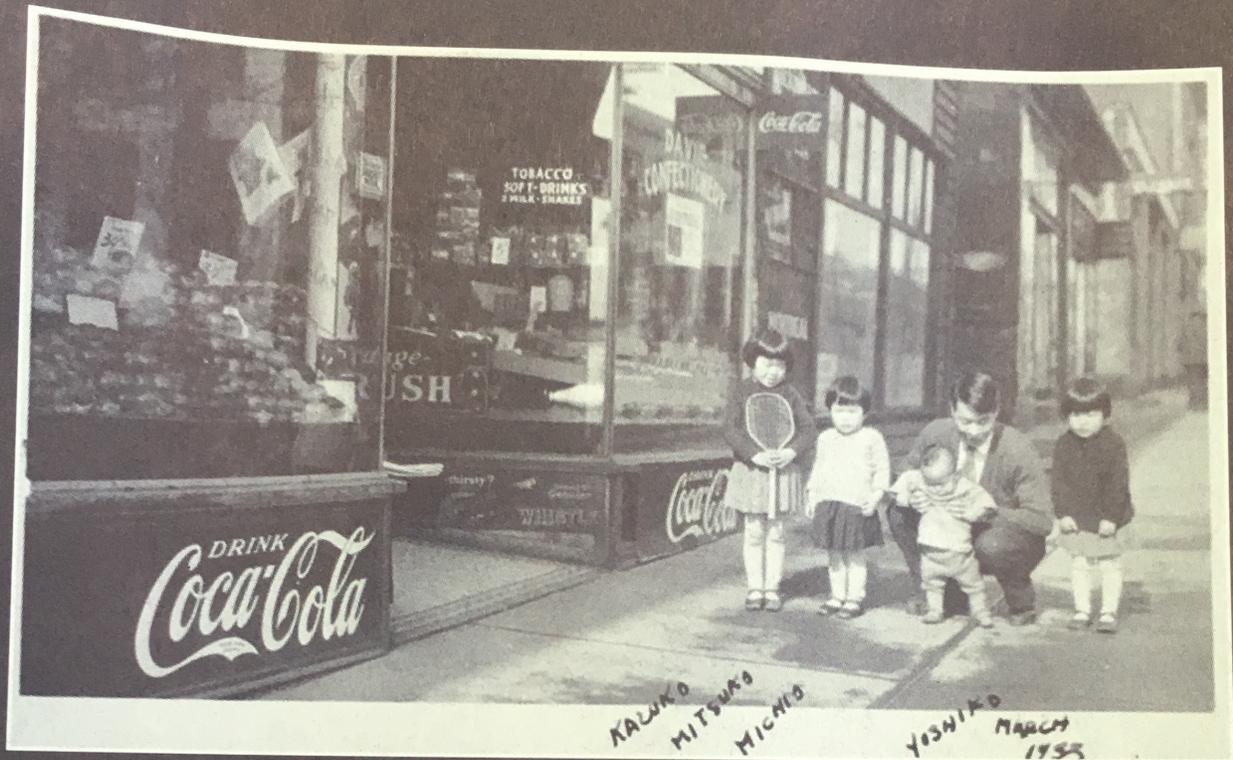


A HISTORY OF  
ETHNIC ENCLAVES  
IN CANADA



John Zucchi

Editor

**Roberto Perm**  
York University

Edition Coordinator

**Michel Guénette**  
Library and Archives Canada

Copyright by

The Canadian Historical Association

Ottawa, 2007

Published by the Canadian Historical Association with the support the  
Department of Canadian Heritage, Government of Canada

ISBN 0-88798-266-2 Canada's Ethnic Groups  
ISSN 1483-9504 Canada's Ethnic Groups (print)  
ISSN 1715-8605 Canada's Ethnic Groups (Online)



Jutekichi Miyagawa and his four children,  
Kazuko, Mitsuko, Michio and Yoshiko,  
in front of his grocery store, the Davie Confectionary,  
Vancouver, BC. March 1933  
Library and Archives Canada / PA-103 544

Printed by Bonanza Printing  
& Copying Centre Inc.

# A HISTORY OF ETHNIC ENCLAVES IN CANADA

John Zucchi

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,  
in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means including  
information storage and retrieval systems, without permission in writing  
from the Canadian Historical Association.

Ottawa, 2007

Canadian Historical Association

Canada's Ethnic Group Series  
Booklet No. 31



# A HISTORY OF ETHNIC ENCLAVES IN CANADA

## INTRODUCTION

When we walk through Canadian cities nowadays, it is clear that ethnicity and multiculturalism are alive and well in many neighbourhoods from coast to coast. One need only amble through the gates on Fisgard Street in Victoria or in Gastown in Vancouver to encounter vibrant Chinatowns, or through small roadways just off Dundas Street in Toronto to happen upon enclaves of Portuguese from the Azores; if you wander through the Côte-des-Neiges district in Montreal you will discover a polyethnic world - Kazakhis, Russian Jews, Vietnamese, Sri Lankans or Haitians among many other groups - while parts of Dartmouth are home to an old African-Canadian community. These neighbourhoods conjure up images of what an ethnic enclave might be, and our images have been led by personal glimpses of *the* neighbourhoods that all of us have known (if, indeed, we have not grown up in them). However, our notions of ethnic neighbourhoods have also been influenced (and some would say constructed) over the years by American perceptions of their own ethnic neighbourhoods and by governments, agencies, media reports, opinion leaders and legislation regarding ethnic enclaves. In the late nineteenth century, for example, Canadian politicians and journalists worried about an immigrant tide that might gravitate to the cities and reproduce the tenements and slums of cities to the south.

Geographers have taught us that there is a strong connection between race and place and that the two help to define each other. Thus, when we discuss ethnic neighbourhoods or enclaves, it is important that we have some sense of what we mean by ethnicity. For our purposes we will not restrict ourselves to the national connotations of the term, but to the sense of a common "background" or history or sense of peoplehood, whether the common factor be nationality, old-world region or continent, race, religion or any combination thereof. Sociologists have often alluded to the relationship between the persistence of ethnicity and the phenomenon of ethnic enclaves and they have also examined the thorny questions regarding assimilation, integration and acculturation since the pioneering work of the Chicago School of sociology in the 1920s. One of the classic arguments has been that there is a link to residential segregation. With economic and social mobility, immigrants tend to leave enclaves and integrate with broader society, and within a couple of generations we have full assimilation. Many other factors are of course involved, including the political context, intermarriage, networking, city size and other local issues. In the last 30 years there has been much debate among Canadian social scientists about the relevance of such terms as assimilation in Canadian society. With the advent of multiculturalism in which there is no national identity to assimilate to, some sociologists argue that the term has limited meaning.

Another problem is how we understand an enclave. What makes a neighbourhood ethnic? Does an enclave necessarily have to be visible? Historians and sociologists have grappled

with the question for years. What was it about the North End that identified it as the immigrant centre in Winnipeg: the number of immigrant groups; the predominance of certain languages; the density of some immigrant communities such as the Jews and Ukrainians; the storefronts or the visible institutional structures such as synagogues or ethnic associations or labour temples or churches? Was the "Ward" in Toronto an ethnic-enclave in 1915 or was it a neighbourhood with a number of ethnic enclaves, primarily Jewish (68 per cent) and Italian (16 per cent)? Are storefront signs for halal butchers, Russian gift articles or Persian restaurants a tell-tale sign? What gives a neighbourhood the "ethnic" designation? Again, is it the storefronts or the population base, or the popular historical image of the quarters? The old Italian neighbourhood around Mile End in Montreal, for example, has few Italian residents and it also has two nearby Lebanese Orthodox Churches and a number of Arab shops. Yet the overwhelming presence of Italian cafés, grocery stores and restaurants, travel agencies, and other services, not to mention a national parish, has permanently attached the name Little Italy to the area. There are ways of seeing a neighbourhood depending on what we are looking for, and on how we have been culturally prepared to gaze upon a city and to read its streets and locales.

The visibility of ethnic neighbourhoods then has something to do not only with our way of seeing, but also with the way a community perceives and even unconsciously "presents" itself. Ethnic storefronts and associations - grocer stores, travel agencies, newspapers, religious institutions - give visible depth to a neighbourhood, but so do the people and their relationship with the street. A 1960 National Film Board production, "Dimanche d'Amérique" ("A Sunday in Canada") shows us Italians in the Jean Talon Street and Saint Lawrence Boulevard neighbourhood engaged in a religious procession, at a soccer game, in bars, on the streets, at the building sites of their future homes, standing in groups, speaking Italian in the open, gesticulating in a particular fashion. Another National Film Board documentary produced in 1955, "Quartier Chinois" presents a less detailed and more stereotyped image of the Chinese neighbourhood of Montreal, on La Gauchetière Street. It uses commentators, westernized community intermediaries and the camera to convey an image of Chinatown as North American eyes might see it, replete with its New Year's festival, gambling and Chinese calligraphy. What is interesting in the film is the paucity of street scenes in comparison to the film on Little Italy. It is as if the camera were telling us that the presence of the Chinese was enough to give the neighbourhood an exotic hue. What makes an ethnic neighbourhood visible, therefore, becomes an interesting question. Clearly, density does not suffice. In the 1930s, Toronto's 4th Ward was home to Toronto's main Little Italy, yet there were almost as many Polish immigrants in that area as there were Italians. True, Italian immigrants were slightly more concentrated in one part of the ward. Yet the area was not really perceived as a Little Poland. The first Little Italy in Toronto was seen as such by Italian residents in the city, yet the neighbourhood was primarily Jewish.

For an historian, the question of the timing of ethnic enclaves has to arise at a certain point. When did ethnic neighbourhoods become prominent in Canada or British North America? In which cities? How were they understood? What was the relationship between poor, run-down quarters and ethnic communities? How did areas perceived as inhabited by those who were "other" because of poverty become the home of those who were other because of their national background or skin colour?

An examination of ethnic neighbourhoods will also take us beyond the host society's perspectives on immigrants and their neighbourhoods to examine the immigrants' own perceptions of their streets and communities and the broader city that surrounded them. On the one hand, enclaves had a defensive function: they protected immigrants - an in particular Blacks or East or South Asians, but also Southern Europeans or even Britons - from a hostile host society. On the other hand those same enclaves had an important role in integrating the immigrant in Canadian society. In a sense, the definition of ethnic enclaves changed continuously within a constant dialogue between the inhabitants of the enclaves and those who lived near, travelled through or simply read about them.

## GENESIS

We cannot give a date to Canada's first ethnic enclave. In the mid-nineteenth century it would have been difficult to differentiate slums from ethnic quarters. The latter were found in the former and if urban dwellers could distinguish any group, it would have been the Irish in St. Anne's Ward of Montreal, for example, or the Black families from refugee settlements at Hammonds Plains and Preston who took up residence on the outskirts of Halifax in what became known as Campbell Road and later, Africville. This is not to say that all immigrant groups of non-British background lived in such settlements. Irish Catholics, for example, in Toronto did not congregate in a particular ethnic neighbourhood. Rather they lived in poorer housing in the east and west ends of Toronto. Similarly, the Chinese in Victoria in the early 1860s were dispersed throughout the town in **the** middle class homes in which they were servants. The transition from generic slums to ethnic neighbourhood would have involved a critical mass of an ethnic group deemed to be somehow outside the pale - a minority, socially, economically, ethnically or religiously perceived as "less," in a weaker position of power with respect to the perceived "host" group or groups - taking up residence in an urban neighbourhood, with shops and institutions to serve its ethnic community. Thus, by the 1880s in Montreal, Toronto, Victoria or Halifax such a minority might have been composed of Irish Catholics, Jews, Blacks, or Italians, but not of Scottish Presbyterian immigrants, who had strong economic, social and political power in the city.

## GROWTH

By the early twentieth century, ethnic enclaves had become a feature of major Canadian cities. While small-town Alberta, Nova Scotia or Quebec might hold up a Jewish or Lebanese peddler or a Chinese restaurateur or laundry man as a lone ethnic symbol, larger towns and cities could claim to be more cosmopolitan by virtue of their ethnic neighbourhoods. In 1897, when the young reporter William Lyon Mackenzie King wrote a series of articles on "Foreigners Who Live in Toronto" for the *Daily Star*, he viewed these "colonies" of Italians or Blacks or Jews as representative of old-world cultures. Foreign tongues, dress, "looks," sounds and smells became the new shibboleths of ethnic enclaves. The ethnic group's lack of power in the political process, and perhaps more important still, the perception that a group was somehow "less" and therefore lacking in power, helped define who would really qualify as outsiders and therefore inhabitants of the ethnic neighbourhoods. Ross McCormack has persuasively argued that the English immigrants in Winnipeg had social characteristics very similar to other ethnic groups, even though they were not perceived as "ethnics." Even English working-class immigrant quarters, such as Toronto's Cabbagetown, for example, were not considered to be ethnic enclaves, but simply mainstream working-class neighbourhoods. Yet, as we shall see, immigrants from Britain shared the characteristics of other ethnic groups, including residential segregation and in periods of economic recession also faced the prejudice of the host society. Richard Harris has shown that British immigrants to Toronto between 1900 and the Great Depression were very likely to settle, not in ethnic neighbourhoods, but in the outskirts of the city, in new suburban locations aptly named "Earlscourt" or "Little Britain." They did likewise in South Vancouver, Winnipeg and Montreal.

What determined whether or not a city developed immigrant "colonies?" Size? Perhaps, but not necessarily. Certainly larger cities - Toronto and Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver - had substantial ethnic neighbourhoods, but after the disappearance of the earlier Paddytowns Quebec, St. John or London, Ontario never really developed any immigrant quarters, even though they might have hosted substantial numbers of immigrants. At the same time, smaller towns might have fewer immigrants but more defined ethnic quarters. At the head of Lake Superior, Port Arthur's Finntown offered highly developed institutional structures which included clubs, saunas, theatre stages, and Lutheran churches, for "Red" and "White" Finns. Fort William's West End was a poly-ethnic neighbourhood where Italians and Ukrainians predominated, but where they shared the streets with Greeks, Slovaks, Poles and other nationalities. Similarly, on Cape Breton Island, Sydney's ethnic neighbourhood near the steel works housed substantial numbers of Italian, Polish, Ukrainian, British, Hungarian and Barbadian immigrants, with their ethnic shops and churches.

The size of a town or city might have a bearing on whether an ethnic neighbourhood would develop or not, but the vibrancy of the neighbourhood depended on other factors. First among these was economic opportunity. Heavy industry, mining and transportation

infrastructure construction and maintenance were the main attractions for foreign labour in Canada from the 1870s. Those towns that developed ethnic neighbourhoods normally had labour needs that tapped into this international market. If by the 1920s, the steel industry had drawn southern and eastern Europeans to Hamilton, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario or Sydney, Nova Scotia, where they formed neighbourhoods, railroad construction and maintenance, bridge-building and canal works attracted migrant workers to Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver, Weiland or Fort Erie, Ontario, and here they built up Italian or Polish or Chinese "colonies." These centres became wintering stations for migrants - typically single and almost always alone and away from their families - before they returned to work camps in the spring. Within those ethnic neighbourhoods an institutional life grew up - immigrant "banks", boarding houses, churches, self-help societies, labour agencies and food shops - to serve not only these sojourners but more permanent immigrants as well. On the surface, it did not make sense that Quebec city had no real ethnic neighbourhood while Powell River's "Gulch" hosted an Italian neighbourhood. However, the latter West Coast resource town, unlike the provincial capital, was plugged into the "commerce of international migration" that provided labour for its smelting and pulp and paper operations. Likewise, mining towns like Fernie, Kirkland Lake, or Sudbury, or industrial towns like Weiland, Ontario, could also boast ethnic neighbourhoods with numerous southern and eastern European worker-, while Kredericton or London might segregate into class-based neighbourhoods only.

How did the changing morphography of Canadian towns and the relationships between and within ethnic groups accommodate distinct ethnic neighbourhoods by the late nineteenth century? How were these neighbourhoods formed? Why should they have emerged in the first place? Nowadays, we are so used to ethnic neighbourhoods that it would seem that ethnic enclaves developed naturally; however these enclaves were and are an expression of economic, political, cultural and social forces. Let us examine some case studies to help us to explore these questions.

## CASE STUDIES

### **Early Little Italics**

Little Italics in Canada should be seen in their North American context. Italian immigrants to the United States and Canada were much more likely to end up in cities than their counterparts in South America. Samuel Bailey has argued that in South American cities, Italian patterns of settlement differed from those in North American urban centres. Italians in Buenos Aires, for instance, formed a larger middle class, which developed community institutions: because they suffered less discrimination they had lower residential concentration in ethnic neighbourhoods, compared to New York and other North American cities.

The situation in Canada was strikingly different. Italian immigrants to Canada were low on the Immigration Department's pecking order. Officials and policy makers aware of the American experience and concluding that Italians would not settle the agrarian west but would flock to cities, did not encourage immigration to the west or even to Canada. Yet in spite of barriers, "push" factors in Italy as well as the high demand for labour before the First World War in Canada led to a significant Italian immigration. Many of these immigrants - predominantly male - began their immigration experience in the city from where labour agents redirected them to capital projects on the railways, in bridge, canal or dam construction, mining and smelting. Others remained in the cities and worked in construction, manufacturing or service trades. In Sydney, Nova Scotia, Sault Ste. Marie and Hamilton, Ontario, for example, Italians worked in the steel industry while Italian migrants working outside the urban centres on railroad and other construction projects, would return to urban centres during the winter and wait for the spring thaw.

Little Italies grew from two kinds of immigration: sojourner (also called "bird of passage," almost entirely comprised of men) and familial. Labour agents may have set up early-boarding houses for migrants, but these were soon supplemented by boarding houses run by families, and usually women. For example, Toronto's first Little Italy in the "Ward," -an area bounded by University Avenue, Queen, Yonge and College streets - was one of the poorer downtown areas in Toronto at the time, undergoing a transition from residential neighbourhood to commercial and institutional /one. The "Ward" was relatively close to the railway stations and therefore easily accessible for immigrants upon arrival. Consequently, since the mid-nineteenth century, immigrants from all over Europe and the United States, and Canadians from other parts of the country, including Blacks, had settled there. Some Genoese immigrants arrived in mid-century, followed by a number of Italian hometown groups. Families served as focal points for immigrant kin and townfolk in what appeared to be a series of sub-settlements in the neighbourhood. In the mid-1870s, street musicians from the southern Italian town of Laurenzana acquired property on the corner of Chestnut and Edward streets, where, in 1885, one of their families opened the Glionna Hotel, an immigrant saloon and boardinghouse. These individuals were followed by other townsgroups, from Monteleone, Pisticci and Modugno, all southern Italian towns, each of which predominated on certain streets in the neighbourhood. The pattern was repeated in Toronto's other early Little Italies, at College and Grace streets and at Dufferin Street and Davenport Avenue, both of which could trace their genesis to the period before the First World War.

On one level, we can say that Little Italics allowed immigrants to settle near members of their respective hometowns, and that a rather high rate of endogamy among some townsgroups helped to perpetuate close ties. However, these ethnic enclaves also allowed immigrants to make face-to-face encounters with other immigrants from the Italian peninsula, with immigrants from other countries, as well as with the Canadian- born. It was difficult to work or play on the streets or go to school without meeting people from

all walks of life. It is also true that some neighbourhood institutions preserved regional or hometown identities while others helped expand them.

Little Italies were very visible neighbourhoods, not only because they usually contained a Catholic national parish (i.e. a parish that served an ethnic group within a prescribed area, as opposed to a territorial parish, based solely on geographical boundaries), but also because other institutions remained detached from the parish and were visible to the passing tourist. At the turn of the century, at the heart of Little Italy in Montreal and Toronto it was possible to find immigrant padroni or labour agents and bankers who also doubled as travel and real estate agents and even grocery store operators at work in their particular establishments. Little Italics developed what Robert Harney called a "commerce of migration" which included the padroni and others, in particular food purveyors, saloons, insurance agencies, and even hardware or dry goods shops catering to ethnic clients. Toronto's first Italian neighbourhood, for example, boasted approximately a dozen such ethnic shops. Some, like Mrs. Farano's grocery store on Elm Street in Toronto, catered to regional or townsgroups from the town of Modugno and from other towns in the province of Bari. Other shops, like Louis Puccini's or Michèle Trentadue's, on Centre and Elm streets, were larger and directed to a broader Italian community. Many mutual aid, friendly and benevolent societies were founded across die country on the basis of regional, national, or political allegiances. Certain institutions, such as the Italian National Club founded in Toronto in 1907, rented or purchased space for their headquarters.

The formation of Little Italies should not be seen as a defence mechanism on the part of this ethnic group. Rather, it reflected two main factors: the padrone movement which supplied labour to Canadian capital projects, and chain migration from towns and regions in Italy to the Canadian city. The arrival of women within this chain guaranteed stability to the Italian neighbourhood. On the one hand, women helped to redefine Italian ethnicity through the old-world stories they might have told to dieir children, the particular foods they prepared or their particular forms of piety - whether they involved the veneration of hometown saints or "new" saints adopted in Little Italy. On the other hand, however, women also forged links with the surrounding society: they interacted with other immigrant groups in die neighbourhood, either through conversations with neighbours, through their food and grocety shopping, or meeting their children's teachers. Thus while they engendered an Italian cultural life in their children, they also helped the family to accul-turate to Canadian life, even as it lived in the immigrant milieu.

By 1920, many Little Italies had appeared throughout Canada, each with its own characteristics. Montreal's were certainly the most significant and largest, and had the greatest capital accumulation. In the new neighbourhood beyond Mile End, Italians bought houses for, among odier reasons, the large lots. Those properties enabled them to cultivate vegetable gardens, an activity that not only assisted the family economy but also allowed these former peasants and agricultural labourers to preserve and perpetuate some vestiges

of their old way of life. The Gulch in Powell River, B.C. was made up of old shacks, while Italians in Sydney, Nova Scotia - mostly Venetians - lived near the steel complex among Ukrainian, Polish, British and immigrants from other parts of the Maritimes.

### **Early Chinatowns**

Chinatowns in Canada had a different history stemming from the very unique circumstances of the Chinese migrants. Although tiny Chinese settlements appeared in the West and in Toronto and Montreal before the First World War, most Chinese migrants travelled primarily to the West Coast. The vast majority of these migrants throughout the 1870s and 1880s came from Guang Dong, and like the Italians, they migrated to Canada through labour agents.

The gold rushes and coal mining of the 1860s and 1870s attracted the earliest Chinese-settlers to British Columbia. These immigrants formed their own enclaves due to the sinophobia of the host society and their lack of knowledge of the English language.

Although Vancouver, Victoria and New Westminster would emerge as the major Chinatowns in British Columbia, numerous instant Chinatowns sprouted on the mainland. These usually were residential clusters in mining towns - in particular, in the gold mining towns of the Cariboo - as Chinese immigrants huddled together for temporary shelter. Some mining towns such as Yale, Kamloops or Barkerville would have a more permanent settlement on the edge of town. On Vancouver Island in the 1870s, Chinese employed at the coalmines developed small settlements in Nanaimo and Wellington. Chinatown there amounted to a small number of dilapidated shacks provided by the mining company and a few "ethnic" stores for the immigrants.

The larger Chinese settlements were a direct result of the severe discrimination suffered by the Chinese towards the end of the railroad construction in 1885. As Chinese workers left the work camps they encountered the sinophobia of white society, a hostility often involving physical violence and destined to last until after the Second World War. Government policy also shaped Chinese immigration. The infamous head taxes of 1885, 1901 and 1903 made it almost impossible for Chinese women to immigrate to Canada, and the First World War and the 1923 "Exclusion" Act virtually barred the door to Chinese immigrants.

The first major Chinese urban settlement in the country was Victoria. Founded in 1858, by 1880 it was home to about 2,000, or over half of British Columbia's Chinese immigrants. Unlike later Chinatowns, Victoria's mid-century Chinese community consisted of a very high percentage of servants and businessmen. David Chuenyan Lai has demonstrated that there were about fifteen significant Chinese settlements in British Columbia in the mid-1880s, when Canada's Chinese population had grown to about 10,000. Some counties were very strongly represented in certain settlements: I loi-ping County for example, in

Quesnel Mouth, Tsang-shing in Kamloops and Ioi-san in Xanaimo. These early Chinatowns were linear (that is, they were located along a street or two) and usually densely packed with tumbledown shacks or cabins. Associations were rare, women, mostly concubines, barely represented more than 1 per cent of the population, and there were very few children.

The early Chinatowns, even more than Little Italies, had the reputation for being dangerous, unhealthy areas of the city. In her case study of Vancouver's Chinatown, Kay Anderson has argued that although Chinatown may have been a real physical area of the city, it was more importantly a social construct, a creation of the public discourse of Vancouverites and municipal, provincial and federal politicians expressed in newspapers, political speeches, by-laws, administrative regulations and conversations. Chinatown, in the early years represented otherness, crime, unleashed sexuality, opium dens, gambling, filth, run-down housing and mysterious back-alleys.

The reality of Chinatown, of course, was more than the construct, for by the late nineteenth century the rich associational life of Chinese bachelors, distant husbands and a few families filled the quarters. True, gambling dens and brothels retained a presence but temples, schools, churches and other properties owned by organizations emerged with time. To an outside observer, the institutions not only gave shape to the neighbourhood but also added to its foreign and exotic appearance.

## THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

### **General Trends**

Much of Canada's pre-war immigration had been aimed at populating the prairie provinces. But secondary migrations, as well as even some primary ones, led to increasingly larger numbers of "new" immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe and Asia moving into the cities. Before 1915 the idea of the immigrant conjured up images of Eastern Europeans, Mennonites, Americans or Belgians, on the Prairies. After 1918 the image seemed to shift towards Jews, Chinese and Italians, Poles and Finns, Armenians and Lebanese who settled in the cities of central Canada or those of the West Coast. Even Ukrainians who were so identified with rural bloc settlements were increasingly concentrating in Prairie cities and towns, as well as in various parts of Montreal, such as Point St. Charles, the western edge of Hochelaga district (Frontenac Street) and the suburb of Lachine, or near the steel plant in Sydney.

## CASE STUDIES:

### **British Immigrants**

Urban immigrant settlements established in the late nineteenth century grew in size and density while other new enclaves developed. British immigrants to Montreal, for example, (in as much as English, Scottish Welsh and Northern Irish might identify with the term), formed clearly identifiable neighbourhoods in Verdun, Maisonneuve, Rosemont and Lachine. Each of these enclaves remained institutionally self-contained with first-and second-generation British immigrants only outnumbering English but not French Canadians. These districts also comprised a significant number of other immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. In these neighbourhoods British immigrants could be distinguished from the rest of the population by their tendency to concentrate on certain streets, usually on the fringes of a given district, in higher-quality housing. Even if these were working class neighbourhoods, often tied to large factories such as the Angus Shops (the Canadian Pacific Railway's manufacturing and repair shops in the Montreal area), they were also loci where ethnicities and identities - the British one in this case - were created and recreated. This was not only because of the presence of ethnic shops and associations, but also, as Lloyd Reynolds pointed out in 1935, because there was a degree of residential segregation. Physical barriers hemmed in the neighbourhoods creating a psychological distance from downtown. This forced ethnic groups in the areas to "turn inward" (in the positive sense), to form friendships, "drop in" on friends and respond to each others needs. (Similarly, Charles Bayley remarked in the late 1930s on the importance of neighbourhood visits or simple street encounters between Ukrainian immigrant mothers in Point St. Charles or Hochelaga district in Montreal. Fathers were more likely to meet in the institutional buildings of the community.)

On the other hand Notre Dame de Grâce, more commonly known as NDG by English speakers, offers another scenario. Although it contained a significant number of British immigrants in the interwar period, the area was not really considered a British immigrant neighbourhood. The general district - its institutions and its shops - was more English-Canadian than British, even if almost 20 per cent of the population was composed of British immigrants and 70 per cent of the residents were of British origin. Predominantly middle class, it was much more closely tied to the city's life than Verdun or Lachine, where the web of interaction led members of the British immigrant group to grow closer and identify with each other. In Toronto, British immigrants were likely to be found in the city's suburbs, often settling in new enclaves in Mimico, New Toronto, Weston, York or East York. These immigrants either commuted to the city or worked in large new factories nearby, in particular in the metal trades.

In British neighbourhoods, institutional presence enhanced immigrant camaraderie. Of course, many British immigrants worked side by side in some of the larger factories, such as the Angus Shops. Yet they also met constantly in other circumstances, which

enabled their British identity to emerge. Despite the fact that church attendance among English working-class immigrants was comparatively low, the church remained a significant influence. As Reynolds indicated, the churches of Rosemont, Verdun and Maisonneuve offered a variety of other institutions and activities - musical and sports societies (with badminton and tennis courts) and various clubs, holding frequent parties and dances. But beyond the churches were the immigrant institutions. Verdun, which boasted the highest concentration of British immigrants in Montreal offered a wide range of sports clubs, including cricket, bowling and football, Scottish and Welsh choirs, Scottish, Irish and English societies, and even clan organizations. Political clubs or other Canadian associations such as the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire or the Canadian Legion, the Young Men's Christian Association, Masons, Oddfellows and Knights of Columbus, supplemented those activities and actively engaged many British immigrants, while drawing them into the broader polity.

### Macedonian Immigrants

The interwar years marked a transition in European immigrant neighbourhoods from a transient and primarily bachelor phase to a long-term, family-based phenomenon. The case of Macedonian immigrants in Toronto exemplifies this trend. In the early twentieth century Toronto's Macedonians pioneered three settlements: in the East End around Eastern Avenue, in the Niagara Street district in the West End, and in the Toronto Junction, near the stockyards. Although the buildings in these areas were not slums and were in much better condition than the classical immigrants quarters to be found in the Ward or in Winnipeg's North End, the two storey homes were often overcrowded with young Macedonian men. As Lillian Petroff has indicated, city health officials saw this as a symptom of slum conditions. In the 1920s, this situation would be remedied by the arrival of many Macedonian women who migrated to Toronto to join their husbands or marry their fiancés.

The arrival of these women from Macedonia in the early 1920s served as a decidedly stabilizing influence. Often finding themselves in the role of boarding house keepers in the old ethnic neighbourhoods, they tended to exert a certain moral authority over the young boarders. On the other hand, in some cases, the husbands - faced with a situation where their new<sup>f</sup> brides were living among young bachelors - chose boarders carefully in order to maintain a modicum of control over the situation. If in the 1920s, the closing of the American immigration gates made Canada a more promising country for prospective newcomers, the economic crisis ushered in by the Depression of the 1930s effectively scotched immigration. In the Macedonian and other communities, with the decline of the male sojourner population and as young men married, so did the practice of boarding decline. In Toronto's Macedonian community, the move to more permanent family structures led to one major development: the shift from home rental to purchase. This was not only an economic decision. Rather, it involved the acquisition of new cultural values in the Canadian setting. Buying a home marked a sense of fixity-, attachment to the New

World and symbolized the transition from a sojourner mentality to one of commitment to place.

### **Italian Immigrants**

Across the country, Italian neighbourhoods followed a similar pattern. As the older classic immigrant neighbourhoods atrophied and shifted from residential to commercial usage, newer neighbourhoods emerged - at College and Grace streets, Dufferin Street and Davenport Avenue in Toronto, and in Mile End and Montcalm, towards the north end of Montreal, and Ville-Emard to the southwest - comprised primarily of homeowners. The growth of these immigrant neighbourhoods in the 1920s reflected the value immigrants placed on home ownership in newer enclaves. Of course, the Great Depression made it more difficult not only for immigrant groups, but also the broader population, to purchase homes. But the virtual halt to immigration during this time also created an obstacle for family reunification and the immigration of prospective brides of the same ethnic group.

### **Chinese Immigrants**

Chinese immigrants were an anomaly because they faced such harsh discrimination. The 1923 Chinese Immigration Act (also known as the Chinese Exclusion Act) virtually eliminated Chinese immigration. Between 1911 and 1947, Chinese immigrants were males who arrived at a young age and passed a good part of their lives in Canadian Chinatowns as sojourners. The Depression and the relatively small number of women reinforced this situation and led to an overall decline of the Chinese-Canadian population during the two ensuing decades, particularly in the large Chinatowns of Victoria and Vancouver. On the other hand, Toronto's Chinatown grew with eastward migration from the West Coast, even though Chinese enclaves in Calgary, Winnipeg, Moose Jaw, Saskatoon and other cities that had been established before the First World War remained tiny. In 1941, Vancouver's Chinatown was just over half the size of its population ten years earlier (almost 14,000 in 1931). Calgary's first two Chinatowns disappeared with the building of the Canadian Northern Railway, but the third Chinatown near the Centre Street Bridge crossing the Bow River, grew into the 1920s before declining from about 1000 to about 800 residents between 1931 and 1941. Edmonton's Chinese district, about half the size of Calgary's, experienced a similar diminution. David Chuenyan Lai uses the term "withering" to describe this phase of these Chinatowns, as well as those of Moose Jaw, Saskatoon and Winnipeg.

In the the 1920s, as stated above, with eastward migration the West's losses became Central Canada's gains. Toronto's Chinatown, which expanded out from Queen Street to Dundas Street, in particular along Elizabeth Street, but also Chestnut Street, became the third largest settlement after those in Vancouver and Victoria. Indeed the old Jewish and Italian neighbourhoods in the Ward were gradually being replaced by Chinatown.

Although Italians and Jews moved out of the area, their commercial and cultural establishments persisted for a few more decades, and were joined by Chinese Canadian businesses, churches, clan and county associations, political societies and theatres. In contrast to Toronto's burgeoning Chinatown the growth of the only two other significant Ontario Chinatowns, Hamilton and Ottawa, was linear. Hamilton's Chinatown remained confined to King William Street, not only because of its small size but also due to restrictive city by-laws requiring laundries to renew permits every year. Because permits would not be renewed if residents objected, Chinese launderers had to confine their operations to a Chinese neighbourhood. On the other hand, with the end of the First World War, Montreal's Chinatown blossomed between Dorchester Avenue (present-day René Levesque Avenue), St. Urbain, Clark and LaGauchetière streets and the area just west of this quadrant. Institutions included a church and mission and the Chinese hospital, equipped to serve almost 2,000 residents.

### **Jewish Immigrants**

At the beginning of the Great Depression, Montreal's and Toronto's Jewish populations were located predominantly within city boundaries and were almost equal in size. Montreal's Jewish population, as before the Great War, was heavily concentrated in the St. Louis, Laurier, St. Jean Baptiste and St. Michel wards, cutting a path north from Sherbrooke Street between St. Lawrence and St. Urbain Street. In the first two wards, Jews represented over half the population. Row houses, duplexes and triplexes, with their characteristic exterior stairwells linking balconies, shared space with the famous Baron Byng High School, bagel shops and other bakeries, kosher butchers and shuls, Yiddish theatres and grocers and vendors of all kinds. In Toronto, in the interwar period, the Jewish population was moving north to Wards 4 and 5 between Dufferin and Spadina avenues as far as St. Clair. In the western half of this district, Jews made up 20 percent of the population, and in the eastern half, one-third of the residents. In both cities, the Jewish population increased significantly, and both communities presaged the move to the suburbs of the postwar period. In Montreal, in Outremont, for example, the Jewish population increased significantly between 1921 and 1931, from just over 1,000 to almost 7,000. In Toronto's suburb of York, the population grew from a mere 89 to over 1,000. In both cases, the new enclaves represented extensions of earlier settlements. The Depression, however, did take its toll on the city of Lachine, a suburb located west of Montreal which lost half of its Jews during that decade.

Winnipeg's Jewish population also grew significantly between 1901 and 1941, reaching almost 15,000 by the latter date. Home to most Jews was the North End, and while on the one hand, one could call this a Jewish ghetto without walls, on the other, a variety of ethnic groups also resided there. Like other Canadian urban Jewish neighbourhoods, Winnipeg's Jewish North End possessed a vibrant social and institutional life, particularly characterized by its intellectual vitality. Synagogues and bakeries, "delis" and restaurants, bookstores and schools filled in the cityscape, but behind these was a rich web of

associations - fifty-three *landsmansbafien*, mutual benefit and burial societies, free-loan societies and many political associations covering the entire political spectrum. The variety and number of these associations suggests that even though Jews from many towns lived side by side in the North End, they maintained their old world ties from the villages and towns of Ukraine and Belarus, from which most of them hailed.

We might take note of two features of the interwar enclaves. As Daniel Hiebert has argued, ethnicity mattered significantly more than occupation as a factor in residential segregation: this certainly was the case in Winnipeg and Toronto. Secondly, as the cities grew and industry spread out, so did ethnic groups settle enclaves in suburban fringe areas.

## THE POSTWAR PERIOD AND BEYOND

### General Trends

In the years following the Second World War, immigration blossomed. Except for the occasional dip, in particular between 1961 and 1963 and 1983 and 1986, annual numbers have remained above the 100,000 mark. In fact, they are normally well above that figure, even topping 200,000. Although immigration numbers were healthy, significant differences characterized the new era. For one, immigration never matched the levels in the years immediately preceding the First World War. Moreover, the new immigrants were largely destined for urban areas in what was by now an urbanized country with a settled agricultural frontier. And finally, even though government policy encouraged British immigrants to come to Canada, immigration from the British Isles experienced a significant decline relative to other ethnic groups.

During the 1950s, many old ethnic neighbourhoods persisted and even flourished: these included, in particular Chinatowns, Little Italics and Jewish enclaves in the major metropolitan centres. However, other ethnic neighbourhoods disappeared. By the 1950s, the Ward in Toronto, for example, had only vestiges of its Jewish and Italian past. Other neighbourhoods vanished with the urban renewal of the 1960s - the North End redevelopment area in Hamilton, Ontario, for example, which had previously been half composed of immigrants, or Africville, on the outskirts of Halifax, whose residents were relocated between 1964 and 1970.

Immigrants and their children also participated in the postwar phenomenon of suburbanization and their attempts to purchase new homes in a booming market significantly altered the shape of the old neighbourhoods. Although Italians were dispersed throughout Toronto, perhaps a majority could be traced along a swath that moved north-west from College and Grace streets up towards Dufferin and St. Clair, through Keele and Eglinton, and Dufferin and Lawrence into Downsview and beyond. Jordan Stanger-Ross has shown how Italian immigrants in that first neighbourhood, conscious that Toronto

housing prices were rising with the economic growth of the city, viewed their homes as an investment. Unlike Little Italies in stagnant cities such as Philadelphia, immigrants in the College-Grace neighbourhood were not concerned with keeping out other racial or ethnic groups and protecting the local turf, and their social and economic contacts reached out to their co-ethnics across the city. By the early 1960s Italians had moved into Weston and by the late 1970s, the swath would extend all the way out to Woodbridge. With the real estate boom new subdivisions sprouted in all directions, at the same time that new housing demands led to the massive growth of multi-dwelling buildings.

In a similar fashion, Jews, who like the Italians retained a presence in many parts of Toronto, would also cut a path up from southeast Spadina, through Bathurst and College streets and the Kensington Market neighbourhood, straight up Bathurst Street, into York Township and Forest Hill during the Depression and the Second World War, into Lawrence Manor and Clanton Park and Bathurst Manor in the 1950s. At the same time, wealthier Jews settled in Forest Hill, where they relinquished historic tensions with their former anglo-gentile neighbours and tended to conform more to the Anglo character of the area. By the 1980s, Jewish neighbourhoods would reach, Thornhill, Vaughan, and Richmond Hill. The 1950s seemed to be a period of building and renewal for the new Jewish districts; not only did new houses appear, but so too did institutional facilities, including synagogues and other voluntary associations. This also was the case in Winnipeg, as Jews moved from the North End to nearby West Kildonan and to River Heights. Renewal of institutional buildings proceeded throughout the late twentieth century in the suburbs north of Toronto, both among secular and religious Jews. In Montreal, working-class Jewish families moved into the Côte-des-Neiges neighbourhood, while middle-class and wealthier families looked further west to Côte-St.-Luc and Hampstead. These latter areas became overwhelmingly Jewish neighbourhoods with synagogues, a convalescence hospital, a library and malls that catered primarily to a Jewish clientele. Although secular celebrations such as Halloween might be celebrated here, Christian festivities would pass largely unnoticed. In December, menorahs were ever-present, whereas signs of Christmas were virtually absent. Meanwhile, Italian immigrants, traditionally centred in the Jean Talon neighbourhood, spread out to other parts of the city.

The movement of ethnic groups from old quarters to new ones confirmed what American sociologists had already observed in American cities in the 1920s and 1930s - the phenomenon of ethnic succession in neighbourhoods. As immediate postwar immigrants sought detached or semi-detached homes in the new housing projects, more recent immigrants succeeded them in their former neighbourhoods. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Portuguese settled in the former Jewish Kensington Market area and even moved into Little Italy, painting over the brick exteriors of their Victorian cottages with the bright tones of their villages and towns in the Azores. West Indian immigrants moved into the Caledonia and St. Clair area, another former Italian neighbourhood, while other immigrants from the Caribbean moved into the high density Jane-Finch corridor.

## **The Case of Chinatowns**

Perhaps no other ethnic neighbourhoods experienced such a great transformation between the 1950s and the 1980s as did Chinatowns in Toronto and Vancouver, although Victoria also changed significantly. If in the 1950s Chinatown was associated with foreignness, filth, seediness and the derelict, by the 1980s, Chinatown had become an area worth preserving, a tourist attraction. This passage reflected a new tolerance in Canada's immigration programmes, a new vision of urban politics and a change in the composition of the Chinese population of the major cities and their relationship to Chinatown.

After the Second World War, Chinatowns were overwhelmingly male. The 1923 Chinese Immigration Act (the Exclusion Act) ensured that the early sojourning population had little chance to attract a significant population of Chinese women. Chinatowns remained isolated from other urban inhabitants as they developed their own towns within towns to defend themselves against hostile environments. But city by-laws also contributed to checking Chinatown's spread (for example, laws confining laundries to prescribed areas of the city). Moreover, in comparison to other immigrant groups, Chinese immigrants had low rates of home property ownership, although Toronto's Chinese possessed a significant number of jointly owned homes. This situation can be attributed to the sojourner mentality of the Chinese as well as the low status jobs which most of them held. The ensuing decades, however, would witness a significant change in the Chinese population. Legislation passed in 1947 that allowed Chinese immigrants to be joined by their wives and children abroad, gradually diminished the disproportionate ratio of men to women. However, it would not be until 1967 that regulations establishing a "points" system would enable prospective Chinese immigrants to compete on an equal playing field with their counterparts from other parts of the world.

By the 1950s Toronto's or Vancouver's Chinese quarters were predominantly composed of Chinese immigrants and local businesses were almost exclusively "ethnic" ones. Just as in the early decades of the twentieth century, there was an invisible web of support contacts through the village and clan relationships and tongs. Some of these associations owned property in Chinatowns. Yet these districts were recognized by the city planners and citizens at large as expendable slum areas. In the late 1950s, Vancouver's city council approved plans in principle to "renew" Strathcona, an area perceived as a slum, just east of commercial town and home to many Chinese. In the mid-1960s, proposals emerged to build a highway that would wipe out half of Chinatown. In Toronto, city planners envisioned a huge civic square that would comprise much of Chinatown. In both cities, local residents were not consulted. In Toronto, it was as if that foreign quarter, perceived as other by white society, did not even exist, and residents living there did not even enter the equation.

These urban renewal threats in both Toronto and Vancouver galvanized the Chinese communities. If previously, Chinatown's social life was characterized by a multiplicity of

associations, by the 1960s the immigrants and their children began not only to form a broad coalition in order to save their neighbourhoods, they also became more involved with city politics, forging alliances with key individuals and groups. These actions not only involved the Chinese for the first time in the urban reform politics of the 1960s, but also preserved their districts and promoted a new image of Chinatowns and ethnic neighbourhoods in general (although it is true that in Ibronto, a good portion of Chinatown was lost to the new City Hall development). In spite of these efforts, like other ethnic-groups during the 1960s, Chinese residents were moving out of the old neighbourhood, in the direction of south-east Spadina, and the old Chinatown became the "kitchen" or commercial district. Moreover, with new immigration following liberalized laws and immigration policy, the profile of Chinese Canada changed, drawing nationals from a number of countries. These immigrants, in general, were more educated, and represented a broader spectrum of the workforce. As a result, Chinese home ownership increased, and a larger proportion of Chinese immigrants purchased or rented homes outside Chinatown.

In the early 1970s, 30 per cent of Chinese immigrants in greater Toronto lived outside die city limits. Ten years later, the figure jumped to 65 per cent. At the same time, Chinese immigration grew so rapidly that Chinatown's southeast residential population (Chinatown West) actually increased, and, in general remained, middle class. Even more interesting, the move to the suburbs spawned new Chinatowns, in the east end of the city, the Broadview Avenue and Gerrard Street Chinatown and the Agincourt Plaza Chinatown in Scarborough. The new middle class immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong resided in the upscale Agincourt area. Within a decade, with the impending 1997 takeover of the British colony by the People's Republic, the increased migration of Chinese from Taiwan, and in particular, Hong Kong, led to yet a new, wealthy Chinatown in Markham and Richmond I DII, north of Toronto. A similar phenomenon occurred in the Vancouver suburbs of Richmond, and to a more modest extent in Burn a by, and Coquitlam, as well as in the Toronto suburb of Scarborough. They have the features of what American geographer Wei Li has referred to as "ethnoburbs," which are not secondary areas of settlement but enclaves populated by the recent wealthy migration of ethnic Chinese who wish to be in a predominately Chinese-speaking area with access to their own supermarkets and specialty stores and sen-ice institutions and centres. The phenomenon of large "Asian malls" such as Aberdeen Centre and Parker Place in Richmond or Pacific Mall in Markham with their large chain stores, such as T&T Supermarkets, owned by Taiwanese, American and Canadian interests, testifies to the presence of a significant market of the Chinese diaspora in Canada; however, their success and continuous growth also speaks to the capacity of this "ethnic" phenomenon to reach out to a broader Canadian market.

#### Other Groups and Trends

The 1967 immigration regulations and the improved Western European economy led to a new type of migration throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Portuguese, Greek and Italian migration was gradually curtailed, as immigration from Asia and the Caribbean countries, and eventually Soudi America grew. With increased globalization, transnational migrations,

and innovative policies, new immigrants ran the gamut from impoverished refugees to extremely wealthy investors. The federal government stepped up its commitment towards international refugees at the same time as it placed an increasing emphasis on attracting "investor class" immigrants. Predictably, ethnic neighbourhoods changed, although some of the neighbourhoods of the European ethnic groups that migrated to Canada in significant numbers in the first half of last century, persisted. There was and still is an historic Italian neighbourhood in Montreal near Jean Talon Street and St. Lawrence Boulevard, although Italian immigrants and their children are a tiny minority there. The city has poured funds into redeveloping the district: a columned portico on St. Lawrence Boulevard at once defines and delineates the neighbourhood. In Toronto, the commercial historic Little Italy has shifted to Dufferin Street and St. Clair Avenue.

Perhaps the greatest beneficiaries of urban renewal in the 1970s and 1980s have been the country's Chinatowns. In Vancouver, the Strathcona Property Owners and Tenants Association (SPOTA) helped to save the neighbourhood from grandiose urban renewal projects that would have changed the character of the area. In the meantime, various beautification schemes, derived from investments from I long Kong immigrants, revived the old Chinatown. During the 1970s, in Calgary and Winnipeg, Chinatown's community associations successfully fought urban plans for high density developments, while in Edmonton's Chinatown, city and community groups agreed to shift the enclave to 97<sup>th</sup> Street, between 101A and 102 avenues. However, not all Chinatowns benefited from the urban renewal movement. Lethbridges, among others, became a virtual ghost town as land speculators demolished buildings. As Montreal's land values soared in the 1970s, private developers knocked down old buildings in the Chinese enclave, and city and federal governments expropriated lands for various projects, including the Guy Favreau complex. Many institutions, including Chinese Protestant churches and missions of various denominations were destroyed. Only the Chinese Catholic church, which was declared an historical building, survived. And yet, there still is a significant Chinese population residing in the neighbourhood, even if many former residents have left. All these old Chinatowns, are both home for the older Chinese ethnic communities and tourist spots for visitors, even if it appears that in recent years Vancouver's and Montreal's Chinatowns are once again languishing.

One of the significant developments of the 1980s and 1990s has been the shift from more defined ethnic neighbourhoods to ethnic concentration and even segregation in the suburbs. Unlike earlier periods when significant ethnic segregation might imply a lack of integration and therefore be viewed as social problem, nowadays ethnic concentration in residential areas is a sign of vitality and indicates that multiculturalism as a social policy has been successful, that ethnic groups are retaining their identities if they so wish, and old-world cultures are being preserved at the same time that ethnic groups are being integrated. In addition these neighbourhoods like their cultures add to the definition of a city and point to the fact that integration is a two-way street. One type of ethnic concentration is the new ethnic enclave. These are residential districts in metropolitan suburbs that

possess a significant concentration of immigrants of one ethnic group or their descendants. These districts are usually relatively close to the commercial streets from which the particular ethnic groups purchase commodities.

The shift to suburban concentration is significant and represents the new type of ethnic "enclave." One need only travel through the main streets of the Ibronto suburb of Woodbridge to understand that one is in a predominantly Italian neighbourhood; or through parts of Markham - near the intersection of Old Highway 7 and Highway 404 -to know that one is entering into a "new" Chinatown. In both cases, the ethnic district is no longer associated with small street level shops where the storefront meets the sidewalk. Rather, office buildings, supermarkets, malls, banks, large financial and commercial institutions, and banquet halls with Chinese or Italian signs clearly indicate an ethnic commercial district. Rivière-des-Prairies (or RDP) in Montreal is not considered a Little Italy, but is perceived as a preponderantly Italian district, with an Italian Catholic mission and many shops and supermarkets catering to Italian Montrealers residing in the area. There is a significant difference, however, between the Chinese ethnoburbs and the Italian neighbourhoods: the former are composed of recent wealthy immigrants, whereas the latter are mainly made up of the postwar immigrant and the second and even third generations.

Ethnic neighbourhoods in Canada do not seem to be conforming to classical urban sociological theories by which immigrants would settle in an ethnic neighbourhood, get their bearings in the Xew World, integrate with the existing ethnic community, and eventually move up the socio-economic ladder and out of the enclave, gradually assimilating. A sign of their assimilation was the move to the suburbs as new ethnic groups entered the old ethnic quarters. On the one hand, it is true that ethnic succession of neighbourhoods can be detected in Canada. Montreal's Côte-des-Neiges neighbourhood for example, has been home to Jews, Vietnamese, Chinese, Muslims and immigrants from former Soviet states. Similarly, Alexandra Park in Toronto was a reception area for British and Jewish immigrants before the First World War, for Eastern Europeans, and later, Portuguese immigrants.

It is also true that the move to the suburbs has not been a sign of the assimilation, but rather of integration with the persistence of ethnicity. Like others, ethnic groups desire better housing as they move into the middle class. For example, the Portuguese immigrants in Montreal and Toronto may appear to have been assimilated. The old Portuguese neighbourhoods in the St. Louis Ward in Montreal or the Kensington Market area in Toronto are gradually disappearing as immigrants and their children have moved to Laval and Mississauga respectively. Carlos Teixeira's work on Portuguese immigrants has shown that this movement represents ethnic "resegregation" as the Portuguese transmit and develop their religious and cultural institutions in those suburbs. These immigrants have maintained their ethnic identity in a new neighbourhood through personal contacts and participation in ethnic institutions. Their move to the suburbs does not represent a

rejection of their culture, but a desire for a different kind of home, with a backyard and basement. This pattern pertains to South Asian Immigrants in British Columbia as well. If you drive through the Blue Jay area in Abbotsford, you will not see many signs of South Asian ethnicity. What you will notice are many new large affluent homes with numerous cars in the driveways, inhabited by Sikhs, many of whom live in multi-familial settings. Indeed, the west side of Abbotsford is becoming increasingly South Asian and the east side, White European. T.R. Balakrishnan has shown that Jews and visible minorities have the highest degree of ethnic residential segregation in Canadian metropolitan centres. What is curious is that suburban ethnic concentration can in turn, be segregated by class. Italian Woodbridge, for example, has middle class housing, better quality housing with a "walled" suburban development, and yet another fabulously wealthy neighbourhood. Similarly, Chinese Richmond is well known for its "monster homes," constructed with capital from Hong Kong by immigrants entering the country under the "investor class" category since the mid 1980s. We see the same pattern in Chinese Brossard, on the south shore of Montreal, albeit on a smaller scale.

Technological developments have also influenced the persistence of ethnicity. One no longer needs to live in a classic ethnic enclave. Telephone, internet and satellite television have reinforced diasporas, so that it is possible for immigrants and their children, from their own homes, to be constantly engaged with the culture and politics of their homelands. We might ask if there is a new trend afoot - a new type of multiculturalism in a globalized world. Canada now accepts many refugees and poor immigrants. At the same time, it accepts wealthy investor class immigrants. Immigrants who arrived in Canada in the 1950s, and their children have accumulated wealth and moved up the occupational ladder. While many individual immigrants or their children or even grandchildren have assimilated to Canadian society, it is also evident that for many of them ethnicity is still a salient factor and persists even beyond the second generation. In the 1970s, Leo Dreidger noted that Jews and Mennonites in Winnipeg initially established enclaves in the city and then used other means - political, cultural and religious, for example, to enhance group identity. The point is that the early enclaves gave a physical reference point with which the ethnic group might identify. Suburban enclaves or ethnoburbs in this century are a sign of ethnic group or diaspora identities. Perhaps the new pattern in multicultural, post-modern Canada, is integration and ethnic persistence in varying degrees in a more complex community, in which the identities of English-speaking Canada and Québécois are in ever greater flux.

*The author would like to thank his graduate and undergraduate students at McGill University who have stimulated his research and from whom he has learned a great deal over the years, and whose contributions he has incorporated in this booklet.*

## FURTHER READING

Although there is not an extensive historical literature on ethnic neighbourhoods in Canada much information can be gleaned from historical studies on ethnic groups. We are also fortunate that sociologists and geographers have researched this area in depth.

On methodological approaches to the topic it is worthwhile to start with Robert Harney's introduction, "Ethnicity and Neighbourhoods," in *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto* (Toronto 1985):1-23. This collection was a first attempt at publishing a range of historical articles on ethnic neighbourhoods in a Canadian city. Harney and H. Troper's *Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience* (Toronto 1979) has the appearance of a coffee-table book. However, it has very sensitive insights and excellent photographs of the immigrant experience in Ibronto before the Second World War. Although writing in an American context, Kathleen Neils Conzen also raises important theoretical issues for Canadian historians in "Immigrants, Immigrant Neighborhoods and Ethnic Identity: Historical Issues," in *Journal of American History* (1979): 603-15.

The best work on Chinatowns has come from geographers. Kay Anderson's *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1815-1980* (Montreal and Kingston 1991), offers a postmodernist perspective. She synthesizes her arguments in "The Idea of Chinatown: The Power of Place and Institutional Practice in the Making of Racial Category," in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 77 A (1987): 580-98. David Chuen-yan Lai examines Chinese settlements from Victoria to Montreal in *Chinatowns: Towns within Cities in Canada* (Vancouver 1988). His book ends with a lengthy case study of Victoria's Chinatown, which is also the subject of his *The Forbidden City within Victoria* (Victoria 1991). Denise Illey's *Les Chinois à Montréal 1881-1951* (Québec 1987) is a very useful source. Jimao Peng's doctoral thesis, "A Community in Motion: The Development of Toronto's Chinatown and Chinese Community" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Guelph 1994), tells how Toronto's Chinatown was saved as Chinese immigrants became more involved in the political process. Some of the articles in *From China to Canada: A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada*, edited by Edgar Wickberg (Toronto 1982) depict the spatial distribution of Chinese immigrants in Canadian cities. Richard H. Thompson's *Toronto's Chinatown: The Changing Social Organization of an Ethnic Community* (New York: AMS Press 1989) is essentially about the social organization within Chinese Toronto. Bernard Devlin produced two National Film Board documentaries in the 1950s: "Vancouver's Chinatown" (1954) and "Quartier Chinois" (1955). On more recent Chinese immigration and the new enclaves see Peter S. Li, "Unneighbourly Houses or Unwelcome Chinese: The Social Construction of Race in the Battle over 'Monster Homes' in Vancouver Canada" in *International Journal of Comparative Race and Ethnic Studies* 1:1 (1994): 47-66.

Despite the significance of Jewish immigration to Canadian cities, the literature is rather sparse. On spatial distribution in Canadian cities, Louis Rosenberg's 1939 work, *Canadas Jrw: A Social and Economic Study of the Jews in Canada* (reprinted Montreal and Kingston

1993) gives useful demographic information for the interwar period from the Canadian Census. Gerald Tulchinsky's comprehensive *Taking Root: The Origins of the Canadian Jewish Community* (Toronto 1992) and *Branching Out: The Transformation of the Canadian Jewish Community* (Toronto 1998) consider the geography of Jewish settlement in the country. Stephen Speisman's *The Jews of Toronto: A History to 193?* (Toronto 1979) is worthy of mention. Etan Diamond's *And I will Dwell in Their Midst: Orthodox Jews in Suburbia* (Chapel Hill and London 2000) is an excellent study religious Jews and the sense of place and meaning in Toronto suburbs. Fernand Dansereau's 1956 National Film Board documentary, "La communauté juive de Montréal," concentrates more on the institutional life of Jewish Montreal than on its neighbourhoods, while Dana Herman's McGill M.A. Thesis, "In the Shadow of the Mountain: A Historical Re-evaluation of the 1988 Outremont Dispute," (M.A. Thesis, McGill University 2003) provides excellent background on the development of the Hassidic settlement in Outremont, and the events surrounding the tensions between Hassidim and francophones in 1988. See also J.F. Gagnon, Franchie Dansereau and x\nnick Germain, "Ethnic Dilemmas?" Religion, Diversity and Multicultural Planning in Montreal," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 36:2 (2004): 51-75.

Little Italies have been studied extensively. A generation of scholars in ethnic history were influenced by Robert Harney's pioneering work, in particular "If One Were to Write a History of Postwar Toronto Italia," in *If One Were to Write a History: Selected Writings by Roben F. Hartley*, edited by P. Ancil and B. Ramirez (Toronto 1991): 63-89; "Ambiente and Class in North American Little Italies," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, 2 (1976): 208-24; "Boarding and Belonging: Thoughts on Sojourner Institutions," *Urban History Review*, 2 (1978): 8-37; "Toronto's Little Italy 1885-1945," *Little Italies in North America*, edited by R.F. Harney and J.V. Scarpaci (Toronto 1981): 68-94. John Zucchis *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity 1815-1935* (Montreal and Kingston 1990) shows die influence of kinship in settling Little Italies. He questions Kay Anderson's approach in "Cultural Constructs or Organic Evolution? Italian Immigrant Settlements in Ontario," in *The Luminous Mosaic: Italian Cultural Organizations in Ontario*, edited by J. Molinaro & M. Kuitunen (Toronto 1993). Franca Iacovetta's *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal 1993) discusses the spread of Italian settlement in postwar Toronto, and Nicholas Harney, *Eh Paesan! Being Italian in Toronto* (Toronto 1998) has excellent insights into the texture of Italian Toronto in the 1990s. Antonio Pucci's "Thunder Bay's Italian community: 1880s to 1940s," in *The Italian Immigrant Experience*, edited by A. Pucci & J. Potestio (Thunder Bay 1988), shows the development of Fort Williams' and Port Arthur's Italian settlements. E.M. Razzolini examines Italian settlements in Sydney and Glace Bay in *All Our Fathers: The North Italian Colony in Industrial Cape Breton* (Halifax 1983). Bruno Ramirez and M. del Balso look at the settlement of the Mile End neighbourhood by Italian in "The Italians of Montreal: From Sojourning to Settlement," in *Little Italics in North America*, edited by R.F. Harney and J. Scarpaci (Toronto 1980): 63-85. Franc Sturino examines the influence of kin ties among immigrants from Calabria in their choice oi settlement in Toronto in *Forging the chain: Italian Migration to North America 1880-1930* (Toronto 1990). The first chapter of

G. D'Andrea's "When Nationalisms Collide: Montreal's Italian Community and the St. Leonard Crisis, 1967-69" (MA Thesis, McGill University 1989) studies the early settlement of the Montreal suburb of St. Leonard by Italian immigrants. Part of Susanna Iulianos "Sebben che siamo donne (Although We are Women): A Comparative Study of Italian Immigrant Women in Post-war Canada and Australia (Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University 2002), focuses on the role of women in settling in Montreal and Victoria. D. Caussy's "Residential Mobility of Italian Immigrants in Hamilton 1900-1940" (MA Thesis, McMaster University 1980) and (i. Scardellato's "Italian Immigrant Workers in Powell River, B.C.: A Case Study of Settlement before World War II," *Labour/Le Travail*, 16 (1985): 145-65 are also useful. A good National Film Board production on Montreal's Little Italy is Gilles Carles: 1961 documentary, "One Sunday in Canada" ("Dimanche d'Amérique"). Michael Buzzelli, "From Little Britain to Little Italy: An Urban Ethnic Landscape Study in Toronto," *Journal of Historical Geography* 27:4 (2001): 573-587, examines the changing landscape in Toronto's St. Clair Little Italy from a British to Italian area of settlement. A dated yet very relevant study of Italian and Ukrainian settlement and social structures in late 1930s Montreal is Charles M. Bayley's "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities Montreal, 1935-1937" (M.A. Thesis, McGill University 1939). Jordan Stanger-Ross's soon to be published dissertation "Configuring Community: Italian Ethnicity in Postwar Philadelphia and Toronto" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania 2005), is the best work for understanding the relationship between home ownership, economic growth and ethnicity in postwar Italian Toronto.

Studies of other ethnic groups include Lillian Perroff's sensitive work, *Sojourners and Settlers: The Macedonian Community in Toronto to 1940* (Toronto 1995). On Blacks, the classic study remains *Aflicville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community* (Toronto 1974) by sociologists Donald Clairmont and Dennis William Magill. Harry Gairey's *4 Black Man's Toronto*, edited by Donna Hill (Toronto 1981) gives one a sense of the timbre of Black Toronto from the 1920s to the 1970s from the perspective of a former railway porter.

The best source on British immigrant neighbourhoods in Montreal in the interwar period is Llovd Reynolds's *The British Immigrant: His Economic and Social Adjustment* (Toronto 1935). For Toronto there is J.M.S Careless's "Cabbagetown," in *Gathering Place: People and Neighbourhoods of Toronto*, edited by R.F. Harney (Toronto 1985): 25-45. For Winnipeg see A.R. McCormack's "Networks Among British Immigrants and Accommodation to Canadian Society: Winnipeg, 1900- 1914," in *Social History* 17:34 (1984): 203-22, and in "Cloth Caps and Jobs: The Ethnicity of English Immigrants in Canada 1900-1914," in *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada*, edited byj. Dahlie and T. Fernando (Toronto 1981): 175-96. An excellent examination of the suburbanization of Toronto in the first half of the twentieth century, and in particular the role of British immigrants and the British ethnic groups in their development, is Richard Harris's *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900-1950* (Baltimore and London 1996).

For more on ethnic concentration in the suburbs, refer to T.R. Balakrishnan's "Residential Segregation and Socio-economic Integration of Asians in Canadian Cities," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33 (2001): 120-131; his article with John Kralt, "Segregation of Visible Minorities in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver," in *Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities*, edited by Leo Driedger (Toronto 1987): 111-137; and "Residential Segregation and Canada's Ethnic Groups" in *Perspectives on Ethnicity in Canada* edited by M.A. and W.E. Kalbach, (Toronto 2000): 121-136. Carlos Teixeira discusses how the movement to the suburbs by ethnic groups might not be signs of assimilation, in "The Suburbanization of Portuguese Communities in Toronto and Montreal: From Isolation to Residential Integration?" *Canadian Issues / Themes Canadiern* 17 (1996): 1H1-202. Other important works on ethnic segregation in cities include Daniel Ilielbert's "The Social Geography of Toronto in 1931: A Study of Residential Differentiation and Social Structure," *The Journal of Historical Geography* 21:1 (1995): 55-74, and "Class, Ethnicity and Residential Structure: The Social Geography of Winnipeg, 1901-1921," *Journal of Historical Geography* 17:1 (1991): 56-86; and Claire McNicol's *Montréal, une société multiculturelle* (Paris and Berlin 1993) and Pierre Drouilly, *L'espace social de Montréal, 1951-1991* (Sillery 1996), in particular pp. 105-200. See also G. Lavigne, *Les ethniques et la ville: l'aventure urbaine des immigrants portugais à Montréal* (Montreal 1987). Grace Anderson and David Iliggs, in *A Future to Inherit: The Portuguese Communities of Canada* (Toronto 1976) show how even in the 1960s and 1970s, the Portuguese in smaller cities such as London and Kitchener, and even in Winnipeg, tended to concentrate within a few city blocks of each other. Also use-fid are Leo Driedger's "Immigrant/Ethnic/Racial Segregation: Canadian Big Three and Prairie Metropolitan Comparison," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 24:4 (1999): 485-510, "Toward a Perspective on Canadian Pluralism: Ethnic Identity in Winnipeg," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 2 (1922):333-53, and "Ethnic Boundaries: A Comparison of Two Urban Neighbourhoods," *Sociology and Social Research* 62 (1978): 193-211; and W. Kalbach, "Ethnic Residential Segregation and its Significance for the Individual in an Urban Setting," in *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City*, edited by R. Breton, W Isajiw, W. Kalbach and J. Reitz (Toronto 1990): 92-134. On the effects of post-1967 immigration on the social geography of metropolitan centres see Annick Germain and David Ley "Immigration and the Changing Social Geography of Large Canadian Cities," *Plan Canada*, 40:4 (2000): 29-32.

On the significance of religious and parish life to ethnic neighbourhoods, as well as Etan Diamond's and Jordan Stanger-Ross's works mentioned above, see Rosalyn Trigger "Geopolitics of the Irish-Catholic Parish in Nineteenth-Century Montreal," *Journal of Historical Geography* 27:4 (2001):553-72. Roberto Perin, "Toronto Churches and Immigrant Integration in the Postwar Period," in *The Churches and Social Order in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century Canada*, edited by Michael Gauvreau (Montreal-Kingston, 2006) deals with Christian immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe.

Finally, useful reference tools for the study of ethnic enclaves are frequent articles in *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *Urban History Review*, *Canadian Geographer*; and D. Kerr and D.W. Holdsworth, editors, *Historical Atlas of Canada 3: Addressing the Twentieth Century 1891-1961* (Oxford: 1990), especially plates 30, 31 and 60; and the website of the Metropolis research network with numerous sources, articles, theses, reports and statistics: [http://Canada.metropolis.net/sitemap/index\\_e.html](http://Canada.metropolis.net/sitemap/index_e.html).



## CANADA'S ETHNIC GROUPS

Canada's Ethnic Groups is a series of booklets designed to provide secondary and undergraduate students, historians and general readers with concise histories of particular aspects of immigration and ethnicity in Canada. Many of these readable accounts trace the origins, the development, and the contemporary situation of particular ethnocultural communities in Canada. The booklets include maps and tables suitable for overhead projection, as well as suggestions for further reading. They are available in both French and English and additional booklets are in the planning stages. The series is published by the Canadian Historical Association in collaboration with the Department of Canadian Heritage, Government of Canada.

1. J.K. Bumsted, *The Scots in Canada*
2. David Higgs, *The Portuguese in Canada*
3. W. Peter Ward, *The Japanese in Canada*
4. **D.H.** Avery & J.K. Fedorowicz, *The Poles in Canada*
5. Hugh Johnston, *The East Indians in Canada*
6. James W. St. G. Walker, *The West Indians in Canada*
7. Bernard L. Vigod, *The Jews in Canada*
8. Varpu Lindstrom-Best, *The Finns in Canada*
9. Jin Tan & Patricia Roy, *The Chinese in Canada*
10. O.W. Gerus & J.E. Rae, *The Ukrainians in Canada*
11. K.M. McLaughlin, *The Germans in Canada*
12. David A. Wilson, *The Irish in Canada*
13. J.I. Little, *Ethno-Cultural Transition and Regional Identity in the Eastern Townships of Quebec*
14. Bruno Ramirez, *The Italians in Canada*
15. Reg Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy*
16. Marilyn Barber, *Immigrant Domestic Servants in Canada*
17. Howard Palmer, *Ethnicity and Politics in Canada since Confederation*
18. Michael D. Behiels, *Quebec and the Question of Immigration: From Ethnocentrism to Ethnic Pluralism, 1900-1985*
19. John Herd Thompson, *Ethnic Minorities During Two World Wars*
20. Cornelius Jaenen, *The Belgians in Canada*
21. Yves Frenette, *The Anglo-Normans in Eastern Canada*
22. Franca Iacovetta, *The Writing of English Canadian Immigrant History*
23. Martin Paquet, *Toward a Quebec Ministry of Immigration, 1945 to 1968*
24. Marcel Martel, *French Canada: An Account of Its Creation and Break-up, 1850-1967*
25. Roberto Perin, *The Immigrants' Church: The Third Force in Canadian Catholicism, 1880-1920*
26. Frank Cosentino, *Afros, Aborigines and Amateur Sport in Pre World War One Canada*
27. Carmela Patrias, *The Hungarians in Canada*
28. Louis-Jacques Dorais, *The Cambodians, Laotians and Vietnamese in Canada*
29. Royden Loewen, *Ethnic Farm Culture in Western Canada*
30. Mark McGowan, *Creating Canadian Historical Memory: The Case of the Famine Migration of 1847*

**Please send orders to**  
**The Canadian Historical Association,**  
**395 Wellington Street Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0N4.**  
*An invoice will follow.*

Canadian  
Historical  
Association



Société  
historique  
du Canada

395 Wellington Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0N4

Tel. (613) 233-7885 • Fax (613) 567-3110

Email: [cha-shc@lac-bac.gc.ca](mailto:cha-shc@lac-bac.gc.ca) • Web Site: <http://www.cha-shc.ca>