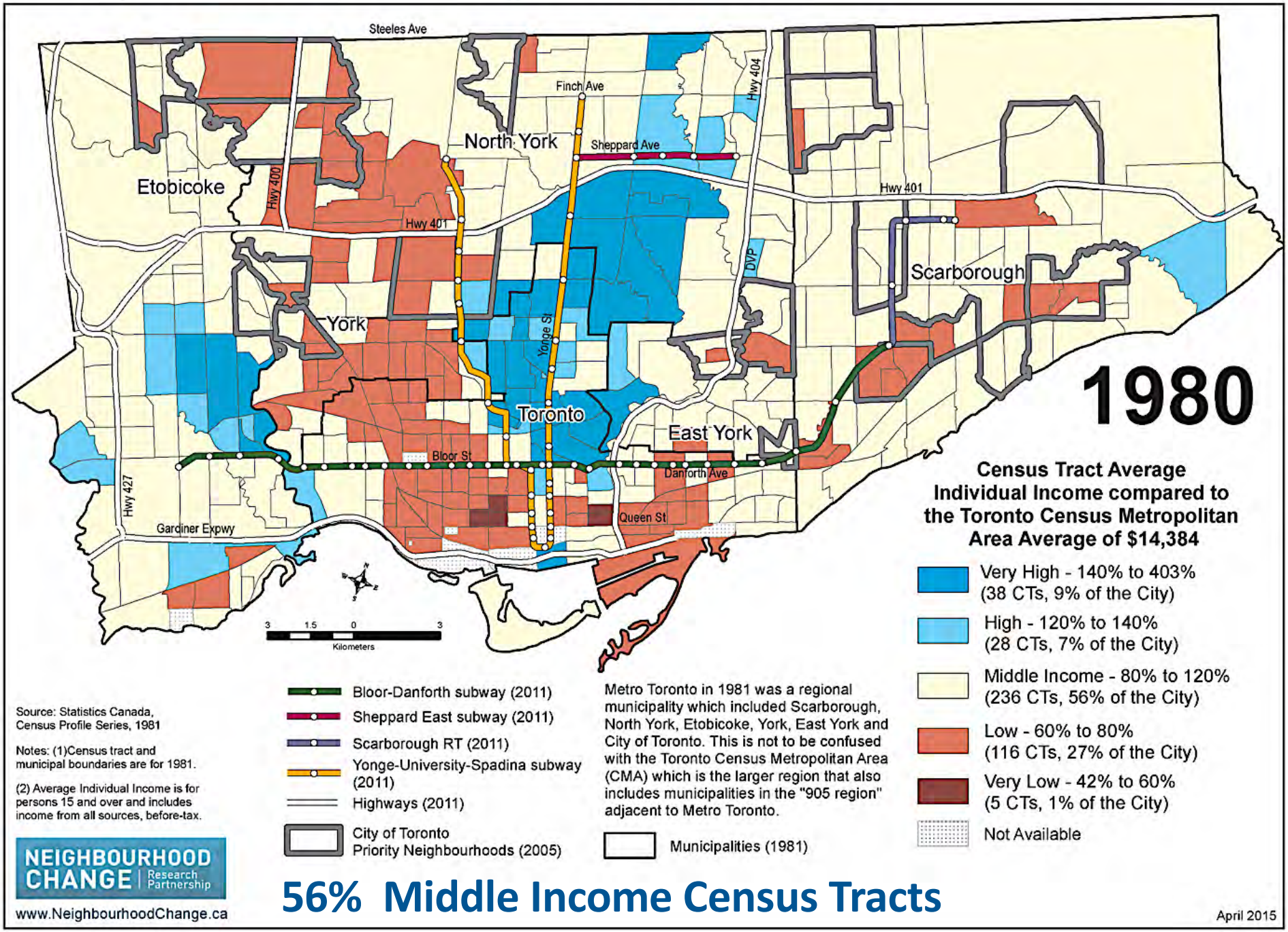
Average Individual Income, Metro Toronto, 1970

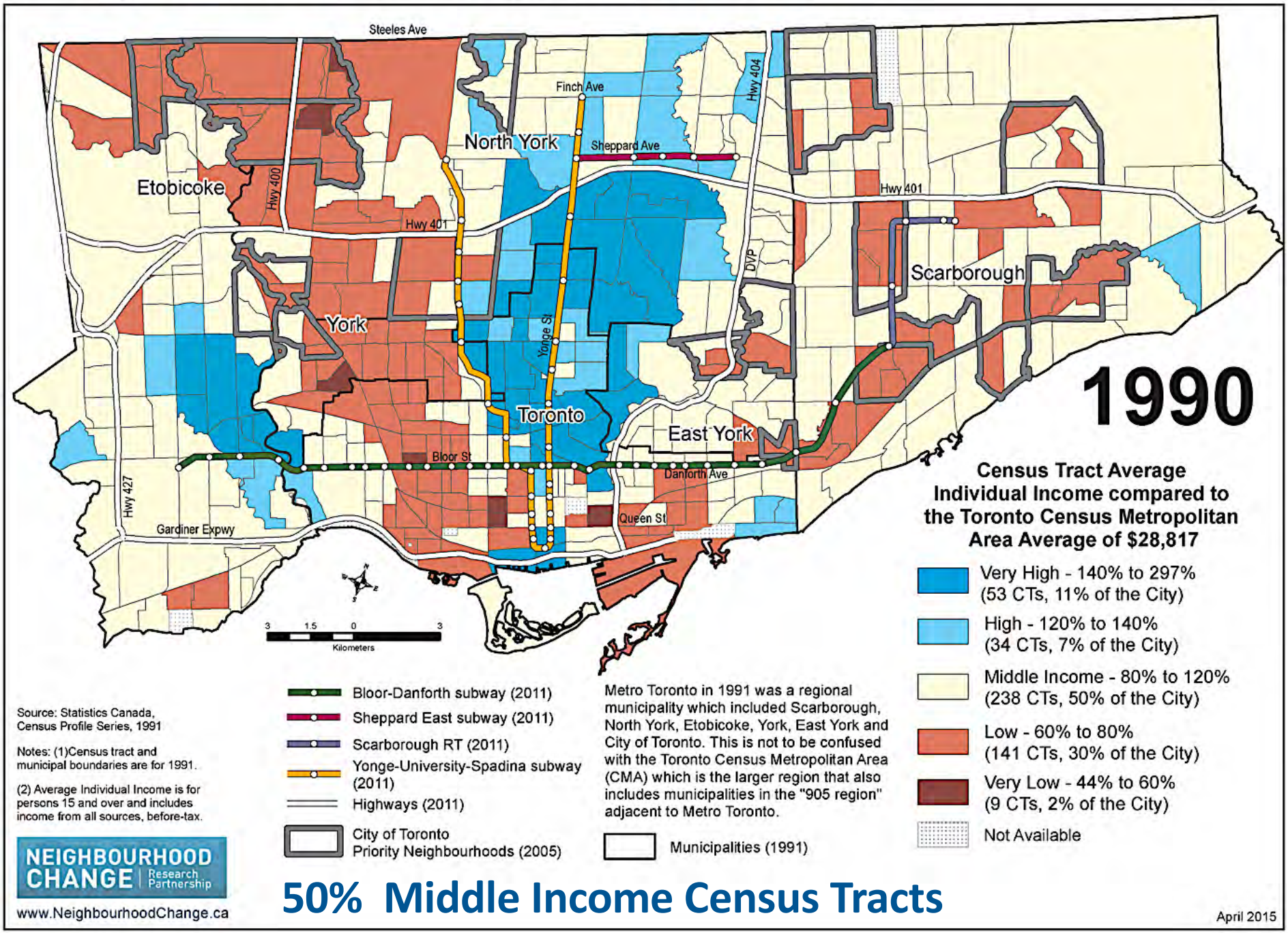


58% Middle Income Census Tracts

Average Individual Income, Metro Toronto, 1980

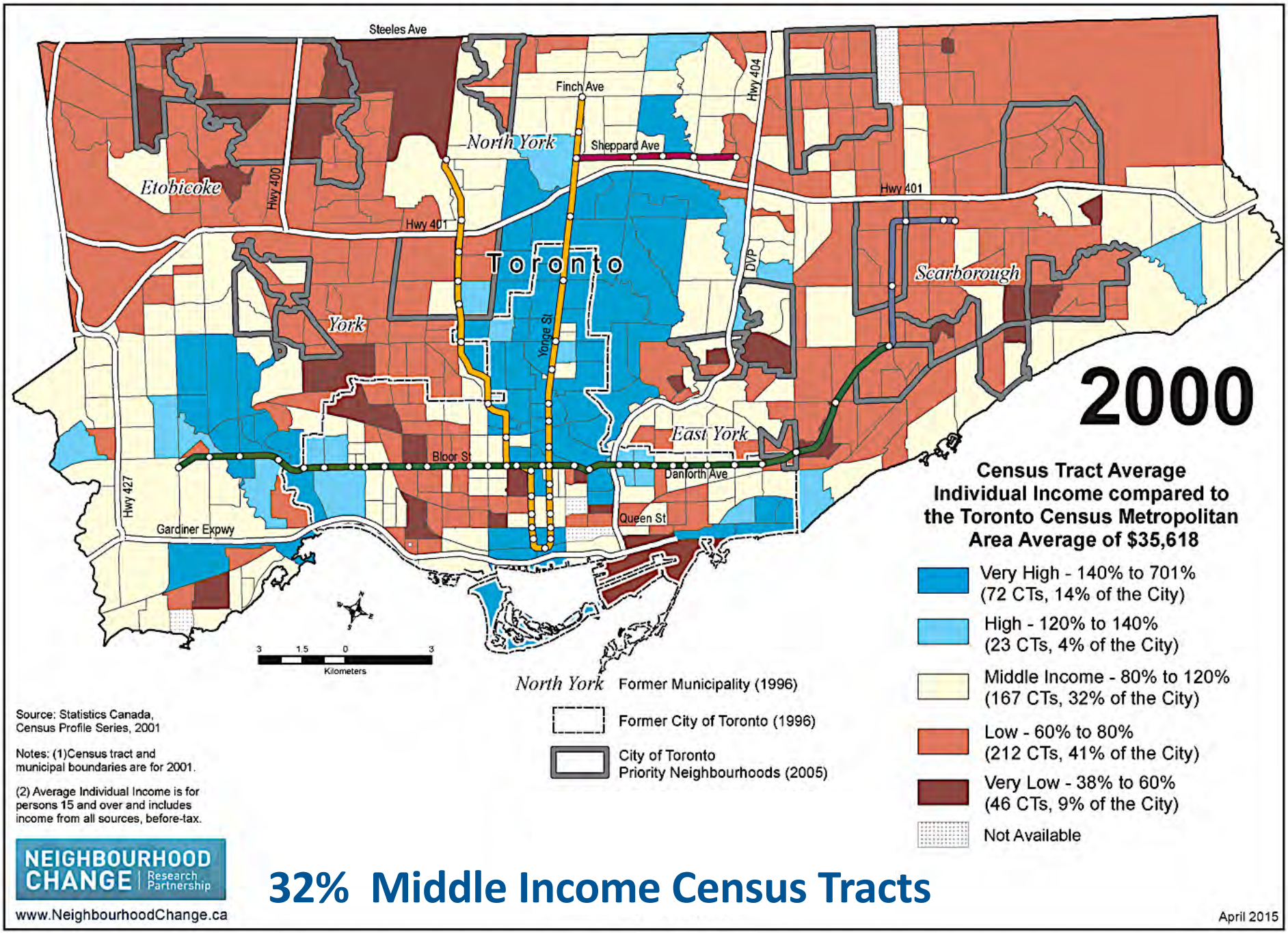


Average Individual Income, Metro Toronto, 1990



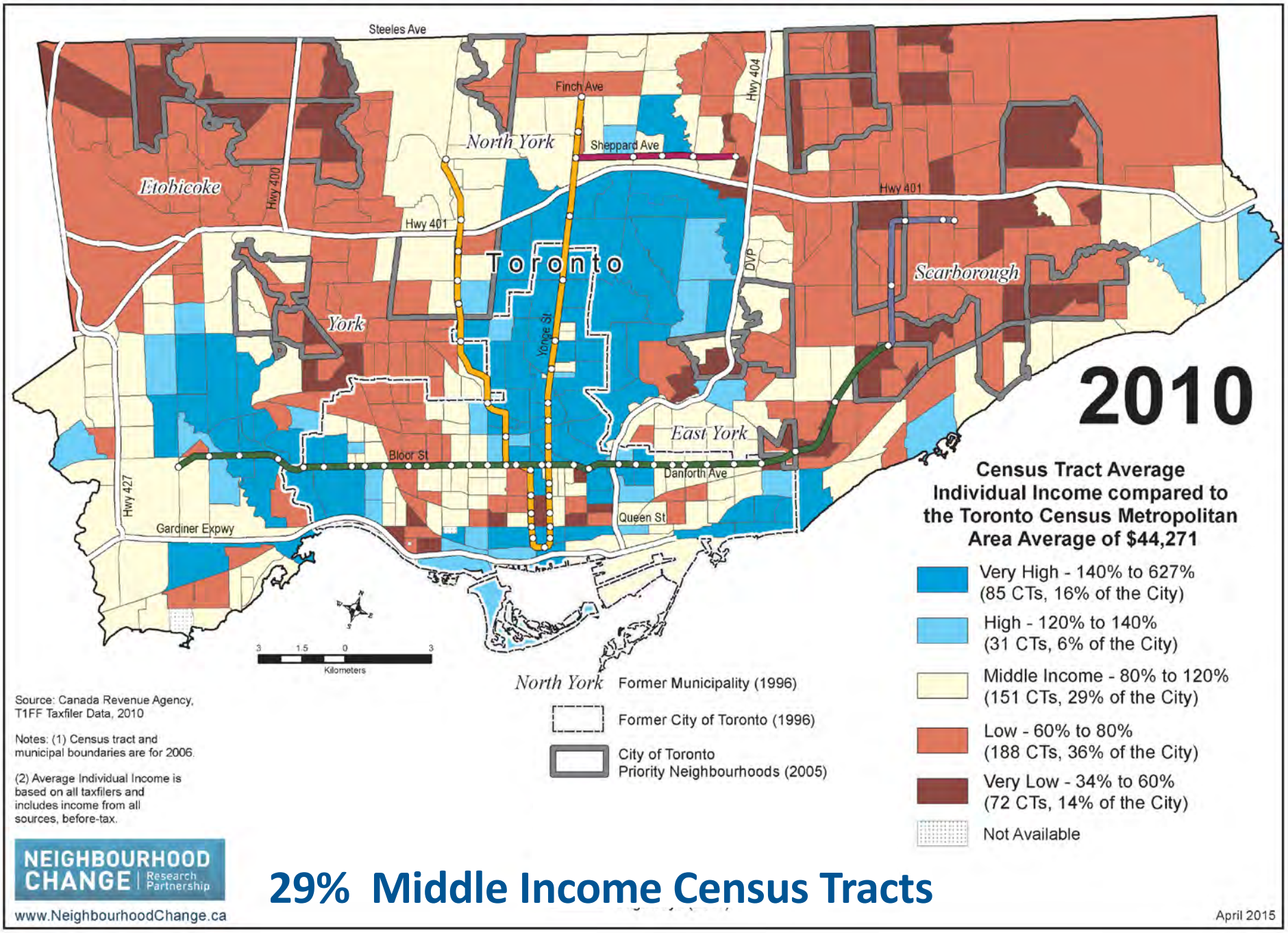
50% Middle Income Census Tracts

Average Individual Income, City of Toronto, 2000



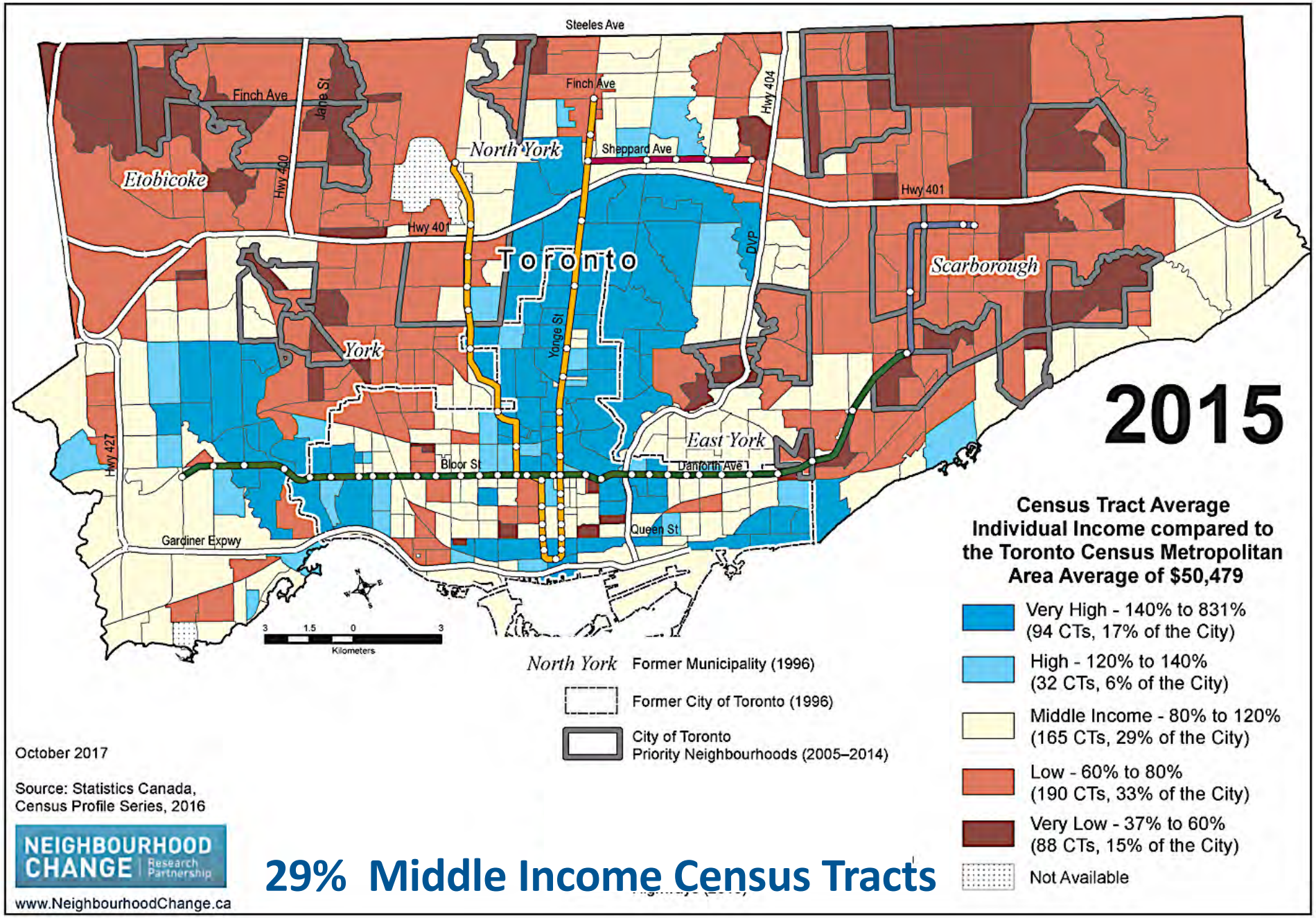
32% Middle Income Census Tracts

Average Individual Income, City of Toronto, 2010



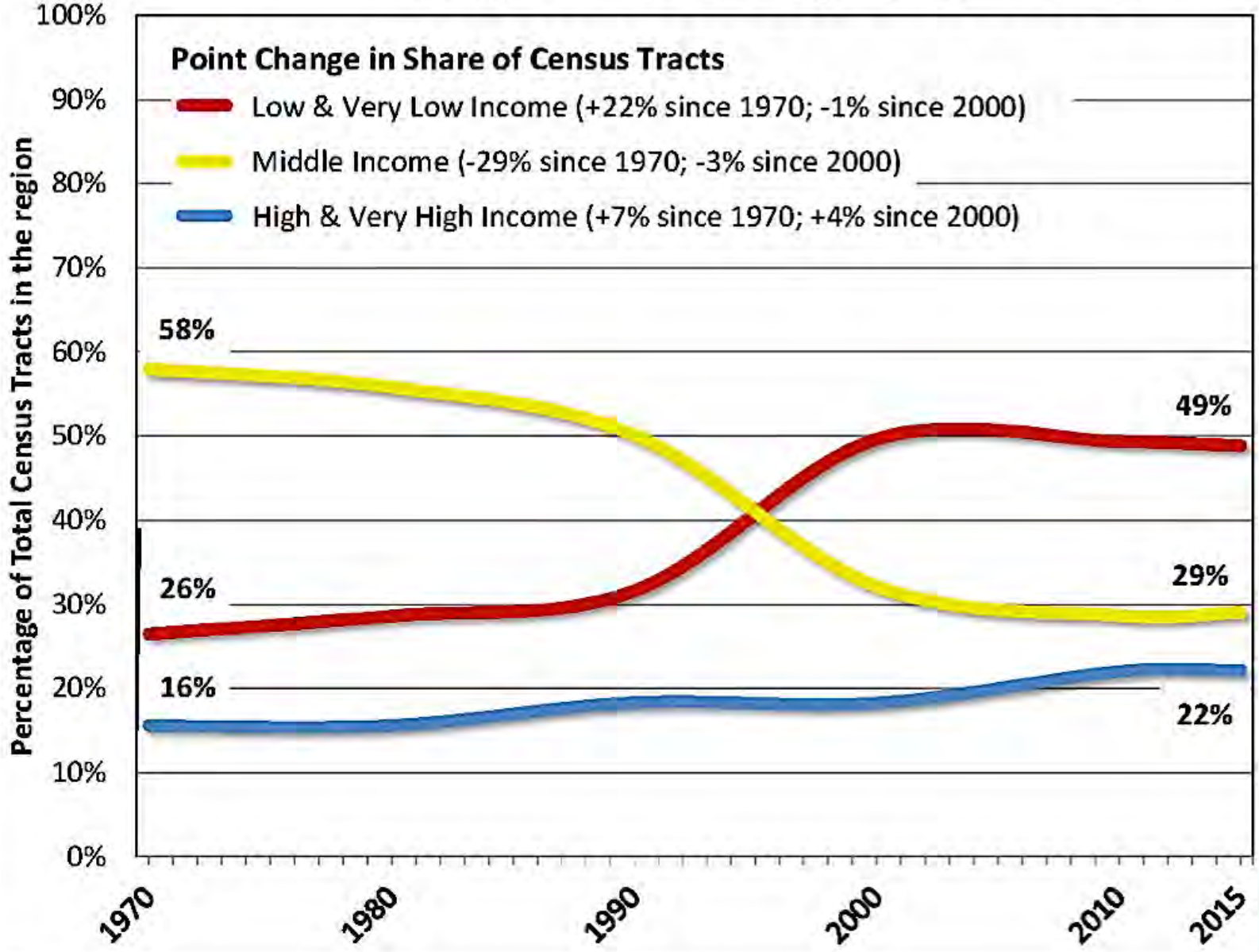
29% Middle Income Census Tracts

Average Individual Income, City of Toronto, 2015



29% Middle Income Census Tracts

Neighbourhood Income Distribution
City of Toronto, 1970–2015



Low & very low income neighbourhoods are those census tracts which had an average individual icome more than 20% below the Toronto CMA average income. **Middle income** status is within 20% above or below the CMA average. **High & very high income** status is more than 20% above the CMA average.

Notes: Calculated from census tract average individual income from all sources, before-tax. Income 1970–2000 and 2015 is from the Census. Income for 2010 is Canada Revenue Agency T1FF taxfiler data.

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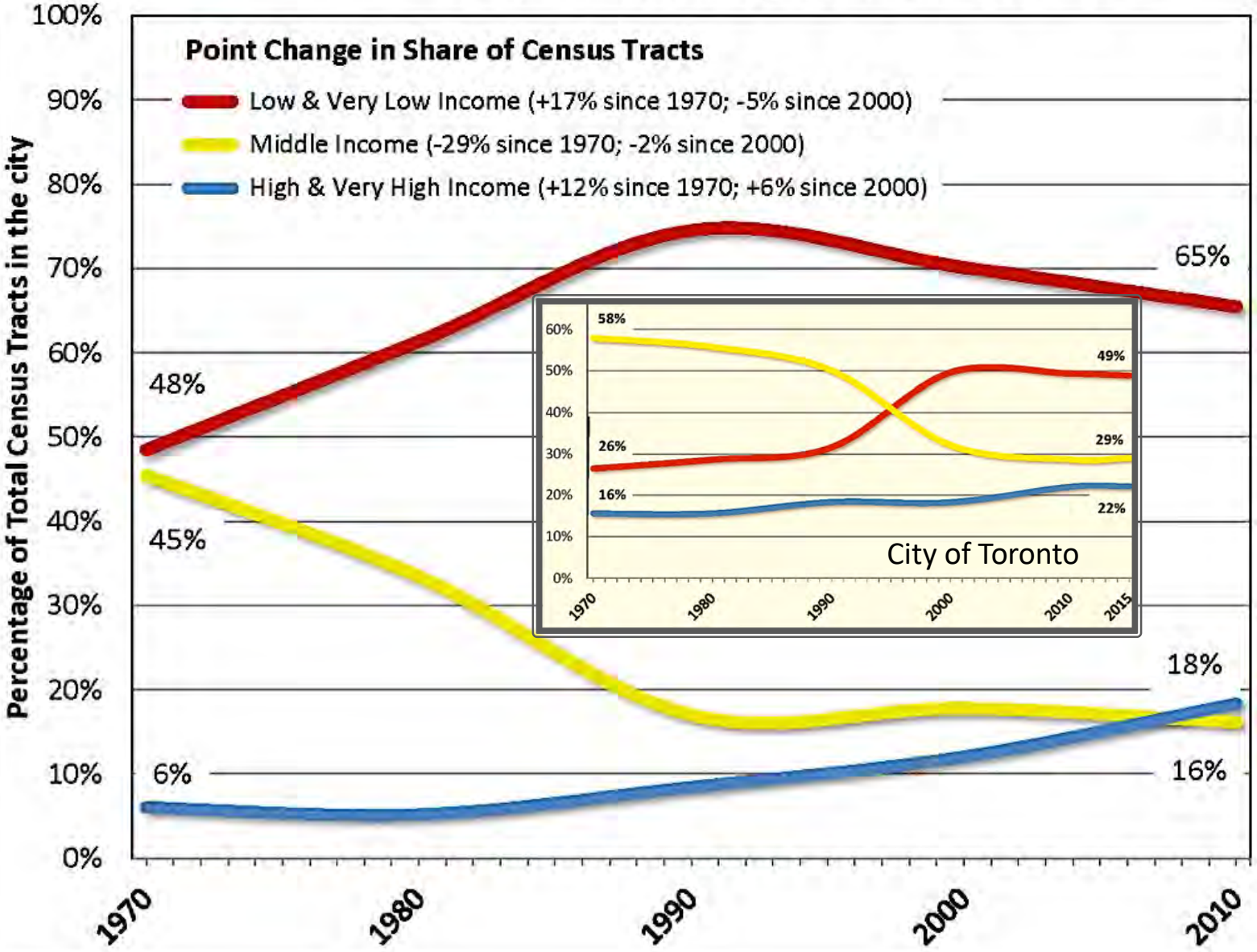
Neighbourhood Income Distribution
City of Chicago, 1970–2010



Low & very low income neighbourhoods are those census tracts which had an average individual icome more than 20% below the Chicago MSA average income. **Middle income** status is within 20% above or below the MSA average. **High & very high income** status is more than 20% above the MSA average.

Notes: Calculated from census tract average individual income from all sources, before-tax. Income from United States Census 1970-2000 and American Community Survey 2010.

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November 2017

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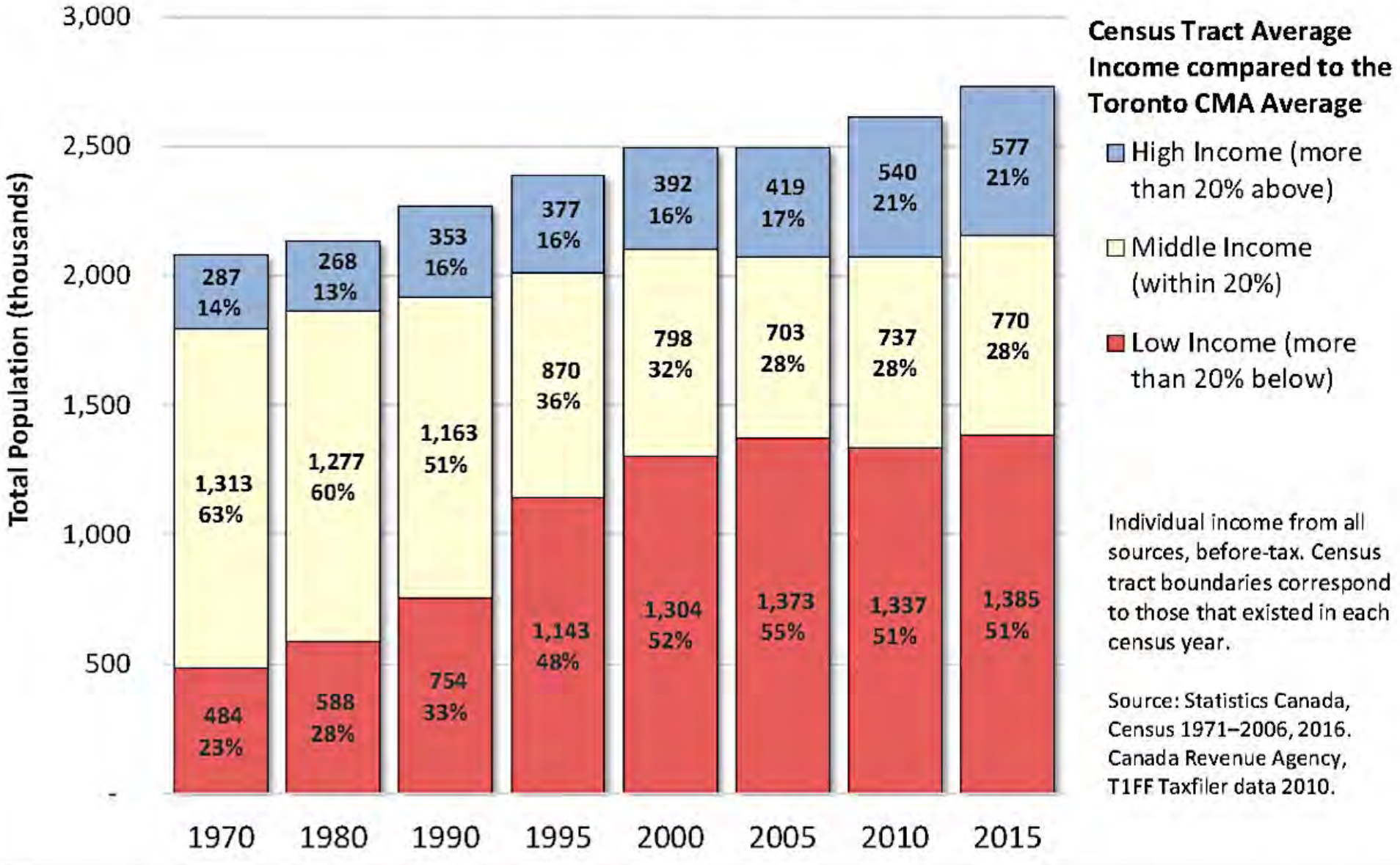
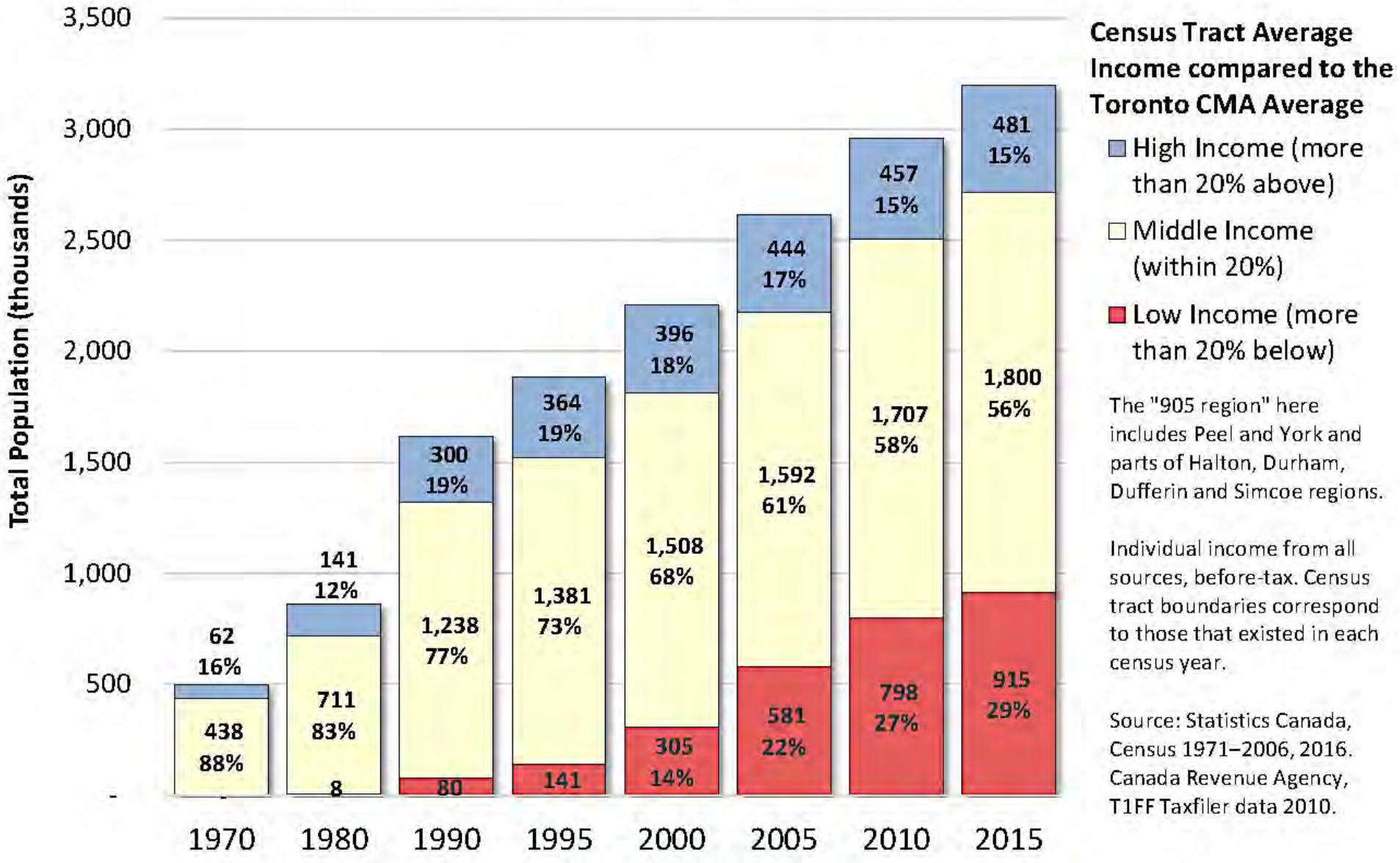
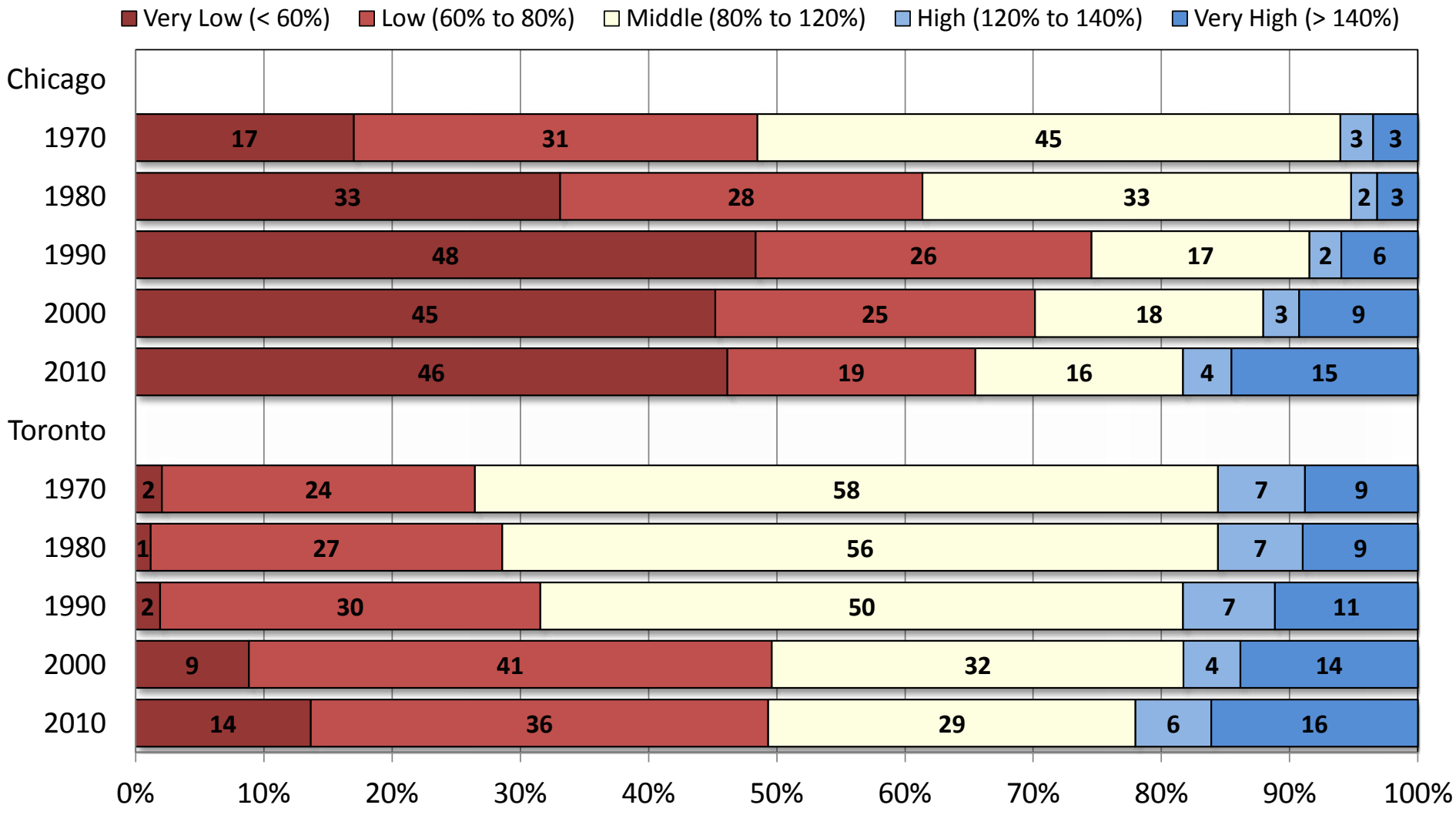
Neighbourhood Income & Population
City of Toronto, 1970–2015



Neighbourhood Income & Population
Toronto's "905 Region", 1970–2015



Census Tract Income Distribution, 1970-2010
City of Chicago and City of Toronto



Income Definition: Census Tract average individual income from all sources, before-tax for persons 15 and over. Income is measured relative to the metropolitan area average each year using CT boundaries as they existed each census year.

Data Sources: United States Census 1970-2000, American Community Survey 2010, Canada Census 1971-2001, Canada Revenue Agency Taxfiler data 2010.

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February 2019

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