

Urban Sociology in Canada

SECOND
EDITION

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Urban Sociology in Canada

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This edition is dedicated to the memory of Joseph McGahan, who unknowingly taught me of the beauty and wonder of urban immigration.

Preface

This edition, as with the first, only touches the surface richness of Canadian urban studies. It maintains the same theoretical structure and strategy of introducing urban sociology but with several changes. More recent census data on Canadian cities are used. Linked to this is reference to the now emerging "counterurbanization process," a pattern appearing not just in Canada. New examples of urban empirical studies have been included to illustrate generalizations and concepts. A section on the ecology of urban crime has been added to emphasize the importance of a city's spatial structure. References have been updated in selected fashion, and the bibliography has been extended.

Introduction

The modern age is an urban age. Movement from a rural to an urban society in both Western and developing countries represents a social, demographic, and economic transformation of profound significance. And in focusing on urbanization we are concerned with only part of a much more complex process involving modernization, industrialization, and the development of complex forms of organization.

Urbanization as a demographic process involves: (1) an increase in the number of urban areas or points of concentration in a society; (2) an increase in the size of individual cities; and (3) a general rise in the proportion of a society's total population living in urban areas (Tisdale 1942). These increases tend to occur together. Cities are defined as relatively large, dense, permanent settlements in which the majority of residents do not produce their own food.

THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION

Prior to the nineteenth century, the process of urban development was sporadic. In the some 40,000-year history of homo sapiens, the first cities did not appear until approximately 3500 B.C., in that section of the Fertile Crescent lying between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. These cities evolved through advances made in the last Stone-Age economy, the Neolithic. Improved methods of irrigation, cultivation, and transportation promoted the rise of cities – such as Ur, Kish, Mari, Farah, and Lagash – by permitting a surplus of food to be collected to support urban populations. A centralized social and economic organization evolved to exploit that surplus. This encouraged a more elaborate division of labour and specialization of craft, and strong trade relations between centres (Childe 1951). Almost all early cities were marked by: "full-time specialists, large dense populations, great art, writing and numerical notation, exact and predictive sciences, levies that concentrate the surplus food production, the state, monumental public architecture, long-distance trade, and a class-structured society" (Gist and Fava 1964, 13).

Early cities also emerged on the Indus River (now West Pakistan) where, for example, the major centre of Harappa emerged with a population of

20,000 within a square-mile area. But the primitive state of medicine and industry, the labour-intensive character of agriculture, and the rigid social stratification prohibited any sustained process of urban growth.

Ancient cities dotted the Western Hemisphere as well, among the Indians of the Yucatan peninsula and Guatemala. Mayan cities emerged after 300 B.C., although less densely concentrated than those in Mesopotamia. The earliest large urban centre in Middle America was Teotihuacán ("place of the gods"), located fifty kilometres from present-day Mexico City. It was the site of the mammoth pyramids of the Sun and the Moon, a religious and administrative centre, a city that covered seven to eight square miles, with a population at its height of approximately 75,000. It reached its peak development between A.D. 150 and 750. And archaeological evidence suggests that by the latter year the city had been abandoned. The reason for this is not clear. One explanation might be "that the unending construction work [as revealed, for example, in its pyramids] was such a physical and economic burden on its inhabitants and tributary groups that the population might have nursed a growing rebellion which could have exploded in the overthrow of their traditional hierarchy" (Hardoy 1973, 71). Urban centres also formed important parts of the Incan empire in the central Andes, one of the most extensive of preindustrial civilizations.

As these civilizations were not sustained, so too did their cities inevitably decline. Such was the fate of both Athens and Rome. And after the demise of the Roman Empire urban centres in Europe languished until the revival of trade in the tenth and eleventh centuries. But it was not until the Industrial Revolution over the past two centuries that the urban transformation became a fixed feature of human history.

The demographic dimensions of this transformation are truly staggering (Weber 1963 ed.; Davis 1955, 1972). In 1800 less than 3 percent of the world's population lived in cities of 20,000 or more; by 1950 or so the proportion had risen to 20 percent – a rate of increase much faster than at any previous time in history. Only fifty cities of 100,000 population or more existed in 1800; by 1950 that number had grown to 900, and it has continued to increase ever since.

Despite this worldwide trend to urbanize, there are still some striking differences between regions and nations. Levels of urbanization are highest in Australia, New Zealand, Europe, and North America, and lowest in many of the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa. These discrepancies, however, mask the much higher rates of urban increase which the latter continents have been experiencing in recent decades (Hauser 1957; Davis 1972). The urban transformation is becoming truly a universal process.

THE CANADIAN URBAN TRANSFORMATION

In demographic terms too we find clear evidence of this transformation in Canada. In 1981, three-fourths (75.7 percent) of her population resided in

urban areas; only a very small proportion (4.3 percent) lived on farms (table 1). Approximately one-hundred years ago, Canada was almost entirely a rural society. Today half (51.7 percent) of all Canadians live in cities of 100,000 population or more. The majority of urban residents indeed are concentrated in the largest centres of 500,000+. The rate of urban growth in Canada has, however, in recent years slowed.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Total and Urban Population by Urban Size Group, Rural Non-farm, and Rural Farm, Canada, 1981 (%)

Urban Size Group	Distribution of Total Population	Distribution of Urban Population
500,000+	41.2	54.4
100,000-499,999	10.5	13.9
30,000-99,999	8.2	10.8
10,000-29,999	6.4	8.5
5,000-9,999	3.3	4.3
2,500-4,999	3.3	4.3
1,000-2,499	2.8	3.8
Rural Non-farm	20.0	-
Rural Farm	4.3	-
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(24,343,180)	(18,435,925)

SOURCE: 1981 Census of Canada, *Population*; Cat. 92-902, vol. 1, table 2, pp. 2-1, 2-2. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

THE CENSUS DEFINITION OF "URBAN"

Prior to 1951 the Canadian census definition of urban was restricted to the legal municipal status of incorporation. "With the rapid growth of suburbs, i.e., built-up areas outside a city's boundaries but still an integral part of the city, legal status alone became an inadequate criterion. Population density, i.e., population per square mile, became an increasingly important component of the urban classification" (Kralt 1976, 3).

In the 1981 census, urban residents are those persons living in an area having a population concentration of 1,000 or more, and a population density of 400 or more per square kilometre (Statistics Canada 1981).

In 1931 and 1941 Canadian metropolitan areas were categorized as "Greater Cities of Canada." This label was changed in 1951 to "Census Metropolitan Areas." In the 1981 census, a census metropolitan area refers to "the main labour market area of an urbanized core (or continuously built-up area) having 100,000 or more population. CMAs are

comprised of (1) municipalities completely or partly inside the urbanized core; and (2) other municipalities if (a) at least 40% of the employed labour force living in the municipality works in the urbanized core, or (b) at least 25% of the employed labour force working in the municipality lives in the urbanized core." If the population of the total area contains between 10,000 and 99,999 it is termed a Census Agglomeration.

Although important urban centres existed in Canada in the early nineteenth century, only in the 1890s and subsequent decades did the level of urbanization begin to rise significantly. During the governments of Laurier and Borden, Canada abandoned its position as primarily a rural-agricultural society through the mass immigration, wheat production, and industrial expansion which characterized this most critical period in its history (Brown and Cook 1974). As the manufacturing and tertiary sectors of the economy increasingly developed, the degree of urban concentration continued to intensify.

Table 1 reveals that in 1981 15.8 percent of Canadians lived in urban centres each with a population size of less than 30,000. Many of these are single-industry communities (Lucas 1971). Although physically isolated from large metropolitan centres, their resource-extraction functions link them closely to the national economy and the national urban system. There are today more than 800 such communities, containing one-fourth of the total non-metropolitan population (Ray and Roberge 1981, 16).

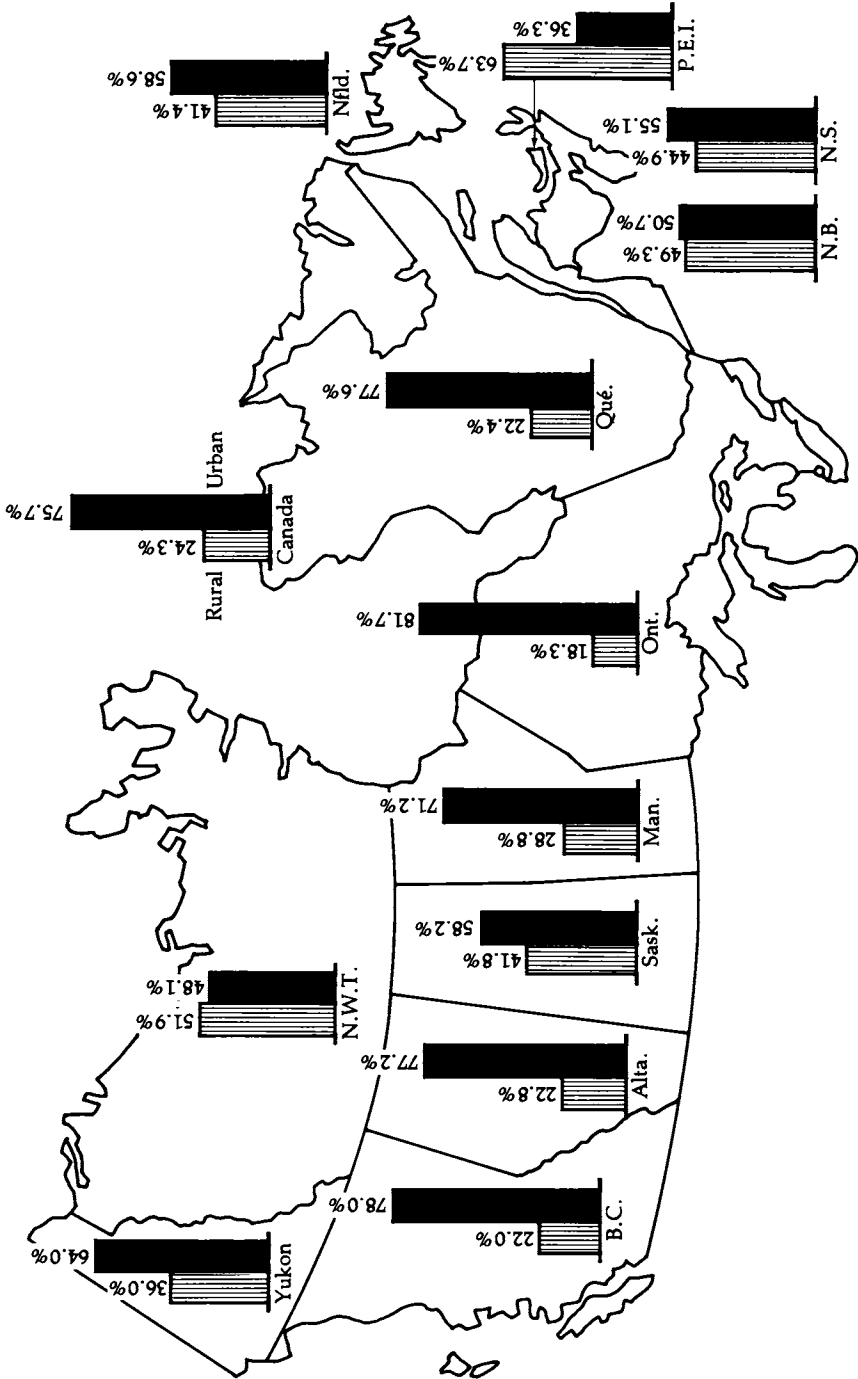
Despite its overall high national level, one important characteristic of Canadian urbanization is its regional variation, reflecting in part differences between the provinces in economic development (figure 1). Approximately four-fifths of the populations of Ontario and Quebec were recorded as urban in 1981, followed by more than three-fourths of those in British Columbia and Alberta. Most of the other provinces showed much lower proportions urban. Such regional differences appeared in past decades as well. Since 1881, Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia consistently maintained the highest levels of urban concentration.

The gap between them and the Prairies has, however, narrowed in recent years as the latter experienced greater industrialization.

... particularly in Alberta where increases in business activity to service the burgeoning oil and natural gas industry stimulated urban areas during the 1950s and the 1960s. By 1971, the proportion of Alberta's population residing in urban areas approached that of British Columbia, while in Saskatchewan once the most rural of Canada's provinces, more than half of the people lived in a city or town (Gertler and Crowley 1977, 47).

Despite these variations, at least half the population in all provinces except Prince Edward Island now reside in urban areas, thus validating Canada's status as an urban nation.

FIGURE 1
Distribution of Urban/Rural Population by Province, 1981



SOURCE: *Canada's Cities* (Statistics Canada 1984). Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

URBAN SOCIOLOGY AS A FIELD OF STUDY

The development of urbanization as a dominant process of both demographic and social change represents one fundamental aspect of the modern age. Urban sociology attempts systematically to describe and analyze this phenomenon. It is therefore of central importance in achieving a more complete understanding of contemporary societies.

Character of the Field

Throughout the history of its development urban sociology has manifested several interesting characteristics.

Eclecticism. A number of years ago Noel Gist (1957) underlined the eclectic character of urban sociology. One still finds a variety of theoretical perspectives, methodologies, and research interests represented among those examining urbanization and urban structure. While interpenetration of varying concerns and interpretations stimulates fascinating comparisons, it renders the overall integration of the field difficult to achieve.

Lack of distinctiveness. This eclecticism is rooted in a more fundamental difficulty. Urban sociology is undergoing something of an "identity crisis." The field lacks clearly definable boundaries. In a society that has achieved only a low level of urbanization, the study of the city has an identifiable focus – with attention given to rural-urban comparisons and to the role of the city as a transformer of "ruralities" (or rural social and cultural attributes). In a highly urban society, however, urban sociology merges with general sociology, and its specific interests are included within other sociological specialties (Gutman and Popenoe 1970). Consequently, as an increasing number of societies experience structural and demographic transformation, what distinguishes urban from general sociology is less obvious. Attempts are made to avoid this implication by redefining urban sociology in a restricted fashion. For example, Thomlinson (1969, vii) proposed that urban *ecology* should be the only remaining "legitimate intellectual rationale for the continuance of urban sociology as a distinct field." Not uncommonly, urban researchers avoid confronting this issue directly, and, instead, concentrate on developing sets of theoretically integrated propositions within the particular area they are working – a strategy which often takes them into the realm of various specialties of sociology. The eclectic character of the field is thus reinforced.

Despite these features it is possible to organize the different concerns and areas of interest within urban sociology.

Aims and Organization of Urban Sociology

When a tourist travels to a foreign land, he frequently relies on a guide book. It contains descriptions of interesting and unusual existing sites; more

mundane and abstruse features are omitted in response to his limited time and sense of immediate relevance.

An introductory text is not unlike such a guide. It too isolates some of the more significant areas of interest in a particular field and, by definition, must necessarily be selective and relatively restricted in scope. Its goal is simply to establish the means through which a "tour" of the academic discipline can be conducted. It will undoubtedly reflect the interests and biases of the organizer. Certain issues, which from another perspective may be defined as highly critical, become de-emphasized or perhaps totally ignored. The ultimate judgment of the appropriateness of such a selective "tour," it is clear, must be determined by how successful the whole journey is both in arousing some critical understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the particular field, and in directing more intense study to specific areas.

That "tour" of urban sociology which this text will provide derives directly from the conception of the city as a sociospatial system. That is, the aim of urban sociology is to analyze the evolution and structure of the urban community as a sociospatial system. This task involves the analysis of the city's social and ecological organization from both a *dynamic* and *structural* perspective. The dynamic focus lays stress on the process of creation of the sociospatial system; the structural emphasizes the regularized patterns within the resultant sociospatial order.

In terms of urban social organization considered first dynamically, urban sociology analyzes the process of entrance to the urban system. This includes the study of rural-urban migration and urban immigration – the pre-conditions for, and social consequences of, this mobility among groups, families, and individuals. This concern of urban sociology is of urbanization as an assimilation process. Structurally, the study of urban social organization entails investigation of the fate of the local community and neighbourhood in the urban system as well as the shape which its social institutions – such as kinship and political units – assume (O'Brien and Roach 1984). This focus can also be defined as the study of "urbanism" – of the social life found within cities.

CONCERNS AND AREAS OF URBAN SOCIOLOGY AS A FIELD OF STUDY

	<i>Social organization</i>	<i>Ecological organization</i>
<i>Dynamic focus</i>	<i>Process of entrance to the urban system (urbanization as an assimilation process)</i>	<i>Growth of cities and concentration of population in cities (urbanization as a demographic and organizational process)</i>

<i>Structural focus</i>	<i>Fate of local community and social institutions in the urban system (urbanism)</i>	<i>Interrelation between urban communities to form a wider system; Internal spatial distribution of population and land use types</i>

An equally important branch of urban sociology is the investigation of urban ecological organization. From a dynamic perspective this involves analysis of the growth of cities and of the increasing concentration of the population in urban communities. This study is of urbanization considered as a demographic and organizational process. On a less general level, attention is also given to the factors promoting development of specific types of population centres, ranging from the one-industry town to the megalopolis. The structural analysis of ecological organization entails study of the interrelation between urban communities to form a wider system, such as occurs with the emergence of a metropolitan region and of a national system of cities. Within each city, the structural focus also examines the patterns of spatial distribution of population and land-use types. The concern here, for example, is with residential segregation among social classes and ethnic groups.

Two additional points must be emphasized with respect to this "charting" of the field of urban sociology. First, this discipline studies the urban community as an integrated sociospatial system. That is, a primary task is to examine the interrelation of the city's social and ecological organization – how social and spatial structures reflect and influence each other (Bourne 1982). Second, the history of the North American city in the twentieth century is one of increasing governmental intervention in urban processes. Urban sociology seeks to describe and explain the social and ecological consequences of such a trend. Administrative efforts to shape the social and spatial structures of cities through formal planning techniques and programs represent a central characteristic of contemporary urban life which urban sociologists have not ignored.

Following a review of the classical theoretical foundations of urban sociology in part one, this text will examine each of the above divisions as they have been pursued within the Canadian urban scene. In short, we shall explore the nature of the Canadian urban community as a sociospatial system.

A central goal of this text is to avoid defining urban sociology in a restricted fashion. Rather than diminish the eclectic character of the field, it seeks to give at least partial recognition to the variety of theoretical strategies and to analysis of a diversity of research problems. Any sense of what urban sociology is about can only be gained by selectively tracing through the fruits of such variety.

Part One

The Classical Foundations of Urban Sociology

The contemporary study of the urban community as a sociospatial system has been shaped greatly by two fundamental perspectives which represent the classical foundations of urban sociology. In the following two chapters we shall briefly review the development of the classical urban typological and ecological frameworks. This will provide us with a general background to the study of urban sociology as well as an introduction to the concepts and research foci of this discipline.

Chapter 1

The Classical Typological Perspective

A fundamental paradigm or explanatory framework which exercised great influence in the study of the city was the typological perspective (Bernard 1973). It attempted to grasp the nature of urban social organization by contrasting it with the non-urban. It assumed that the urban is qualitatively distinct from the non-urban. In short, the urban and non-urban represent distinct social types.

This perspective was initially developed by European social theorists such as Toennies, Durkheim, and Simmel in their efforts to articulate the dramatic changes they witnessed occurring in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Western industrial society. Their urban theories profoundly influenced the "Chicago School" of urban sociology which emerged in the 1920s and 1930s. Louis Wirth's conception of urbanism as a way of life reflected that influence, as did Redfield's elaboration of the folk-urban typology and subsequent efforts by others to demonstrate empirically rural-urban differences.

In this chapter we shall examine each of these manifestations of the typological perspective. Although contemporary urban scholars have abandoned this framework in their study of particular aspects of urban social structure, it still frequently affects how we think about cities and their social order.

EUROPEAN THEORISTS

The movement from agrarian-based societies to modern industrial-urban societies represented a dramatic transformation whose effects were both staggering and confusing (Hobsbawm 1975). The newly emerging system was an awesome and complex creation whose nature and implications a variety of European social theorists sought to explain (Berry 1973; Abu-Laban 1974). Although from diverse intellectual backgrounds, they agreed "that European social life was changing in a common direction" and "that the changes of the industrial and democratic revolutions meant the rapid disappearance of one kind of human association and its replacement by another" (Gusfield 1975, 4-5). The use of types as analytical devices to

codify such changes was an essential part of their theories of social evolution.

Toennies and the City as *Gesellschaft*

Lenski (1963, 9) has observed: "In large measure all of the modern theories of urbanism are derived from the pioneering work of Ferdinand Toennies, entitled *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*." Toennies believed that urbanization involves the emergence of a unique way of life, reflected in both the types of associations and patterns of interaction as well as in the character of the central institutions. Much subsequent research on the nature of urban social organization has attempted to apply, elaborate, or criticize his typology.

Toennies developed the analytical concepts of "*Gemeinschaft*" and "*Gesellschaft*" from his observations of the structural transformations that had occurred in European society – from a rural-agricultural to an urban-industrial complex. He converted these observations into a twofold typology, which he believed could be employed on a general level to analyze "any society, past or present, European or non-European" (Nisbet 1966, 74). Believing that all social life is the product of human will, he derived the two types from the basic forms of volition. Natural will (liking, habit, or memory) forms the basis for *Gemeinschaft* groups. Rational will (careful deliberation and evaluation of the best means to achieve some particular end) forms the basis for *Gesellschaft* relationships. "*Gemeinschaft*" refers to a natural unity, a "living organism," involving an underlying consensus or mutual understanding, based on kinship, common locality of residence, or friendship. The relationship exists for its own sake and cannot be arbitrarily terminated. In contrast, "*Gesellschaft*" refers to a mechanical aggregate and artifact, transitory and superficial (Toennies 1963 ed., 35). Associations based on contract and exchange emerge out of competitive struggles. Contract legitimizes and stabilizes the exchange of goods and services and increases the rational evaluation of such relationships, but it means the disappearance of the "brotherly spirit of give and take" which characterizes *Gemeinschaft*.

The purest form of *Gesellschaft* for Toennies is the industrial-urban community which has become increasingly dominant with the growth of capitalism. The institutions of the city clearly express this trend. Science replaces religion. Instead of traditional customs and mores appropriate for agricultural villages, there now exist formalized laws of contract. The industrially based trade economy causes the demise of a general household economy. More impersonal forms of social organization reduce the centrality of the family. Where formerly folkways and customs had served as key pillars of social control in the rural community, now convention and public opinion fulfil this function in the metropolis.

Toennies treated natural will/rational will and Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft as dichotomies that are "polar realities" rather than separate points on an underlying continuum (Abu-Laban 1974, 29). As a result, the eventual demise of Gemeinschaft in the course of social evolution is inevitable since the two polar realities cannot coexist on a permanent basis. Toennies' types represent not only scientific concepts but also "mythic images" – that is, labels used to assess social change (Gusfield 1975, 2). Toennies clearly romanticized the past and viewed the emergence of Gesellschaft as the loss of a superior traditional social order. Despite this bias his attempt to characterize the nature of urban society as a whole helped establish the typological framework as an influential theoretical framework.

Durkheim and the Division of Labour

Like Toennies, Durkheim analyzed the structural changes accompanying modernization. In two important works, *The Division of Labour* and *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*, he sought to grasp the social and moral consequences of industrialization and urbanization.

Paralleling the approach of other evolutionary theorists, Durkheim contrasted two forms of integration. "Mechanical solidarity" refers to social links derived from likenesses and strongly defined collective conscience, "the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens" (Durkheim 1964 ed., 79). The individual is directly bound to society and totally absorbed in it. Having no free choice of his own, his relationship can be appropriately termed "mechanical." Mechanical solidarity unites an association of clans, or similar segments, into a federation controlled by "repressive law," such that any deviance from common norms causes the whole society to react against the individual.

In contrast, "organic solidarity" develops through interdependence of specialized groups in society (Durkheim 1964 ed., 182). This mutual interdependence of social "organs" presupposes individual differences, occupational specialization, and reduced relevance of norms applicable to the whole society. "Restitutive" or contract law regulating the exchange of goods or services and obligations assumes increasing importance. Durkheim saw this change as a mode of reorganization not disorganization.

In its normal form, the division of labour is an adequate form of integration, and the resultant society is as natural as one based on a strong collective conscience. Durkheim criticized Toennies for attributing an artificiality and absence of a true collective life to the Gesellschaft form of organization (Aldous 1972). It is an "organic" form of social order in which norms establish harmony between specialized functions and regulate contract and exchange.

Recognizing circumstances departing from this ideal, Durkheim observed the inadequacy of normative controls in modern economic institutions, a

state of "anomy" or normlessness – as occurs in strikes (Durkheim 1958 ed., 2). Moreover, he pointed out that with the development of the division of labour, not only do the collective sentiments become more rational and abstract, but especially in the city, the authority of tradition which forms their base loses its strength. The old are not present as representatives of that community of beliefs. Disruption of kinship ties through migration to urban centres ensures the decline of traditional social controls there – an observation that reappeared in the work of many early urban sociologists.

Durkheim observed that the industrial-urban community has failed to develop adequate normative controls to achieve solidarity. He attributed this to the absence of viable occupational associations with regulations governing their activities in the way the guild system developed mutual controls in the Middle Ages.

What we especially see in the occupation group is a moral power capable of containing individual egos, of maintaining a spirited sentiment of common solidarity in the consciousness of all the workers, of preventing the law of the strongest from being brutally applied to industrial and commercial relations (Durkheim 1958 ed., 10).

Such groups would provide a mediating function between the individual and the state, and also regulate the specialized activities created by the division of labour.

Durkheim's analysis is significant for several reasons. It demonstrates a concern for the basis of social integration in the industrial-urban community. More than in Toennies' work, we see a rather profound understanding of how the newly evolved division of labour can produce cohesion if the proper conditions are met. In addition, Durkheim focuses on the problems involved in achieving this new form of integration and how these problems can be resolved.

Simmel and the Social Psychology of Urbanism

Whereas Durkheim had examined the new basis of integration in the emerging industrial-urban community, Simmel introduced an important complementary area of study. In his relatively brief essay, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," Simmel considered the social psychological adjustments that urban residents make to the kind of community in which they live. He explored the "inner meaning" of urban life and the notion of urbanism as a distinctive mode of existence.

The general problem for Simmel was how the individual in the metropolis is able to maintain his autonomy and independence in view of the size, density, and general demands of such a community. He noted, for example, that the city is characterized by a tremendous "intensification of nervous stimulation" (Simmel 1950 ed., 410). Urbanities are constantly bombarded with contrasting impressions that heighten consciousness. Simmel proposed that

the dominance of the intellect in urban man serves to protect him from the onslaught of these stimuli. The emotions are subordinated and a certain insensitivity to individual impressions is developed.

An additional feature of the modern metropolis reinforces this character trait. That is the dominance of a money economy. Those contract and exchange relationships, which Toennies saw as the essence of *Gesellschaft*, necessitate a rational evaluation of people and things, and a de-emphasis of emotional attachment to individuals. Intellectuality is therefore a product of the dominance of this type of economic system in the city.

In short, Simmel emphasized the social psychological consequences of the division of labour in the industrial-urban community. His portrait of urban man not only complements Durkheim's macroanalysis, but also "bears startling similarities to Toennies' '*Gesellschaft* personality'" (Abu-Laban 1974, 82). The overall coordination of the city requires, he argued, "punctuality, calculability, exactness" and the exclusion of the irrational. The subjective attitudes and social relationships of urban residents reflect those traits. A unique "metropolitan style of life" therefore exists, consisting of a blasé attitude toward new experiences and an underlying sense of reserve and impersonality. This style of life also serves as a model of protection against the potential demands of the vast array of people living in the city. It represents an instrument of self-preservation.

One additional characteristic of urban man is his "cosmopolitanism," that is, an orientation which extends beyond the limits of the city. As the metropolis possesses relationships which extend to the national and international levels, so too its residents reflect this expansion in their interests, values, and patterns of association. This, in addition, demonstrates that loosening of social control which Simmel believed accompanies the growth of communities. As their size increases, the place for individual freedom becomes wider, and the desire for fulfilment as a unique being intensifies.

In general, Simmel's essay, though impressionistic, is important because it attempts both to delineate the contents of a distinctive urban way of life and attribute them to specific structural features of the city. Reflecting a typological framework, Simmel contrasts the metropolitan style of life with the non-urban. He does not fully explore variations within the former.

European Theorists: Summary

These European social theorists who attempted to articulate the implications of urbanization through the use of the typological framework demonstrated several common concerns and assumptions.

1. An attempt to grasp the nature of the urban order as a total social system through construction of types.
2. Assumption of a unidirectional path from the rural to the urban, reflecting their conception of social evolution.

3. Concern for the integration and stability of the newly emerging industrial-urban social order. The division of labour was seen as weakening traditional "communal solidarities" (Wellman 1978) such as those based on kinship and common residence, without providing equally strong alternatives for social integration.

4. Hence, there was a tendency to view the rural-traditional social order as superior, although this was less true for Durkheim.

5. There was a failure generally to perceive how urban life can vary cross-culturally. Construction of an urban type minimized possible variations in urban social relationships and traits from one cultural setting to another.

Such concerns and assumptions influenced subsequent efforts to elaborate the typological framework – in particular, that of the Chicago School.

THE CHICAGO SCHOOL

During the 1920s and 1930s a group of scholars led by Robert Park at the University of Chicago sought to systematize the insights of the European theorists and thus establish a more rigorous investigation of the contemporary urban community. The tremendous growth of Chicago – the city with which they were most familiar – during the first decades of the twentieth century stimulated interest in such a study. The rapid influx of immigrants, as well as the increasing expansion of the metropolitan area, had precipitated the emergence of a type of community the understanding of which was critical for grasping the structural transformations that modern civilization was undergoing.

One of the most important contributions of Park (Park and Burgess 1970 ed., 44) to general sociology and to the study of the city was his emphasis on the need for empirical research to verify social theories as objectively as possible. He believed *a priori* deductions of social philosophy had inhibited the development of a true social science. This orientation informed all the work of the Chicago School, as it represented the stimulus for the many detailed studies initiated by Park's students.

This empirical perspective promoted Park's view of the city as a "social laboratory," in which institutions and patterns of association are to be examined without prejudgment. Careful observation of the varied aspects of urban life are to form the foundation of generalizations about its structure. This empiricism constituted a basis for the development of an area of study termed *human ecology*, which formed a second central perspective in classical urban sociology (to be discussed in the next chapter).

Park argued, as had Toennies and Durkheim, that the underlying interdependence reflected in the high levels of specialization within the urban community promotes a new form of solidarity – one "based not on sentiment and habit, but on community of interests" (Park 1967 ed., 16). Like his predecessors, however, Park displayed concern for the disintegrating in-

fluences of city life and the problems in maintaining social control. Those conditions which make urban growth possible also encourage a breakdown in primary group relations.

Transportation and communication have effected what I have called the "mobilization of the individual man." They have multiplied the opportunities of the individual man for contact and for association with his fellows, but they have made these contacts and associations more transitory and less stable (Park 1967 ed., 40).

Again reflecting the assumptions of the European theorists, he noted the decline of the neighbourhood as a socially significant unit, in addition to the weakening of the family as an important reference group. The perceived prevalence of urban crime and vice reflected the breakdown of these traditional sources of control. In addition, he observed that the potential for mass behaviour intensifies among urban residents as a consequence of heightened "mobility" and freedom from primary group restraints. The city, therefore, exists as a "laboratory for the investigation of collective behaviour" – for the study of its evolution and predominance in the urban community. Park believed there are many typical features, which, if thoroughly explored, would lead to the development of important generalizations about urban organization.

Urbanism as a Way of Life

Louis Wirth, a central figure in the Chicago School, also sought to define the typical aspects of the urban community. He went further than Park in attempting to determine more precisely the origins and nature of those forms of social organization which are unique to this type of collectivity. Wirth took many of the insights and generalizations of Toennies, Durkheim, and Simmel (Fischer 1972), and, together with the results of his own study, endeavoured to lay the foundations for a formal theory of urbanism, thus systematizing more explicitly the typological framework.

A first step in the development of this theory was a clear definition of the concept of "city." Following Max Weber (1958 ed.), Wirth argued against such a definition in terms of size alone. The social characteristics of a city occur at a number of different size levels. Relying on a view of the urban community as merely a physical entity is also inadequate, as the characteristics of urbanism often appear beyond the legal boundaries of the city. Nor is density by itself a precise criterion. It represents too arbitrary a basis for distinguishing between rural and urban communities. Wirth proposed that the most appropriate definition of the city – one which would permit identification of the unique characteristics of urbanism – is that of a complex of such factors, that is, "as a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals" (Wirth 1964 ed., 66). He added heterogeneity because migration to the city of a vast variety of people stimulates urban growth. The task of the sociologist is, then, to determine

those social traits that correlate with such a settlement. Only then can one distinguish the unique features of urbanism from rural forms of social organization – regardless of the specific historical or cultural context in which the city exists.

Wirth sought to attain this goal by establishing a loose set of propositions (Morris 1968, 16–19) derived from the essential characteristics of the city. Taking size, density, and heterogeneity, he suggested the types of social relationships and patterns of behaviour that each of these determine (Fischer 1972, 191f.). For example, he argued that the large population of the city promotes a wide range of individual differences. This, in turn, facilitates patterns of residential segregation in terms of language, ethnicity, and class. Such diversity necessitates reliance on formal mechanisms of social control as the traditional ties of a small village are no longer adequate. The city's size and density also influence the development of impersonal, segmental, and superficial relationships between urban residents. As Simmel had argued, these form a defensive mechanism against the potentially overwhelming impositions of the numerous persons with whom some form of contact is possible. Membership in groups is also tenuous and specialized. Exposure to a wide variety of outlets promotes a certain sense of distance from any single association. An underlying cosmopolitanism emerges. Mutual exploitation – regulated to some extent – along with a relativistic orientation toward belief systems, a general pattern of social distance, and the dominance of depersonalization and mass appeals are all products of the heightened mobility, individual variety, and social instability characteristic of large, dense, and heterogeneous settlements. Wirth argued that on the basis of these three characteristics it is possible to account for all unique features of urban life. The more a particular settlement increases in size, density, and heterogeneity, the more fully it manifests these features of urbanism.

In summary, Wirth's theory is significant because, consistent with European typological theories, it synthesized two lines of thought.

... a sociological one, quite Durkheimian; and a social-psychological one derived from Simmel. First, on the structural level, population size, density, and heterogeneity ... lead sequentially to structural differentiation, formalization of institutions, and anomie. Second, on the individual level, urbanism (in the demographic sense) leads to high levels of nervous stimulation, psychological overload, and adaptation in the form of social isolation (Fischer 1972, 189).

During the several decades since Wirth's essay first appeared in 1938, students of the city have attempted to determine the extent to which his generalizations are applicable to a wide variety of historical and cultural contexts, or are instead appropriate only for the particular type of industrial-urban community prevalent at the time he was writing. His depiction of urbanism as a type of social order clearly summarized the framework employed by Park (1952), Zorbaugh (1929), Thrasher (1963 ed.) and others associated with the Chicago School.

THE FOLK-URBAN TYPOLOGY

Paralleling Wirth's efforts and sharing many of the assumptions of the Chicago School, Robert Redfield attempted to refine the typological perspective through his formulation of the folk-urban typology.

Redfield elaborated this conceptual scheme through research first in Tepoztlan (1930) and in the Yucatan (1941), both in Mexico. From these he derived an understanding of the process of urbanization as a form of cultural change and a grasp of the possible variations in community structure.

Like other villages throughout the Mexican hinterland, Tepoztlan represented a community caught in "mid-stream" – in a process of movement culturally from primitive tribe to modern city. To understand fully the nature of this transformation a comparative study was necessary. Redfield focused on the Yucatan peninsula.

In the northwest section of the state, in the single dominant urban centre – Merida – the more modern Spanish patterns held sway. Moving southeastward into the hinterland, communities increasingly incorporated Mayan and traditional models. In short, there appeared to be a cultural gradient along which communities could be arrayed according to the extent of their "modernization." Redfield compared four communities located at diverse points along this continuum: Merida – the political and economic centre of the region, where manufacturing, trade, and commerce were the chief economic activities; Dzitas – a trading centre with approximately 1,200 residents and railway connections to the metropolis; Chan Kom – a village of 250, located a day's walk from the railroad and much more of an agricultural community than Dzitas; and Tusik – hidden away in the bush, with little more than a hundred inhabitants, and almost completely self-sufficient. These communities differed systematically in degree of homogeneity and isolation – Merida and Tusik presenting the sharpest contrasts. They also varied in terms of stratification systems, kinship patterns, economic structures, and religious systems. Overall, Redfield found that cultural disorganization, secularization, and individualization increased moving from Tusik through to Merida. Whereas in the most isolated village the traditional Mayan institutions still dominated; in Merida the ancient Indian heritage had almost disappeared only to be replaced by a wider range of views of life. The farther removed a community was from Tusik, the less significance religion had in everyday life, and the greater the individual's autonomy. Redfield proposed that these patterns expressed a "natural" association among five variables: when homogeneity and isolation declined, religion, collectivism, and cultural organization likewise eroded. Tepoztlan had represented a community at an intermediate stage in this process of transformation. Indeed, paralleling the views of the European social theorists, Redfield saw the entire history of modern urban civilization in these terms.

Construction of the Ideal Type

Generalizing from these findings which supported the assertions of the Chicago School, Redfield (1947) constructed an "ideal type" of folk society which would serve as a basis for comparison of existing societies. They can be "arranged in an order of degree of resemblance to it." Incorporating many of the attributes found in Tusik, the ideal type consists of an isolated community in which there are intimate, familial-like relationships, and a strong sense of belonging among the residents. The society has minimal internal specialization, little commercial activity, and is relatively self-sufficient. Religion and a sacred view of life form the basis of its intense coherence and traditionalism. Such a society is morally and qualitatively distinct from the urban, which consists of the opposites of these features.

The construction of this ideal type was the culmination of Redfield's empirical research in Tepoztlan and Yucatan. He proposed it as a means of capturing the essential differences between the urban and the non-urban, and as a basis for understanding the process of transformation from simple to more complex social structures. Subsequently, in response to a variety of criticisms Redfield (1953, 224) emphasized that what he had proposed in the ideal type was no more than an analytical tool, and not a description of actual societies. Its heuristic value lay in the kinds of questions it raised, not in those it answered. It stresses the need to analyze those situations where the hypothesized correlation between the central features of the folk or urban does *not* appear.

Criticisms of the Folk-Urban Typology

Various critical tests (e.g., Tax 1939; Tax 1941; Passin and Bennett 1943; Gross 1948; Freeman and Winch 1957; Miner 1953; Miner 1966 ed.) of this conceptual scheme emerged to determine more precisely what its limitations are. Perhaps one of the most persuasive assessments was that of Oscar Lewis (1963 ed.) in his restudy of Tepoztlan. Seventeen years after Redfield had conducted his field work there, Lewis returned to investigate what changes had occurred during the intervening period. What emerged was a fuller understanding of the biases inherent in Redfield's work. Lewis showed how the community's history revealed more instances of internal conflict and individualization than Redfield had indicated. He also criticized Redfield's failure to consider Tepoztlan in its historical and cultural setting (see Beals 1951b). In his haste to generalize about processes involved in the transformation of the folk societies into urban societies, he had neglected to consider whether there were unique factors in this context that affected the generalizability of the findings. The same criticism could be directed at Redfield's study of Yucatan.

Lewis reasoned that these weaknesses in Redfield's study were due ultimately to the inadequacies of the folk-urban model itself. He proposed that

this is *not* a useful conceptual tool for several reasons (Lewis 1963 ed., 432f.).

1. It emphasizes the city as the most important source of change. Redfield interpreted the transformation of rural communities as due solely to increasing contacts with urban centres, possibly neglecting other sources. Many cases of transformation represent not greater urbanization, but simple internal expansion of a rural culture.

2. Reiterating a conclusion reached by Tax (1939; 1941) in his research in Guatemala, Lewis asserted that what Redfield had proposed as a set of correlated factors (viz., on the folk side, homogeneity, isolation, sacredness, collectivism, and cultural organization) represents instead a *hypothesized* interconnection, the validity of which must yet be established. Lewis, indeed, showed how in Tepoztlan during the seventeen years since Redfield's study familial solidarity did not decline despite increasing urban influences.

3. What Lewis particularly objected to in the folk-urban typology is its global character. It tends to minimize the wide variations among primitive peoples as well as to overlook the substantial differences among urban communities. This simplification results from a concern for only the formal aspects of culture.

4. Finally, Lewis argued that many of the scheme's weaknesses derive from a fundamental anti-urban bias. The emphasis on order and harmony reflects a belief in the inherent superiority of the folk order. Manifesting the influence of European social theory, Redfield appeared unduly concerned with the disorganizing aspects of urbanization.

Recognition of the potential value of the typological mode of analysis stimulated efforts to establish alternatives to Redfield's model (e.g., Becker 1950; Loomis and Beegle 1950; Odum 1953; Foster 1953; Voget 1954), and thus provide greater recognition to the full spectrum of types of social systems. To illustrate, Sjoberg (1952; 1960) argued for the maintenance of the concept of folk society as Redfield has used it, but pointed to the need to distinguish a "feudal" type. Whereas both are based on sacred-value orientations, the latter is structurally more complex, reflecting a higher level of technology. Animate sources of energy are more fully developed in the feudal type. This permits the production of an adequate food surplus to support some population concentration. Preindustrial urban centres arise. Unlike in the folk society, a rigid class structure emerges in which a small elite, residing primarily in the cities, dominates the much larger population of peasants, and, with the support of the sacred traditions, is able to extract that surplus for its own ends.

Sjoberg emphasized the need not only to distinguish the feudal society as a whole from the folk order, but also to examine how the preindustrial city within the former differs from the modern urban-industrial centre. In his own work (1960), he demonstrated how many of the traits that Redfield had

attributed to the urban community are actually not fully applicable to that in the feudal order. Secularization and disorganization, for example, are much less in evidence than would be predicted using Redfield's scheme. Responding to criticisms of that scheme, Sjoberg proposed that formulating the typological framework in terms of *three* distinct social orders – folk, feudal, and industrial – would permit a greater understanding of how urban social structures within the latter two could differ (see also McGee 1971).

THE RURAL-URBAN CONTINUUM

A final formulation of the classical typological perspective, closely paralleling the folk-urban scheme, was the systematic investigation of rural-urban differences. Again, a fundamental assumption of this research was that the nature of urban social organization can only be grasped by analyzing how it contrasts with the non-urban. Departing from Redfield's model, however, this approach relied less on the use of ideal types, and instead emphasized empirical placement of communities on an underlying continuum.

An early example of this approach was the analysis of Sorokin and Zimmerman (1969 ed.). Like Wirth, they dismissed size or density as a possible single distinguishing feature of urban or rural communities. They argued that sets of empirical traits must be discerned, which are logically and functionally correlated. Since these are empirical characteristics of communities, the transition from a rural to an urban order is "not abrupt but gradual." A continuum approach, therefore, is more appropriate than a simplistic dichotomy.

Sorokin and Zimmerman (1969 ed.) delineated nine orders of differences between the rural and urban. They proposed that the most fundamental difference is in the occupational trait. Many of the other elements directly derive from it. Farmers are closely tied to the land which discourages the mobility characteristic of the city. Since they themselves are recruited from the rural population, they are much less heterogeneous both ethnically and in class origins than are urban residents. As the process of urbanization progresses these differences become less intense. The significance of this trend, however, is that a clear division between the rural and urban is not now as prominent as once was thought. It does not mean, on the contrary, that these traits had incorrectly differentiated initially the country from the city.

Criticisms of the Rural-Urban Continuum

A variety of attempts to apply this perspective subsequently appeared (e.g., Goldkind 1961; Yuan 1964). Some of this research tended to validate in a more rigorous fashion that continuum which Redfield's study of Yucatan had suggested. However, just as Redfield's typological scheme became the object of much criticism, so too did the rural-urban continuum, for both theoretical and empirical reasons.

A major concern was the extent to which those traits categorized as urban are necessarily so, whether indeed they might also be present in more rural communities. In short, does the continuum in fact array social systems in an orderly manner?

Reiss (1955) argued that such traits as creativity, non-agricultural pursuits, and complexity of division of labour – frequently viewed as distinctively urban – can also exist in rural contexts. Social heterogeneity, mobility, and participation in formal organizations represent the products of conditions independent of the size and density of settlements (see Young and Young 1962). He suggested that much more comparative research needed to be done on the nature of these conditions before we can accept any trait as typically urban. No firm evidence had as yet demonstrated the unique character of the city as a social system. Support for this negative assessment came from Duncan's (1957) findings in the U.S. that showed inconsistent variations in the distribution of demographic, socioeconomic, and family characteristics among a number of communities, ranging from the rural-farm settlement to the metropolis. This suggested that the rural-urban continuum represents a premature and oversimplified conceptualization of intercommunity variation. It is an inadequate basis for delineating the nature of urban social organization.

Reviewing the numerous applications of this perspective, Dewey (1960) found a fundamental lack of consensus in the kinds of traits used to identify "rural" and "urban." Forty different attributes appear as discriminating criteria, with only heterogeneity employed in the majority of cases. One important reason for this disagreement is the inclusion not only of elements which are the consequences of size and density, but also of those due to unique cultural conditions. As a result, the rural-urban continuum gains a greater analytical importance than it deserves.

In an article he was preparing before his death, Louis Wirth (1964 ed., 223) emphasized again the theoretical function of the rural-urban continuum, as Redfield had done regarding his scheme.

To set up ideal typical polar concepts such as I have done, and many others before me have done, does not prove that city and country are fundamentally and necessarily different. It does not justify mistaking the hypothetical characteristics attributed to the urban and the rural modes of life for established fact, as has so often been done. Rather it suggests certain hypotheses to be tested in the light of empirical evidence which we must assiduously gather.

The varied criticisms and modifications of this framework (see Spaulding 1951; Friedman 1961; Sjöberg 1964) were attempts to respond constructively to this heuristic function.

THE CLASSICAL TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE: CONCLUSION

The classical typological perspective represented an initial effort to examine systematically the nature of urban social organization by contrasting it with

other forms of community structure. In this chapter we briefly reviewed the origins of this perspective in European social theory. Louis Wirth, representing the Chicago School, sought to systematize this framework by delineating how the demographic characteristics of size, density, and heterogeneity contribute to the evolution of a uniquely urban social system. The folk-urban scheme and rural-urban continuum likewise were efforts to refine empirically the typological contrasts of Toennies and Durkheim.

This perspective in time engendered a good deal of discomfort with the entire approach. A common complaint was that it painted too broad a picture of the variations in community structure. The inherent complexity of the city belied such global characterizations. Hauser (1965, 509), for one, observed,

Although my major quarrel with the folk-urban and urban-rural dichotomies lies with the way in which they have seeped into the literature and have become accepted as generalizations based on research, rather than their utility as ideal-type constructs, I have come to feel that even in the latter role they perhaps may have outlived their usefulness.

The city as a social system contains more varied patterns than the typological schemes reflected. These tended to classify rather than explain urban social reality. In subsequent chapters we shall examine how contemporary research seeks to refine the generalizations derived from the typological framework.

Chapter 2

The Classical Ecological Perspective

The second central paradigm in classical urban sociology was the ecological perspective. This complemented the typological framework in that it was concerned less with social structure of the city *per se*. Rather, the ecological perspective focused on the spatial reflections of that structure – that is, on patterns of urban growth as well as the spatial distribution within cities of population and land-use types. Although this approach was anticipated in the writings of a variety of social commentators and scholars in the late nineteenth century, it was more explicitly defined by the Chicago School. Just as the typological perspective encountered severe criticism, however, so too were the biases and ambiguities of the ecological perspective identified.

ANTECEDENTS

Analyses of the emerging industrial-urban system included a number of insights, though unsystematic, regarding the nature of ecological structure. Engels (1968 ed.), for example, saw how the spatial arrangement of cities such as mid-1800s Manchester reflected their class structures. In turn, residential segregation (particularly of the workers in industrial towns) promoted class consciousness (see Briggs 1963; Marcus 1974; Lansbury 1974). Similarly, Booth's (1970 ed.) seventeen-year survey of the poor in London, begun in 1886, documented regularities in the spatial distribution of social classes as well as of industrial and economic enterprises. Anticipating the Chicago School, Booth recognized the tendency of the city to grow outward from the centre leading to changing class composition of neighbourhoods, or "residential succession." He saw too the relationship between increasing separation of work and residence and the evolution of a more efficient transportation system in the industrial metropolis (Pfautz 1967).

Aside from these empirical insights, there were nascent ecological theories, subsequently refined by contemporary scholars. Most influential here was Durkheim's conception (1964 ed.) of the division of labour as a means of survival for an increasing and concentrated population. He saw clearly that urbanization heightens an organizational transformation in which specialization and differentiation evolve as modes of adaptation to

the environment. One central factor affecting this process is the nature of the transportation system. Complementing Durkheim's analysis, Charles Horton Cooley (1969 ed.), better known, perhaps, for his contributions to social psychology and to the study of the socialization process, showed the importance of transportation for understanding the location of cities. "Population and wealth," he asserted, "tend to collect whenever there is a break in transportation" (Cooley 1969 ed., 76-78). He too saw how efficient transportation systems promote an extensive territorial division of labour between urban communities and within each encourage more widespread distribution of population and commerce.

These were useful insights into the nature of urban growth and spatial patterning. However, it was with the Chicago School that the ecological perspective emerged as a basic framework in urban sociology.

THE CHICAGO SCHOOL

In the previous chapter we reviewed briefly the contribution of the Chicago School to the typological paradigm. Of equal importance was their development of human ecology. Park (1961 ed.) was the first to delineate formally the aims, major concepts, and relations to sociology of this discipline. His conception of human ecology derived from an understanding of the organization of society. On the *cultural* level, society exists as consensus. That is, it consists of a common set of beliefs, values, habits, and attitudes which forms the basis of that collective action which is the mark of the social. This consensus, or "social heritage," emerges only through communication and social interaction. Park believed that the operation of three fundamental forms of social contact – conflict, accommodation, and assimilation – constructs the cultural order.

The counterpart to the cultural for Park is the *biotic*. This represents the sub-social aspect of the human society, technically termed "community." It refers simply to that ecological organization, or system of functional interdependence between units of a locality, which develops as a consequence of the sub-social process of competition. Whereas sociology studies the cultural order of society, human ecology has as its focus the investigation of this biotic substructure.

Park observed, as had Haeckel and Darwin, the presence of a balance between different species in the plant and animal worlds. That is, within a particular locale there frequently occurs a process of competitive co-operation between the different types of units, such that all can survive. A primitive division of labour evolves that represents a compromise between the conflicting demands of the various species. Such a precarious balance regulates population growth. A sudden invasion of a new type of species upsets this equilibrium. Competition for scarce resources resumes, and, ultimately, a new division of labour and balance emerges.

Supporting Durkheim's insight, Park suggested that this process of competitive co-operation occurs not only in the plant and animal worlds, but also on the human level as well, and, in view of its significance, should be the focus of systematic study. He saw competition as determining the territorial and occupational distribution of population. The spatial organization and underlying division of labour found in any community represent a mode of mutual adjustment that mirrors the kinds of accommodations discovered in the plant and animal worlds. In spite of this parallel, Park did see important differences between the human and non-human ecological complexes. Man is not so dependent on his immediate locale. Involvement in an extensive division of labour frees him from the limitations of the surrounding physical environment. More important, the cultural order controls the human biotic level of society. The beliefs, values, and attitudes which represent the consensus governing society limit competition. The spatial patterns and symbiotic relations constituting the structure of "community" reflect this influence. Therefore, although human ecology can employ many of the concepts and general relationships found in plant and animal ecology, it is still necessary to recognize this interaction between the biotic and cultural orders. There are, then, in Park's view, four factors which comprise the human community, and shape its system of interdependence - population, technology, customs and beliefs, and the natural resources of the locale. A change in any one of these can upset the biotic equilibrium and necessitate transition to a new ecological order.

Park employed this conception of the nature of human ecology in his attempts to analyze the consequences of urbanization. On one level, he argued, the city exists as a natural entity independent of its boundaries as an administrative and legal entity. It is a product of natural forces, particularly competition, that lead to occupational specialization, as well as to territorial distribution. This is essentially an unplanned consequence, just as it is in the plant and animal worlds.

Competition and Natural Areas

Park believed that one of the dominant ecological characteristics of a rapidly growing city is its division into a number of *natural areas*. It represents a "mosaic of minor communities." A "sifting and sorting" of the population into various parts of the city occurs according to class, race, and language.

Every city has its central business district; the focal point of the whole urban complex. Every city, every great city, has its more or less exclusive residential areas or suburbs; its areas of blight and of heavy industry, satellite cities, and casual labour mart, ... Every American city has its slums; its ghettos; its immigrant colonies ... These are the so-called natural areas of the city (Park 1952, 196).

This pattern is the result of competition for strategic space. The ability of a particular institution or population to absorb the cost of location in an

area determines the distribution of types of land use. Service and retail institutions are better able than the residential sector to locate at the centre of the city where land values are highest. Similarly, the poor concentrate in sections of the city where rents are lowest and costs of transportation minimal. When combined with discrimination and the desire to live among others of the same ethnic group, these sections become ghettos (see Thomas and Znaniecki 1958 ed.). Like a plant community of a particular locale, the city demonstrates an ordered spatial distribution.

Park believed that each natural area possesses a particular racial or ethnic character. Each is a moral or cultural area with its own peculiar customs and traditions. As such, each develops a normative order which exercises some control over the inhabitants. It is in this way that the "society," as a common set of beliefs and values, emerges within the ecological structure of "community." Park, however, as we noted in the previous chapter, was not fully convinced of the adequacy of this mode of integration, particularly in the immigrant colonies where he believed social control deteriorates in the second generation (Park 1967 ed., 27).

Park's theory of natural areas formed the ecological framework within which much of the research of the Chicago School was conducted, such as Thrasher's (1963 ed.) study of the gang and Zorbaugh's (1929) comparison of various inner-city neighbourhoods.

McKenzie and the Ecological Perspective

Within the Chicago School one of the most important attempts to build on Park's delineation of the ecological perspective was that of his student and colleague, Roderick McKenzie. Moving beyond the simple distinction between the cultural and biotic orders, McKenzie sought to define more fully the particular concerns of ecology and clarify the central concepts which it must employ.

McKenzie (1968a, 4) saw the defining character of ecology in its study of the "spatial and temporal relations of human beings as affected by the selective, distributive, and accommodative forces of the environment." It attempts to explain the structure of "nexus of sustenance and place relations" which shape the community. Like Park, McKenzie recognized that while the perspective and concepts of plant and animal ecology can be valuable in advancing this study, it is at the same time necessary to recall the distinction between the human and non-human ecological orders.

The basic difference between human ecology and the ecologies of the lower organisms lies in the fact that man is capable of a higher level of behavior in his adaptation process. As a cultural animal man creates, within limitations, his own habitat. Symbiotic relations in human society represent adjustments to a cultural as well as to a biogeographic setting (McKenzie 1968c, 41).

McKenzie identified a series of conceptual tools for examining ecological organization systematically. Contemporary urban researchers frequently employ at least some of these.

The central concept for McKenzie was that of "ecological distribution," which refers to the overall spatial distribution of residents, their activities, and institutions in a community or region. Such a grouping forms an "ecological constellation" when it manifests a readily identifiable pattern. McKenzie did not view this distribution from a static viewpoint, but rather emphasized that it is in a continual state of change – a function, in part, of the rate of technological advances. He distinguished between two dynamic dimensions of the community – "mobility" and "fluidity." The former refers to those patterns involving change of residence, change of employment or change of location of any utility or service" (McKenzie 1968b, 21). Fluidity, in contrast, designates movement within the community or region, but without alteration in ecological position – illustrated in the daily patterns of commutation between work and home. Degree of fluidity is measured in terms of "ecological distance," or the time and cost of travel, rather than physical distance. Fluidity, thus, is a function of the state of existing transportation and communication facilities. The overall structure of the community, in turn, is a function of the patterns of ecological distance. Improvements in those facilities strongly influence the growth of the city and its extension outward.

In general, McKenzie (1968b, 23) classified four sets of ecological factors which in their interrelationships determine the underlying spatial organization.

- (1) geographical, which includes climatic, topographic and resource conditions;
- (2) economic, which comprises a wide range and variety of phenomena such as the nature and organization of local industries, occupational distribution, and standard of living of the population;
- (3) cultural and technical, which include, in addition to the prevailing condition of the arts, the moral attitudes and taboos that are effective in the distribution of population and services;
- (4) political and administrative measures, such as tariff, taxation, immigration laws, and rules governing public utilities.

These factors are ultimately responsible for the type of ecological distribution which emerges. In its development and change over time, that constellation is characterized by the occurrence of five types of ecological processes.

1. *Concentration*. This process refers simply to "the tendency of an increasing number of persons to settle in a given area or region" (McKenzie 1968b, 24). The level of concentration reflects the advantages offered by the particular locality and is attained in competition with other regions. Concentration is one prerequisite for large-scale urbanization. McKenzie argued, in addition, that an important concomitant of such a process is the development of territorial specialization through the existing transportation and communication facilities.

2. *Centralization.* Whereas concentration occurs more at the regional level, centralization actually represents "... the process of community formation. The fact that people come together at specified locations for the satisfaction of common interests affords a territorial basis for group consciousness and social control. Every communal unit, the village, town, city, and metropolis, is a function of the process of centralization" (McKenzie 1968b, 26).

Again, the levels of transportation and communication facilities determine their location and the distance from focal points of centralization to the periphery. As at the regional level, centres compete with one another. Any accommodation between them is only a temporary condition of equilibrium which can be significantly changed with the emergence, for example, of new transportation patterns. That accommodation is also achieved through the evolution of greater specialization, with centres fulfilling different functions and meeting complementary needs.

3. *Segregation.* McKenzie was deeply concerned throughout his work with patterns of ecological change (Hawley 1968a). He interpreted community growth as a process of increasing differentiation and segregation. The latter term, as both Booth and Park had shown, refers to the tendency of various types of population and land use to concentrate in particular sections of the community. An underlying selection process sifts and sorts the residents and their institutions according to economic and cultural criteria. Their spatial distribution thus reveals an orderly and predictable pattern.

4. *Invasion.* The variety of "natural areas" in a community produced through segregation is not necessarily fixed. It is not uncommon for one type of population or land use to replace another over time. Such a process of invasion reveals the dynamic features of ecological structure. Community growth occurs in "successional sequence," stimulated by a series of invasions and responding to alterations in the existing equilibrium. McKenzie believed the process of invasion evolves through a series of stages, the initial phase of which is marked frequently by a change in land value.

5. *Succession.* The culmination of invasion is the replacement of one population type or land use by another. In its completed form this is a "succession" or emergence of a new natural area with a position in the community's ecological order.

Most significantly, because of extensive improvements in contemporary transportation and communication facilities, these five ecological processes operate, McKenzie argued, within an increasingly less rigid structure, presenting fewer hindrances to their elaboration. The increase in scale of the ecological distribution is thereby ensured, and the complexity of the metropolitan community enhanced.

The various concepts and relationships which McKenzie delineated presented human ecology in the form of a "theory of limits." The community attains a "condition of balance between population and resources until a

new element enters to disturb the 'status quo,' such as the introduction of a new system of communication, a new type of industry, or a different form of utilization of the existing economic base" (McKenzie 1968a, 8). The various ecological processes thereby intensify, and a new equilibrium is subsequently sought. Such a framework McKenzie (1933; 1968d) found useful for understanding the emergence and structure of that more recent and complex ecological distribution – the metropolitan community or "super-city" – which he correctly predicted would become the dominant shape of future urban aggregations.

Burgess and the Application of the Ecological Perspective to Urban Growth

Consistent with McKenzie's focus, Burgess (1967 ed.) too identified the growth of large cities as a dominant feature of contemporary industrialized society. This growth is manifested not only in increasing concentration of population, but also through expansion of the urban community. Burgess proposed that this extension occurs outward from the central business district. The underlying processes of invasion and succession enhance the internal differentiation of the city. A series of areas evolves which can be depicted as a set of concentric zones (see figure 2).

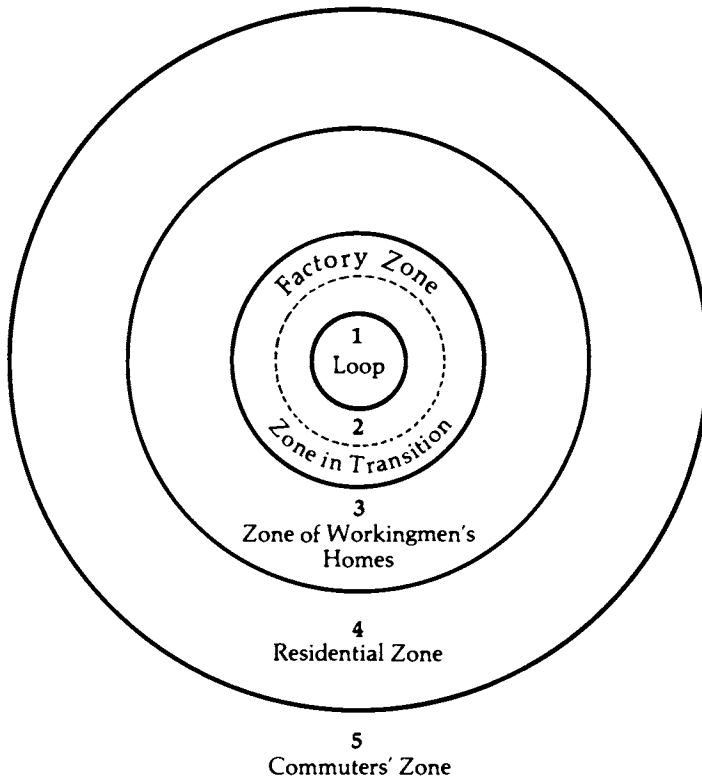
Zone 1 represents the central business district ("Loop") or downtown core of a city such as Chicago. The remaining areas are ordered around the inner district.

Encircling the downtown area there is normally an area in transition, which is being invaded by business and light manufacture (2). A third area (3) is inhabited by the workers in industries who have escaped from the area of deterioration (2) but who desire to live within easy access of their work. Beyond this zone is the "residential area" (4) of high-class apartment buildings or of exclusive "restricted" districts of single family dwellings. Still farther, out beyond the city limits, is the commuters' zone – suburban areas, or satellite cities – within a thirty-to-sixty minute ride of the central business district (Burgess 1967 ed., 50).

This scheme, Burgess proposed, is an ideal pattern which the spatial structures of actual cities approximate in varying degrees. Specific historical, cultural, geographical, and technical factors are responsible for any significant departures from the concentric pattern.

In the process of expansion outward each zone tends to invade the next outer area. Changes in land use and population type occur in similar fashion to ripples in a pond after a stone has been dropped. Immigration is an important stimulus to such expansion, and the distribution of the population between the different natural areas reflects this. Zone 2, as an area in transition responding to the central business district's trend toward expansion, contains many of the city's slums. Not only is crime and vice disproportionately concentrated there, but also first-generation immigrant colonies. The zone of workingmen's homes, on the other hand, contains second-generation set-

FIGURE 2
Burgess' Concentric Zone Model



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tlements. Movement to this zone frequently represents an attempt to escape from immigrant colonies, as families achieve greater economic security and a higher level of assimilation. Farther out are the homes of the more affluent who can better afford to live at such a distance from the core. Burgess' scheme, therefore, captures the close relationship between urban spatial and class structures.

Burgess presented his concentric zone scheme linked to Park's theory of natural areas as a general framework within which a series of research projects at the University of Chicago at that time were being conducted. The question of its applicability to other large cities provoked considerable discussion and study in subsequent years.

INITIAL CRITICISMS OF THE CLASSICAL ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

As it was developed and applied, the classical ecological perspective was subjected to severe criticism because of dissatisfaction with its conceptual framework and empirical relevance. Alihan, for example, in 1938 presented a strident attack on the ecology of the Chicago School. She objected to the theoretical distinction between "community" and "society." Symbiotic relationships are so intertwined with cultural patterns that any analytical separation of the biotic and social orders is a serious error. Indeed, she pointed out that in their actual empirical investigations ecologists themselves failed to sustain this distinction. She attacked the implicit assumptions of ecology – for example, that the division of labour manifests a more strongly organic basis than do human customs and mores, that competition is the most fundamental process, and that the human order represents a mere difference in degree from the non-human – as well as the conceptual ambiguities inherent in its framework.

Alihan's criticisms gained empirical support from Davie's (1961 ed.) study of the applicability of Burgess' concentric zone hypothesis to communities other than Chicago. Delineating twenty-two natural areas in New Haven, he examined the distribution of a series of characteristics among these, and found little evidence of a concentric circle pattern. Substantial diversity in land use and population type existed within each zone. Similarly, Davie's examination of the distribution of land use types on zoning maps of twenty cities in the United States and Canada revealed little support for that spatial model.

A more fundamental criticism focused on the basic premises of the classical ecological perspective.

Despite its biological terminology, it was actually an application of the paradigm of capitalism to communities in which individual initiative was given a free reign with a minimum of outside intervention to operate competitively in a market situation. It did very well explaining anything that could be related to market values. ... It could not, in and of itself, tell us why certain things had value. To do this it had to be modified (Bernard 1973, 40).

Such modification was suggested in an early study of land-use patterns in Boston. Firey (1945) argued that classical ecology had adopted too narrow a perspective; it posed the relationship between space and "locational activities" solely in economic terms. It assumed that in the free competition for scarce desirable locations considerations of relative cost are the most important factors accounting for ecological distribution. As Alihan had suggested, such a focus ignored the role of cultural values in shaping spatial structure.

Countering the premises of classical ecology, Firey (1945, 140) proposed:

1. ... ascribing to space not only an impeditive quality [that is, a cost imposing one] but also an additional property, viz., that of being at times a symbol for certain cultural values that have become associated with a certain spatial area;

2. a recognition that locational activities are not only economizing agents but may also bear sentiments which can significantly influence the locational process.

The validity of these modifications is apparent when examining Boston's ecological structure. Beacon Hill continued for many years to function as an upper-class residential area, despite significant alterations in the population composition of other downtown districts. Its "retentive" power derived from strong sentiments the area evoked among upper-class Bostonians. Beacon Hill symbolized historical and traditional values for the city's older and more aristocratic families, who cherished their residence in the district. Similarly, the Boston Common in the centre of downtown resisted encroachments of the central business district despite a serious land shortage, because it had assumed a sacred and historical status.

These patterns clearly suggest the important influence which sentiments and symbolism can exercise on urban spatial structure. It is evident that "a different order of concepts, corresponding to the valuative, meaningful aspect of spatial adaptation, must supplement the prevailing economic concepts of ecology" (Firey 1945, 148). Attention must be given to the conditions under which free competition for desirable location does *not* occur – as with governmental intervention through formal planning of ecological patterns (Bernard 1973, 42).

In conclusion, Gettys (1961 ed.) observed that classical ecological theory represented actually a form of "biological and/or geographic determinism." As with Alihan, he found the fundamental dichotomy between community and society unsatisfactory and the reliance on analogies with plant and animal ecology disturbing. Gettys argued that the Chicago School had failed to present an integrated theoretical system. Their framework required a "thorough-going revision and restatement" with more precise delimitation of the exact scope of ecology and with a clearer determination of whether it was to be in truth a *social* science. With such a theoretical revision its value would be certainly enhanced.

If human ecology will center its attention upon the description, measurement, analysis, and explanation of the spatial and temporal distribution of social and cultural data it may become in truth a significant social science discipline (Gettys 1961 ed., 102).

We shall examine how contemporary urban research has extended and modified the classical perspective.

Part Two

Growth of the Urban System

The purpose of this part is to provide a general picture or profile of the Canadian urban system as a whole. This involves a dynamic focus on Canadian urban ecological organization, as well as a partial examination of its structure. We will review briefly the historical development of Canadian urban growth, understood primarily as an ecological process, and consider the major structural features of the contemporary Canadian urban system. This will provide us with a useful background against which we can later explore more specific processes within the system, such as urban immigration and current issues in urban planning.

Chapter 3

Explorations in Canadian Urban Growth

By the early 1850s little more than one-tenth of Canada's population could be classified as urban. But by the end of the first decade of the present century this proportion had more than tripled. Regardless of the periods of time we compare, however, it is essential that we comprehend the meaning of urbanization as an ecological process. Before we describe several historical dimensions of Canadian urbanization, let us briefly explore that meaning.

THE MEANING OF URBAN GROWTH AS AN ECOLOGICAL PROCESS

A contemporary ecological interpretation of urbanization demands some refinement of the initial insights of Park, McKenzie, and Burgess. In contrast, for example, to McKenzie's rather restricted conception of the field as the study of spatial distributions and correlations, it is more appropriate to see human ecology as concerned primarily with the *organization* of functional relations through which a local population maintains itself in a particular habitat (Hawley 1950; 1968b; 1971).

We must, therefore, not define *urban* in primarily spatial terms. The term refers to that organization or set of functional relationships through which a specific population is able to satisfy its daily needs (Gibbs and Martin 1959). *Urbanization* represents an expansion or elaboration of that organization. It consists, in short, of a process of growth "from the simple, highly localized unit to the complex and territorially extended system" – a process which may assume a similar shape in different societies and cultures (Hawley 1971). We can measure the degree of "urbanness" according to both the level of integration within a territorial system and the types of linkages that system maintains with the outside world. The historical development of urbanization clearly reveals this.

The earliest towns revealed an extremely primitive organization. The limited capacity of ancient societies for the development of urban centres on a wider scale was a consequence of their inadequate food production and of the lack of advanced transportation and communication facilities. Revival of town life in Europe beginning during the tenth century occurred as these

disadvantages lessened. Several significant technological innovations – including the introduction of the moldboard plow which permitted cultivation of the lands in northern Europe – accompanied population growth. The adoption of a more sophisticated rotational system increased agricultural productivity. In addition,

The development of a supply of grain coincided closely with three almost simultaneous inventions that greatly improved the load capacity of the horse: the horsecollar, the tandem harness, and the horseshoe ... [As a result] the cost of overland transportation in dry seasons declined to a third of what it had been. Thus towns could obtain their food supplies and maintain relations of other kinds over much larger territories than had formerly been possible (Hawley 1971, 44–45).

The revival of trade and the emergence of towns as commercial centres strengthened this process of urban development. Yet, many of the constraints that had inhibited urbanization in ancient societies were still operative in the Middle Ages. Facilities for short-distance transportation between towns and their surrounding hinterlands, for example, were not yet highly advanced.

Beginning in the latter part of the fifteenth century, urban growth became accentuated, particularly with the rise of modern nation-states. During the eighteenth century, urban development was most pronounced in England. Improvements in transportation – construction of better roads and a variety of canals – partly accounted for this. Agricultural innovations were important: new methods of land drainage and cultivation of pasturage spread widely from the Continent. The increasing commercialization of agriculture encouraged migration to the cities. The emergence of the factory system in England, with industrial production derived from steam power, stimulated concentration of the growing population. The introduction of the railway system in the nineteenth century permitted greater contacts between urban centres and their hinterlands. A broader territorial organization could thereby evolve. Markets expanded, specialization of activities strengthened, and urbanization both in England and elsewhere rapidly became the dominant feature of the modern age.

The urban community that emerged during the early 1800s in Europe and North America formed a dense and constricted settlement – a “pedestrian city.” The development of the railway system provided an efficient means of long-distance transportation which, in turn, widened the scope of the city’s market and source of raw materials. Yet methods of short-distance transportation remained relatively primitive, inhibiting the city’s expansion outward. Its internal structure reflected a cellular pattern as it contained a number of distinct districts or quarters, “. . . each with its own industries and shops and other institutions. Within each district there was no clear separation of rich and poor. Employer and employees, if they did not share a place of residence, lived side by side” (Hawley 1971, 90).

Improvements in local transportation subsequently modified this pattern. The horse-drawn and electric street railways encouraged a wider dispersion of the city's population. As the focus of the urban community's internal lines of transportation and communication, the central business district assumed a dominant position in the local ecological organization.

The fundamental principle of urban development was the process of specialization, operating at all levels. Improved transportation permitted a more extensive territorial division of labour to emerge, frequently covering an area of up to twenty miles within which various communities assumed specific functions. Accompanying that specialization was a wide array of rules and regulations which promoted the overall co-ordination of this system. Increasing functional integration also placed a strong premium on standardization.

The urban system that emerged in the nineteenth century comprised a network of functional relationships among a set of specialized institutions, groups, and local communities. It was a system, however, that reflected primarily a process of "regional and interregional expansion." In contrast, urban growth in the twentieth century represented more fully a process of "local expansion," made possible by the development of even more efficient mechanisms of short-distance transportation and communication. The development of motor vehicles and trucks permitted the local "friction of space" (i.e., the time and cost of local travel) to be more easily overcome than was possible with the railway system. This encouraged deconcentration both of population and industry. As McKenzie had so clearly predicted, this process of diffusion has led to the emergence of the metropolitan community – a dominant trend in twentieth-century urban ecological patterns. Such a territorial enlargement of the urban system represents the culmination of earlier tendencies toward specialization, mobility, integration, and spatial reorganization. It constitutes a vast communication system that integrates wide-ranging groups and institutions. The metropolitan community dominates the surrounding hinterland. Indeed, as the process of metropolitanization advances, the distinction between rural and urban becomes less significant. As urbanization proceeds, the entire society experiences dramatic reorganization. Intricate hierarchies of urban places, based on levels of functional importance, emerge; dominating these hierarchies are the metropolitan centres (Hawley 1956).

As we have observed in the introduction, urbanization from a demographic perspective means the increase both in the number and size of centres of population concentration in a society. This must be distinguished from the ecological meaning of urbanization as the spread of a more comprehensive and intricate territorial division of labour. As the preceding historical portrait suggests, ecology emphasizes especially how the variables of population, environment, technology and the organization of functional relations interact at the local, regional, and national levels of a society.

These four elements are closely interrelated, and their total pattern constitutes what can be termed an "ecosystem" (Duncan and Schnore 1959). Spatial distributions of population and land use are important in a derivative sense. That is, they provide "a convenient and invariant set of reference points for observation ... convenient indicators of structural relationships" (Duncan and Schnore 1959, 136). For example, the outward spatial relocation of population and industry reflects the evolution of more complex functional relationships between central city and surrounding hinterland, characteristic of the rise of metropolitan communities. Examining the interrelations among the four components of the "ecological complex" – population, environment, technology, and organization – provides a useful framework for understanding urbanization. Failure to consider, however, the impact of social values, the significance of how power is distributed, and the influence of such subjective factors as choice and motivation would render this perspective deterministic, positivistic, and unacceptably narrow (Willhelm 1969 ed.). In reviewing the following historical overview of Canadian urban growth we should keep in mind both the ecological conception of urbanization as well as the need to recognize the importance of the above factors.

HISTORICAL TYPES OF CANADIAN URBAN COMMUNITIES

From the beginnings of permanent European settlement in Canada to the present day urban communities have exercised a central influence on the nation's social, political, and economic landscape. Within the broad range of such communities we can identify at least four central types: (1) the colonial entrepôt; (2) the commercial centre; (3) the commercial-industrial city; and (4) the metropolitan community (Stelter and Artibise 1977). Each of these represented a distinct form of ecological organization and stage of economic development, each a more complex territorial system of functional relationships than its predecessor. Not all Canadian communities experienced each form; nor can we delimit the exact point at which an individual community assumed the character of a new type. This is simply a crude framework through which we might isolate certain patterns that emerge when examining the history of Canadian urban development.

The Early Colonial Town

The distinctive character of the early colonial town was its status as a dependent community (Stelter 1975; Stelter and Artibise 1977). It functioned simply as the agent of European metropolitan centres, as a garrison or administrative hub, or as an entrepôt. Aside from general military and administrative functions, it collected such staples as fur, lumber, and fish from the

surrounding region and transmitted them back to Britain, France, and ultimately to other parts of western Europe (Gertler 1976). It also was the distribution point for economic and cultural imports from the mother country. Insofar as they preceded settlement of a region, colonial towns formed an urban frontier, a set of "nodes" connecting a relatively unsettled hinterland with an external metropolis. They possessed an undeveloped local economy and their future depended on the potential growth of their own region at least partially.

In their initial state, the colonial towns were relatively isolated from one another. Indeed, one might argue that the emergence of such ties marked the end of the colonial phase of development of a particular community (Stelter and Artibise 1977). The early colonial town in Canada also typically included a high proportion of the region's population, reflecting its frontier status. In time this proportion declined as population dispersed and smaller secondary centres emerged (Stelter 1975). Certain regional variations also occurred. In contrast to the pattern manifested in Lower Canada and in the Maritimes, no single town or group of towns in Upper Canada possessed a commanding proportion of the total provincial population. Because of greater European controls, the movement from colonial status to an indigenous urban economy proceeded more slowly in British North America than in the United States. The foundation of such colonial towns as Kingston, York, Quebec, Montreal, and St. John's established an important basis for the subsequent evolution of Eastern Canada's network of urban communities.

The Commercial Centre

A second major type of community formation, the commercial centre emerged in Eastern Canada after 1815 (Careless 1978). The arrival of numerous British immigrants stimulated the expansion of settlements. Internal, local markets emerged as places such as York assumed a more vibrant commercial function. Montreal experienced the greatest expansion during this stage of urban commercial development, gaining control over inland trade and commerce along the St. Lawrence River. By the 1830s Montreal had eclipsed Quebec's formerly dominant position (Stelter and Artibise 1977). Communities such as Saint John and Halifax also combined the functions of a staple entrepôt, particularly with respect to lumber, and those of a commercial town.

Like the early colonial town, the commercial centre represented in part a node for the gathering and exporting of such staples as timber, lumber, potash, and wheat to Britain (Bowles and Craib 1979; Creighton 1956; Mackintosh 1967; Marr and Paterson 1980; Nader 1975; Watkins 1963; Wynn 1979). Its growth was directly linked to the ability of its merchants to exchange primary resources for British manufactured goods. Protected by a

mercantilist system, the vitality of such commercial communities as Montreal, Hamilton, and Toronto reflected fluctuations in both the demand for these staples in the mother country and the capacity of the surrounding rural hinterland to meet this demand. An intricate credit system evolved, sustaining the commercial community's exchange relationships (McCalla 1979). By the middle 1800s the protected market in Britain had eroded (Creighton 1956). This commercial system underwent radical change as the importance of the market for Canadian lumber and wheat in the United States grew. It is critical to emphasize here, however, the importance of this exporting role for the growth of the nineteenth-century commercial centre.

We shall explore the ecological shape of the commercial centre at different points further on. Here we might note several of its major characteristics. In contrast to the industrial city its economic base derived primarily from its status as a service centre for an expanding hinterland. In addition, it was smaller and more compact than the modern city (Davey and Doucet 1975). If we take Hamilton in 1851 as illustrative of this type, the following features are also evident (Katz 1975; Katz, Doucet, and Stern 1982):

A high degree of population transiency. In Hamilton, for example, less than 10 percent of the work force were born in Canada West; the remainder were migrants from the other parts of British North America and immigrants, particularly from the British Isles. The commercial centre was a temporary way-station for a large segment of the population; less than half of Hamilton's residents remained in the city between 1850 and 1860. Such migration was especially pronounced among those who owned little or no property in the community. The more affluent population tended not to move as readily as the less successful.

A high degree of self-employment. This reflects the non-industrial character of the commercial city. Approximately one-third of Hamilton's men worked for themselves in 1851. Many worked at their place of residence. The fairly strict separation of place of work and place of residence that characterizes contemporary urban ecological structure was absent in this type of community.

The small scale of economic enterprises. Most of the labour force worked in small establishments, in small groups. Large-scale economic organizations emerged only with industrialization. The experience and conditions of work were therefore different from those in the industrial city.

Overlapping of social, political, and economic power. A small elite – an entrepreneurial class composed of the most prominent men in business and trade – exercised dominant control of the community. In mid-nineteenth-century Hamilton the most affluent 10 percent of the population controlled almost 90 percent of the property. The entrepreneurs formed the apex of a three-class society; their common interests, mutual ties, and commitment to economic growth, as well as wealth, distinguished them from the artisans and labourers. The latter group especially were politically and economically

dispossessed. Such inequality appeared typical of nineteenth-century commercial cities. The rigid stratification system countered the high rates of transiency found among most of the less affluent. Despite a high rate of population turnover, Hamilton, like other nineteenth-century cities, contained a group of prosperous long-term residents who controlled the development of the city. Residential stability was a reward unequally distributed: "the privilege of class" and "the privilege of stability" were profoundly interwoven (Katz, Doucet, and Stearn 1978).

The entrepreneurial class sought the economic expansion of their city. They speculated in real estate and exploited whatever opportunities arose to gain access for their community to the emerging railroad network. As we shall see when we briefly review the history of several individual communities, the entrepreneurs not uncommonly experienced economic setbacks and business failures. Downward social mobility was a reality in the commercial city, one the entrepreneurs clearly recognized as evidenced in their continued fear of failure and general sense of anxiety and insecurity (Katz 1975).

The emergence of the commercial-industrial city and the metropolitan community can perhaps best be analyzed in the context of specific cases. Let us examine in particular the urbanization of Ontario and that of the West, identifying at least some of the factors promoting more complex forms of urban ecological organization.

THE URBANIZATION OF ONTARIO

Earlier we observed that one important component of the ecological complex framework of urbanization is the obvious factor of *environment*. In nineteenth-century Ontario the central lakelands shaped the initial location of urban centres (Careless 1974a). Towns developed along the rivers and lakes because of the dominance of water transportation. No major community arose inland until the railway system emerged in mid-century; even with the coming of the railways, however, the major Ontario centres remained on the lakefronts. A second environmental factor of some importance was Ontario's physical proximity to the United States. Through the Erie Canal and ties to the railroad system of the United States, Ontario's urban communities were able to benefit from commerce southward.

By 1851 Canada West was 14 percent urban. Such technological innovations as the railroad and the large-scale factory system strengthened Ontario's urban network in subsequent decades. The perceived indispensability of the railroad to Canada's economic development in the mid-nineteenth century was dramatically articulated in H. V. Nelles' 1849 essay, "Philosophy of Railroads" (Nelles 1972 ed.). Not all communities benefited equally; some remained small commercial centres servicing a sharply re-

stricted hinterland and others experienced actual economic and population decline. The increasing concentration of industry and tertiary services in Ontario's larger towns and cities destroyed the economy of many local towns, especially after 1871 (Johnson 1973). These dynamic changes can be seen if we concentrate on specific parts of Ontario's emerging urban network.

South Central Ontario

South Central Ontario represents one of the most highly industrialized and urbanized sections of the country (Spelt 1972). During the early 1800s, transportation and communication facilities were relatively primitive here, as they were elsewhere in the country (Glazebrook 1964). Isolation was thereby heightened, and the region consisted primarily of self-sufficient farms with little dependence on urban services. By 1820 urban development was still limited. Only Kingston and York existed as centres of any importance, and even these lacked extensive hinterlands.

This situation began to change significantly after 1820 as transportation facilities improved and a more extensive market system evolved. The development of better roads and a more efficient canal system promoted accessibility and permitted farmers to obtain cash for their produce. Self-sufficiency was no longer as necessary as it had been in previous years. The accumulation of capital in the hinterland provided an economic basis for the expansion of urban service functions. Towns with locations along Lake Ontario or wherever waterpower facilities and good road communications were integrated grew rapidly. This was particularly the case for Toronto, which obtained a major share of the trade with the United States, and which escaped Montreal's dominance by establishing a connection with New York through Oswego and the Erie Canal. In 1851, the urban shape of the region consisted of a series of service centres or central places with differing levels of complexity, measured as follows:

1. *Fully-fledged town or commercial centre*. Contained one member each of the legal and medical profession, a bank, and a newspaper;
2. *Sub-town*. Contained three of the above indicators;
3. *Urban village*. Contained only two of these indicators;
4. *Rural village*. Contained only one indicator (Spelt 1972, 96-97).

Reflecting the important role transportation plays in facilitating urban growth, the "fully-fledged towns" were found along the edge of Lake Ontario.

The trends that had begun prior to 1851 intensified in later decades, especially as a result of the replacement of water transportation by the railway system as the basic mode of communication. Functioning at the centre of this new system assured Toronto's dominance. Towns and villages

without immediate access to a railway connection experienced significant declines. The railways encouraged the spread of the money economy, with farmers participating even more deeply in the market system: "Soon the population of the back townships could pay cash for manufactured goods and all kinds of services, which in turn stimulated the urban centres in those townships (Spelt 1972, 138).

Manufacturing establishments grew in size and were concentrated in larger cities, particularly in Toronto. This city assumed control over the import and export trade, again reflecting its central position in the railway network.

Overall, the years 1851–1881 were characterized by rapid urban growth in South Central Ontario. Urban settlements were distributed more widely through the interior, as access to railways was more critical than access to waterways. Reflecting this, "in 1851, only two inland centers had more than 1,000 inhabitants, but by 1881, there were 26" (Spelt 1972, 144–45). Smaller centres in close proximity to large urban communities tended to decline as they were unable to compete successfully. Towns that grew had advantageous positions in relation to the railway network and a suitable hinterland (Clark 1976).

In the decades following 1881 manufacturing emerged as a primary factor influencing urban development. The concentration of large industrial establishments in Toronto contributed to its increasing dominance in the field. Many smaller centres declined as their industries migrated to this metropolis and other larger cities. Indeed, the service function which had provided such an important basis for urban growth throughout much of the nineteenth century assumed less significance as full-scale industrialization advanced: the commercial centre yielded to the industrial-commercial city. The twentieth century saw the growth of Toronto especially at the expense of other communities in the region. Much of the area's wholesale and retail trade concentrated in that city; smaller centres competed among themselves for control over a more restricted niche in the ecological system.

The Emergence of Toronto as a Metropolitan Community

A central feature of the pattern of urban growth in South Central Ontario was the emergence of Toronto as a metropolitan community. Let us look more closely at its development.

Economic historians such as Gras have proposed that a community evolves into a metropolitan centre through a series of distinct stages. This framework emphasizes the changes in economic functions which occur; it parallels our earlier discussion of metropolitan expansion as an extension of the network of functional relation.

During the first [stage] the city performs the essential of creating a well-organized marketing system for the whole metropolitan area. ... The general organization of

the market is followed by a second stage – the increased development of manufactures either in the metropolis itself or in the hinterland. The third stage is marked by an active programme of transportation development. The final stage of metropolitan development is the construction of a mature financial system. ... In this stage by the control of banks, investment houses, and insurance companies the metropolis performs the function of mobilizing capital within itself, radiating capital when required to various points of the hinterland, and facilitating the movement of capital between itself and other metropolitan areas (Masters 1947, viii).

A strict interpretation of these four stages as occurring is inappropriate when examining the evolution of North American communities (Armstrong 1977). Instead, the second, third, and fourth "stages" overlapped closely with the first. A city achieves metropolitan status by strengthening its position with respect to all four of the above dimensions concurrently. This is evident in Toronto's case.

The city had not originated as a market and service centre, but rather, as a colonial town, had been established as the capital of Upper Canada. Its initial administrative function exercised a strong influence on the community, and, indeed,

... laid the foundation for its future metropolitan dominance. The inaccessibility of York forced the building of roads, which increasingly converged on the capital and gave historical basis to the convergence of rail routes in the nineteenth century and highways in the twentieth. The function of government brought to York public officials who, with their greater purchasing power, supported more specialized retailing than was found in Hamilton or London (Kerr and Spelt 1965, 38).

This elite also stimulated the expansion of wholesale trade and financial activities.

In 1825 Toronto was still only a village. During the 1830s it experienced the initial stages of growth that would ultimately culminate in metropolitan status (Armstrong 1977). Its commercial development strengthened; local manufacturing establishments appeared. By 1833 Toronto was linked to nearby centres and to its agricultural hinterland by a system of stage-coaches. Its growth of population and commerce stimulated the financial sector of its economy. Local insurance companies and banking both prospered. By 1840, six years after its incorporation as a city, Toronto was the largest town in the western part of the province and the dominant marketing centre in the area. In terms of the latter function, it was an important entrepôt for the "new staples" of timber, lumber, and wheat (Creighton 1956; McCalla 1979). As noted earlier, the economic prosperity of such a community was linked closely to the fluctuations in the market elsewhere for these primary resources. The ability to meet the increased demand for these export staples created "spread effects" throughout the local economy in the form of greater availability of income for investment in other sectors, such as manufacturing (Watkins 1963).

At mid-century, the city's hinterland was still restricted, extending no fur-

ther than southern Ontario because of limited transportation facilities. Manufacturing had grown, but not such that the city ceased to be primarily a commercial centre. Nor had it yet gained financial freedom from Montreal: "Five banks operated in the city and of these, three – the Bank of Montreal, much the strongest Canadian bank, the Bank of British North America, and the City Bank of Montreal (an agency) were Montreal concerns (Masters 1947, 18). Trade relationships with New York provided one potential means by which this domination could be secured.

Toronto in 1850 was a predominantly Anglo-Saxon and Loyalist community, with strong anti-American and anti-French feelings. The city's social structure consisted of several distinct strata, the highest level of which included the "older aristocracy" – that is, the families of those who had come with Simcoe to establish Toronto as the administrative centre of Upper Canada (Cooper 1956). These relationships were commonly referred to as the "Family Compact" (Saunders 1957). Although they were politically and socially still dominant, "their position was coming to be challenged by another group [the entrepreneurial class], many of them more recent arrivals in Toronto, the rising commercial and industrial group" (Masters 1947, 25). Although Toronto contained a number of churches and organizations, it did not evidence any claim to metropolitan status with respect to cultural activities. The community in 1850 functioned as simply an "outpost" or distribution centre for the plays and art that originated in New York and London. The only indigenous literary activities of any consequence were the city's five newspapers.

In the years after 1850 and before Confederation, Toronto moved closer to metropolitan status. Increased prosperity was reflected in a building boom within the city. The Northern Railway was built in 1855 and connections to other routes were also gained (Kerr and Spelt 1965, 45f.). As a result, the city obtained greater access to the interior, which gave strength to its markets and made its economic position more secure. Manufacturing continued to grow, stimulated by these trends; Toronto was no longer solely a commercial centre, as its industrial base expanded. Attempts to achieve financial autonomy from Montreal intensified. A stock exchange was established in 1855; building-and-loan and insurance companies proliferated. The failure of the Bank of Upper Canada in 1866, however, indicated that much effort was still needed to achieve economic independence.

In 1867 Toronto became the capital of Ontario, and during the next eight years its economic expansion continued. Throughout this period its increasing prosperity was reflected in the pattern of physical growth and in the development of appropriate municipal services, the basis of which had actually been formed several decades earlier (Armstrong 1977). The city's retail trade became more extensive, symbolized by the establishment of Eaton's and Simpson's. Toronto's link to its hinterland grew stronger as involvement in additional railway building continued. Although Montreal

gained control of the CPR, Toronto's overall financial position was strengthened by the creation of the Bank of Commerce in 1867 and through the Canadian Bank Act of 1871.

During the 1880s Toronto achieved full metropolitanization. The city's population grew by more than four-fifths, matched by a striking expansion in the industrial sector: between 1881 and 1891 the number of industries located in the city increased by well over a thousand. Its marketing, wholesale, and retail functions became firmly established with a secure financial basis, reflected in the growth of the central business district and other changes in the spatial structure of the community. Overall, therefore, Toronto emerged

... as the capital of a great metropolitan economic empire. Marketing, manufacturing, and banking facilities were largely centered under its control. It was the focal point for a network of railways and its harbour was the busiest on the Canadian side of Lake Ontario. It had become the great mobilizer of capital within its area and largely controlled capital movement between its own and other areas (Masters 1947, 165-66).

Emergence as a metropolitan centre was thus facilitated by its geographical advantages, its selection as an administrative centre of Upper Canada, and vigorous leadership in the city, particularly from the dominant entrepreneurial class (Masters 1947, 208). Its position as the focus of an efficient transportation network permitted the city to achieve a higher level of integration with its hinterland, and also to achieve greater freedom from Montreal's economic influence. It was able to function as an important transshipment centre for the export of lumber, potash, and wheat to Britain and the United States. These specific conditions helped to foster the evolution of a territorially extended system of functional relations within this particular region. They were also responsible for the emergence of other metropolitan communities elsewhere in Canada.

The last four decades of the nineteenth century was a period of rapid industrialization in Toronto, during which the number of industries employing many workers increased; yet small shops and enterprises persisted (Darroch 1983). And the proportion of those engaged in labour jobs declined. In contrast, the share of the labour force in the financial sector almost tripled (Sentance 1984). Inequality, though it tended to diminish after 1871, was still fairly pronounced (Darroch 1983). The city's merchants, manufacturers, and dealers continued to claim a large share of the assessed wealth.

THE URBANIZATION OF THE WEST

Between 1870 and 1914 Western Canada experienced rapid urban growth. By the end of the first decade of this century half (50.9 percent) of British Columbia's population was urban. During the thirty-year period from 1881 to 1911 Manitoba's urban population more than doubled. Alberta too re-

flected this pattern. A variety of factors influenced Western urbanization. Perhaps the most important was the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1886 (McCann 1968-69). In contrast to Eastern Canada's major urban centres, which had developed in the age of water transport, such dominant Western communities as Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary, and Vancouver were all "creations of the railway." As one historian has observed, the technology of railway transport functioned as the prime mediating factor between environment and population in the ecology of the urban West; railway technology integrated the new Western cities into a continent-wide metropolitan system (Careless 1977). The influx of immigrants also encouraged urban growth. This process of expansion was, as in the East, directed by an entrepreneurial elite who dominated each community, and sought to ensure – at times not always harmoniously (Foran 1975) – its economic prosperity. As in the East, the latter was a function as well of the extent to which each community was able to function as a trans-shipment centre for the primary resources of the Western hinterland. We shall briefly explore the development of three of these cities – Winnipeg, Victoria, and Vancouver – as illustrative of Western urbanization during this period.

Winnipeg: "Gem of the Prairies"

Winnipeg's growth was as dramatic and significant as that which Toronto experienced. Between 1881 and 1921 its decennial population growth rate averaged more than 135 percent, compared to only 20 percent for the country as a whole (Artibise 1975). Reflecting this increase, Winnipeg was the sixty-second largest urban centre in the country in 1871; twenty years later it was ranked eighth. By 1911 the city had become the third largest in the country. During the decade 1901-1911 Winnipeg's total population rose by almost 100,000. Such spectacular increase was the result not of annexations of surrounding communities, but rather of a massive influx of native-born migrants – particularly from Ontario – and of immigrants from Britain, Northern Europe, and the Ukraine. This influx paralleled the expansion of the Prairie wheat economy from which the city benefited both directly and indirectly (Phillips 1981). The arrival of immigrants was of such a scale that by 1916 more than half the city's population was foreign-born.

Since the early nineteenth century a settlement had existed at Winnipeg. But it was only after the monopoly which the Hudson's Bay Company had exercised over trade in the Red River Colony declined that the conditions for growth became more firmly established. Winnipeg's expansion was assured with Manitoba's entrance into the Dominion in 1870 and with the concomitant opening of the entire region to settlement. The city, incorporated in 1874, emerged as a commercial centre, much as Toronto had by 1850, servicing the economic needs of other communities in the provincial hinterland. Paralleling the process of urban growth in Eastern Canada, Win-

nipeg's prosperity depended closely on the production and export of staples (initially fur and later wheat) in the surrounding hinterland (Morton 1957). The late 1870s were the years of the "Manitoba land fever"; numerous settlers had arrived seeking to exploit the wheat-growing opportunities in the Red River Valley. Winnipeg emerged as the centre for the western grain trade. That city's leading residents expressed profound optimism for the future of their community, with a strong sense of commitment to achieving full metropolitan status.

In examining the details of how this ambition was fulfilled, particular importance must be given to that small group of residents who directed the city's growth from the time of incorporation through the period prior to World War I. This group comprised an entrepreneurial elite, united through adherence to a common set of values and ideals.

Accepting the challenge of a vast, underdeveloped domain they saw themselves as agents of improvement. They were practical men, businessmen who were convinced of the desirability of material progress. Setting their sights from persuasive American examples – such as the rise of Chicago – they were optimistic, expansionist, and aggressive (Artibise 1975, 23).

They believed in the primacy of economic growth, even over social concerns, and sought to achieve this through Winnipeg's struggle for metropolitan status. Their commitment to such a "growth ethic" represented an important force furthering the expansion of this urban ecological organization.

URBAN BOOSTERISM AND THE GROWTH ETHIC

Urban growth in the West was due partly to the initiative of local groups (Artibise 1981; Thomas 1981). In each of the five dominant cities of the Prairies – Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary, Saskatoon, and Edmonton – an urban elite shared a "booster mentality." They were Anglo-Saxon Protestants, who before they migrated West had had experience in the promotion of eastern communities. Their boosterism derived from the general belief that a city's success is marked by growth in the size of population, in the number of rail lines, and in economic development. And the role of local government was to promote this growth.

The elite in each city co-operated with one another, and sought to make their community dominant in the region. They successfully muted opposition to their goals, in part by appealing to the need for community solidarity and loyalty. And the growth ethic was used to justify expansion. At the same time it de-emphasized the need to address inequalities in the distribution of wealth and power.

Boosterism was influential in small towns as well as in larger cities. For example, the early residents of the town and hamlets along the CPR line in southern Alberta actively promoted their communities (Voisey 1981). They modified some of the strategies used in the cities because of limited funds (e.g., using the village council itself as a board of trade), yet just as energetically sought to stimulate economic and population growth, emphasizing local agricultural opportunities or the supposed richness of natural resource deposits. In many cases, small-town booster campaigns failed to achieve their goals; yet they shared the same commitment to the growth ethic as was evident in the cities.

The elite were convinced that the primary function of Winnipeg's municipal government was to support this struggle. Hence, they assumed an active interest in civic politics, and dominated most local elective offices, including City Council. As in Toronto, this group consisted of successful businessmen who were primarily Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. They represented, in addition, a social and cultural elite in the city, participating in common organizations and activities on both the local and regional levels. Between 1874 and 1914 they exercised tremendous influence over Winnipeg's development. The existence of property qualifications for voting and holding elective office strengthened that control, as the majority of poorer residents and members of the various ethnic groups were disenfranchised. The "growth ethic" thus stood unchallenged, despite the continuing presence of serious social problems.

In its quest for economic expansion a major goal for Winnipeg during the 1870s and 1880s was securing adequate rail connections through the region and with the rest of the country: "Railroads were the key to growth, the one essential without which all the commercial elite's plans for Winnipeg would fall" (Artibise 1975, 63). Railway communications represented an essential channel through which the city might export wheat to world markets (Morton 1957). Such access would permit it to establish itself as the predominant distribution centre and wheat market for the entire Northwest. The CPR syndicate originally planned to build the transcontinental through Selkirk to the north to avoid the problem of the Red River flooding. This scheme was subsequently changed, and the railway was run through Winnipeg instead, providing the city with that central transportation linkage which it had so desperately sought and which guaranteed it regional pre-eminence. A building boom ensued for a short time in anticipation of the benefits which this linkage would bring. With construction of this line the city began more fully to assume the functions of a metropolitan centre. As an additional consequence,

The upsurge in Winnipeg's fortunes that followed the coming of the C.P.R. reaffirmed in the minds of the commercial elite the conviction that railways were the key to rapid and sustained growth. Thereafter City Council did everything to encourage railway development and nothing at all to control it. This attitude had serious long-range consequences for the city's physical appearance and social fabric (Artibise 1975, 74).

No attempt was made to construct a general community plan within which the location and number of railway lines would be carefully determined.

Efforts to improve the city's connections to an inland navigation system also reflected this concern for attaining adequate transportation and communication linkages. Access to Lake Winnipeg was gained by constructing a series of locks at St. Andrew's Falls. More efficient use of the Red River was also envisioned. As the rail system expanded, interest in these waterways lessened.

Aside from transportation, an additional prerequisite for Winnipeg's rise to metropolitan status was an adequate supply of power at a reasonable cost for the development of manufacturing. This was a serious problem in the city for a time because of the monopoly which the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company held over the community's power supply. Lacking any significant competition, that company maintained its rates at a very high level, which inhibited industrial growth. The prospect of this situation continuing forced the elite to support the move to municipal ownership of a power project. This support did not derive from concern for the public welfare. Rather, the existing monopoly represented a substantial hindrance to the city's economic expansion from which they hoped to benefit.

The elite's "growth ethic" could be fulfilled only through expansion in population and industry. Vigorous efforts were made to attract both. The city supported an extensive publicity program to encourage settlement in Winnipeg itself and in the surrounding communities, from whose trade economic growth could be gained. Immigration agents were appointed to help promote the area. In 1904 the Western Canadian Immigration Association was established to encourage American immigration to the region. Many of the leaders of this association were members of Winnipeg's entrepreneurial elite. Efforts were made to attract industry to the city – for example, through the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau – which proved relatively successful. In all of these schemes, it was evident that economic growth took priority over use of public funds to remedy inadequate housing, educational, and recreational facilities. The pursuit of additional population and industry only served to heighten these problems, which crystallized most dramatically in the strike of 1919 (Masters 1950).

In sum, the case of Winnipeg's rise to metropolitan status demonstrated the influence which a "growth ethic," espoused by a small but powerful elite, exercised on a process of ecological expansion. It also suggested the need to take account of cultural factors – in this case an ideology – in attempting to explain that process.

Decline in Victoria, Expansion in Vancouver

As we have seen, one common pattern in nineteenth-century urban growth was the competition between two or more centres for regional dominance. Each sought to capture a wider market than its rival, for example, Toronto versus Montreal. Economic prosperity for one community frequently meant decline for another. As more complex territorial systems of functional relationships emerged, not all could achieve an equally central position. We can illustrate this competition in the West by examining the fates of Victoria and Vancouver.

Victoria was established as a trading post for the Hudson's Bay Company in 1843 (Ruzicka 1973; Lines 1972). It serviced the entire Northwest Coast during the next fifteen years. Its growth was aided by the discovery of gold on the Fraser River in 1858; miners used it as their main supply centre. Reflecting its economic dominance, Victoria was named the capital of British Columbia in 1868. By 1885 its influence extended throughout the province. The main offices of British Columbia's financial institutions were located in Victoria (Ruzicka 1973). It functioned as the centre of the expanding fishing industry, lumber exporting, and food importing businesses, thus ensuring its economic growth. In addition, it held a key location in the existing transportation system, with local links to the Fraser River and more extensive water routes to San Francisco and Britain. By 1885 the community contained almost 100 businesses involved in secondary industries. Its future seemed secure as a vibrant metropolitan centre, a fact which residents on the Mainland resented.

Their anxieties were premature. In 1887 the CPR's first train arrived in Vancouver, the site chosen as the terminus of the transcontinental railroad. This significantly clouded Victoria's future. Vancouver was now able to mount a serious challenge for regional pre-eminence and control over the staples trade. By 1891 Vancouver's population had grown to 13,685, only about 3,000 less than Victoria's. Of greater importance, Victoria's financial domination had eroded as Vancouver's branch of the Bank of British Columbia showed greater profits than its counterpart in Victoria. This reflected Vancouver's growing share of total provincial trade; in addition, the CPR established a steamship service linking that city with the Orient. Victoria's businessmen were unable to exploit that market easily.

The Depression of the 1890s reduced demand for lumber, salmon, and fur seal. This affected Victoria in particular. Vancouver's superior transportation facilities and connections allowed it to benefit from the expansion of the Kootenay mining industry and from greater trade with British Columbia's interior; its failure to capture a larger share of the Klondike trade in 1897-1898, when gold was discovered in the Yukon, was not a serious impediment (MacDonald 1968). Although the Depression ended by 1897, Victoria continued to decline as a major economic centre. Its persistent efforts to gain direct rail connections to the Fraser Valley proved fruitless. By the

turn of the century Vancouver, with superior communication facilities, was processing almost double the amount of freight that Victoria did. Vancouver assumed the role of banking, commercial-industrial, and shipping centre of the entire province. Most important, as in the case of the development of other cities we have examined earlier, Vancouver emerged as the dominant trans-shipment point for the export of the region's staples to world markets.

Victoria's decline paralleled Vancouver's expansion. British Columbia's capital failed to obtain adequate transportation facilities that would have permitted that city to maintain control over the staple industries, financial system, and commercial trade of the province. In 1885 Victoria existed as the region's metropolitan centre; by 1901 the city had assumed a subordinate role within Vancouver's sphere of influence (Ruzicka 1973).

Perhaps as compensation, having lost the battle for provincial dominance, at least some of Victoria's businessmen wished to strengthen her tourist trade (Lines 1972). As a result of the suggestion of Herbert Cuthbert, a British immigrant to Victoria, the city established a Tourist Development Association in 1901. They sought to exploit the image of Victoria as a "bit of Old England" and promote an influx of tourists, particularly from the rapidly growing cities of Seattle and Tacoma. Unable to become the terminus of the transcontinental, ironically Victoria did prevail upon the CPR to construct a new tourist hotel, the Empress, in 1908. This interest in tourism reflected the desire to find an alternate channel for promoting at least modest economic growth in the new century.

Vancouver, in contrast, continued to expand its metropolitan position in the early 1900s (MacDonald 1968, 1970, 1973). From 1900 to 1914 it experienced considerable growth. Many migrants and immigrants, particularly from Britain, arrived, attracted to the diverse economic opportunities in the city. Paralleling Winnipeg's rise, Vancouver's population increased to 115,000, approximately one-third of whom were British immigrants (MacDonald 1973). Expansion of both local and interurban transportation lines encouraged outward expansion of the population and the construction of numerous single-family homes in many different sections of the metropolitan region. Physically, Vancouver grew to three times the size of Victoria. Its economic activities extended beyond servicing the immediate hinterland. Along with Edmonton and Calgary it began to challenge and erode Winnipeg's position as the leading distribution centre of Western Canada (McCann 1968-69). As with Winnipeg, however, during this entire process of economic transformation, Vancouver's business elite guided and controlled its rise to metropolitan status. The evolution of more complex territorial systems of functional relationships - i.e., urbanization understood ecologically - throughout the West, as in the East, was correlated with the concentration of economic and political power. Urban political institutions were conservative, with little scope for widespread participatory democracy (Careless 1977).

SUMMARY

1. Urbanization, understood ecologically, represents an expansion of the organization or set of functional relationships through which a specific population is able to satisfy its daily needs. It consists of the process of growth from a highly localized unit to a complex, more comprehensive territorial system.

2. Canadian urban history reveals four forms of ecological organization, each more complex than its predecessor. These are: the colonial entrepôt, the commercial centre, the commercial-industrial city, and the metropolitan community.

3. The emergence of each form was precipitated by changes within the ecosystem. Increasing population and technological advancements fostered more complex forms of territorial organization. A variety of factors promoted urbanization in both Eastern and Western Canada. Among these are (a) *Transportation improvements*. In particular, the railroad allowed a more extensive territorial system of functional relationships to emerge; (b) *Expansion of the local urban economy*. Urban centres grew partly as places for the gathering and exporting of such staples as timber, lumber, and wheat from their surrounding hinterlands. The income derived from this permitted cities such as Toronto and Winnipeg to diversify their economies, strengthen their industrial bases, and generate growth in the services they performed for their regions (Jacobs 1970; Nader 1975); (c) *Vigorous leadership by a civic elite* (Noble 1980); (d) *Commitment of that elite to a "growth ethic."* This suggests the need to recognize how the elaboration of a more extensive territorial system of functional relations can be profoundly influenced by cultural variables.

4. A common pattern in nineteenth-century urban growth was the competition between two or more centres for regional dominance. As more complex territorial systems of functional relationships emerged, not all communities could achieve an equally central position. Prosperity for one frequently meant decline for another. Direct access to the railway system was an important factor influencing ultimate success.

Chapter 4

The Contemporary Canadian Urban and Metropolitan System

The contemporary Canadian urban system owes much of its structure to the patterns of growth that emerged during the nineteenth century. The previous chapter sought to identify at least some of those patterns which urban historians have begun to document. The current urban and metropolitan system is far more complex, of course, than that which existed in the late 1800s. In this chapter we shall examine some of its central demographic and ecological characteristics.

A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF CANADA'S URBAN AREAS

In the introduction we briefly outlined the overall trends in Canadian urban growth. A more comprehensive demographic profile of Canada's urban areas, however, must include more detailed data on population growth patterns, sex and age composition, and socioeconomic characteristics. In subsequent chapters we shall also look at the ethnic and migration status of Canada's urban population. Such data provide an important base for understanding the variations in Canada's urban social structure, as well as the parameters for future urban planning.

Urban Population Growth

The past decade has represented the first time in a hundred years in Canada that the proportion of the population classified as urban declined (from 76.1 percent urban in 1971 to 75.7 percent in 1981). The rate of population growth between 1976 and 1981 in rural areas has been greater than that in urban areas. This is the case in all parts of the country, with the exception of the Prairies and the Yukon (figure 3). This trend has been termed "counterurbanization," and is not confined to Canada (Berry 1978). A similar pattern is appearing in the United States, Europe, and even in some underdeveloped countries.

Much of this rural growth occurred in the fringe areas of urban centres.

The attractiveness of rural environments that are in proximity to a city may account for part of this trend.

Counterurbanization implies a process of population deconcentration. This is evident not just in the growth of rural areas. Medium-sized cities, that is those with a population of 30,000–99,999, showed a greater increase between 1976 and 1981 than did the larger urban centres.

The dominance of the metropolitan community in Canada during the present time is quite evident. The twenty-four metropolitan areas delineated in the 1981 census contain more than half (56.1 percent) of the nation's total population. The total metropolitan population more than doubled between 1951 and 1981. Nevertheless, again consistent with the counterurbanization trend, the rate of metropolitan growth has declined significantly over the last three decades (table 2). Between 1976 and 1981 the non-metropolitan population actually increased slightly more than did the metropolitan.

Metropolitan areas showing the greatest growth in population between 1976 and 1981 are concentrated in Western Canada – Edmonton (18.1 percent), Calgary (25.7 percent), and Saskatoon (15.3 percent) (table 3). In contrast, places such as Windsor and Sudbury have experienced an absolute decline in size. All of those metropolitan areas with central cities losing population are in the east (table 4). Overall, the fringes of Canadian metropolitan areas are growing more rapidly than the cores.

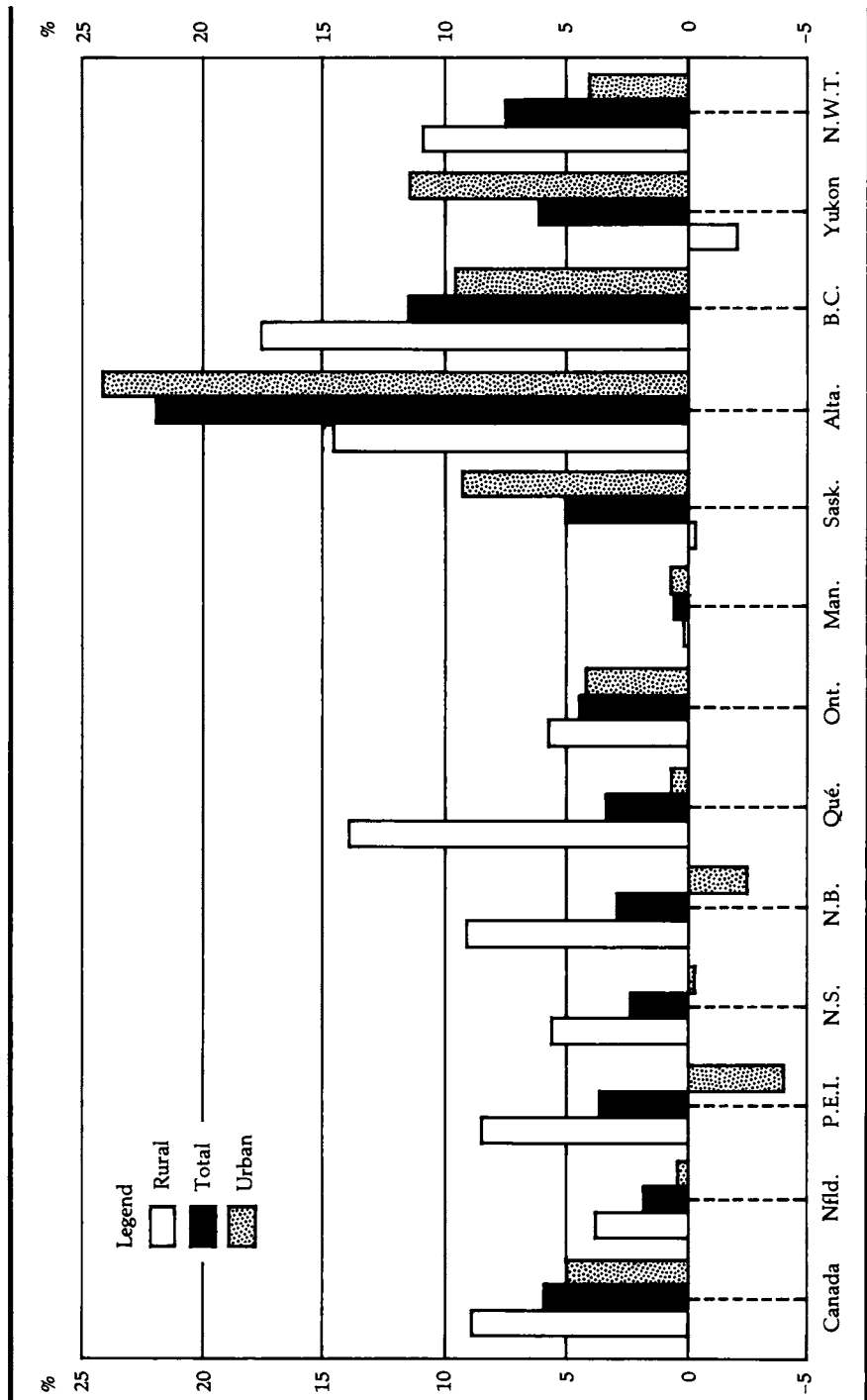
The dramatic growth of Calgary and Edmonton since World War II also reveals the importance of economic factors in accounting for metropolitan growth. Both of these are regional centres serving a wide hinterland. Paralleling the connection between staple exports and urban growth in the nineteenth century, their post-war rate of growth was partly a product of the oil boom that began with the Leduc discovery in 1947 (Baine 1973; Seifried 1978). Calgary today is Canada's major oil administrative centre (Zieber

TABLE 2
Population Growth of Metropolitan and Non-metropolitan Canada,
1951–1981

	Metropolitan	Non-metropolitan
Population		
1951	6,397,680	7,611,749
1961	9,291,305	8,946,942
1971	11,874,748	9,693,563
1981	13,658,944	10,648,241
Population Growth Rate		
1951–1961	45.2	17.5
1961–1971	27.8	8.3
1971–1981	15.0	10.2

SOURCE: Adapted from Hill 1976, Table 1.1, p. 3; and 1981 Census.

FIGURE 3
Comparative Growth Rates: Rural and Urban, Canada and the Provinces, 1976-1981



SOURCE: *Canada's Cities* (Statistics Canada 1984). Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

TABLE 3
Growth in Canada's Major Metropolitan Areas, 1976-1981

Rank 1981	Rank 1976	Metropolitan Area	Population		Percentage Change
			1976(1)	1981	
1	1	Toronto	2,803,101	2,998,947	7.0
2	2	Montreal	2,802,547 ^A	2,828,349	0.9
3	3	Vancouver	1,166,348	1,268,183	8.7
4	4	Ottawa-Hull	693,288	717,978	3.6
5	6	Edmonton	556,270 ^A	657,057	18.1
6	9	Calgary	471,397 ^A	592,743	25.7
7	5	Winnipeg	578,217	584,842	1.2
8	7	Québec	542,158	576,075	6.3
9	8	Hamilton	529,371	542,095	2.4
10	10	St. Catharines-Niagara	301,921	304,353	0.8
11	11	Kitchener	272,158	287,801	5.8
12	12	London	270,383	283,668	4.9
13	13	Halifax	267,991	277,727	3.6
14	14	Windsor	247,582	246,110	-0.6
15	15	Victoria	218,250	233,481	7.0
16	17	Regina	151,191	164,313	8.7
17	18	St. John's	145,400 ^A	154,820	6.5
18	19	Oshawa	135,196	154,217	14.1
19	20	Saskatoon	133,793 ^A	154,210	15.3
20	16	Sudbury	157,030	149,923	-4.3
21	21	Chicoutimi-Jonquière	128,643	135,172	5.1
22	22	Thunder Bay	119,253	121,379	1.8
23	23	Saint John	112,974	114,048	1.0
24	24	Trois-Rivières	106,031 ^A	111,453	5.1

(1) Based on 1981 area.

^AAdjusted figures due to boundary changes.

SOURCE: *Canada's Cities* (Statistics Canada 1984c). Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

TABLE 4

Metropolitan Areas with Central Cities Gaining and Losing Population, 1976-1981, Canada

Metropolitan Areas with Central Cities Losing Population 1976-1981	Metropolitan Areas with Central Cities Gaining Population 1976-1981
Montreal (- 9.3)*	Winnipeg (0.6)*
Saint John (- 8.4)	Thunder Bay (0.7)
Quebec City (- 5.9)	Vancouver (1.1)
Sudbury (- 6.1)	St. Catharines-Niagara (1.2)
Toronto (- 5.4)	Victoria (2.9)
Ottawa-Hull (- 3.9)	London (5.8)
Trois-Rivières (- 3.9)	Kitchener (5.9)
Halifax (- 3.5)	Regina (8.7)
St. John's (- 3.3)	Oshawa (10.2)
Windsor (- 2.3)	Saskatoon (15.3)
Hamilton (- 1.8)	Edmonton (15.3)
Chicoutimi-Jonquière (- 0.8)	Calgary (25.7)

*Percent Change in Population of Central City, 1976-1981.

SOURCE: *Canada's Cities* (Statistics Canada, 1984c). Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

1975). By the middle of the 1970s the city harboured more than 2,000 companies directly involved with the petroleum industry. Oil producers, explorers, and developers were increasingly attracted to the city because of the existing services it offered (for example, in terms of financing) and its accessibility to Alberta oil fields and important American centres. The need to co-ordinate joint ventures and common management of oil fields (called "unitization") also heightened the benefits such clustering created, and thereby further encouraged it. As Calgary strengthened its position as the head-office city for the oil industry, Edmonton assumed a complementary role (Zieber 1973); it concentrated more on the oil operations function, paralleling the shift in oil exploration to the north. Whereas service-sales activities within the oil industry clustered in Calgary to meet the needs of oil producers, companies concerned with oil field construction located more commonly in Edmonton. Such specialization was possible because of the communication-transport links that developed between the two cities.

Rapid economic growth in each, because of the oil boom, led to increased investment in other sectors, such as housing construction. As a result of multiplier effects, new jobs were generated, e.g., in the service industries. In 1971 one export worker (e.g., in the petroleum industry) supported two internal workers (i.e., in the service sphere of the local economy) (Seifried 1978, 114). The establishment of each as a metropolitan wholesale-retail centre has meant that growth is no longer as closely tied to the petroleum industry. Each is at a size now where growth tends to be more self-sustaining (Baine 1973).

Age and Sex Composition of Canada's Urban Population

The age and sex composition of any population is a key to understanding rates of natural increase and mortality, labour force entrance, household formation, intraurban migration, and the like. The mounting of effective urban social and economic policies depends on familiarity with these two aspects of the demographic profile of the urban population.

Table 5 indicates that the median age of the urban population in 1981 is greater than that found in rural areas. It is of interest to note that the median age declines with decreasing size of urban community, down to towns of 5,000 population or less, where it then increases again. This may reflect a concentration of the elderly who retire from the farms and countryside and move to these small centres (Hodge and Qadeer 1983).

Individual cities and metropolitan communities also show significant differences in their age structure.

The youthful, new resource towns (Labrador City, Thompson, Terrace, Kitimat, Prince George, Williams Lake, Baie-Comeau, and Sept-Isles) and the older ones past their prime (Trail, Kirkland and New Glasgow), the towns with military bases (Oromocto, Petawawa and Trenton), the retirement meccas (Victoria, Vancouver, the Okanagan towns and Leamington in Ontario's banana belt) and the smaller towns of the Prairies and Ontario all stand out because of their extremely young or aged populations (Ray 1976, 209).

For example, Victoria emerged among Canada's largest cities as having the highest proportion of elderly residents, that is, those 65 and over (Forward 1984). Its function as a retirement centre became even more distinctive between 1931 and 1981. It experienced the highest net migration of persons 65+, of all Canadian metropolitan areas. In many other cases, however,

TABLE 5
Age and Sex Composition of Urban and Rural Population,
Canada, 1981

	Median Age	Sex Ratio
Urban	30.1	95.7
500,000+	30.6	95.4
100,000-499,999	29.7	94.3
30,000-99,999	29.6	95.3
10,000-29,999	28.7	97.2
5,000-9,999	28.6	98.1
2,500-4,999	29.5	97.5
1,000-2,499	29.9	98.0
Rural	28.2	107.1
Non-farm	28.3	105.1
Farm	27.8	117.0

SOURCE: 1981 Census, cat. 92-901, p. 6-1. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

those cities which experience substantial in-migration frequently contain a relatively higher ratio of young adults than do those centres with limited economic opportunities. The age structure of a community thus often mirrors its economic vitality.

When we turn to sex composition, table 5 indicates one central pattern that has existed at least since 1921 (Stone 1967, 49). Urban Canada contains proportionately more females than males, that is, has a lower sex ratio, in comparison to non-urban areas of the country. The latter shows a clear pattern of "male-dominance" in sex composition. As with age composition, this too reflects the impact of selective migration streams.

... a surplus of rural population in Canada has been particularly evident among females, for whom there are relatively few, as compared with males, opportunities in primary economic activities such as agriculture. With the advancing industrialization of Canada since Confederation more and more job openings have been available to females in service activities and, to a lesser extent, in light manufacturing. This long-standing rural-urban differential in the share of economic opportunities for females has probably been a major factor behind the sustained female-selectivity of the net migration gains to urban areas (Stone 1967, 64. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada).

Again, we must recognize that these general patterns conceal variations among individual cities. Frontier resource and military communities are more likely to be "male-dominant" than are cities with substantial employment opportunities in the service sector.

Average household size is larger and fertility rate is greater in rural areas than in urban areas (table 6). This pattern is typical of rural-urban differ-

TABLE 6
Average Household Size, Children Ever Born Per 1,000 Ever Married Women, Urban and Rural, 1981

	Average Household Size	Children Ever Born Per 1,000 Ever Married Women
Total-Canada	2.9	2,493
Urban	2.8	2,343
500,000+	2.7	2,162
100,000-499,999	2.8	2,372
30,000-99,999	2.8	2,461
10,000-29,999	2.9	2,635
5,000-9,999	2.9	2,675
2,500-4,999	2.9	2,767
1,000-2,499	2.9	3,006
Rural	3.3	2,998
Non-farm	3.2	2,932
Farm	3.7	3,345

SOURCE: 1981 Census: 92-904, p. 3-1; 92-906, pp. 2-1 - 2-4. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

ences. In general, the larger an urban area, the lower its fertility regardless of age (Lapierre-Adamyck 1979).

Socioeconomic Composition of Canada's Urban Population

One central characteristic of Canada's economic system is the continuing existence of provincial and regional disparities in levels of income. The average household income is lowest of all provinces in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, and highest in Alberta (table 7).

In each province, household income of urban areas is greater than that in rural areas, although this is less the case when focusing on rural-farm households. Average income is highest in the largest cities. This reflects "the tendency for specialized, high-education, high-income occupations to cluster in

TABLE 7
Average Household Income by Urban Size Group,
Urban/Rural, and Province, 1981

Province	Size Group				
	Urban- Total	500,000+	100,000- 499,999	30,000- 99,999	Under 30,000
Total	\$25,060	\$26,519	\$23,824	\$23,434	\$22,698
Newfoundland	23,251	-	25,694	-	21,928
Prince Edward Island	20,277	-	-	-	20,277
Nova Scotia	21,563	-	23,776	20,289	19,246
New Brunswick	21,359	-	-	22,320	19,817
Quebec	23,309	23,960	21,494	22,069	21,933
Ontario	25,869	27,994	23,962	23,484	22,444
Manitoba	22,648	23,100	-	20,535	21,177
Saskatchewan	23,482	-	24,868	22,301	21,489
Alberta	28,580	29,575	-	26,891	25,973
British Columbia	26,350	27,694	23,857	24,832	25,202

	Rural- Total	Rural- Non-farm	Rural Farm	Total
Total	\$22,259	\$21,769	\$24,962	\$24,460
Newfoundland	18,029	18,022	-	21,198
Prince Edward Island	18,721	18,278	-	19,338
Nova Scotia	19,011	18,888	22,011	20,476
New Brunswick	18,633	18,565	20,349	20,112
Quebec	21,035	20,748	23,556	22,869
Ontario	24,091	23,764	25,885	25,577
Manitoba	18,879	18,423	20,040	21,721
Saskatchewan	21,272	18,811	25,000	22,637
Alberta	25,484	24,809	26,798	27,969
British Columbia	25,442	25,147	28,671	26,171

SOURCE: 1981 Census: 92-934. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

settlements at the upper, particularly the metropolitan, levels of the urban hierarchy" (Ray 1976, 160). For example, in 1981 the majority of Canada's scientists and engineers lived in the twenty-four census metropolitan areas. Indeed, the six largest metropolises contained half of all the country's scientists and engineers (Science Council of Canada 1984, 55).

Although urban Canada shows a higher average income, it nevertheless contains a large number, in absolute terms, of low-income households. The problem of poverty is not confined to rural Canada.

Socioeconomic differences exist between Canada's twenty-four metropolitan areas. Table 8 indicates that Calgary and Edmonton have the highest average household incomes, followed by Toronto. Trois-Rivières, Saint John, and Chicoutimi-Jonquière show the lowest levels. Such differences between metropolitan areas reflect variation in "industrial structure, the age of the population, labour force participation rate, unemployment rates, and regional location" (Hill 1976, 41). Level of education is also a factor: e.g., Trois-Rivières has both the lowest average household income of any CMA and the highest proportion of those with less than grade 9 education.

TABLE 8
Education and Income Levels, CMAs, 1981

Population 15 years and over	% Less than Grade 9	% University with degree	Average Household Income
Toronto	16.2	11.6	\$28,765
Montreal	23.7	9.1	24,038
Vancouver	11.9	10.4	27,688
Ottawa-Hull	13.2	15.1	27,179
Edmonton	10.8	11.5	28,887
Calgary	8.1	13.2	30,597
Winnipeg	16.1	9.6	23,208
Québec	20.8	9.9	24,511
Hamilton	17.4	7.9	25,549
St. Catharines-Niagara	19.7	6.0	23,311
Kitchener	18.4	8.5	24,330
London	13.1	11.0	23,679
Halifax	12.8	12.1	23,807
Windsor	18.6	7.6	23,773
Victoria	9.3	10.6	24,212
Regina	14.0	9.6	25,828
St. John's	18.5	8.4	24,989
Oshawa	14.1	5.5	26,620
Saskatoon	13.6	11.3	23,956
Sudbury	21.3	6.3	23,764
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	21.1	6.2	22,960
Thunder Bay	18.9	6.8	26,165
Saint John	19.7	6.7	22,948
Trois-Rivières	24.9	7.0	20,652

SOURCE: 1981 Census. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

A FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF CANADIAN CITIES

The demographic variations between Canada's urban areas are matched by differences in economic structure, specialization, and function. These can be measured by comparing urban employment patterns. As cities grow, their labour force expands and, most importantly diversifies – that is, becomes less concentrated in a small number of industry groupings (Crowley 1973). Such divergencies can be better understood by classifying cities according to their economic functions (Duncan and Reiss 1956; Moser and Scott 1961).

Maxwell (1965) examined the functional structure of all incorporated Canadian cities with 1951 populations of at least 10,000. This was measured in terms of the *basic* employment structure, which refers to those activities providing goods and services for markets outside the city (Alexander 1959; Jacobs 1970). Maxwell determined the minimum labour force required in specific functions to allow the city to survive – these are *non-basic* functions. That employment in *excess* of this minimum, thus, approximates the city's basic employment.

Through this means several important features of urban functional structures can be measured (Maxwell 1965, 85–87).

1. The *dominant function* of the city – the sector having the greatest share of the city's total excess employment;
2. The *distinctive function* of the city – “an activity whose share of total excess employment in a city greatly exceeds the share it usually has in most cities”; and,
3. *Degree of functional specialization* – which increases as the city's excess employment distribution deviates “from the distribution of the city's minimum requirement employment among functions.”

Maxwell's data document how important manufacturing is in urban Canada. It is the dominant function in most cities. This is especially the case in “heartland cities” – those located in the densely populated St. Lawrence Lowlands and Southern Ontario. Forty-three out of the forty-five such cities show manufacturing as their dominant function. In contrast, this is the case in only about one-third of the “peripheral cities” – those located outside the heartland region. Wholesale trade tends to be the distinctive function in the periphery, with extraction centres having the highest degree of functional specialization.

Overall, therefore, an important division exists within the Canadian system of cities (Ray and Murdie 1972). The periphery cities display significantly different “functional profiles” from the heartland cities. The former are less specialized and less deeply involved in the industrial sector; the latter constitute the nation's “manufacturing belt.” These differences reflect the spatial interrelations between cultural and economic characteristics in Canada (Ray 1971) as well as variations in settlement patterns.

Whereas great concentration of economic activity, financial power, and population exist in the heartland, the periphery is characterized by huge sparsely settled

areas, giving it almost vassal status in its relationship with the heartland. The periphery, because of its involvement with the friction of distance, must devote much more of its "economic energy" to overcoming this friction. In the heartland the friction of distance is comparatively of little consequence. These fundamental differences in situational characteristics are reflected by the functional profiles of the cities in the two regions (Maxwell 1965, 96).

In addition, we should note that this pattern also reflects the impact of foreign ownership on urban development in Canada (Ray and Roberge 1981). Many secondary manufacturing industries are subsidiaries of U.S. corporations, and are thus subject to locational decisions made by the latter. American multinationals have established branches in Toronto and South-western Ontario because of their market potential and accessibility to American head offices. Such concentration heightens heartland/periphery disparities.

Consistent with the differences in population increase noted earlier, the greatest growth in employment between 1971 and 1981 occurred in the CMAs of Calgary, Edmonton, and Saskatoon (table 9). Least growth was evident in Windsor, Quebec, Trois-Rivières, with Sudbury showing an absolute decline in employment. These differences reflect regional and provincial economic patterns. Table 9 also reveals that the greatest average growth in employment between the twenty-four CMAs occurred in the tertiary or service sector. Manufacturing has not been an important source of growth. "This shift from basic to non-basic employment continues a long-term pattern that embodies technological innovation and social changes that have affected every developed nation" (Hooper, Simmons, and Bourne 1983, 2). The economies of individual metropolitan areas have fared differently in this shift. Montreal's position relative to that of Toronto has eroded (one estimate is that almost 50,000 finance and service jobs were transferred from Montreal to Toronto during the 1970s), as has Winnipeg's to the expanding influence of Calgary and Edmonton (Hooper, Simmons, and Bourne 1983, 20; Kuz 1984). The latter areas also showed the highest level of average weekly earnings. These differences are matched by an equally important trend, one that is consistent with counterurbanization and spatial deconcentration; over the past decade the twenty-four metropolitan areas as a whole lost approximately 100,000 jobs to non-metropolitan Canada.

The national urban system displays a hierarchical structure. Some metropolitan areas have a wider economic influence than do others. Stone (1967, 187), for example, ranked metropolitan areas in terms of two "*partial* indices of specialization in performance of metropolitan functions" – namely, business service receipts per person aged 15+ and the wholesale sales per capita. On both measures four metropolitan communities received the highest score: Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, and Calgary. Employing these indices he identified four levels in the hierarchy of metropolitan areas regarding specialization in the performance of metropolitan functions. At the bottom were Kitchener, Victoria, and Sudbury.

TABLE 9

Sectoral Employment Growth Rates, Canada's CMAs, 1971-1981

CMA	Manu- facturing	Construc- tion	Transportation Communication Utilities	Trade	Finance Real Estate Insurance	Service	Total
St. John's	31.0	-46.2	17.1	9.5	-	-	11.2
Halifax	- 5.1	-10.0	19.0	35.6	82.4	69.6	26.9
Saint John	15.5	-	23.4	16.7	-	-	9.1
Chicoutimi	2.6	30.0	25.0	-	-	-	13.9
Quebec	-15.4	-49.4	27.5	19.1	18.5	106.0	6.8
Trois Rivières	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	6.1
Montreal	-4.1	-26.5	15.6	19.2	22.3	45.4	7.0
Ottawa-Hull	7.9	-53.7	51.4	31.5	57.6	67.9	25.9
Oshawa	22.9	-	-	30.0	-	-	29.3
Toronto	9.3	-26.1	33.2	31.0	57.9	83.6	28.3
Hamilton	14.9	- 5.3	24.7	32.0	-	66.3	17.5
Kitchener	13.4	-22.6	44.1	13.5	41.2	-	13.7
St. Catharines	-2.7	-	-	-	-	-	8.5
London	16.7	-	20.8	24.7	30.5	61.4	19.8
Windsor	-8.7	-31.6	16.3	22.7	-	52.3	0.7
Sudbury	-31.6	-78.1	21.7	28.6	-	-	-23.7
Thunder Bay	22.4	-	3.8	51.4	-	-	19.2
Winnipeg	6.0	-32.4	6.9	22.7	36.5	38.2	12.5
Regina	20.0	-	47.3	40.5	65.4	79.5	37.6
Saskatoon	38.5	6.7	64.0	46.7	-	68.6	40.5
Calgary*	45.7	138.4	101.7	75.8	115.6	99.4	92.1
Edmonton	40.8	97.7	77.5	66.4	121.4	106.3	68.2
Vancouver	11.9	17.7	42.4	35.4	61.1	74.5	33.2
Victoria	4.3	-	28.9	27.3	-	92.9	34.9
Mean	8.3	-5.5	34.0	32.7	59.6	74.8	22.4
Range	77.3	216.5	97.9	66.3	102.9	68.1	115.8
Range/mean	9.31	39.36	2.88	2.03	1.73	0.91	5.17

*Calgary also registered an increase of 227.7 percent in the mining sector.

SOURCE: Hooper, Simmons, and Bourne 1983; table 4, p. 16.

As the above discussion of differences in sectoral employment growth suggests, the relative position of a metropolitan area or city in this hierarchy can change. The continued dominance of Toronto and Montreal in Canada's system of cities is evident in selected indices of economic dominance: for example, percentage distribution of the value of goods shipped, total value of cheques cashed against individual accounts, and value of manufacturing goods shipped in 1980. A relatively large proportion of the nation's financial and industrial sectors are concentrated in both Toronto and Montreal (Kerr 1968). Each represents a central node in the country's transportation system: for example, much of Canada's domestic air passenger travel is focused about them. This is not to deny the rapid economic growth of the urban areas west of Manitoba.

THE CANADIAN SYSTEM OF CITIES

Increasing attention has been given to the need to examine Canada's entire complex of cities *as a system* (Simmons 1974a; Bourne and MacKinnon 1972). Reflecting its highly urbanized character, the necessity of conceptualizing this society as an integrated network of urban nodes has become more clearly evident (Berry 1964). This notion of a national urban system, however, raises a number of questions which have not been adequately answered. Simmons (1974a, 5-6) lists several of these issues.

1. How are the characteristics of a particular city and its pattern of growth and change affected by its position in the urban system structured?
2. How fully integrated is the urban system? What proportion of all contacts take place within cities or among them? What is the pattern of intercity linkages?
3. How predictable is growth and change within the system? What can reasonably be modelled?
4. Are the urban system linkages consistent for economic, social, and political activities, or should each be modelled individually?
5. To what degree and in what pattern is the urban system linked to the international system?
6. What is the source and pattern of movement of signals of growth and change? Are they internal? External? Do they flow from large places to small or the reverse?

The urban system represents a more complex and extensive form of ecological organization. A number of levels can be discerned within it – the individual city and its hinterland, a group of cities in a region, and the entire national system itself. As noted above, it is critical that the linkages between these levels be fully explored. The notion of “metropolitan dominance” – giving recognition to the economic pre-eminence of Toronto and Montreal – represents one attempt to conceptualize these connections with respect to the focus of power in the national system. What Simmons and other geographers recommend, however, is that this be broadened to include the entire range of relationships between cities of differing size and function.

The urban system is viewed as an extremely complex unit in which each city is deeply influenced by its economic and ecological position. Moreover, the system itself is characterized by "openness" since it is profoundly affected by the environment. How the urban system relates to Canada's political structure is another issue of recent interest (Simmons 1983a; 1983b).

The Windsor-Quebec Urban Axis: A Sub-System Within the National System of Cities

As we have seen above with respect to "heartland cities," the central core of the Canadian national system of cities is the Windsor to Quebec City urban region (Yeates 1975; 1980). An area of almost 70,000 square miles, it contains more than 1,800 municipalities, half of Canada's total population, and much of its manufacturing employment. Although predominantly urban, the region does include a rich agricultural sector.

Although the rate of annual increase has declined, during the 1961-1971 period the total population of the axis expanded by more than 20 percent. This growth was concentrated in the Ontario side of the axis, and in areas around the largest cities. With more rapid growth in Western Canada in recent years, the 1970s represented

... a "benchmark" decade in Canada, for it is during this period that the concentration of population in the heartland area reached a peak. The greatest share of this relative decline will occur in the Quebec portion of the region, for in this portion the fertility rate is now slightly below the replacement level. Furthermore, there is net out-migration from southern Quebec to the rest of Canada, and the Province is receiving very few immigrants. The impact of this decentralization of population away from the heartland will be felt most immediately in the political arena, for redistribution will alter significantly the geographic balance of power (Yeates 1980, 141).

Although the region encompasses numerous municipalities and is under the jurisdiction of two provinces, it functions as an identifiable unit with strong internal linkages. The highest-order centres of Toronto and Montreal economically dominate regional centres, which in turn influence more restricted hinterlands. These ties can be charted using data on telephone calls, rail freights, truck flows, and airline flows (Yeates 1975, 209). The interaction between communities within the axis is intense. It has emerged as an ecological unit with a complex set of functional relationships. In addition, as a subsystem it exercises profound economic influence over the entire Canadian national system of cities.

Western Urban Axes: The Edmonton-Calgary Corridor and the Georgia Strait Urban Region

Paralleling the heartland-periphery distinction within the national system of cities are additional urban sub-systems or axes on a lower scale, but none-

theless important, in Western Canada. Earlier we noted the complementary roles which Calgary and Edmonton perform in the petroleum industry. More generally, they function as the two major metropolitan nodes in Alberta's settlement system (Smith and Johnson 1978; Davies and Gyuse 1975; Lobsinger 1978). Together they dominate a corridor of interconnected communities, in which since 1911 most of Alberta's urban population has been concentrated (Smith and Johnson 1978). Although containing the majority of Albertans, this corridor occupies only 5 percent of the province's total land area. As with the Windsor-Quebec urban axis, transportation links have helped to shape and integrate the Edmonton-Calgary sub-system. Growth was concentrated in earlier years in these two cities. However, more recently a process of corridor "infilling" is discernible. That is, whereas the growth rates of Calgary and Edmonton between 1971 and 1976 declined, those of Red Deer and adjoining communities elsewhere along the axis increased. An economic revival is evident in many of the lower-order centres within the corridor, as their service functions strengthen and as they become more attractive to the region's workers as places of residence. In short, because of population and economic overspill from Calgary and Edmonton the corridor may increasingly assume the shape of a "lineal megalopolis" (Smith and Johnson 1978, 30).

Similarly, the Georgia Strait urban region represents an emerging megalopolis of the far West (Hardwick 1972). This consists of a mosaic of communities, with Vancouver's inner city as the focus, and Victoria, Nanaimo, and New Westminster as additional important nuclei. By the end of this century the region will contain a population of approximately 4 million (Gibson 1976). This increase is occurring especially in outlying areas (Greater Vancouver Regional District 1981). Here too, improvements in transportation systems (road-building, bridges, marine transport) have helped to integrate the region (Robinson and Hardwick 1973). Each area increasingly assumes a more specialized role. Whereas Vancouver's inner core shows expansion in rented office space and highrise apartments, industrial and wholesaling plants are rapidly suburbanizing (Gibson 1976).

Both the Edmonton-Calgary corridor and the Georgia Strait urban region must be viewed as relatively integrated sub-systems rather than as a set of discrete communities. Their formation symbolizes, to repeat, a more complex stage of urbanization, understood ecologically.

"QUALITY OF LIFE" VARIATIONS WITHIN THE CANADIAN URBAN SYSTEM

Aside from demographic and socioeconomic differences within any society's urban system, one intriguing question is whether the "quality

of life" – however that is defined – systematically varies between types of cities. Is the quality of life significantly "better" in one urban community than in another? This is an extremely difficult question to answer; we cannot devise one single overall measure of quality of life, nor even a set of unambiguous measures (Stewart et al. 1976).

One recent attempt to examine quality of life variations within the Canadian urban system is a survey conducted of "concerns" that residents have in the metropolitan areas of the country. Atkinson (1982a) constructed an Index of City Liking (derived from such items as perception of the city as an ideal place to live). A high positive score indicates high liking. This is a subjective and indirect measure of quality of life. Nevertheless, the results are interesting (table 10):

1. Size of urban centre is not easily correlated with assessment of the city. Least satisfaction with their city is found among residents of Regina, Saint John, Calgary, and Edmonton. Quebec, Victoria, and St. Catharines, in contrast, elicit more favourable responses. The negative view of the Albertan cities is perhaps surprising.

TABLE 10
Attraction Ranking of Urban Centres

City	Index of Liking
Calgary	– .73 (21)*
Charlottetown	.23 (9)
Chicoutimi	.14 (12)
Edmonton	– .54 (20)
Halifax	.20 (11)
Hamilton	– .48 (18)
Kitchener	.31 (6)
London	.22 (10)
Montreal	– .13 (14)
Ottawa-Hull	.57 (4)
Quebec	.96 (1)
Regina	– 1.42 (23)
Saint John	– 1.05 (22)
Saskatoon	.37 (5)
St. Catharines	.74 (3)
St. John's	.25 (8)
Sudbury	– .17 (15)
Thunder Bay	– .43 (17)
Toronto	.14 (13)
Vancouver	.28 (7)
Victoria	.80 (2)
Windsor	– .50 (19)
Winnipeg	– .22 (16)

*Rank on index from most positive to most negative.

SOURCE: Atkinson 1982a; table 2b, p. 20.

Given their privileged economic position and their status as the capitals of the land of opportunity, it would have been reasonable to expect very positive evaluations of both cities and particularly of Calgary. A different picture emerges from this survey. The residents of both urban centres expressed significantly less positive evaluations of their cities than most other centres in Canada. In Calgary, the nature of complaints suggests an image of urban growth gone wrong. Negative comments about the size and appearance of the city, about roads, traffic conditions and public transportation, as well as remarks on housing costs and availability abounded. In short, the picture of a city which has grown too fast and without effective management. Substantially fewer of these complaints come from Edmonton but in their place was the highest level of concern about crime of any city in Canada (Atkinson 1982a, 11-12).

2. Those attributes of cities negatively assessed most frequently are road and traffic conditions, pollution, and local government.

3. More specific assessments of services and facilities also are not clearly related to size of city. There is a tendency, however, for cultural and entertainment facilities, and public transportation to be rated more positively by those living in the largest cities. The general point remains nonetheless: "urban size, in and of itself, does not result in the development of particular problem syndromes. Instead the difficulties experienced by specific cities appear to be more closely related to their economic, political and social histories than to their size" (Atkinson 1982a, 14).

Urbanites' perceptions of quality of life may indeed be related as much to the location and type of their neighbourhoods as to the characteristics of their cities. Residents of inner-city areas in the largest metropolises, for example, evidence greater anxiety about crimes against the person than do urbanites living elsewhere (Atkinson 1982a).

SUMMARY

1. The rate of population growth is now greater in rural areas than in urban areas. This counterurbanization trend marks a new phase in Canada's settlement history.
2. Rural growth is occurring especially in the fringe areas around urban centres. Deconcentration is also evidenced by the more rapid growth of medium-sized cities in comparison to the largest urban areas.
3. Although more than half the nation's population live in metropolitan areas, the rate of metropolitan growth has declined significantly over the last several decades.
4. The most rapidly growing metropolitan areas are in Western Canada: Edmonton, Calgary, and Saskatoon.
5. Although individual cities vary in the age composition of their populations, the median age of urban residents is greater than that of rural residents.

6. Urban Canada continues to contain proportionately more females than males. Average household size and fertility rate are greater in rural areas.
7. In each province, average household income of urban areas is greater than that in rural areas. Average income is highest in the larger cities, such as Calgary and Edmonton.
8. Canada's urban areas differ in terms of employment structure, economic function, and levels of specialization. A fundamental division exists between "heartland cities," in which manufacturing is the dominant function, and "peripheral cities," which are less specialized generally, and in which wholesale trade tends to be the distinctive function. This division partly reflects the impact of foreign ownership on Canadian urban development.
9. The greatest growth in employment between 1971 and 1981 has occurred in the Western CMAs of Calgary, Edmonton, and Saskatoon. Comparing the various sectors of the metropolitan economy, most rapid expansion of employment is in the service area.
10. A discernible hierarchy exists among Canada's metropolitan areas, with Toronto and Montreal economically most dominant. Montreal's position relative to that of Toronto has, however, eroded.
11. Canada's entire set of urban areas should be conceptualized as a national *system* of cities. This represents a more complex form of ecological organization with extensive economic linkages between the different levels, ranging from the individual city, to the urban region, to the national system itself.
12. The Windsor-Quebec City urban axis is the central sub-system within Canada's national system of cities. It exercises profound economic influence over the country. Toronto will continue to emerge as the dominant node in this axis. Two additional urban axes in Western Canada are the Edmonton-Calgary corridor and the Georgia Strait urban region. Each consists of an interconnected set of communities forming important sub-systems within their respective provinces.
13. Efforts to delineate "quality of life" variations within the Canadian urban system are still inconclusive. Assessment of relative conditions of life depends greatly on the particular set of measures used. Social, economic, and environmental concerns are not easily correlated with city size or rate of growth.

Part Three

Entrance to the Urban System

Two important demographic processes which have contributed to Canada's current position as one of the most highly urbanized nations in the world have been internal migration and immigration. They promoted that population redistribution which has constituted such a significant part of the country's history in this century.

As we saw in the introduction, a fundamental aspect of urban sociology is the study of the process of entrance to the urban system. In this part we shall examine urbanization as an assimilation process – a dynamic focus on Canadian urban social organization. With respect to internal migration and immigration to urban communities, it will be useful first to construct a demographic profile of each before analyzing entrance as a social and cultural process.

Chapter 5

Entrance to the Urban System: Canadian Internal Migration

INTERNAL MIGRATION: A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

As we suggested earlier, mass transiency characterized nineteenth-century cities in Canada and the United States. "In almost every place where historians have looked at least half, often two-thirds, of the adults present at one end of a decade had left ten years later ..." (Katz, Doucet, and Stearn 1978, 669). The evolution of the new urban-industrial system required such a flow. Similar to what has been found in a number of other highly urbanized countries, transiency has continued. Canada's current population is fairly mobile with almost half having lived at their present residence for less than five years (table 11). Although most of this movement is local – that is, mobility within a municipality or census subdivision – *migration* over longer distances is of such magnitude as to merit careful analysis.

In this chapter we shall first review selected demographic trends with

TABLE 11
Mobility Status, Canada, 1976–1981

	1976	1981
<i>Non-movers</i> (living in the same dwelling they occupied five years earlier)	51.5%	52.4%
<i>Movers</i> (living in a different dwelling from the one they occupied five years earlier)	48.5%	47.6%
<i>Non-migrant Movers</i> (moved within the same census subdivision)*	23.5%	24.9%
<i>Migrant Movers</i> (moved across census subdivisions)	25.1%	22.7%
Within Canada	21.7%	20.3%
Same Province	16.5%	15.1%
Different Province	4.3%	5.1%
Outside Canada	3.4%	2.5%

*Census subdivision = a general term applying to municipalities, Indian Reserves, Indian Settlements, and unorganized territories.

SOURCE: 1981 Census; catalogue 92-907, p. xvii. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

respect to migration in Canada. It is important, moreover, to examine how entrance to the urban system is a social and cultural process. Classical urban theory interpreted this as an "uprooting" experience. This assumption, we shall see, must be tempered by exploration of a wide array of factors that influence the nature, causes, and consequences of urban migration. We shall select Indian urbanization as an important case study illustrating demographic, social, and cultural dimensions of migration.

Regional Shifts in Migration

One of the most fascinating features of Canadian migration has been the manner in which it has shifted from one region of the country to another, from one province to another, during this century. These variations in points of destination reflected concomitant shifts in areas possessing the greatest economic opportunities. Migration patterns, as modes of population redistribution, partly responded to these varying conditions. Such fluidity and changes in direction of population movement are concretely illustrated in table 12.

The first two decades of this century were characterized by a pronounced in-migration to the western provinces (McInnis 1969). The opportunities for land settlement and the possible economic advantages that could be derived from wheat production encouraged movement to the Prairies and British Columbia not only of the native-born, principally from Ontario (Keyfitz 1965, 25), but in even greater numbers the foreign-born as well. In contrast, the Maritimes showed a process of out-migration – as they did through most of the subsequent period – with many residents moving to either the West or to New England. As the development of the Prairies led to an increased de-

TABLE 12
Intercensal Net Migration Ratios, by Province, 1901-1911 to 1951-1961

Province	1901-11	1911-21	1921-31	1931-41	1941-51	1951-61
Prince Edward Island	-13.6	-16.4	-11.1	-2.6	-12.4	-11.3
Nova Scotia	-0.6	-7.6	-14.5	0.8	-6.1	-4.4
New Brunswick	-3.8	-7.3	-11.5	-2.9	-8.7	-6.7
Quebec	4.3	-4.0	0.9	0.1	-0.4	5.1
Ontario	9.3	2.3	5.1	2.6	7.2	14.0
Manitoba	41.2	5.1	-1.7	-6.8	-8.4	0.3
Saskatchewan	125.6	15.1	-0.7	-17.3	-23.3	-7.7
Alberta	123.8	20.9	3.8	-5.6	-1.0	12.9
British Columbia	69.4	14.8	18.7	10.7	23.9	18.7

The net migration ratio is 100 times the estimated net migration (in-migration minus out-migration) divided by the average of the beginning-of-decade and end-of-decade population.

SOURCE: Stone 1969, p. 138. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

mand for consumer goods manufactured in Central Canada, the resultant rise in employment opportunities, particularly in Ontario, encouraged immigration there.

As the settlement of the West ended, and with the shift in the economy to new staple products such as paper and base metals, the economic opportunities in the Prairie region declined during the 1920s. The net inflows which had earlier been so striking were no longer manifested. British Columbia and Ontario, where the new staple products could best be developed, became the primary points of destination.

The Great Depression of the 1930s effected generally a lowered level of movement and a reversal of the earlier pattern. The Prairies now became the leading area of out-migration, as drought conditions seriously restricted the profitability of farming. In contrast, the level of out-migration fell in the Maritimes as subsistence farming became a more viable response to economic conditions – a response less feasible in the West.

This movement out of the Prairies continued through the next decade, the 1940s. Especially in Saskatchewan, where reliance on wheat had been strongest, was out-migration pronounced. Once again Ontario and British Columbia were the major recipients of this population redistribution, reflecting the range of economic opportunities available in these provinces.

While their dominance was sustained in more recent times, again a reversal in the previous pattern occurred as Alberta once more emerged as an important point of destination for interprovincial migrants. Expansion in non-agricultural employment opportunities, especially in service industries, was an important factor responsible for this gain. Many of these migrants came from Saskatchewan, where rural life was still suffering the effects of the Depression. During 1966–1971 out-migration from the Maritimes continued at a relatively high level. This movement was directed more toward Central Canada than to New England, which had earlier been an important area of attraction.

Atlantic Canada and Western Canada also experienced the highest return migration of all regions. One possible explanation relates to their regional economies.

It might be argued that in this time period [late 1960s and early 1970s] economic opportunities in these areas of Canada were limited (perhaps particularly for Atlantic regions), and therefore forced individuals to seek opportunities in different areas of Canada. ... Approximately 50 percent of all return migrants from Atlantic and Prairie regions moved initially to regions outside their respective broad geographical areas. Information about job openings is likely to be less accurate for long distance moves, and hence a significant number of those who undertake such moves are likely to have disappointing income and employment experiences in terms of their initial move. ... The economies of both Atlantic Canada and regions in prairie and western Canada are highly concentrated in primary industrial activity. It is therefore possible that persons who move to take advantage of the opportunities in various primary industries find (or expect) the duration of employment in the destination region to be short. In these cir-

cumstances they return to a region of former employment ... (Grant and Joseph 1983, 84, 86).

More recent trends in the last decade, however, show interesting changes in the direction of Canada's migratory movements (table 13). Comparing the periods 1970-75 and 1975-80, the Maritimes and Saskatchewan have begun to experience net *inflows* of migrants, Ontario net *outflows*, and Alberta's net migration has tripled, reflecting the oil boom in Western Canada. Alberta and British Columbia are important "poles of attraction" for interprovincial migration streams (Perreault and Raby 1981).

As the above trends clearly demonstrate, patterns of internal regional migration evolved in response to the shifting locations of areas offering greater economic opportunities.

Migration and Urban Centres

Aside from these variations in interregional mobility, there was an additional significant development in Canadian internal migration during the present century. Rural-urban migration has no longer represented the dominant mode of such population redistribution. Rather, interurban flows have become "the most striking feature of the geographic mobility scene in Canada" (Stone 1974, 272). Whereas in the late 1800s and earlier decades of this century movement from the farm to the city constituted the largest stream of internal migration, at present mobility between urban centres is the most pronounced pattern (Stone 1969, 33), as table 14 documents. More than three-fifths of all migration in the period 1976-1981 is of this type. The urban-to-rural stream is now actually more pronounced than the rural-to-

TABLE 13
Net Interprovincial Migration: A Static Comparison for the
Periods 1970-75 and 1975-80

Province	1970-75	1975-80
Newfoundland	- 6,152	- 6,306
Prince Edward Island	3,327	2,913
Nova Scotia	3,587	5,024
New Brunswick	9,820	12,829
Quebec	- 102,963	- 145,945
Ontario	29,887	- 46,751
Manitoba	- 29,940	- 42,400
Saskatchewan	- 70,774	15,938
Alberta	40,854	137,018
British Columbia	116,847	72,899
Yukon and Northwest Territories	5,508	- 5,217

SOURCE: Perreault and Raby 1981; table 8, p. 102. Reprinted by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

TABLE 14
Internal Migration by Type and Period (%)

Migration Stream*	1966-1971	1976-1981
Urban to Urban	63.7	61.7
Urban to Rural	15.7	19.1
Rural to Urban	16.3	13.5
Rural to Rural	4.3	5.7

*Migration stream = "that body of migrants which departs from any area of origin for any area of destination" (Amyot and George 1973, 21) (excludes immigrants who entered Canada in 1976).

SOURCE: Statistics (Canada 1977; 1981 Census: catalogue 92-907, table 7. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada

urban, partly reflecting the general patterns of deconcentration noted earlier. These trends are characteristic of all highly urbanized and industrialized societies.

The predominant urban destination of the internal migration flow has responded to the concentration of economic opportunities in these centres. The economic opportunity structure of a community consists of the different ways income can be obtained – the businesses which might be operated and the types of employment present (Bowles and Craib 1979, 59-60). Migration flows, as we saw earlier with respect to regional shifts, at least partly reflect the location of expansions and contractions in this opportunity structure (Stone 1969).

Migration and Metropolitan Centres

In the preceding chapter we saw that growth rates varied substantially between metropolitan communities. Consistent with this pattern, the rate of internal migration – one component of population growth – showed significant differences between these largest-sized cities, as table 15 reveals.

Mirroring their rapid growth, Calgary and Edmonton experienced positive net migration during the period 1976-1981, while CMAs such as Montreal and Winnipeg showed net losses. Calgary and Edmonton registered the greatest fluidity in population; that is, they had higher proportions of residents who were movers over this five-year period than other metropolitan areas. Contrast their fluidity with the greater "rootedness" in St. John's, where three-fifths of the population five years of age and over were classified as non-movers.

Metropolitan communities differ in the strength of their attraction to out-of-province migrants. Calgary and Edmonton show the largest proportion of in-migrants from another province. This is quite different from the situation in Chicoutimi-Jonquière, Trois-Rivières, and Quebec, where most of the in-migrants had come from within the province.

TABLE 15

Mobility Status of Population Five Years and Over, by CMA, 1976-1981 (%)

CMA	Non-movers	Movers	In-migrants		Out-migrants		Net Internal Migration* 1976-1981
			From Same Province	From Different Province	To Same Province	To Different Province	
Calgary	34.9	65.1	19.8	80.2	48.3	51.7	+66,460
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	61.5	38.5	95.6	4.4	89.7	10.3	-3,005
Edmonton	38.8	61.2	29.1	70.9	55.8	44.2	+34,975
Halifax	50.2	49.8	33.0	67.0	31.5	68.5	-4,755
Hamilton	55.9	44.1	79.2	20.8	73.1	27.0	-3,230
Kitchener	50.1	49.9	82.2	17.8	74.1	25.9	-1,585
London	48.4	51.6	82.5	17.5	72.8	27.2	-1,930
Montreal	49.7	50.3	78.0	22.0	44.6	55.4	-105,585
Oshawa	48.0	52.0	89.4	10.6	80.6	19.4	+9,300
Ottawa-Hull	48.7	51.3	52.9	47.1	51.7	48.3	-8,010
Quebec	55.6	44.4	91.4	8.6	83.3	16.7	-1,290
Regina	47.4	52.6	53.0	47.0	46.5	53.5	+1,780
Saint John	52.6	47.4	44.5	55.5	42.3	57.6	-2,725
Saskatoon	43.0	57.0	55.5	44.5	47.4	52.6	+7,770
St. Catharines-Niagara	59.3	40.7	77.1	22.9	72.1	27.9	-5,495
St. John's	60.3	39.7	56.0	44.0	39.1	60.9	-3,065
Sudbury	58.2	41.8	85.9	14.1	72.6	27.4	-12,805
Thunder Bay	56.6	43.4	71.5	28.5	47.0	53.0	-935
Toronto	50.0	50.0	58.9	41.1	63.1	36.9	-18,240
Trois-Rivières	56.0	44.0	96.8	3.2	94.3	5.7	-460
Vancouver	45.7	54.3	35.8	64.2	63.2	36.8	+18,825
Victoria	44.8	55.2	43.5	56.5	64.9	35.1	+8,725
Windsor	58.1	41.9	84.7	15.3	72.8	27.2	-12,290
Winnipeg	51.8	48.2	40.4	59.6	25.6	74.4	-22,975

*(From Different Province) - (To Different Province) = (Net Internal Migration, 1976-1981).

SOURCE: 1981 Census; catalogue 10-137, table 3. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

Reflecting partly the economic conditions of their regions, CMAs also vary in the destination of their own out-migrants. Those leaving Halifax, Montreal, Saint John, St. John's, and Winnipeg are more likely to leave their respective provinces.

Migration generally tends to take place within well-defined streams. One such important stream is inter-metropolitan migration. Table 16 indicates that in each province at least half of the in-migrants to metropolitan areas had moved from other CMAs in Canada. The larger metropolitan communities, such as Toronto and Vancouver, because of their larger number of job openings are especially attractive points of destination for such migration streams (Yum 1980).

Profile of Internal Migrants

One of the most important areas in migration research is the determination of the individual characteristics of internal migrants. These provide some insight into the motivations for mobility, as well as its possible social consequences. Although greater consideration of this is still needed in the Canadian context, several examples may be cited of the more important relationships which have emerged (Whyte 1967; Stone 1969, 1974; Amyot and George 1973; Information Canada 1975; Statistics Canada 1977).

1. *Age/Sex.* Canadian internal migration tends to manifest a pattern of age selectivity. For both males and females the greatest proportion of movers is found among those in the 25-29 age category. Mobility is most prevalent generally between the ages of 20 and 34, for both sexes. This

TABLE 16
Total In-migrants to CMA by Province,
CMA vs. Non-CMA Origin, 1981 (%)

Province	1976 Residence of CMA In-migrants	
	CMA	Non-CMA
Newfoundland	73.6	26.4
Nova Scotia	57.2	42.8
New Brunswick	63.6	36.4
Quebec	66.5	33.5
Ontario	73.6	26.4
Manitoba	64.6	35.4
Saskatchewan	63.4	36.6
Alberta	58.2	41.9
British Columbia	75.1	24.9

(Prince Edward Island is excluded because it has no CMA.)

SOURCE: 1981 Census; catalogue 92-907, p. 2-1f. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

reflects the influence of stage in the life cycle on mobility. During these years, "migrants are concentrated in the peak ages for labour force entry, for family formation and child-bearing, and in the early years of working life" (Stone 1969, 78). Their ability and need to migrate in search of adequate housing and employment is greater at this point than in subsequent years when the rate of mobility declines. There is a slight tendency also for long-distance moves (as measured by the proportion of migrants originating from another province) to become less pronounced with advancing age.

Males and females do not differ greatly in mobility status, though the point of destination may vary. Whereas rural males are more likely, if they move at all, to migrate to other rural areas, their female counterparts tend more frequently to choose urban areas. This pattern has contributed to the lower sex ratio of the Canadian urban population which we documented in the previous chapter. The limited employment opportunities for females in rural areas have encouraged greater out-migration among them than among males.

2. *Marital Status*. It appears that the married migrate more frequently than the single. This again may be a consequence of exposure to "movement-precipitating life-cycle changes" (Stone 1969, 79), such as the birth of children, which perhaps stimulates a search for a better job or more appropriate housing.

3. *Education*. Mobility rates vary positively with level of completed education. Those with at least some university education are more likely to be movers and migrants than are those with less education. This is true in most age groups, although it is less distinct in the youngest and oldest age categories. Several factors appear to contribute to this differential – including the fact that "those with higher education could better afford (than those with low education) the cost of effecting a residence change" (Stone 1969, 84). The better educated also move longer distances and more commonly between metropolitan areas. The location in these areas of employment opportunities which presume advanced training is an important influence on this type of stream.

4. *Mother Tongue*. Those with English as their mother tongue are more likely than the French to be mobile and to move longer distances. The language groups differ especially with respect to the proportion moving from one province to another. This may reflect existing language cultural barriers as well as socioeconomic differences between the groups (Porter 1965).

MIGRATION PATTERNS IN WEST-CENTRAL ALBERTA: AN ILLUSTRATION OF INTERNAL MIGRATION

That area of Alberta which is west of Edmonton has experienced major economic change since the 1950s (Wong 1979). The discovery of oil

and gas reserves, the development of a pulp mill, and the return to coal mining, have encouraged population growth and in-migration to local communities. At the same time the number of farms has declined, with the displaced farmers moving to local towns and villages.

Most of the migrants to communities in this region come from within Alberta. Those from outside the province locate in the larger centres of Hinton, Edson, and Jasper. The villages receive most of their in-migrants from the immediate vicinity, especially those retiring from farming.

The larger communities also differ from the villages in the age composition of their migrants. Hinton, Edson, and Jasper attract a greater proportion of those between 25 and 44, reflecting the demand for skilled workers. The villages, in contrast, are more commonly the recipients of the elderly (typically, again, retired farmers) and of those at a later stage of the family life cycle. Migrants to the larger centres are more frequently in professional and managerial occupations, and come because of job transfers. They give an economic reason as the main motive for moving, and are less likely to stay for a long period of time. In contrast, those coming to the villages more commonly mention locational (proximity to the area they are leaving) or environmental (e.g., proximity to nature) factors, and are likely to remain there permanently. Although many of the migrants have kin and friends living in their community of destination at the time of the move, these social ties do not form a major reason for the move.

We find in West-Central Alberta evidence of distinct streams of migration. Even at this non-metropolitan scale we are able to recognize the complexity of migration flows.

ENTRANCE AND THE UPROOTING THESIS

Reflecting a desire to obtain closer collaboration between sociology and anthropology, more than thirty years ago Ralph Beals (1951a, 5) pointed out the need to examine more fully not merely the structure of urban society but the process of urbanization as well – that is, “adaptation of men to urban life.” He suggested we view this process as one of acculturation. Contemporary research has sought to follow this lead, and to specify more clearly the dynamic implications of urbanization. In so doing, it has also been following the lines of study suggested by the classical literature on the city. Thomas and Znaniecki (1958 ed.), for example, in their careful exploration of the effects of the process of modernization on the Polish peasant, raised the significant issue of whether entrance to the urban system necessarily involves anomie and disorganization. On the basis of their work it appeared that to some extent it does.

Similarly, Park (1928, 54) proposed that such movement involves not only a change of residence, but also independence from traditional cultural restraints: "Disorganization as preliminary to reorganization of attitudes and conduct is almost invariably the lot of the newcomer to the city, and the discarding of the habitual, and often what has been to him the moral, is not infrequently accompanied by sharp mental conflict and sense of personal loss." The newcomer is a "marginal man," in a period of transition from involvement in a traditional sacred system to absorption into a more individualistic and secular urban order (Park 1928, 893). The sharp contrasts between rural and urban social systems drawn in the classical typological perspective heightened the expected degree of disorganization accompanying migration.

Criticisms of the Uprooting Thesis

Sufficient contemporary evidence (e.g., Blumberg and Bell 1959; Tilly and Brown 1967; Simic 1973; Safa 1971; Howton 1976; Jackson 1982) from varying contexts, however, suggests that patterns of social support not uncommonly accompany the process of entrance and facilitate adjustment to the urban system. The classical view that rural-urban migration necessarily entails a dramatic uprooting particularly of primary ties appears invalid.

To illustrate, Oscar Lewis (1952) examined the fate of those families who migrated from Tepoztlan to Mexico City. Consistent with his general perspective, a major goal was to demonstrate the inadequacies of the classical interpretation of urbanization and the extent to which its generalizations are culture-bound.

Lewis found little among these Mexican peasants to suggest family disorganization as a consequence of movement to the city. The extended family residential unit became more pronounced in response to the economic constraints of the city. Divorce was uncommon and parental authority remained strong. Ties to kin in the rural village did not weaken, contrary to the classical assumption. Lack of disorganization was also evident with regard to religious participation; in response to pressures within the urban environment, involvement in Roman Catholicism actually deepened.

Hence, Lewis (1952, 39-41; see also Lewis 1969) concluded "that urbanization is not a simple, unitary, universally similar process, but that it assumes different forms and meanings, depending upon the prevailing historic, economic, social, and cultural conditions. Generalizations concerning urbanization must take these conditions into consideration." Entrance to the urban system need not involve disorganization, culture shock, and anomie. Lewis proposed several explanations for why at least in this case migration cannot be conceptualized as a disorganizing transplantation process. These included the cultural homogeneity of Mexico City, its relatively low level of industrialization, and the fact that Tepoztlan was both culturally and geographically close to this urban centre.

Not infrequently we find that rural migrants may have relatives and friends already established in the city and to whom they turn for help during the initial stages of residence (Browning and Freindt 1971). Such social support indeed may decrease reliance on the formal institutions of assistance in the urban community (Matthiasson 1974, 268). Primary relationships also provide rural migrants with avenues for at least partial absorption into the urban occupational structure; specific information about possible jobs as well as appropriate attitudes and values are communicated to migrants through such networks (Young and Young 1966).

Bruner's study of Toba Batak migrants illustrates the importance of these bonds. They develop new types of clan associations in Medan, the second largest city in Indonesia, which are not found in their rural homeland of North Sumatra. Creative use of the traditional principle of common descent constructs a form of organized aid which facilitates the process of adjustment: "Members assist one another in time of misfortune, but their primary function is to take responsibility for the organization of life-crisis rites that are performed on such occasions as a birth, wedding, a house construction, or funeral" (Bruner 1970, 130). Membership is restricted to those who can claim a common clan ancestor. This represents an attempt to establish a social group, more extensive than the immediate set of closest relatives, but with many of the same functions. Entrance in this case not only does not destroy extended kin relations, but stimulates their recombination.

Perhaps the greatest challenge to the classical typological interpretation of the consequences of urbanization has come from research by social anthropologists concerned with the fate of tribalism among migrants to the rapidly expanding centres of Africa since World War II (e.g., Mitchell 1956; Epstein 1958; Banton 1957, 1965; Southall 1961; Gluckman 1961; Kuper 1965; Little 1965; Epstein 1967). While the typological paradigm would have predicted the decline of tribal allegiances with entrance to the urban system, the actual situation appears to be far more complex.

For example, Mitchell (1956) discovered among the migrants to Northern Rhodesia's mining towns that although tribalism had ceased to represent a corporate social system, as it had in the hinterland, it was still an important basis for establishing social relations. Similarly, Epstein (1958) showed how in Luanshya, a mining town in the copper belt, tribalism as a principle of interaction and control could be operative in one sphere, such as in the native courts, but absent in another - for example, in the political realm. A process of "situational selection" resulted, in which tribal patterns of association were more dominant in some areas of urban social life than in others, where class was perhaps of greater reliance. Both Mitchell and Epstein suggested on a more general level how "folk" patterns persist within the urban system.

Mayer (1961) distinguishes between two levels of urbanization: the "structural," or the development of urban-rooted social networks, and the "cultural," or modification in underlying beliefs and values. These changes are

not necessarily correlated with "stabilization" or a prolonged period of residence in an urban community (see also Mitchell 1969b). Migrants can socially and culturally "encapsulate" themselves, minimizing the need for change in their ways of life. This is precisely what occurred among the Red Xhosa migrants in East London, South Africa. As a result of the conservatism of their culture and the belief in the superiority of their tribal institutions, they extended their home community as much as possible into the urban context. In the areas outside work where choice was greatest, they constructed all-Red social networks which then served to maintain their commitment to the traditional way of life.

Not only is "detribalization" (i.e., loss of tribal allegiance) not a necessary correlate of entrance to the urban system, but the opposite process of "re-tribalization" (i.e., the strengthening of ethnic tribal ties) may indeed occur, as Cohen (1969) found among the Hausa in Ibadan, Nigeria. Customs and ethnic identities may be exploited by migrants as bases for interest group formations in struggles for power and economic gain within the wider community. In such situations "... men emphasize their ethnic identity and separateness and adjust within the contemporary setting, in terms of their endoculture" (Cohen 1969, 194). This occurs not only in many African urban centres, but in other parts of the world as well (Hannerz 1974).

In short, the uprooting thesis – derived from classical urban theory – may apply to specific groups with respect to how they experience urbanization. Nevertheless, contemporary research suggests that it may be an over-generalized interpretation of the consequences of the entrance process. To understand the complexity of this process, it is necessary to investigate an extensive set of variables (Germani 1965; Shannon and Shannon 1968; Lee 1969; Pahl 1970).

PREREQUISITE FOCI FOR THE STUDY OF ENTRANCE

Let us briefly review these variables, or what we may term, in rather cumbersome fashion, "prerequisite foci for the study of entrance."

Community of Origin

The social structure and cultural order of the community from which the migrants originate must be examined (Thomas and Znaniecki 1958 ed.; Kiser 1967 ed.). These determine, to some extent, the initial impetus of migration and the degree to which entrants are prepared for the specific demands encountered. Earlier in this chapter we noted the relatively high rates of out-migration in the Atlantic provinces during the 1966–1971 period. This has particularly characterized communities having dwindling resource economies (Abramson 1968a). The slow rate of expansion of em-

ployment opportunities coupled with the low average earnings possible in these areas stimulated high rates of rural-urban migration as well as movement to other parts of Canada. The inability of many of these migrants to obtain higher levels of education and skill within their community of origin, however, was a disadvantage in achieving any significant economic improvement after the move. In addition, the rural work environment offered psychic satisfactions which were difficult to replace in the urban context (Abramson 1968a; Matthews 1976; Clark 1978).

Community of Destination

It is likewise necessary to consider the social and cultural systems of the urban centre to which entrance is effected. The assimilation process will be greatly influenced by how different these are from those in the community of origin. Too often attention has been given simply to individual characteristics of the migrants – their educational and occupational levels, for example – without adequate focus on the organization of the community of destination (Shannon and Shannon 1968, 68). Its stratification system, economic structure, and patterns of ethnic segregation may have a profound effect on the extent to which contact is possible with native residents, and the degree to which participation in its institutions can occur. For example, migrants in Northeastern New Brunswick move to urban centres physically and culturally not very distant from their rural communities of origin (Clark 1978). At these points of destination they experience little improvement in their housing or in employment opportunities, reflecting the low level of economic growth generally in the region's urban areas. The structure of opportunities in such communities, in short, is restricted regardless of migrants' skills, ambitions, or experience.

Characteristics of Migrants

If the structure of the community of destination establishes whatever opportunities for assimilation are available, the extent to which they can actually be used depends in part on the individual characteristics of the migrants. Age, sex, language, occupation, education, and group membership are all important.

We can illustrate this in the case of the Mennonites (Schellenberg 1968). When they first arrived in Southern Manitoba during the late 1800s, they sought tracts of land where they could continue their agrarian way of life, sustaining their cultural distinctiveness. Increasingly in more recent decades there has been a significant out-migration of Mennonites from the rural areas to the province's urban centres. In 1951 about one-fifth of Manitoba's total Mennonite population was urban; ten years later this had increased to more than one-third. As the largest city in the province, Winnipeg has been

an important centre of destination for this migration stream. The interesting question here is the extent to which the Mennonites have been able to preserve their heritage within their new urban context. One research study (Schellenberg 1968) has shown that "proneness to acculturation" is greater among younger Mennonites and among those who have lived in Winnipeg for a long time. In addition, with respect to this specific group, receptivity to change appears greater among those who belong to the General Conference Mennonites than among those who are members of the Mennonite Brethren. The former group was founded in the United States and persons of different national origins are affiliated with it. In contrast, the Mennonite Brethren are predominantly Russian. Such homogeneity may have produced stronger group sanctions against modification of traditional norms. Group membership, in this case, can be seen as an individual characteristic which influences the migrant's relationship to the culture of the wider community.

Motivations to Migration

Frequently in the past, the process of migration has been interpreted as a function "of the interplay and balance of expulsive forces existing in the countryside and of attractive forces operating in the city" (Germani 1965, 159) – in short, the "push-pull" phenomenon. This has increasingly been seen as an oversimplification (Petersen 1958). It presents too rationalistic a picture of the migration decision, and ignores the social and normative context. Clark's (1978) study of Northeastern New Brunswick showed that the poorer a community, the *less* likely are its residents to leave: "... welfare and other mechanisms had served to reduce the forces compelling out-migration to the point where the ties of community could act as an almost decisive counterforce in discouraging such an out-migration" (Clark 1978, 53-54). Despite economic deprivation, residents live in a rent-free community, receive at least some unemployment insurance and welfare payments, and feel some attachment to their daily routines; this inhibits rates of departure.

We must analyze the process of migration at three distinct levels.

1. *Objective level.* Consideration should certainly be given to push-pull factors – for example, economic decline in the community of origin and the presence of employment opportunities in the centre of destination. Attention should focus on the level of contact between these communities as this will influence the likelihood of migration as well as its direction. McCormack (1968, 4) found among a small sample of migrants from Nova Scotia and Newfoundland a readiness to move to Toronto partly because "their destination was not totally unfamiliar to them. At least one member of the family and often both husband and wife had been to Toronto in the past."

2. *Normative level.* Nevertheless, the effects of these "objective" factors are not automatic, as we have seen above. An important intervening variable is the normative system. It is this which determines how situations of

economic disparities in communities will be perceived, whether migration is seen as permissible to enhance life chances, and which categories of people are prohibited from moving. Those who leave the rural communities of Northeastern New Brunswick are economically not very successful. Migration is perceived thus by remaining groups of residents as not necessarily offering a viable alternative to conditions at home. For some at least it is defined as a less legitimate channel for advancement, hence discouraging movement out of the community. In other cases readiness to migrate may be strongest among young adults who are expected by the community to explore job opportunities; migration here is almost a "rite of passage" to full adulthood (Abramson 1968a; Matthews 1976).

3. *Psychosocial level.* Finally, it is necessary to consider the actual "attitudes and expectations of concrete individuals" (Germani 1965, 162). These may not coincide exactly with the ideal pattern represented in the normative system. Migration may be strongly influenced by how individuals redefine this ideal pattern. Contrary to the typical characteristics of out-migrants, for example, McCormack (1968, 3) found among her sample of Maritimers living in Toronto a widow who, despite attachments to home, moved there to live with her son after his wife deserted him.

One result of the operation of factors at these three levels is the decision to migrate. There are several aspects of this decision which may have significance for the consequences of the entrance process (Germani 1965, 172-73).

(a) *Manifest motives* - that is, the overt reasons given for migration (for example, unemployment or desire to be near kin).

(b) *Intentions regarding length of residence in the community of destination* - whether the move is seen only as a temporary departure to obtain sufficient economic resources to return home permanently, or as one stage in the process of migration to a more distant city. To illustrate, with the assistance of Canada Manpower and other agencies a number of young rural migrants are brought to Winnipeg and Brandon for educational training programs (Monu 1969). Although they move to these centres for economic reasons, they do not regard themselves as "real" migrants. Reinforcing this perceived temporary character of their move is the strong attachment they still feel to their rural communities. Few stay in the city for the entire week, returning home on weekends. Their continued commitment to rural living is shown in their lack of interest in urban affairs and organizations. Their conception of themselves as only temporary residents of the city thus inhibits full integration into the urban social system. Similarly, among rural migrants to Halifax those of lower status define their move as a short-term and temporary economic necessity (Storrie 1968). Their commitment to the rural social system is strengthened by frequent visits home and through restricting their contacts in the city to others with a similar orientation. White-collar, higher-status migrants, in contrast, define mobility as a means for status enhancement, and interpret their entrance to the urban system as a

long-term commitment in which full involvement in city-based organizations is to be pursued. The central point of these two examples is obvious, but nonetheless fundamental: we must explore the meaning and definition of migration held by those who move to the city if we are to understand their subsequent behaviour (Simic 1973).

(c) *The kind of decision made* – that is, the extent to which it is the result of careful and deliberate planning or of emotional reactions to particular events. This may influence length of tenure in the city and strategies of adjustment.

Pattern of Migration

An additional area of research, which Thomas and Znaniecki's study showed to be important, is the manner in which entrance is effected. We must examine the channels or "auspices" of migration, defined as

... the social structures which establish relationships between the migrant and the receiving community before he moves. We may say that an individual migrates under the auspices of kinship when his principal connections with the city of destination are through kinsmen, even if he comes desperately seeking a job. Likewise, we may say that he migrates under the auspices of work when the labor market of a particular firm provides the main organized relationship to the new community, even if he also has kinfolk there. Of course, he may migrate under several auspices at once, or under none at all (Tilly and Brown 1967, 142).

"Chain-migration" is an illustration of this. Those migrating to a particular city in turn encourage and arrange for relocation of kin and friends (MacDonald and MacDonald 1964). Maritimers moving to Toronto are attracted there because relatives can provide shelter, information about the city, and social support (McCormack 1968; Abramson 1968).

Process of Entrance

Finally, consideration must be given to what precisely is involved in the process of entrance itself (Germani 1965; Eisenstadt 1952).

1. *Personal adjustment* – the individual's adjustment to the role he performs in the community, the amount of internal stress he feels, and the extent of positive identification with the new social order. For example, among rural migrants to Winnipeg and Brandon, contrary to what might be predicted, those with higher levels of schooling tend to be less well adapted (Monu 1969). The better educated are less satisfied with urban life. This might reflect a process of "status dislocation": "It could be that the better educated have higher expectations of city life than the less educated and the unfulfillment of these high expectations has resulted in low adjustment" (Monu 1969, 62).

2. *Institutional integration or social participation* – the extent of involvement in different institutions and social networks in the urban system. Among the rural migrants to Halifax, discussed briefly above, those of higher status showed stronger integration into the urban social system by their severance of rural-based friendships and the cultivation of new relationships in the city (Storrie 1968). Also important here, of course, is the level of acceptance by resident groups, and the degree of contact maintained with the community of origin. We saw that the low-status migrants to Halifax continued to maintain strong social bonds to rural intimates.

Not infrequently migrants develop allegiances to organizations and groups that readily respond to their particular needs. For example, during the early decades of this century Alberta experienced a marked expansion in membership of a variety of fundamentalist sects and cults (Mann 1955). These found a ready appeal among those flocking to Alberta's largest cities.

In the cities, the sects assisted in the adjustment of people of rural background to an urban environment. Their unsophisticated outlook, puritan mores, simple teachings, and friendly informal services made them readily acceptable to persons who had lived a good part of their lives on farms and then moved to the City. In particular, groups like the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, the Apostolic Church of Pentecost, and the Church of God assisted in the urban assimilation of the many migrants who poured into Calgary and Edmonton during the twenties and forties (Mann 1965, 363).

The sects, unlike the established churches, supported traditional rural values and offered the migrants an opportunity to participate in relatively close-knit communities within the cities. The potential strains which accompanied that migration were thereby reduced.

3. *Acculturation* – this is "the process (and the degree) of acquisition and learning by the migrant of urban ways of behaviour (including roles, habits, attitudes, values, knowledge)" (Germani 1965, 165). Not all cultural patterns are acquired at the same time. Technical skills may be more easily grasped than new patterns of political organization.

There may not be complete correspondence between these levels at any one point in time. Absorption in the economic sphere may occur, but re-socialization in terms of dominant values may be strongly retarded, as we shall later see, through residential segregation of the migrant group.

Measurement of the precise level of assimilation among any group of migrants not uncommonly presents problems: "Sociologists usually develop an instrument based on items selected from the larger culture, with the goal of discerning behavioral or attitudinal modification in the migrant as a consequence of contact with the larger culture" (Shannon and Shannon 1968, 55). These items – such as higher levels of education, occupation, and various other cultural patterns – tend at times to be far removed from the migrants' previous way of life. As a result, any assimilation which does occur tends to be ignored because it does not dramatically conform with the values of the dominant society.

There are two additional points regarding the study of entrance to the urban system which should be noted. First, it is critical that a dynamic perspective be adopted. For a full understanding of the assimilation process, we need to focus on more than the characteristics of migrants, observed sequentially, at different stages in this process (Shannon and Shannon 1968, 55). Attention must be given both to the precise means through which adjustment, participation, and acculturation occur, and to the nature of those conditions which discourage integration.

Second, when we examine rural-urban migration, we frequently think in terms of a one-directional adjustment process: the migrant "enters" the pre-existing system. We allow the perspective we are assuming – the migrant's – to become confused with the nature of the whole social reality. As a result, we oversimplify this entire process. The *urban system itself* is frequently profoundly influenced by migration. Abu-Lughod (1961, 23) observed this in Cairo, a city in which more than one-third of the residents are migrants.

To speak about one-way assimilation to a stable urban culture when so large a minority comes equipped with needs and customs of rural origin is folly. Numbers alone should alert us to the probability that migrants are shaping the culture of the city as much as they are adjusting to it.

As we saw earlier with respect to migration patterns, a parallel situation has existed in Canada's larger cities. Toronto, as we shall see in the next chapter, has in recent decades attracted numerous immigrants. As has occurred in Cairo, they have left a profound mark on the community. In summary, urban social organization must be conceived of as dynamic. Migration, whether of the internal or international variety, is frequently one important factor in determining the shape and direction of its evolution.

NATIVE INDIAN URBANIZATION

One significant pattern of mobility within Canada has been the migration of native Indians from the reserves and rural communities to a variety of urban centres. By 1972 more than one out of every three Indians (36.3%) in Canada was living off the reserve (Stanbury 1975; table 2-1, p. 300). Between 1966 and 1976 the proportion of *registered* Indians residing on reserves declined (table 17).

Almost half the off-reserve population is between the ages of 15 and 44. Many of these moved to urban centres. More than one-third of Canada's native people live in urban areas (figure 4). One-fifth are located in cities with populations greater than 100,000 (table 18). Comparing particular groups, whereas the vast majority of non-status Indians and Metis live in urban centres, the Inuit and status Indians are still more commonly found in rural non-farm areas. Similarly, those whose mother tongue is Ojibway are twice as likely to live in urban areas as are those in the Inuktituk language group.

TABLE 17

**Percentage Distribution of Registered Indian Population
Residing on Reserve and Off Reserve, 1966-1976**

Year	On Reserve	Off Reserve
1966	84.1	15.9
1971	76.6	23.4
1972	75.5	24.3
1973	74.9	25.1
1974	73.2	26.8
1975	72.8	27.2
1976	72.7	27.4

SOURCE: Siggner 1979; tables 7 and 8, pp. 15-16. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

The more than 500 Indian bands in Canada vary in the extent to which they are able to retain their members on the reserve. For example, bands on the Prairies "are more communal in orientation, while those outside the Prairie provinces are more individualistic [i.e., allow for greater individual control of land and other assets]. ... One expects communal (or Prairie) bands to have lower levels of off-reserve residence - and indeed this is the case" (Gerber 1984, 154). Their communal values discourage migration as a channel for individual advancement. Bands located far from major urban centres also are less likely to have their members (who are less well prepared for urban-industrial life) migrate off the reserve (see also Price 1979).

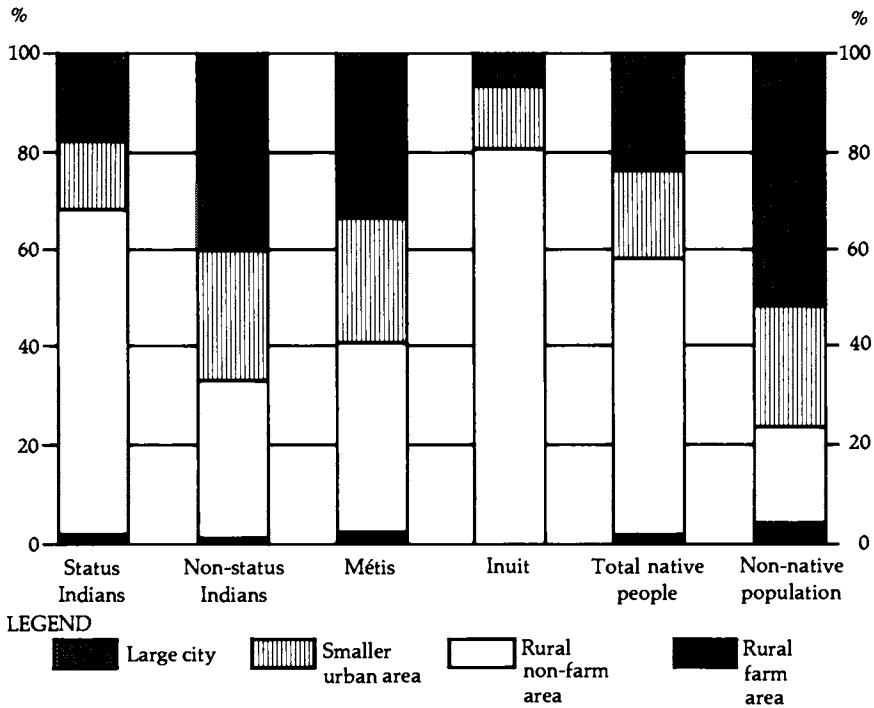
Not all sections of the country have experienced Indian urbanization to the same extent. Only a very small proportion of Canada's total native population live in the Atlantic provinces. In contrast, 40 percent are in the Prairies.

Reflecting the declining rate of growth of the urban population in the wider society, we should note that in more recent years there has been likewise a slowing down in the rate of increase of the off-reserve Indian population (Siggner 1979). Poor economic conditions in cities appear to have stimulated some movement back to the reserves and discouraged out-migration from these areas.

Indian urbanization has been the object of much recent attention not only here in Canada (e.g., Kerri 1978; Price 1979; Krotz 1980) but in the United States as well, where a similar pattern has been occurring (Graves 1966; Ablon 1964; Graves and Van Arsdale 1966; Snyder 1971; Garbarino 1971; Hodge 1971). On a more general level, it has become clearly recognized that there are important theoretical benefits to be gained from the study of the entrance process among this group of migrants: "The reactions of Indians to urbanization in Canada could indicate the real dimensions of the problems of adaptation by traditional people in complex city environment" (Nagler 1970, 93).

FIGURE 4

Percentage Distribution by Urban Size Group, Rural Non-farm and Rural Farm of Native People and of the Non-native Population, Canada, 1981



SOURCE: *Canada's Native People* (Ottawa: Statistic Canada, 1984). Reproduced by permission of the Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Urban Entrance

Many Indians may first live off the reserve at a young age in order to attend school. Indian students in the past came specifically to Winnipeg, for example, to take advantage of the variety of courses offered there (Schwartz 1973). They were housed in private homes for a time before returning to the reserve. However, it is when they reach at least the age of 16 that Indians are likely to migrate to urban centres on a more sustained basis. Economic necessity is the major reason for movement off the reserve. The search for employment is particularly critical: approximately one-third of the Indian migrants to Winnipeg's inner city came in search of employment (table 19). This is especially true for young men (Stanbury 1975, 27). Native females are "more likely to cite problems on the reserve or in their previous home community and family ties in the city as reasons underlying migration to the city" (Clatworthy 1980, 19). We must recognize Indian urban migration also as something of a life-cycle process (Denton 1972). That is, young adults are

TABLE 18
Native Peoples, Urban and Rural Distribution, 1981 (%)

	%	% of Urban Native Population (150,675)
Urban	36.4	
500,000 and over	15.7	43.1
100,000-499,999	4.5	12.3
30,000-99,999	4.2	11.5
10,000-29,999	4.2	11.5
5,000-9,999	2.0	5.4
2,500-4,999	2.6	7.1
1,000-2,499	3.3	9.0
Rural	63.6	
Non-farm	61.5	
Farm	2.1	

SOURCE: 1981 Census; catalogue 92-911, table 2. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

TABLE 19
**Reasons for Migration to Winnipeg Inner City,
 Native Household Heads, 1979 (%)**

Reason for Migration	Status Indians	Métis/ Non- status	Recent Native Migrants	Native Males	Native Females
Employment	32.9	30.0	36.9	40.0	20.9
Education	9.4	10.1	8.5	9.7	10.0
Medical	6.8	7.2	10.5	8.1	5.8
Housing	6.6	6.5	5.8	7.2	5.7
Family	21.5	18.5	14.6	16.8	23.2
Problems at old home	15.0	16.8	15.4	9.6	23.7
Other	7.9	10.8	8.3	8.6	10.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Extracted from Clatworthy 1980; table 5, p. 21.

expected and encouraged to leave home for a time in order to find work and manifest their independence. Many do not intend to remain permanently in the urban centre (Maunula 1973); at a later age they foresee their return to the reserve as a normal and desirable process. Indeed, data on B.C.'s Indians suggest that economic success off the reserve does not necessarily lessen the probability of this return migration (Stanbury 1975, 43). The reserve is particularly attractive as a place in which to retire, provided of course adequate housing is available.

Conditions of Life in Urban Areas

Surveys of their conditions of life in both large (Boek and Boek 1959; Stanbury 1975) and small (Davis 1965; Stymeist 1975) urban centres have repeatedly documented the marginal position of many Indians.

Winnipeg's population in 1980, for example, included about 20,000 natives or 20 percent of the city's population (Clatworthy 1980, 1982, 1983). Most of these live in the inner-city, and are under the age of forty-five. Natives commonly experience unemployment, low incomes, and little upward occupational mobility. They change residences within the city quite frequently, partly in response to discriminatory rental practices.

Native households include a much higher proportion of single-parent families than do non-natives. These single-parent families are especially disadvantaged economically.

Many of Winnipeg's natives do intend to remain permanently in the city. Yet the evidence suggests that the extent to which they can find stable employment there will not improve over time (Clatworthy 1982). This has placed an increased burden on local social services.

To further illustrate the patterns of inequality that exist, we should compare the level of employment between native people and the non-native population (figure 5). Although natives living in rural areas are especially disadvantaged, their urban counterparts, both male and female, are more likely to be unemployed than non-native residents. Similarly, although the average incomes of the Métis, of the non-status, and of the off-reserve status Indians are higher than that found among those living on the reserve, the former are far below the non-native average income (table 20).

TABLE 20
Average 1980 Income of Native People* and of the
Non-native Population, * Canada, 1981

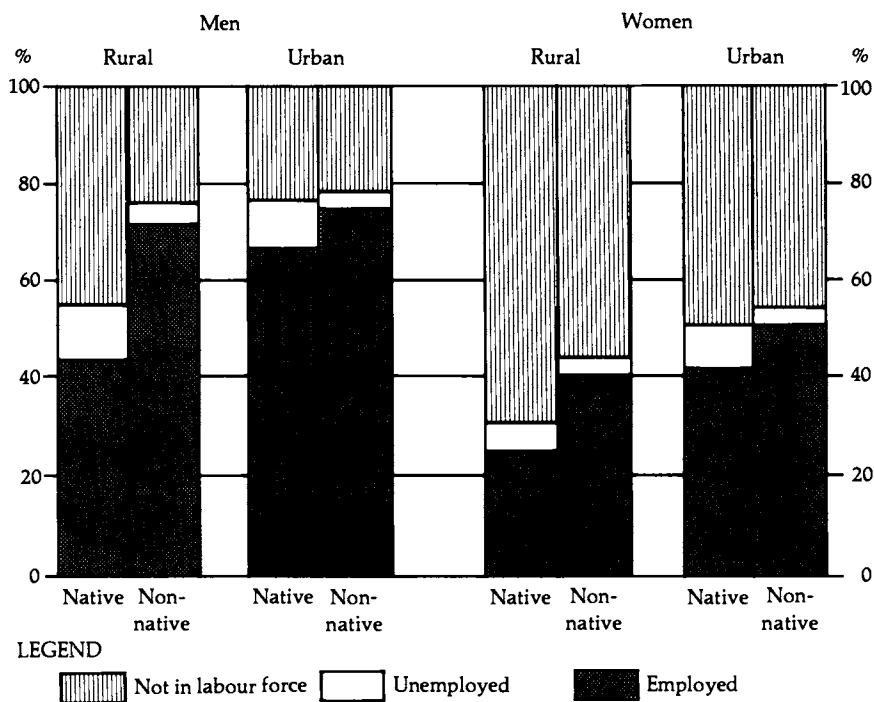
	Status (on reserve)	Status (off reserve)	Non- status	Métis	Inuit	Total native people	Non- native population
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Total	7,100	8,800	9,900	9,500	8,300	8,600	13,100
Male	8,300	11,500	12,800	12,200	10,100	10,700	17,000
Female	5,300	6,300	6,700	6,400	5,700	6,100	8,400

*Population 15 years and over.

SOURCE: *Canada's Native People* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1984). Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

FIGURE 5

Percentage Distribution by Labour Force Activity of Native People* and of the Non-native Population,* Rural and Urban Areas, by Sex, Canada, 1981



* Population 15 years and over.

SOURCE: *Canada's Native People* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1984). Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

Patterns of Urban Adjustment

There are several aspects of Indian urbanization which we should emphasize if we wish to fully understand the process of entrance among this group of internal migrants.

1. As suggested earlier, Indians frequently move between city and reserve (termed "hyper-mobility") (Siggner 1979; Krotz 1980; Clatworthy 1980). This influences the extent to which they adapt permanently to city life. Atwell (1969) found, for example, that Indians came to Calgary in search of employment and education. While kinship ties did not exercise a predominant influence on migration to the city, they were significant in the movement back to the reserve. These migrants maintained close contact with

relatives who were still residing in the community of origin. Their return migration was a response not only to dissatisfaction with aspects of urban life, such as its perceived impersonality, but reflected continued involvement in the rural social system. In addition, many of these Indians wished to preserve their position on the reserve and sustain the rights and privileges associated with their legal status as settlers there, in anticipation of possible future gains: "One of these days something big is going to happen on or to the reserves and everyone wants to share in it" (Atwell 1969, 34). Permanent separation from this refuge was too great a risk. Most significantly, this "pull" affected even those who had attained what appeared objectively to be a secure economic position. Urban adjustment is not a simple function of better employment opportunities. Indian return migration cannot be interpreted simply as a reflection of their "failure" in white society. Rather, it is a manifestation of their continued cultural and social attachments to the reserve. Those who lack these bonds (perhaps because of removal from the reserve permanently at a very young age) or who sever them through inter-marriage, for example, with non-Indians, are less likely to return (Denton 1972).

2. The level of economic success in urban society does not in itself influence the extent to which Indian culture identity is eroded. There is little evidence, for example, in the British Columbia survey "that Indians living in urban centres must 'go white' in order to be economically and socially successful. Certain non-traditional patterns of behaviour must be adopted, but these need not result in the loss of cultural identity" (Stanbury 1975, 255). Indeed, readership of Indian newspapers and membership in Indian organizations tend to be more pronounced among the better-educated.

3. The difficulties Indians face in adjusting to the urban system may partly be due to the divergence between their value system and that found in the city (Nagler 1970; Kerri 1978). High emphasis on the accumulation of wealth and savings, subordination to a more regimented routine, and separation of work from other spheres of life may all be alien to the traditions of the reserve community. This may engender a sense of estrangement among newly arrived Indian migrants, reinforced as well by the apparent inappropriateness in the urban setting of customary patterns of mutual aid, creating a cultural gap. Proximity of the community of origin to urban areas partly defines this gap. Those Indians who migrate from reserves near urban centres may be more likely to value and attain higher levels of education, and thus enter skilled or white-collar occupations, than those coming from more remote communities. Proximity results in exposure to urban influences, which allows for greater familiarity with non-traditional cultural patterns (Gerber 1984).

4. Despite these general patterns it is critical that we recognize the existence of different types of urban Indians, whose relations to the city may diverge sharply:

The early reports on Indians in the cities seemed to find a single urban way of life for Indians. Today, it is not only useless but absurd to talk about "the urban Indian" in the singular. The adjustment patterns, recreation behaviour, employment, and education expectations vary as much for people classified as Indians as similar expectations vary for the general population moving from nonurban to urban life (Garbarino 1971, 171-72).

In Saskatoon, for example, we can distinguish three classes of Indians: the "affluent" (a small group who hold influential positions in the welfare bureaucracy), the "welfare" (the rapidly growing indigent sector who concentrate on skid row and are significantly estranged from the "urban value system as a whole"), and the "anomic" (marginal men integrated into neither the white social structure nor the native Indian culture) (Dosman 1972). Similarly, in Toronto, as table 21 summarizes, there are several types of Indians, distinguished according to class, commitment socially and culturally to urban residence, and strength of ties to the reserve. The exact proportions of urban Indians falling into each of these categories fluctuate over time. Such typologies, however, do serve to remind us of the need to specify carefully the particular groups to which any generalizations about Indian urbanization are applicable. Our earlier discussion, for example, of return migration may be less relevant to the "affluent" or "white-collar" groups than to other categories, although even here, as we noted above, we must avoid stereotypical assumptions.

Indian-White Relationships

One important element in Indian urban adjustment is their relationship with the larger white community. Discrimination against Indians tends to be greater in towns and small cities where they may be more visible (Price 1975,

TABLE 21
Types of Indian Residents in Toronto

-
- (1) White-collar group;
 - (2) Blue-collar group - subdivided according to whether they viewed their employment as permanent (the "Committed") or not (the "Uncommitted");
 - (3) Transitionals - who had not yet attained permanent urban residence (at least two years), including students, the unskilled, and those who return to the reserve because of cultural estrangement;
 - (4) Urban users - who only temporarily enter the urban community to make use of its facilities (those coming for supplies, health, recreation, seasonal work to support their families, and the short-term inhabitants of skid row);
 - (5) Vagabonds - who attempt to find work during the winter in the city, but have no permanent connections with the reserve and do not support families located there.
-

Adapted from Nagler 1970.

44). For example, in Northwestern Ontario the residents of Crow Lake, regardless of their own ethnic affiliations, are all united in their opposition to the Indians (Stymeist 1975). The natives are discouraged from living and working in the community; many must remain on the nearby reserve as a result. They come to town to shop (but only in certain stores designated specifically for them) and to obtain necessary services from the Indian Affairs Department and the Zone Hospital (which together employ many of the townspeople). The town's economy depends on the continued need of the local Indian population for these welfare services. In general, open discrimination is less pronounced than informal patterns of social distance; social bonds rarely traverse the cleavage between natives and whites.

Regardless of type of community, urban Indians frequently perceive their ethnicity as a stigma in the white world, and feel that "the social category of 'Indian' is a discrediting one among whites" (Denton 1975, 65). To offset this stigma a variety of "impression management strategies" are adopted by the native migrants. For example, they may encapsulate themselves in all-Indian social networks, avoiding all unnecessary contact with whites and presenting favourable Indian stereotypes in situations where such encounters do occur. This is especially the case among younger migrants. Others may seek to suppress their Indian identity or deny directly the validity of unfavourable stereotypes (Denton 1975). Whatever strategy is adopted, the extent to which urban Indians can succeed in the process of "deviance disavowal" may influence how well they adjust psychologically and socially to residence in the city.

Formation of Indian Ethnic Institutions

With the rapid growth of the native Indian population in Canada's urban areas has come the gradual development of Indian ethnic institutions. These include native organizations, clubs, social centres, and churches (Krotz 1980; Price 1975, 1979).

The first set of institutions that cater specifically to the needs of Indian migrants in the city are the bars. These are frequently tied closely to the skid row subcommunity which offers the Indian an urban milieu without middle-class restrictions – a shelter from the discrimination of the wider society (Brody 1971). During the next stage of Indian ethnic institutionalization, the importance of these bars declines because "(1) other institutions take over the social and educational functions for most new migrants, (2) centres and networks take on the function of receiving new-comers, (3) people move away from the transient skid row area to more stable homes, and (4) people more often drink in their homes and at private parties" (Price 1975). As the Indian population of a city increases, they evolve more comprehensive kinship and friendship networks and establish their own centres. With the help and direction of more acculturated natives, a greater array of ethnic institu-

tions, including clubs, churches, and political groups, subsequently emerges. This is especially true in cities such as Toronto which have a relatively larger Indian population than places such as Edmonton, where the process of Indian institutionalization is at an earlier stage (Price 1975, 1979). The creation of this urban-based ethnic culture may help counter unfavourable stigma, strengthen Indian identity, and ease the process of entrance for further groups of migrants.

SUMMARY

1. During the present century Canadian internal migration has shown important shifts across regions and provinces, partly in response to the shifting locations of areas offering greater economic opportunities. In more recent years, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia have experienced net inflows of migrants.

2. Mobility between urban centres has replaced rural-urban migration as the dominant internal migration stream.

3. Mirroring their rapid growth, Calgary and Edmonton experienced the largest net migration between 1976 and 1981 of all metropolitan areas. They also had the largest proportion of in-migrants from outside the province.

4. Inter-metropolitan mobility has emerged as an important migration stream.

5. The profile of internal migrants reveals substantial variations by individual characteristics. Mobility is most prevalent generally among both sexes between the ages of 20 and 34; the life-cycle stage influences mobility. The married migrate more frequently than do those who are single. The better educated move longer distances and more commonly between metropolitan areas. And the French are less mobile than the English.

6. In interpreting the dynamic implications of urban entrance, the classical typological perspective proposed the uprooting thesis – that urban migration is accompanied by anomie and disorganization. Although this may apply to specific groups with respect to how they experience urbanization, contemporary research suggests that this may be an overgeneralized interpretation of the consequences of the entrance process. Patterns of social support assist migrants in adjusting; traditional ethnic allegiances are not necessarily eroded.

7. To understand fully the social and cultural aspects of the process of entrance to the urban system it is necessary to investigate an extensive set of variables or foci. These include the social structure and cultural order of the communities of origin and destination, the individual characteristics of migrants, motivations to migration analyzed on the objective, normative, and psycho-social levels, the actual decision to migrate, and the manner or pattern in which migration occurs. Finally, with respect to the process of entrance itself, we must explore the migrants' level of personal adjustment, in-

stitutional integration, and acculturation, recognizing that there may not be complete correspondence between these at any one time. In examining rural-urban migration we must avoid thinking in terms of a one-directional adjustment process; the urban system itself is frequently profoundly influenced by migration.

8. One notable example of urbanization in Canada is the migration of native Indians from the reserves to urban centres.

9. Economic necessity is the major reason for Indian migration, although it also may represent a life-cycle process: young adults are expected to leave in search of work. Many, however, do not intend to remain permanently in the urban centre. Social and cultural ties to the reserve may remain strong.

10. Urban Indians occupy a marginal economic position. In comparison to the wider population they are concentrated in less-skilled occupations, with lower educational and income levels and higher rates of unemployment.

11. With respect to their patterns of urban adjustment we should note that Indians frequently move between city and reserve. Return migration reflects continued involvement in the reserve social system, not necessarily lack of economic success in urban society. Nor does such success in itself weaken Indian cultural identity. The difficulties Indians face in urban adjustment may partly be due to the contrast between their cultural systems and that of the city.

12. As with other groups of migrants, we must recognize that there are different categories of urban Indians, whose relations to the city may diverge sharply.

13. Urban Indians frequently perceive their ethnicity as a stigma in the white world. The extent to which they can offset this through a process of deviance disavowal may influence how well they adjust to the city.

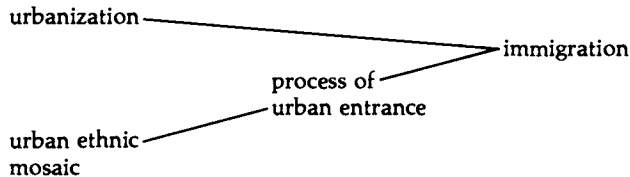
14. Indian ethnic institutions in the city develop through a series of stages. Initially, closely tied to skid row are the bars which meet some of the needs of Indian migrants. In time, as the Indian population of the city increases, they create more comprehensive kinship and friendship networks and a greater array of ethnic institutions. Such an urban-based ethnic culture may strengthen Indian identity and assist in the adjustment of new arrivals.

Chapter 6

Entrance to the Urban System: Canadian Immigration

Immigration has represented an important factor in Canada's economic development. It has reinforced the society's pattern of cultural pluralism. Most significantly, it has played a central role in Canada's emergence as an urban nation.

Urbanization, in the demographic sense, represents partly a process of population concentration. Contributing to this process, especially in the past several decades, has been the clustering of immigrants in Canada's major cities. Ethnicity thus emerges as an important dimension creating that heterogeneity found within the urban population:



In this chapter we shall selectively examine each of the above. Initially, we must sketch a brief demographic profile of who these immigrants are, and their distribution among cities. We can then proceed to a more detailed analysis of the factors influencing how immigrants adapt to the Canadian urban system.

It will be useful here to review several case studies (Toronto's Italians, Vancouver's Greeks, Calgary's Ugandan Asians, and Montreal's Chinese) that illustrate in concrete fashion the nature of urban adjustment. The manner in which this process occurs, in turn, affects the structure of Canada's cities. Immigration has produced our rich urban ethnic mosaic. In the final part of this chapter we shall briefly explore the variations in this mosaic across urban Canada, as well as the meaning and fate of ethnicity within the urban system.

IMMIGRATION: A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Immigration reached its highest peak during the first decade of the present century, a period in which the Prairies exercised their greatest attraction. And it was not until after the Second World War that immigration reached a comparable level.

During most of these years, "Canada maintained a much more flexible and open immigration policy than the United States" (Jenness 1974, 7). Since Confederation that policy has shown gradual evolution (Green Paper on Immigration and Population, 1974: Volume 2). Initially immigration was promoted for the purpose of land settlement and agricultural expansion. Those entering under these schemes, however, frequently settled in the urban areas. Subsequent changes in policy were formulated partly in response to pressures from varying sectors of the society, such as French Canada, English Canada, and labour (Petersen 1965; Hawkins 1974), and partly in an attempt to fill perceived manpower needs. In the post-World War II period the government sought to foster population growth by encouraging immigration. In addition, a new emphasis was placed on social and humanitarian criteria; "sponsored" immigration emerged as an important trend after 1947. Through the regulations of 1962 and 1967, Canada became "the first of the large federal receiving countries in international migration - the United States, Canada and Australia - to remove racial discrimination from its immigration policy" (Hawkins 1974, 144). Three categories were distinguished: (1) *independent immigrants* - those prospective applicants who expect to become self-supporting after the entry to Canada; (2) *sponsored immigrants* - close relatives of those already in Canada; and (3) *nominated immigrants* - a "hybrid category" including, for example, grandchildren, uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces of Canadian citizens or landed immigrants. Both the independent and nominated immigrants, though less so in the case of the latter, are subject to admission through a "points system" in which labour shortages and requisite skills are identified; an attempt is made to link the country's immigration and labour policies. Sponsored immigration, in contrast, permits, as its primary objective, the reunion of those with close familial relationships.

In the mid-1980s the federal government has sought to admit no more than approximately 90,000 immigrants per year. Existing unemployment in the country has discouraged permitting a greater volume of new arrivals. And illegal immigration remains a concern.

Settlement Patterns

The settlement patterns of the foreign-born by region varied during the present century. In the first decade the greatest increases were recorded in the Prairies and British Columbia. In subsequent years the rate of growth

declined considerably for the Prairie region in response to greater employment opportunities available in Central Canada. In 1981 more than half of Canada's foreign-born population resided in Ontario (table 22). Relatively few were located in the Atlantic Provinces which has not constituted a prevalent point of destination for immigrants throughout the century.

What is particularly interesting about the settlement patterns of Canadian immigrants is not merely this regional variation. Equally striking is the urban concentration of the foreign born (table 23). In 1981 more than four-fifths resided in urban areas. Almost two-thirds were clustered in the largest cities (those with 500,000+ population). Such a settlement pattern has contributed to the country's overall level of urbanization.

This pattern of concentration is even more evident if we examine the distribution of the foreign-born between the twenty-four census metropolitan areas (table 24). Toronto contains the largest proportion of Canada's immigrants (column 1, table 24). Indeed, one out of every two immigrants lives in either Toronto, Montreal, or Vancouver. More than one-third of Toronto's population are foreign born (column 2, table 24). In contrast, immigration is far less visible in places such as Chicoutimi-Jonquière, Trois-Rivières, Quebec, or St. John's.

Nor are immigrants attracted to the same metropolitan areas in similar proportions (columns 3-6, table 24). Vancouver has the highest proportion of Asians, Victoria, those born in the United Kingdom. More than half the immigrants living in Hamilton, Kitchener, Montreal, St. Catharines-Niagara, Sudbury, Thunder Bay, and Windsor are "Other European." Such streams contribute to the distinctive cultural mosaic of these communities.

TABLE 22
Population Born Outside Canada by Province, 1981

	% of Total Population Born Outside Canada
Newfoundland	0.3
Prince Edward Island	0.1
Nova Scotia	1.1
New Brunswick	0.7
Quebec	13.6
Ontario	52.4
Manitoba	3.8
Saskatchewan	2.2
Alberta	9.4
British Columbia	16.3
Yukon	0.1
Northwest Territories	0.1

SOURCE: 1981 Census; catalogue 92-913, table 1B. Reprinted by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

TABLE 23
Population Born Outside Canada, Urban and Rural Areas,
Canada, 1981

	% of Total Population Born Outside Canada	% of Urban Population Born Outside Canada
Urban	88.7	
500,000 and over	64.0	72.2
100,000-499,999	10.3	11.6
30,000-99,999	5.9	6.7
10,000-29,999	3.7	4.1
5,000-9,999	1.9	2.2
2,500-4,999	1.7	1.9
1,000-2,499	1.2	1.3
Rural	11.3	
Non-farm	9.2	
Farm	2.1	
Total	100.0	
	(3,867,160)	

SOURCE: 1981 Census; catalogue 92-913, table 2B. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

Immigrants choose to go to particular cities and not to others for a variety of reasons. The greater the average earnings in a city and the lower its unemployment rate, the more likely it is to be attractive to immigrants. Nevertheless, we must recognize the importance of other factors, such as the extent to which the city already contains a large proportion of foreign-born. Reid (1973) compared net new immigrant arrivals to six cities (Halifax, Quebec City, Montreal, Toronto, Edmonton, and Vancouver) over the period 1921-1961. He found that relating "immigrant supply" variations between cities only to average earnings differentials is not adequate. His data reveal that the presence of friends and relatives is actually the most important factor attracting an immigrant to work in a particular city. This reflects that increase in the number of sponsored immigrants which produces a pattern of "chain-migration." In short, "immigrants go not so much where the money is, but also go where other immigrants are" (Reid 1973, 47). The influence of other factors, such as a province's or city's promotional campaign, on variations in the destination of urban immigrants must also be recognized.

Period of Immigration and Origin

Reflecting the upswing in immigration to Canada that occurred in the 1950s and 1960s, more than a third of the urban immigrants arrived between 1955

TABLE 24
Metropolitan Distribution of Foreign Born, Canada, 1981 (%)

CMA	% of Total Population Born Outside Canada Col. 1	% of CMA Population Foreign Born Col. 2	% of Immigrants Born in:			
			U.S. Col. 3	U.K. Col. 4	Other European Col. 5	Asia Col. 6
Calgary	3.2	21.2	9.1	24.7	33.9	20.5
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	0.03	0.9	17.2	4.2	46.2	19.3
Edmonton	3.3	19.6	7.8	19.7	40.2	21.7
Halifax	0.5	7.3	17.3	35.9	24.2	15.4
Hamilton	3.6	25.9	4.4	32.6	52.1	6.1
Kitchener	1.6	21.9	5.1	23.9	54.0	8.6
London	1.5	20.0	7.7	34.3	44.3	8.2
Montreal	11.7	16.0	4.7	8.1	55.0	12.5
Oshawa	0.8	19.4	4.4	37.2	45.7	5.1
Ottawa-Hull	2.6	14.2	8.0	25.1	37.1	18.5
Quebec	0.3	2.2	16.5	5.0	48.8	13.2
Regina	0.5	10.6	13.0	22.9	39.4	17.0
St. Catharines-Niagara	1.7	21.8	7.8	27.9	56.9	4.2
St. John's	0.1	3.2	22.2	43.2	12.9	16.5
Saint John	0.2	5.1	19.7	43.0	22.1	10.6
Saskatoon	0.5	11.5	14.0	25.0	36.3	19.2
Sudbury	0.4	10.7	4.3	18.8	67.3	6.0
Thunder Bay	0.5	16.8	6.6	16.6	71.7	4.0
Trois-Rivières	0.1	1.8	28.4	4.6	34.0	19.9
Toronto	29.3	37.8	3.3	20.0	45.1	15.5
Vancouver	9.6	29.3	6.7	26.8	29.5	27.9
Victoria	1.4	23.3	10.0	50.4	23.3	11.7
Windsor	1.4	21.3	11.4	19.0	54.5	12.1
Winnipeg	2.9	19.2	6.1	19.6	48.3	17.6

SOURCE: 1981 Census; catalogue 95-943, table 1. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

and 1969 (table 25). However, this varies by origin (table 25). One of the most significant aspects of Canadian urban immigration has been its changing origin. More than half of those urban residents born in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Europe (with the exception of the Portuguese) came before 1970. On the other hand, those from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Central and South America are more recent immigrants. The vast majority of the urban Vietnamese, for example, arrived in Canada between 1978 and 1981; relatively few were present ten years earlier. Paralleling this shift in immigrant origins has been an increase in the proportion of those who come to Canada in the sponsored or nominated categories.

TABLE 25

Urban Immigrant Population, Place of Birth and Period of Immigration, Canada, 1981 (%)

Place of Birth	% of Total Urban Immigrants	Period of Immigration				
		Before 1945	1945- 1954	1955- 1969	1970- 1977	1978- 1981
	(3,430,280)					
Australia	0.4	4.2	10.1	42.3	29.0	12.1
Austria	0.8	26.3	36.6	30.2	5.2	1.2
Belgium	0.5	14.6	31.3	40.3	7.2	5.6
Caribbean and Bermuda	0.8	2.4	4.5	35.7	43.3	12.9
Central Africa	0.1	1.0	1.9	25.0	54.3	12.5
Central America	0.3	2.7	4.9	18.6	50.0	21.6
Czechoslovakia	1.1	24.0	21.0	39.6	8.0	7.3
Denmark	0.6	16.6	26.8	47.2	6.6	2.5
Eastern Africa	1.0	0.2	0.4	7.1	77.1	14.5
Egypt	0.6	0.3	1.7	59.4	29.8	8.5
Finland	0.5	28.6	22.5	36.7	9.0	3.0
France	1.4	4.0	18.2	47.1	19.9	6.4
Germany	4.7	4.8	34.6	45.9	7.7	2.4
Greece	2.6	2.0	7.9	62.0	24.3	3.0
Guyana	1.1	0.5	1.8	18.6	61.5	17.5
Haiti	0.8	0.2	0.4	10.3	63.1	25.7
Hong Kong	1.7	0.2	0.8	23.0	58.3	17.2
Hungary	1.7	15.9	15.9	58.4	7.2	2.5
Iceland	0.02	36.0	10.7	20.7	22.0	10.0
India	3.0	0.8	1.6	21.8	57.3	18.1
Irish Republic	0.4	11.9	18.1	44.0	20.0	5.9
Italy	10.8	3.0	21.6	65.6	7.9	1.4
Jamaica	2.2	0.7	1.7	26.1	60.0	11.3
Japan	0.3	19.2	2.0	27.9	33.2	15.3
Korea	0.5	0.2	0.1	12.9	71.4	14.6
Lebanon	0.6	2.3	2.8	23.8	56.0	14.5
Malta	0.3	2.3	28.7	43.7	18.8	6.2
Netherlands	2.7	2.7	54.8	33.2	6.2	2.9
Northern Africa	0.5	0.4	0.9	53.8	34.4	10.1
Norway	0.3	50.0	20.4	20.9	6.1	2.0
Oceania	0.5	1.6	3.4	24.6	53.4	16.2
Pakistan	0.4	0.2	1.2	18.2	63.1	16.9
China	1.5	3.8	10.0	30.4	35.2	20.1

Continued on next page

Table 25 - *Continued*

Place of Birth	% of Total Urban Immigrants	Period of Immigration				
		Before 1945	1945-1954	1955-1969	1970-1977	1978-1981
Philippines	1.9	0.1	0.1	12.3	62.9	24.5
Poland	3.8	29.5	37.4	22.5	7.3	3.0
Portugal	4.0	0.1	0.8	44.2	47.7	6.9
Romania	0.6	24.2	28.7	23.7	14.6	8.6
South America	1.5	1.0	2.0	17.7	59.2	19.0
South Asia	0.2	0.4	1.3	20.4	62.0	15.3
South East Asia	1.0	0.5	3.0	14.1	28.8	53.0
Southern Africa	0.6	2.6	3.5	28.0	44.3	20.5
Spain	0.4	0.7	5.6	57.1	27.2	8.4
Sweden	0.2	41.7	17.3	18.4	14.4	7.6
Switzerland	0.3	10.9	16.4	41.9	20.3	8.3
Taiwan	1.6	3.0	9.5	30.3	36.1	20.5
Trinidad and Tobago	1.1	0.5	1.4	34.9	56.6	6.1
United Kingdom	22.4	25.0	19.2	34.9	15.3	4.9
U.S.A.	6.7	32.2	6.2	24.1	25.3	8.5
U.S.S.R.	3.3	33.8	46.7	9.7	5.2	4.4
Vietnam	1.4	0.01	0.1	1.9	13.3	84.5
Western Africa	0.1	0.9	1.0	15.9	57.7	20.5
Western Asia	1.2	1.3	3.7	34.4	39.2	20.9
Yugoslavia	2.5	7.7	15.5	48.6	25.0	3.0
Other	0.3	6.6	9.7	34.9	39.2	8.7
Proportion of Total Urban Immigrant Population:		12.9	16.5	35.6	24.9	9.1

SOURCE: 1981 Census; catalogue 92-913, table 5. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

URBAN IMMIGRANT ENTRANCE

In chapter 5 we outlined the array of variables which must be explored to grasp fully the nature of the process of urban entrance. This framework applies to both internal migrants and immigrants to the city. In the case of the latter we must also examine the fate of ethnicity in the urban system. Before dealing briefly with this issue, we shall first explore the nature of urban immigrant assimilation.

The Meaning of Assimilation

Earlier we defined entrance itself as involving personal adjustment, institutional integration, and acculturation. Assimilation thus involves several dimensions or subprocesses. Gordon (1964, 7) identifies seven distinct phases:

1. *Cultural or behavioural assimilation* – acculturation;
2. *Structural assimilation* – absorption into the institutions, primary groups, and social life of the host society;
3. *Marital assimilation* – large-scale intermarriage with other groups and the native-born in the host society;
4. *Identificational assimilation* – evolution of a sense of shared “peoplehood” with the host society;
5. *Attitude receptional assimilation* – diminishment of prejudice by the host society against the immigrant group;
6. *Behaviour receptional assimilation* – absence of discrimination;
7. *Civic assimilation* – erosion of any value or power conflict between the immigrant group and the host society.

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION IN WINNIPEG

There has been widespread interest in documenting the extent to which different groups of immigrants encounter prejudice and discrimination in Canada's cities (e.g., Malik 1982; Tepper 1982; Driedger and Clifton 1984). As observed above, these are indices of the lack of assimilation (understood, again, as a multidimensional phenomenon).

To illustrate, Driedger and Mezoff (1981) examined the degree of distance that Winnipeg high school students prefer to maintain between themselves and twenty groups of European and non-European origins. This Bogardus-type social distance scale measures “differential treatment” or prejudice towards varying groups. Table 26 presents the results of their study. These high school students are more prepared to marry (perhaps the ultimate index of acceptance of others as equals) persons of European than those of non-European origin. Distinctions are made even between Europeans: they are almost three times as likely to be willing to marry Americans than Jews. Indeed, one out of ten of these students would allow Jews at most in the country only as visitors.

With respect to actual discrimination against themselves, more than a third report this experience. Consistent with the pattern of prejudice, the Jews indicate the most discrimination, typically in the form of jokes and verbal abuse. One-fifth of them have even experienced physical abuse.

Whether these findings can be generalized with respect to other large cities and age groups remains uncertain. The increasing presence of “visible minorities” within the urban system, due to more recent immigration streams has increased sensitivity to racism as a potentially serious social problem in cities.

TABLE 26
The Degree of Distance that Winnipeg High School Students Prefer to Maintain Between Themselves and Twenty Groups of European and Non-European Origin (percentage)

Ethnic Groups ^a	Social distance scale (Bogardus) Willingness to							Number who responded
	Marry	have as close friend	have as neighbour	work with on job	have as acquaintance	have as visitor only	would debar from Nation	
European origin								
American	75	14	5	2	2	2	2	2220
British	65	20	6	4	2	3	1	1849
Scandinavian	56	24	8	6	3	2	1	2265
Dutch	53	25	11	5	4	1 ^b	1	2328
Polish	51	26	9	6	4	2	2	2223
Ukrainian	50	28	9	6	4	2	2	1764
French	50	24	9	6	6	2	5	1912
German	48	25	11	7	4	3	2	2002
Italian	44	28	10	7	6	3	3	2163
Russian	41	27	11	7	6	3	5	2163
Jewish	28	34	12	7	9	4	7	1883
Non-European origin								
Negro (Blacks)	29	49	11	6	3	1	1	2256
Mexican	29	37	14	8	6	4	1	2262
Japanese	26	44	14	7	6	2	2	2209
Filipino	26	40	13	9	6	4	2	2147
Chinese	25	45	13	7	5	2	2	2338
West Indian	23	43	13	9	8	3	3	2131
East Indian	23	42	13	10	8	3	2	2190
Native Indian	22	41	10	10	10	3	4	2145
Eskimo (Inuit)	19	45	13	10	8	3	2	2160

^a Ingroup evaluations were deleted (e.g., the British in the sample did not evaluate their own group, etc.).

^b The N's in any one cell never dropped below 20.

SOURCE: Driedger and Mezoff 1984, p. 8.

Urban immigrant groups experience these different subprocesses in varying degrees. A fair amount of acculturation can occur, for example, without necessarily invoking extensive structural or marital assimilation. Many of these subprocesses do appear strengthened with structural integration, although this generalization needs to be more firmly established (Reitz 1980). Classical urban theory – in particular, the typological paradigm – tended to assume that assimilation is a unilinear and inevitable consequence of urban entrance. Contemporary research, as we saw earlier with internal migrants, suggests that this is too facile an interpretation: "Different groups at different times may move in either pluralistic or assimilative directions depending upon various factors" (Newman 1973, 87). Nor do all groups strive for assimilation in the same manner. Any theory of urban immigrant entrance must recognize the possibility of a "multilinear, multidimensional pluralist [i.e., continuation of an ethnically based social structure and identity] option" (Driedger 1977, 78). In short, when we speak of "assimilation," we must not only acknowledge the above dimensions, but avoid treating as deviant those phenomena which reflect the opposite process.

The factors influencing immigrant adaptation to the urban system are numerous and interact in complex ways. Indeed, it has been suggested that we should adopt a "multivariate" analysis rather than treating the effects of only one variable at a time. For example, among those immigrants in Toronto with an English mother tongue, acculturation is a function of length of residence; among other immigrant groups, however, level of education is more important (Goldlust and Richmond 1974, 210). The latter variable does appear to influence structural integration (Borhek 1970), as does the similarity of the immigrants' culture to that encountered in the Canadian urban setting (Chimbos 1972; Rhyne 1981; Ornstein 1983). Nevertheless, these same factors may not encourage an equal degree of identificational assimilation, as the case of the British "transilients" illustrates. To understand this we must take account of additional variables – including the demands of the international labour market as well as these immigrants' own perceptions of the meaning of their mobility. Naturalization, for example, is more likely to occur among groups required to make a relatively severe break with their previous way of life (such as political refugees from Eastern Europe). English-speaking immigrants, especially those from the United Kingdom, are much less likely to become Canadian citizens than are those from other countries. Many of the former are younger people in lower managerial, professional, and technical occupations who had emigrated with the idea of returning to the United Kingdom. They are "part of an internationally mobile labour force, and the return to their former country did not imply any failure on their part to adjust either economically or socially. ... The term 'transilient' may be appropriate to describe such migrants. There is an international market for their occupational skill, ..." (Richmond 1967a, 252).

With these words of caution about both the meaning of assimilation and its study, let us explore several interesting questions about urban immigrant entrance. In particular, we shall examine the importance of social networks and the structure of the ethnic community for immigrant adaptation. These are specific issues contained within the general set of "foci" for the study of entrance we outlined in the previous chapter.

Social Networks and Urban Immigrant Entrance

Sponsored and nominated immigrants together account for a large proportion of all new arrivals in Canada. Many of these originate from the rural areas of Southern Europe. Such extensive chain migration, reuniting relatives and friends, suggests the importance of social networks. This is especially the case for such groups as Jews, Italians, Greeks, and Portuguese who are highly kin-oriented – that is, who place great stress on the maintenance of these bonds (Richmond and Goldlust 1977).

What is not perhaps fully appreciated is the importance of these networks as channels not only for initial entrance but for subsequent economic improvement as well. For example, Portuguese immigrants in Toronto are able eventually to secure better-paying jobs, even if their educational levels are low, provided relatives or friends are able directly or indirectly to help them find jobs which are "stepping stones" to more highly remunerative positions (Anderson 1974). The critical factor in attainment of economic success (measured in terms of income) for them is not education nor whether they come to Canada with an urban background. Rather, it is whether their network of contacts directs them to jobs with the potential for further mobility. To illustrate, friends or relatives may refer them to what can be termed "occupational gatekeepers" who may place them in initially low-paying jobs within the construction industry; in time, however, they may be able to move to better-paying jobs in other sectors of that industry. If, in contrast, their networks direct them to jobs that do not offer this possibility, they are far less likely to achieve success. Similarly, among West Indian domestics social networks provide important information about manpower programs and counsellors; this is critical in their quest for educational and occupational improvement: "That many now work in white-collar jobs and have integrated well into the economy is related much more to their ability to make use of the assets of individuals in their social networks than to possession of certain educational and occupational skills at entry" (Turritin 1976, 318–19). Neither assimilation theory nor immigration policy has adequately recognized this pattern, which is an essential aspect of the process of urban immigrant entrance in Canada.

The Structure of Ethnic Communities and the Process of Entrance

One significant factor influencing social integration is the character of that ethnic group which the urban immigrant encounters after arrival (Vallee,

Schwartz, and Darkness 1965; Duncan 1965). Here we are dealing not just with the influence of informal networks, but rather with the broader structure of the ethnic collectivity. Urban ethnic communities vary according to whether they form distinctive cultural, social, and institutional systems (Breton 1961). Social involvement in the networks of the host society frequently will be restricted if the ethnic group attains a high level of cultural distinctiveness.

A second critical factor is the extent to which the existing ethnic community can meet the needs of those arriving – that is, the degree to which it is “institutionally complete.”

Institutional completeness would be at its extreme whenever the ethnic community could perform all the services required by its members. Members would never have to make use of native institutions for the satisfaction of any of their needs, such as education, work, food and clothing, medical care, or social assistance (Breton 1964, 194).

This extreme condition is rarely met in North America; at least some involvement in native organizations is frequently required. Nevertheless, some urban ethnic groups are able to achieve a higher degree of institutional completeness than are others. For example, in Winnipeg the Poles have fewer ethnic institutions, reflecting their recent arrival, small numbers, and residential diffusion, than do the Ukrainians (Driedger 1978b). Ethnic groups with a high level of institutional completeness are marked by dissimilarity between ethnic language and that of the dominant society, large proportion ignorant of the native languages, relatively large size, with a high representation of manual workers (Breton 1961). All of these factors, we should note, contribute to the development of an extensive informal social structure within an ethnic group. This cohesiveness, in turn, encourages the generation of more formal institutions which compete with services offered in the larger community.

The implications of variations in institutional completeness for the process of entrance have been most clearly documented by Breton (1961, 1964; 1965) in a study of male immigrants of different origins living in Montreal. Interviewing most of these at two separate periods of times, Breton focused on the direction of their interpersonal integration – that is, the extent to which their personal relations are confined to other members of the ethnic community or are extended to outside groups.

His data show that the vast majority of those immigrants from highly institutionalized communities (measured in terms of the number of churches, welfare organizations, newspapers, and periodicals in each ethnic community) restrict personal networks to their own ethnic groups. Of the variety of ethnic institutions the most important is the religious “in keeping the immigrants’ personal associations within the boundaries of the ethnic community” (Breton 1961, 135). This underlies the central role which the churches hold in sustaining the distinctiveness of, and identification with, the ethnic community. Of least significance are the welfare organizations,

which are less relevant to the maintenance of a sense of "peoplehood" among the members of an ethnic group.

It is important to recognize, indeed, that the degree of institutional completeness has an effect on the personal relations of the immigrants, even if they as individuals do not participate in ethnic associations (Reitz 1980). This is called a "structural effect" (Blau 1960). Those personally involved in ethnic associations, but who come from groups with a low level of institutionalization, are actually *less* likely to have a majority of their personal relations within their own ethnic group than are those who, although not themselves members of ethnic organizations, are in groups with a high level of institutional completeness.

What accounts for this "structural effect"? Consideration of this question is of importance for grasping how the social organization of the ethnic community can influence the process of entrance. Breton (1961, 190) suggests the following as possible explanations:

1. Extension of their personal networks within the community occurs among the participants in institutions. The immigrants who belong to ethnic organizations value highly their nationality and as we have seen form associations within it. The organizations sustain and perhaps increase this group of "attached" individuals; those in turn nourish the national sentiments of non-participants and include them among their associates.
2. Similarly, ethnic organizations focus on issues of specific concern to the group, emphasizing the need for in-group solidarity, and by strengthening the sense of ethnic identification help to sustain cohesiveness.
3. Frequently, leaders of these associations seek to expand the list of members or support the creation of additional ethnic organizations which revitalize group life.

Institutionalization of an ethnic community is important, then, not so much because it offers substitutes for the organizations in the native community, which would help to channel interpersonal affiliations, but because it stimulates the general social life of the ethnic community. The existence of a formal structure in an ethnic community helps to reinforce the cohesiveness of the group by expanding intra-group relations over time.

FOUR ILLUSTRATIONS OF URBAN IMMIGRANT ENTRANCE

In the above we have briefly examined urban immigrant entrance analytically – that is, in terms of how such factors as social networks and ethnic community structure influence adaptation. It would be useful now to present holistic profiles of several immigrant groups to illustrate more concretely patterns of adjustment. We shall select for this purpose the Italians of Toronto, the Greeks of Vancouver, Calgary's small community of Asian refugees from Uganda, and the Chinese of Montreal.

The Italians of Toronto

There have been two major waves of Italian immigration to North America in the twentieth century. Between 1899 and 1910 two and a half million arrived in the United States, settling in the Northeast, especially in New York City (Glaser and Moynihan 1963, 181–85; Danziger 1971, 1). The second wave occurred after the Second World War. Of the three and a half million urban immigrants in Canada, Italians represented the second-largest group after those from the United Kingdom. Most significantly, as at the previous stage of arrival, the Italians have settled in Canada's urban centres, particularly in Toronto and Montreal. Consideration of their fate as "New Canadians," therefore, will help us better understand generally the process of entrance to the urban system within the Canadian context (cf., Helling 1965; Rees-Powell 1966; Fenton 1968; Sidlofsky 1969; Boissevain 1970; Ziegler 1971, 1972; Tomasi 1977; Sturino 1978; Jansen 1978, 1981; Caussy 1980; Digiacomio 1982).

Twenty years ago a journalist (Allen 1964, 17) poignantly observed: "For a Torontonians of my generation, it's hard to lose the feeling that Toronto is a staid British settlement on the north shore of Lake Ontario, adequately and cautiously run by solidly landed Protestant Scottish-English-Irish aldermen in striped pants and plug hats." This image did not reflect reality even during earlier decades of this century (Harney and Troper 1975). In terms of population composition, Toronto today represents one of the most cosmopolitan cities in North America. We saw in table 24 earlier that more than a third of Toronto's population were born outside Canada. Most of these had immigrated after 1945 (Statistics Canada 1974, 2). Whereas in 1951 more than two-thirds were of British origin, twenty years later this proportion has declined to less than half. While this ethnic group was still the largest in absolute size, the Italians, ranking second, contributed greatly to the lessening of the Anglo-Saxon demographic dominance and established Toronto as the largest "Italo-Canadian" city (Johnson 1971, 18; Richmond 1967a; Tomasi 1977).

Italians were present in Toronto during earlier stages of the city's history (Sidlofsky 1969, chapter 2). Several years before Confederation five or six Italian families resided there. This number increased steadily in the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century. The first Italian mutual benefit voluntary association, the Primo Umberto Society, was established around 1885, joined shortly by an additional mutual aid society.

In the first two decades of this century the city's Italian population grew eightfold. In contrast to more recent years, few male immigrants came directly from Italy. Instead they spent some time in northeastern sectors of the United States. Toronto, however, proved more attractive for a variety of reasons – access to work, for example, was not controlled by those from any particular region in Italy. (Sidlofsky 1969, 33). Several ethnic institu-

tions were established – a literary and social club, an Italian newspaper, and additional voluntary associations emerged. The internal diversity of the community was also reflected in the fact that increasingly those from the same regions in Italy tended to move to similar parts of Toronto.

During the 1920s Toronto's Italian population grew by 70 percent. This was due in part to those job opportunities in the city which encouraged immigration of Italians who had initially settled elsewhere. In the years preceding World War II, this influx lessened. The community became more divided by ideological differences, and conflicting voluntary associations proliferated. The second generation displayed some alienation from their ethnic group. Italy's entry into the war had a profound impact on the Italian community in Toronto. Many lost jobs or contracts for road building. Some were removed to camps. Publication of their newspapers was discontinued, and all the voluntary associations experienced significant loss in membership. Revitalization of the community occurred only with substantial post-war immigration, particularly in the 1950s (Sidlofsky 1969, 84–85). Experiences during the war heightened the wish to de-emphasize ethnicity, especially among the second and third generations. The Italian presence in Toronto, however, was dramatically renewed. In 1950 the metropolitan area contained 25,000 residents of Italian origin. During subsequent years this increased more than tenfold.

Several important aspects of the entrance of these more recent immigrants should be emphasized.

1. These immigrants come to Canada for primarily economic reasons. Most originate from the south of Italy and are sponsored by kin. Few ever intend to return home and settle permanently there.

2. Among all groups of post-war immigrants, the Italians as a whole tend to be among the least equipped in terms of educational levels and occupational skills for entrance into higher status positions. A relatively large proportion find initial employment either as labourers or production craftsmen. In time, some degree of occupational mobility occurs, particularly among those at the lowest end of the socioeconomic continuum. However, most do not experience significant improvement in occupational placement during their years in Canada (Ornstein and Sharma 1983). Despite the fact that incomes are generally low and occupational mobility infrequent, they are economically better off in Canada than in Italy (Ziegler 1972, 26).

3. Toronto's residential construction has provided a major source of employment for many Italian immigrants having limited skills (Sidlofsky 1969). Many obtain these jobs while waiting for other kinds of work to open up. As with the Portuguese and West Indians, social networks perform an important role. Entry into construction work depends on informal help and training from those already in the industry. This constraint restricts their patterns of association. Skills appropriate to that trade in which permanent employment is desired can be obtained only through an informal apprentice-

ship system that places great importance on intra-ethnic relations. Employment in construction jobs enhances social ties to other Italians in the industry. Leisure activities are shared with workmates and others in similar trades or branches of construction. Through these social contacts future spouses are often met. Insofar as many of their work companions live in the same district of the city, these immigrants become increasingly tied to the immediate area as a source of social activities.

In summary, the residential construction industry provides economic adjustment for many Italian immigrants after their arrival in Toronto. It encourages the development of strong intra-ethnic ties. Particularly during early stages of residence this type of employment, termed "horizontal segregation" (Reitz 1980), strengthens ethnic encapsulation, limiting the degree of structural assimilation in the wider society among the first generation.

4. Toronto's Italian community is characterized by relatively high levels of institutional completeness and residential segregation (Ziegler 1971, 71-75; Richmond 1967a, 11f.; Jansen 1971, 1978). Both are important factors inhibiting absorption into the wider society. Examining a variety of indices we find that overall the level of structural assimilation among Italian immigrants is not high. Most restrict their social contacts chiefly to other Italians, especially kin, even after ten years of residence in the city. Neighbours of the same ethnic background are an important source of friends. Both acculturation and structural assimilation are least likely to occur in any significant degree among those Italians arriving with little prior exposure to urban life and with minimal education or skills. Second-generation Italians in Toronto evidence higher levels of cultural, social, and economic integration (Ziegler 1972) than the foreign-born; the varied institutions of the community, nevertheless, help sustain general ethnic consciousness and identification (Jansen 1978).

The Greeks of Vancouver

The Greek community of Vancouver parallels that of the Italians in Toronto in terms of ethnic vitality and level of institutional completeness. In the first years of this century Greeks arrived in British Columbia and Vancouver after attempting to farm unsuccessfully in the Prairies (Lambrou 1974). These early pioneers frequently opened up small businesses, such as cafés, restaurants, and grocery stores. It was not until 1927, when the St. George Greek Orthodox Hellenic Community was established, that more formal organization of the city's Greeks emerged. Three years later a church was completed. In the years before World War II Greeks increasingly ceased to be sojourners and assumed more permanent commitment to the city. During the 1950s the Vancouver community was strengthened with a relatively large influx of new immigrants. In Canada as a whole the number of Greeks tripled between 1951 and 1961. The core of the city's Greek community was

in the Kitsilano area, where ethnic restaurants and businesses provided opportunities for informal social contacts.

Like many urban ethnic communities, Vancouver's Greek community is internally differentiated. We can distinguish the following groups:

1. *The elders*. These are older, pre-1948 immigrants, who came to Vancouver with little education but are now self-employed and fairly successful. This group built the church and supports the traditional belief that religious and secular aspects of Greek life should be closely intertwined.

2. *The entrepreneurs*. This group consists of merchants and more affluent post-1948 immigrants who control the church council (*kinotis*) and other ethnic organizations of the community, but who seek greater separation of the church from secular life. Their influence is greater than that of the elders, who still command some prestige. All fifteen members of the *kinotis* are wealthy businessmen who direct policies for the Greek parish. Something of an elite group, they are distinct from the third and largest segment of the community.

3. *The working class*. These are the mass of newly arrived immigrants. As in Toronto (Nagata 1969) their participation in Greek institutional life is limited. Few ever become *kinotis* members; they have little free time or resources to devote to such matters. Nor do they participate extensively in the some fifteen Greek voluntary associations in Vancouver. Rather, they restrict their social life to informal networks centred on kin.

We noted earlier that the presence of an array of ethnic institutions strengthens the ability of the community to retain its distinctiveness and influence, especially among the first generation. Such appears to be the case here. Only a small minority of the more than 6,000 Greek residents of Vancouver are active in church affairs. Nevertheless, the *kinotis* supports annual religious events, the celebration of which reinforces ethnic consciousness among a greater number of Greeks than just the dues-paying members of the parish. Similarly, the variety of ethnic organizations and Greek-language schools preserves aspects of Greek culture in the urban environment and legitimates ethnic identification even among those who do not directly participate (Lambrou 1974).

The Ugandan Asians of Calgary

Since World War II one of every ten new immigrants to arrive in Canada has been a refugee (Green Paper on Immigration and Population 1974, volume 1). Such groups as the Boat People of Vietnam have sought relief from the socially and economically unsettling conditions of their country of origin; others have been forced to leave for political reasons. For humanitarian reasons Canada has permitted entry to these groups.

In 1972 Uganda expelled a large number of British citizens of Asian origin.

More than 5,000 of these were admitted to Canada. Fewer than 100 came to Calgary on the advice of Manpower and Immigration. Let us briefly examine their patterns of assimilation (cf., Morah 1974).

Two characteristics of their entrance should be emphasized, since these may influence their subsequent adjustment.

1. In Uganda these Asians were attracted more to European customs and values than to African. They maintained British citizenship and appeared to have acquired at least some cultural patterns found in Canada before arriving.

2. Both official and voluntary agencies took special measures to ease their adjustment. For example, Manpower and Immigration helped them find shelter and employment in Calgary. Similarly, "representatives of the Indian-Canada Association of Calgary were always at the airport to receive the Asians, talking their ancestral languages to them and making them feel more at ease" (Morah 1974, 24).

Considering a sample of these Asians living in Canada after a year we find that many had held relatively high status jobs in Uganda but experienced some downward occupational mobility after entry. Nevertheless, they show little desire to leave Canada, although some may not wish to settle permanently in Calgary.

Not surprisingly, in light of the above conditions, these immigrants manifest high levels of acculturation and identificational assimilation. Most speak English, read Canadian newspapers exclusively, and are positively oriented to being "Canadianized." Even after only a year they display strong attachment to this country.

In contrast, structural assimilation is less striking. Only a minority have yet formed close friendships with Canadians. Few participate in the voluntary organizations of the host society. This may reflect the recency of their arrival. Given their small number it is unlikely that they will evolve the type of institutional structure found among the Italians and Greeks. Their potential for further assimilation might be retarded should they be subjected to discrimination and prejudice, as some appear to have been elsewhere in Canada.

Cultural, structural, and identificational assimilation, taken together, are greatest among those Asians with higher educational and occupational status. Their social and cultural absorption have occurred more rapidly; even among the better-educated, however, social networks usually are still restricted to other Asians.

We must be cautious in generalizing these patterns to other refugees or even to other Ugandan Asians (cf., Adams 1977). Not all enter Canada as culturally "prepared"; not all experience the same degree of initial assistance from the host society.

The Chinese of Montreal

Until the years following World War II the Chinese were restricted from entering Canada. In 1947 Canadian citizens of Chinese descent were given the right to sponsor close kin. Impediments to Chinese immigration were finally removed in 1967 with institution of the "points system," whereby potential immigrants were assessed in terms of skills they had, not their racial origin. This change in regulations was reflected in the characteristics of those Chinese who arrived in subsequent years.

To illustrate, a sample of post-World War II male Chinese immigrants, aged 25-44, living in Montreal reveals that most are well-educated, and originate from Hong Kong (Chiang 1978). They came to Canada to obtain greater occupational opportunities, and they chose Montreal because of ties to family already living there. Chain-migration is of significance. Only about a third intend to stay permanently in Montreal. The rest expect to move, primarily to Ontario where other members of their families live.

Family members were not, however, especially useful agents for securing initial employment in Canada. About a third obtained their first Canadian jobs in the professional/technical categories. Those Chinese who had started their careers prior to their arrival in Canada were able to enter similar occupations here if they had specialized skills, for example, as engineers or technicians, and were employed in jobs not requiring a high degree of facility in either French or English. Others took on ethnic-specific occupations, "such as waiters, cooks, owners, or managers of Chinese restaurants. Mobility to professional and technical occupations is rare. ... " (Chiang 1978, 108). Their jobs represented, in short, "ethnic mobility traps"; they had few opportunities to move out of the Chinese community.

Those Chinese who did not start their careers until *after* they came to Canada were more likely to experience upward mobility than those who had worked beforehand. Those who started careers in this country were better able to secure professional jobs because they had finished their schooling here, and their credentials were more readily accepted. They were less commonly "trapped" in ethno-specific jobs.

These contrasts in mobility experience illustrate how complex the process of economic adaptation is among urban immigrants. Those Chinese who entered the labour force in Canada made greater occupational gains because of the education they were able to obtain here.

The four case studies of urban immigrant entrance considered in this section illustrate several basic aspects of the process of entrance. These include: (1) the influence of type of employment, education, and occupation on adaptation; (2) the key role which ethnic institutions play in sustaining in-group allegiances; (3) the manner in which urban immigration promotes the internal differentiation of an ethnic community; and (4) the multi-dimensional character of assimilation – in the case of the Ugandans, for example, structural assimilation lags behind cultural and identificational

assimilation, a pattern which may not necessarily be unique to this group (Gordon 1964).

THE URBAN ETHNIC MOSAIC

The result of immigration to Canada over time is the creation of an urban ethnic mosaic. The composition of the urban population by ethnic origin varies between provinces, size of community, and across metropolitan areas. Tables 27 and 28 present data illustrating some of these variations.

Reflecting differences in the destination of past immigrant streams, one-fourth of the Ukrainians and one-third of the Dutch and Germans are located in rural areas (table 27). The vast majority of the other ethnic groups listed reside in urban centres, and are concentrated in the largest cities. Most of Canada's Jews, for example, live in Montreal, Toronto, or Winnipeg (Yam 1974).

Canada's various metropolitan areas differ in their ethnic composition. One measure of ethnic diversity is the proportion of the CMA population classified as "Other Ethnic Origin" – that is, other than British or French (table 28). Approximately half the residents of Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Regina, Edmonton, Thunder Bay, and Toronto are so categorized. Just as metropolitan communities differ in their proportions of foreign-born, so too do they vary in the distinctiveness of an ethnic mosaic. Ethnic homogeneity is greatest in the four Quebec CMAs.

The Meaning of Ethnicity

We must grasp not only the demographic dimensions of the urban ethnic mosaic which immigration has produced. Conceptually, what is the meaning of ethnicity? Let us distinguish the following (Styemeist 1975):

Ethnicity refers to a cultural pattern that distinguishes a collectivity from the wider society. It can include a broad range of cultural traits, extending from dress and food to more comprehensive value systems.

Ethnic affiliation is a social category in which people are placed according to perceived ethnicity and origin. It represents a basis for classifying others and for creating and sustaining social networks.

An *ethnic group* is formed on the basis of a common ethnicity or ethnic affiliation. A relatively clear dichotomy exists between members and non-members; in short, social boundaries emerge that heighten in-group attachments (Barth 1969).

An *ethnic community* constitutes a more fully developed form of social organization: "within the ethnic group there develops a network of organizations and informal social relationships which permit and encourage the members of the ethnic group to remain within the confines of the group for all of their primary relationships and some of their secondary relationships

TABLE 27
Urban and Rural Distribution of Selected Ethnic Groups, 1981 (%)

	Ethnic Group								
	Chinese	Dutch	German	Greek	Indo-Pakistani	Italian	Jewish	Portuguese	Ukrainian
Total Population	289,245	408,240	1,142,365	154,360	196,395	747,970	264,025	188,100	529,615
Urban	98.0	63.1	68.3	97.9	95.8	94.9	98.5	96.6	76.1
500,000 and over	82.2	28.6	30.1	84.4	75.4	74.4	92.1	75.6	44.3
100,000-499,999	7.0	9.7	13.8	7.4	6.9	10.9	3.6	10.2	11.9
30,000-99,999	3.6	9.1	7.9	3.1	5.3	5.4	1.7	3.8	5.6
10,000-29,999	2.4	5.7	5.6	1.4	4.6	2.1	0.5	3.5	5.2
5,000-9,999	1.1	4.1	4.3	0.7	1.7	1.0	0.2	2.0	3.5
2,500-4,999	0.9	3.5	3.5	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.2	0.6	3.1
1,000-2,499	0.8	2.4	3.1	0.3	0.9	0.4	0.1	0.8	2.6
Rural	2.0	36.9	31.7	2.1	4.2	5.1	1.5	3.4	23.9
Non-farm	1.8	23.7	20.4	1.9	3.6	4.4	1.4	2.4	15.0
Farm	0.2	13.2	11.3	0.2	0.6	0.7	0.1	1.0	8.9

SOURCE: 1981 Census; catalogue 92-911, table 2. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

TABLE 28
Ethnic Origin of CMA Population, 1981*

CMA	% British	% French	% Other
Calgary	55.9	4.8	39.4
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	2.3	96.6	1.1
Edmonton	45.0	6.9	48.2
Halifax	79.1	8.0	12.9
Hamilton	61.2	3.7	35.1
Kitchener	52.1	3.6	44.3
London	71.2	3.1	25.8
Montreal	11.8	67.7	20.5
Oshawa	71.7	4.8	23.6
Ottawa-Hull	42.7	39.9	17.5
Québec	2.9	95.2	1.9
Regina	45.3	4.1	50.6
St. Catharines-Niagara	55.6	8.1	36.3
Saint John	82.3	11.6	6.1
St. John's	96.2	1.3	2.6
Saskatoon	44.7	4.9	50.4
Sudbury	36.8	39.6	23.6
Thunder Bay	46.4	6.7	47.0
Trois-Rivières	2.4	96.1	1.6
Toronto	50.3	2.7	47.0
Vancouver	54.7	3.2	42.0
Victoria	74.4	2.9	22.7
Windsor	47.1	18.5	34.4
Winnipeg	40.9	8.6	50.5

*Among those reporting single ethnic origin only.

SOURCE: 1981 Census; catalogue 95-943, table 1. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services.

throughout all the stages of the life-cycle" (Gordon 1964, 34). These institutions provide channels for fulfilling a variety of needs within the sub-society. They promote a sense of "peoplehood" and shared identification among the members, even among those who move into the middle class. In the past it was frequently assumed that ethnic identities eroded among urbanites who experienced vertical mobility. Maintenance of ethnic ties may indeed be less prevalent than between those in the working class. Nonetheless middle-class ethnic cohesion is not uncommon, especially between groups such as the Chinese and Southern Europeans (Reitz 1980). Each of these ethnic communities has established a strong set of institutions which promote ethnic identification. In addition, mobility into the middle class can be achieved within ethnically segregated work settings. The Chinese and Southern Europeans have experienced such "horizontal segregation." They are apt to work in settings dominated by members of their own ethnic group. And when they achieve economic advancement, they do so without necessarily cutting ethnic bonds.

The ethnic community can form an "enclave," a product of four factors – territorial segregation (which we shall examine later), institutional completeness, cultural identity, and social distance (between members and non-members) (Driedger 1977, 80). But not all ethnic groups achieve this enclavic character. As illustrations of those which do, we might point to the French of St. Boniface, and, as we saw earlier, the Italians of Toronto.

Classical urban theory and the typological paradigm argued, as we observed earlier, that with entrance to the urban system a process of assimilation is set in motion that will inevitably lead to the erosion of ethnicities, ethnic affiliations, ethnic groups, and ethnic communities. This prediction is premature and simplistic. Cultural differences may blur, for example, yet ethnic affiliations may remain vibrant and influence daily social life among urban residents, as Stymeist (1975) discovered in Crow Lake. In situations of ethnic heterogeneity, not uncommonly we find that "it is primarily roles and role relationships rather than entire institutional domains that become ethnically defined. Some segments of the lives and identities of individuals become 'de-ethnicized,' while others remain within the confines of ethnic definitions and expectations" (Breton 1978, 60). Whereas ethnic affiliations may help shape kinship and friendship networks, they may be less relevant in terms of political or economic ties. Such ethnic fragmentation does not form an adequate basis for the emergence of ethnic enclaves; at the same time it does not render irrelevant the principle of ethnic affiliation in selected sectors of social life. It is in this more "balanced" interpretation that classical urban theory may be lacking. Similarly, it is not inevitable that urban ethnic pluralism will erode, as the continued distinctiveness of the French and Jewish groups in Winnipeg demonstrates. Driedger (1977, 86) argues that initially low-status groups may establish ethnic enclaves in the city. Over several generations, however, they may "shift from an enclavic orientation to a more dynamic regenerational orientation." Such ethnic regeneration is a product of such factors as political or religious ideology and pride in and knowledge of historical traditions. Winnipeg's Jews and Mennonites have preserved their distinctiveness partly through these means. In addition, we might also point to the necessity of improvement in the group's socio-economic position: "if an ethnic minority can maintain an enclavic foot-hold in the city long enough to groom several generations of urban ethnic identifiers, their socio-economic status can be raised from the low rural status of generations to a status that will enable them to compete on an equal footing with other groups in the city and maintain a pride in their ethnic identity. The Jews and Mennonites in Winnipeg seem to prove this supposition" (Driedger 1977, 92; 1978).

These speculations point to a general fact about urban ethnicity. We must treat it not as an anachronism, to be inevitably erased, but rather as a variable that can be structurally induced, modified, and even strengthened (Goldenberg 1977; Darroch and Marston 1984). It is not an ascribed con-

stant; we must conceptualize urban ethnicity as an emergent phenomenon (Yancey, Ericksen, Juliani 1976; Marger and Obermiller 1983). For example, ethnic identifications and groups are strengthened when they are seen as useful in obtaining scarce resources (Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Newman 1973; Goldenberg 1977). In such a case, "ethnicity is an adaptive and emergent response to disadvantaged location in the existing opportunity structure" (Goldenberg 1977, 157). Ethnic institutions emerge because access to alternatives is restricted. When greater access is provided, as we observed above, ethnic regeneration rather than ethnic erosion may occur. But again this is a response partly to structural conditions – that is, to Canada's ideology of cultural pluralism and "government support, both fiscal and moral, for the maintenance of ethnic identity in the Canadian mosaic" (Goldenberg 1977: 157–58). The ultimate fate of ethnicity following entrance to the urban system must be explored in terms of how a group's internal social and cultural structure interacts with external conditions.

ETHNIC ENTREPRENEURS IN TORONTO

Economic success in a city is a product of many factors. It may be due to the type of values one internalizes through socialization in a particular ethnic or religious group (the cultural argument). Or it may be explained by differential access to the structure of economic opportunity (the structural argument). Consideration of this issue here is significant because it can help us understand how ethnicity is linked to urban institutions.

Kallen and Kelner (1983) compared four groups of entrepreneurs in Toronto – Anglo-Protestants, Anglo-Catholics (the "majority entrepreneurs"), and Italo-Catholics and Jews (the "minority entrepreneurs") – to determine the relative importance of cultural and structural factors in explaining how they achieved economic success.

Regardless of their ethnic background, both majority and minority entrepreneurs hold common values. They all embrace an entrepreneurial ethic ("the Protestant ethic"). That is, they value work as an end in itself; they favour saving and investment over consumption. In decisions relating to economic matters, they give priority to rational calculation of profits and losses. And they are highly achievement-oriented. In these considerations their ethnic and religious differences are not apparent.

They do, however, differ in career routes and the strategies employed to achieve success. Whereas the majority entrepreneurs are in established fields like finance, the Jews and Italo-Catholics "are overwhelmingly engaged in business enterprises outside of the Canadian corporate economic establishment" (Kallen and Kelner 1983, 27). They

are the owners, and frequently founders, of real estate or construction companies. Their parents had emphasized self-employment, as a protection against ethnic discrimination in the job market. Thus their minority status had an effect on how they channelled their economic careers. They themselves encountered limitations to economic opportunity because of discrimination, and found the route of self-employment the most likely way they could succeed. Thereby under these circumstances the structural argument gains strength.

But while pursuing these goals, ethnic affiliation is not eroded. More precisely stated, among the minority entrepreneurs it is compartmentalized.

While they tend, like majority entrepreneurs, to define themselves as "cosmopolitans" [not bound by ties and obligations to their own ethnic community] in the greater world of economic enterprise, they tend, for the most part, to remain "locals" in terms of their private lives, where ethno-religious ties and loyalties predominate (Kallen and Kelner 1983, 56).

They remain closely linked to their ethno-religious communities, and they participate in ethnic voluntary organizations. And their social networks are structured around relatives and friends from the same ethnic group. Despite their economic success, their ethnic identity persists. These ethnic ties may indeed have helped them, at least initially, to achieve success. The Italians, in particular, relied on clientele from their ethnic community to build up their businesses in the early stages of their careers.

It is worthwhile, perhaps, to speculate that the ethnic compartmentalization found among minority entrepreneurs may be a response in part to the cultural pluralism characteristic of Toronto or of Canadian society: "These prevailing societal-wide values serve to legitimate retention of ethnic ties in the private life sphere, while they sanction the norm of equal opportunity for all individuals in public life without reference to ethno-religious affiliations" (Kallen and Kelner 1983, 85-86). This illustrates again the point noted earlier: Urban ethnicity must be viewed not as an anachronism but as a variable.

SUMMARY

1. Immigration to Canada reached its highest peak during the first decade of the twentieth century. A second large wave occurred in the 1950s and 1960s. Such streams have contributed to Canada's population growth.
2. The settlement patterns of Canadian immigrants reflect a regional variation over time. For example, the largest increases in foreign-born population in 1901-1911 occurred in the Prairies and British Columbia. Whereas today more than half of the foreign-born are found in Ontario.

3. The foreign-born have shown a consistently greater tendency to concentrate in urban areas than have the native-born. By 1981 more than four out of every five immigrants resided in urban centres.
4. Immigrants cluster in the largest cities; half of them are settled either in Toronto, Montreal, or Vancouver. The proportion foreign-born varies greatly between metropolitan areas. Immigrants of different origin are attracted to different metropolitan areas. Contrast, for example, the Asian stream to Vancouver with the relative clustering of those from the United Kingdom in Victoria.
5. "Immigrant supply" variations between cities reflect not only differences in average earnings and employment opportunities. The presence of friends and relatives already living in a particular city is an important factor attracting an immigrant to work there.
6. The ethnic composition of Canadian urban immigrant populations has shifted over time. The proportions from the British Isles, and Central and Eastern Europe have declined. Immigrants from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and South America have increased significantly, as has the proportion of sponsored and nominated immigrants.
7. Urban assimilation of immigrants involves a number of distinct dimensions. These include such subprocesses as acculturation, marital assimilation, and civic assimilation, which need not coincide. Contrary to the assumptions of classical urban theory, we should not see assimilation as a unilinear and inevitable consequence of urban entrance. Nor do all groups strive for assimilation in the same manner. We must recognize the possibility of a multilinear, multidimensional pluralist option. In addition, the factors influencing adaptation to the urban system, such as education, are numerous and interact in complex ways.
8. In examining urban immigrant entrance we should give particular attention to the importance of social networks and the structure of the ethnic community. For immigrants the critical factor in their attainment of economic success is often whether their network of contacts directs them to jobs with the potential for further mobility. This may be even more important than level of education or prior exposure to an urban environment.
9. Social involvement in the networks of the host society will be limited to the extent the existing ethnic community can meet the needs of those arriving – that is, the degree to which it is institutionally complete. Institutionalization of an ethnic community stimulates its general social life and reinforces cohesiveness by expanding intra-group relations over time, even among those who may not themselves actually participate in ethnic associations.
10. Holistic profiles of four cases of urban immigrant entrance – Toronto's Italians, Vancouver's Greeks, Calgary's Ugandan Asians, and Montreal's Chinese – illustrate the influence of type of employment, education, and occupation on adaptation, the central importance of ethnic institutions in sustaining in-group identification, how urban immigration advances an ethnic

community's internal differentiation, and the multidimensional character of assimilation.

11. Urban immigration produces a complex urban ethnic mosaic. The composition of the urban population by ethnic origin, just as with the proportion foreign-born, varies between provinces, size of city, and across metropolitan areas. For example, approximately half the population of Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Regina, Edmonton, Thunder Bay, and Toronto are other than British or French. Whereas Quebec CMAs are ethnically the most homogeneous.

12. As with assimilation, we must clarify the meaning of ethnicity, distinguishing between ethnicity as a cultural pattern, ethnic affiliation as a social category, ethnic group formed on the basis of a common ethnicity or ethnic affiliation, and ethnic community representing a more fully developed form of social organization. It is incorrect to assume that entrance to the urban system will inevitably lead to the disappearance of each of these. Some sectors of social life may become more fully de-ethnicized than others. In addition, groups may shift over time from an enclavic orientation to an ethnic regenerative orientation.

13. In general, urban ethnicity should be seen not as an anachronism but as a variable that is influenced by structural conditions. For example, when opportunities for advancement through institutions of the host society are limited, ethnic identification may stimulate the emergence of alternative channels.

Part Four

Spatial Shape of the Urban System

In parts two and three we examined the creation of the Canadian urban system through a dynamic focus on urban ecological and social organization. We explored the growth and general characteristics of that system, as well as the process of entrance into it. Such growth entails internally a "sifting and sorting," as Park noted, of population in regularized patterns. It is these patterns to which we shall now turn our attention. Specifically, we should consider two questions: (1) How does urban spatial structure evolve over time? (2) What are the resultant characteristics of the spatial structure of contemporary Canadian cities? The city is a sociospatial system, as we stressed in the Introduction; although we give emphasis here to spatial distribution especially of population characteristics, we must not ignore the connection of that spatial shape to social patterns.

Chapter 7

Evolution of Urban Structure

In dealing with the evolution of urban structure, we must briefly review the general relation between urbanization and spatial structure. We shall examine the spatial structure of the commercial city and its evolution over time with urban growth. Urban ecology seeks to develop generalizations about this process which might be valid in a variety of contexts. We must move from a descriptive, historical level to a more analytical one. In the second half of this chapter, therefore, we shall outline several “urban growth models” which refine the pioneering principles and concepts of the Chicago School (see chapter 2). Our emphasis, we should note in this and the following chapter, will be on social ecology – that is, the spatial distribution of population characteristics. Urban spatial structure, broadly understood, also encompasses the distribution of non-residential land uses. Although we shall give some attention as well to the evolution of these, by focusing on population characteristics we can perhaps more directly illustrate the character of the city as a sociospatial system.

URBANIZATION AND SPATIAL STRUCTURE

In chapter 3 we defined urbanization from an ecological perspective as the development of a complex territorial system of functional relationships. We saw how such factors as transportation promoted this process, and some of the general patterns that emerged. Here we shall concentrate on the spatial correlates of this process – that is, how internal spatial structure of the city reflects its growth.

Spatial patterns are indices of underlying functional relationships. The basic principle of urban development is the process of specialization. The emergence of a more extensive territorial division of labour is accompanied by important changes in spatial structure. With urban growth, sub-areas become more specialized and differentiated in terms of population and land-use types. Park’s theory of natural areas and McKenzie’s concept of ecological distribution sought to articulate this process of differentiation; both pointed to the increased sifting and sorting which occurs as urban centres expand. This can be subsumed within a more general theory of increasing scale (Udny 1964; Clignet and Sween 1969), which proposes that as a society

creates large-scale organizational networks and becomes more thoroughly integrated, internal social and spatial differentiation proceeds.

This process of increased spatial differentiation is revealed when we examine the movement from the commercial centre of the nineteenth century to more complex forms of urban ecological organization.

The Commercial Centre

As we saw in chapter 3, the commercial centre contained a number of distinctive characteristics. Its compactness, small size, and economic base precluded the level of spatial differentiation which the industrial and metropolitan communities were able to achieve subsequently. Nevertheless, the "seeds of specialization" were evident in the spatial form of the commercial centre (Pack 1984). Let us take Hamilton again as an example (Davey and Doucet 1975).

In the early 1850s Hamilton's spatial structure showed some complexity, paralleling its social organization. The community consisted of three sectors: (1) a heavily built-up inner core; (2) a partially developed area around this core; and (3) an undeveloped outer zone. Most of the city's economic activities occurred in the first zone. The core contained both small and large businesses and establishments. What manufacturing existed was located in this inner area also.

Despite this concentration, Hamilton's central core was spatially differentiated along at least the following lines: (1) in an "inner central area," trading, financial, and professional activities congregated; (2) an "outer central area" contained the city's artisans and manufacturers; (3) between these two areas could be found the community's hotels and boarding houses. In short, although numerous types of activities were all concentrated in the core, they were segregated in specific sectors. Such nascent specialization would subsequently strengthen as the city experienced greater industrialization.

A number of constraints influenced residential location. The limited amount of housing available for the growing population, as well as the necessity of living close to place of work or customers meant that there was considerable residential mixing of the classes. Merchants and entrepreneurs were not spatially segregated from the less affluent; both rich and poor lived together as neighbours in the inner core, although as we noted in chapter 3 the poor changed residences far more frequently. Such spatial integration did not correspond to the rigidity of Hamilton's stratification system (Davey and Doucet 1975). However, as the commercial centre became industrial and metropolitan, this gap between spatial and social structures eroded.

The Evolution of Urban Structure: Toronto and Winnipeg

In chapter 3 we explored the factors enabling Toronto and Winnipeg to emerge as dominant centres in the Canadian system of cities. Let us now see

how this growth was reflected in their internal spatial geography, and how their transformation from compact communities brought important spatial changes.

1. *Toronto.* Toronto in 1850 represented a modest commercial centre. Recall that by the end of the century it had emerged as a relatively large metropolitan and manufacturing centre. How did the city's rapid industrial development, changing system of internal transportation, and overall population affect its social geography?

By 1860 Toronto appeared as a city that was "core-oriented" (Goheen 1970). Land that held the highest commercial and economic value was located in the centre of the community. The city centre constituted an area of high prestige; it was here the higher strata – businessmen and professionals – resided. Unlike the situation in Hamilton, however, Toronto's lowest-status group – the unskilled workers – were not concentrated there. Paralleling this differentiation, the homeowners clustered in the centre. The less affluent were located on the periphery of the city. Thus, residential segregation was most pronounced between the business classes, commercial and professional elite, and the unskilled. Other occupational groups were apparently less segregated, which might have reflected "the relationships which it was necessary to maintain between place of residence in a city having no rapid transit and virtually no public transportation economically available to most of the urban inhabitants. Territorial segregation of the unskilled workers may reflect their inability to compete with any other group for desirable and accessible residential locations" (Goheen 1970, 128).

In summary, Toronto in 1860 – on the threshold of a subsequent rise to metropolitan status – possessed a social geography that manifested a balance "between the tendencies toward segregation by classes and the necessities of proximity imposed by a primitive transportation system which could distribute neither goods nor people efficiently" (Goheen 1970, 138).

Examining the city's social landscape in 1870 reveals no consistent distribution by family status – measured, for example, by the proportion of large families. In terms of economic status, segregation between the classes did not appear to be especially pronounced. A high-status sector, however, did exist, located outward from the centre to the northern and northwest section of the city. Religion at this period formed a basis of residential segregation: "to be identified as a Roman Catholic in 1870 was to be segregated from persons of other faiths" (Goheen 1970, 154).

By 1880, the structure of Toronto had begun to experience fundamental changes as the city advanced economically. With improved local transportation, younger age groups in the population were now locating more commonly than before on the periphery, while the older residents clustered in the centre. Consistent with this trend, family status tended to increase in regular concentric zones with distance from the centre. The core, however, still preserved its high economic value; yet the location of railway facilities rendered the area less attractive for residential purposes. The expansion of

the northern part of the city continued, as streetcar lines extended outward from the centre. Overall, the city appeared to be in a "stage of transformation."

These trends continued during the subsequent decade. Toronto in 1890 was characterized by a spatial distribution in which family status was highest on the periphery of that area to which the street railway system had been extended. This was, indeed, evidence "of a simple relationship between the availability of transportation and the outward movement of large families" (Goheen 1970, 179). In contrast to earlier years, by this time the downtown waterfront district no longer contained the residences of the higher strata. The area had become completely dominated by commercial and economic forms of land use. Religion had ceased to constitute an independent basis of residential segregation. Economic rank was a more central factor in spatial differentiation: "Unskilled, skilled, clerical and professional persons were segregated from each other" (Goheen 1970, 194). Yet, as public transportation networks were extended outward, the working class also achieved greater residential decentralization. This trend did not lessen substantially the fundamental pattern of segregation by class.

The 1899 picture of Toronto reveals the final consequences of industrial development, population growth, and transportation improvements. The concentric pattern of increasing values on family status with distance from the centre was firmly established. This did not, however, extend to the actual point reached by the transport lines, suggesting that suburbanization tended to lag behind the development of the local streetcar system.

Similarly, the 1899 map showed a concentric pattern of decreasing property value moving outward, reflecting the influence of accessibility to the city centre. Religion had disappeared entirely as a basis of segregation; differentiation between the classes was clearly manifested in Toronto's social geography by the end of the century. The city assumed at the end of this period of transformation an ecological pattern, as we shall see, typical of the twentieth-century industrial metropolis.

2. *Winnipeg*. Another interesting example of the evolution of urban structure is shown in the changes that occurred in Winnipeg as it achieved metropolitan status (Artibise 1972a; 1972b; 1975). In 1874, the year of its incorporation, the city consisted of an area a little greater than three square miles, of which only about one-fifth had been built up. By 1914, however, it consisted of more than twenty-three square miles, with a population one hundred times larger. Changes in area and population were not the only indices of transformation. As in Toronto, the internal social landscape was significantly altered.

Winnipeg was a relatively condensed settlement during the 1870s, its expansion restricted by the Red and Assiniboine rivers and by the inadequate system of local transportation. A majority of the pre-1874 dwellings were concentrated in that section of the city between Main Street and the Red

River. Within this settlement there was little evidence of residential segregation by class or ethnicity. However, with the building boom of the early 1880s, the coming of the CPR, the influx of immigrants, and the general economic expansion of the community, this picture was profoundly revised.

By 1885 the intersection of Portage and Main had emerged as the commercial core of the city. It was here that land values were highest. As Winnipeg's economic functions strengthened, this central district increasingly became the locale in which the city's retail, wholesale, and service establishments concentrated. In addition, as Winnipeg assumed dominance over the region's grain trade, institutions connected with it – such as the Grain Exchange – located there as well. Light industry was a not uncommon type of land use. As the central core became increasingly commercial, its traditional status as a residential area declined. By the turn of the century, it contained the lowest proportion of new residential construction in the city. With the expansion of non-residential land uses, the affluent moved outward to more compatible and attractive surroundings. Their former dwellings were not reoccupied by the lower strata; they settled instead in the North End.

Perhaps the most dramatic revision in Winnipeg's social landscape was the emergence of the North End as the community's working-class and foreign quarter. Before the arrival of the railroad to the city, this area was considered to be a high-status district. Such a reputation was radically changed by the coming of the CPR, which located its yards, shops, and depot there. Workers settled in the surrounding area. A variety of industries located there to be near the railway; this also encouraged concentration of the working class in the North End. The trend was reinforced by the tremendous influx of population after 1896. A large proportion of these were immigrants attracted to the newly constructed and relatively cheap housing of the North End. For example, between 1901 and 1911 Winnipeg's German population increased from 2,283 to 8,912 (Grenke 1975). A good number were poorer immigrants from Europe without enough money to secure a rural homestead.

The working-class character of the North End was clearly suggested in the many primitive frame dwellings, the excessive congestion, the high rate of infant mortality, and the generally inadequate municipal services. The quarter was relatively isolated from the remainder of the community – a result, in part, of the CPR's main line running through the district, and of the industrial concentration there. The inadequacy of the local transportation network to that area added to this isolation: "By 1914 only two overhead bridges and two subways provided access to the North End. And it was not until after 1908 that the City's street railway had more than one crossing of the CPR yards" (Artibise 1972b, 121).

Such isolation was not conducive to the assimilation of immigrants concentrated there. As table 29 demonstrates, by 1916 the North End contained the vast majority of Winnipeg's Slavs, Jews, and Scandinavians. Although

TABLE 29
Specified Ethnic Groups in Winnipeg's North End, 1886-1916

Ethnic group	1886			1901			1916		
	No.	% of total group population	% of district population	No.	% of total group population	% of district population	No.	% of total group population	% of district population
British	5,965	35.5	80.8	10,174	32.6	64.3	23,624	19.6	38.9
Slavic	240	82.0	3.2	1,422	80.4	9.8	18,280	83.3	30.2
Jewish	3	4.9	-	1,023	88.5	6.5	11,746	86.7	19.4
Scandinavian	579	42.9	7.9	832	25.1	5.3	3,864	66.6	6.4
German	242	44.4	3.2	1,360	59.6	9.3	1,411	22.1	2.3
Others	353	29.5	4.9	771	29.9	4.8	1,691	20.1	2.8

From Artibise 1972b. Reprinted by permission of the author.

the British represented the largest ethnic group, their proportion of the area's population had declined significantly since 1886. By 1916 less than one-fifth of the total number of British-origin Winnipeggers lived in the North End. These tended to cluster in specific sections of the area. There were, certainly a large number of non-British groups residing in other parts of the city. These were primarily Germans and Scandinavians, who were not as culturally dissimilar to the British as were the Southern and Eastern Europeans.

Contributing to the increasing class and ethnic residential segregation of Winnipeg was the population movement to other areas of the community. As the street railway system became more extensive after 1900, the upper class concentrated in the South End, while the middle class located in the West End. These districts reported the highest rates of increase of any in the city during 1900–1912. They were primarily residential, with few industrial or commercial establishments locating there; they attracted chiefly persons of British origin and the fairly affluent. In sum, "With the development of South and West Winnipeg as the domain of Winnipeg's largely British upper- and middle-class the City's spatial and social patterns were firmly established. In 1914 there was a distinct north-south dichotomy in Winnipeg which, despite the passage of more than fifty years, has changed but little" (Artibise 1972b, 128).

An additional consequence of the expansion of the street railway system was the increasing growth of outlying suburban areas. By 1914, however, this trend had not yet become firmly established. It is interesting to note that suburbanization to the north of the city represented the weakest form of diffusion – a product in part of the general desire among many in other areas of the city to avoid the North End and its extensions because of their working-class and "foreign" composition and reputation.

In conclusion, the evidence is clear that as Winnipeg evolved toward the position of an industrial and transportation centre, its internal social geography underwent considerable changes. Segregation of types of land uses intensified. The community became "a City divided": "Beyond the central core three distinct areas of new houses had sprung up. To the south the more affluent and chiefly Anglo-Saxon elements of the population resided; to the west was a large middle-class area of somewhat more mixed ethnic composition; and to the north was the working-class and 'foreign ghetto' " (Artibise 1972a, 46).

Both Toronto and Winnipeg experienced similar patterns of increasing spatial differentiation. Over time, their central cores assumed more predominantly commercial functions. With the development of improved local transportation systems, their residential populations diffused outward. Reflecting patterns of social distance, relative ability to afford housing costs, and level of assimilation, a sifting and sorting of the different classes and ethnic groups occurred to a much greater extent than was possible in the commercial centre. This evolution of spatial differentiation, evident in other

communities as well (e.g., Clark 1976), laid the foundations for that ecological structure we encounter in the contemporary Canadian city.

URBAN GROWTH MODELS

It has been a central task of urban ecology to predict in what direction this evolution occurs. It is not enough to propose that with urban growth, sub-areas become more specialized and differentiated in terms of population and land-use types. We must determine whether there are general patterns in this process which outline more fully the precise nature of such spatial differentiation. Let us review the major urban growth models that seek to identify these patterns.

The Burgess Concentric Zone Theory

In chapter 2 we briefly examined Burgess' concentric zone theory, which formed the dominant model of urban growth in classical ecology. Much of the early ecological research sought to apply this scheme. For example, Dawson (1926) showed its applicability to Montreal. He proposed that this was a useful device for presenting those ecological patterns associated with city growth. With respect to the generality of this scheme, however, he observed the need to take into account those factors effecting deviations from the ideal: "There are, however, factors in every local situation such as rivers, mountains, natural lines of communication and the early position of industrial establishments which tend to press these circles out of their regularity in the growth of any city" (Dawson 1926, 6). This was clearly illustrated in Montreal. Although the dominant focus of Burgess' hypothesis gained support – that is, radial expansion from the centre – Dawson found it necessary to represent Montreal's ecological structure in terms of a series of concentric "kidneys." Yet, each section of the city did constitute a natural area, attracting particular categories of residents and institutions. Dawson proposed, even at this early date, that for the most effective urban planning possible these "natural" lines of growth and differentiation must be given full recognition.

Nevertheless, Burgess' concentric zone theory implicitly assumes several important features that are subject to widespread variations. These assumptions include: (1) a growing city; (2) a city with a fairly heterogeneous population in terms of ethnicity, country of origin, race, and occupational specialization; (3) a particular kind of economic base – that is, a "commercial-industrial" city; (4) the presence of certain economic and cultural factors – for example, private ownership of property and economic competition; (5) a characteristic "geometry of space" wherein, for example, the city contains a single centre; (6) an economic assumption that central areas are

more highly valued because of the accessibility which they provide; (7) occupancy patterns distinctive to the varying socioeconomic strata – in particular, the notion that “the more favoured classes will ordinarily preempt the newer and more desirable housing areas” (Schnore 1965b, 353f.; 1972, 7–11). To the extent, therefore, that these assumptions are not applicable to particular urban communities, the concentric zonal scheme will be of limited analytical value.

The Sector Theory

Burgess’ scheme presented the distribution of urban land uses, as arrayed in a series of concentric kidney shapes, in a relatively rigid geometric pattern. Hoyt (1939) found this an unsatisfactory portrayal of the evolution of urban structure. He noted a number of anomalies this scheme ignored – for example, while a manufacturing zone did perhaps surround the central business district at one point, this is no longer the case. Industries follow railroad lines in elongated bands of growth rather than remaining near the central business district. Similarly, in many cities neither the zone of workingmen’s homes nor the high-rent area encircles the central core. Rental area maps do not reveal a series of concentric “circles” with a gradation of rents upward from the centre to the periphery in all sections of the city.

Growth, Hoyt argued, occurs not in uniformly concentric fashion from a central core, but rather along main transportation routes. Similar types of land use and population originate near the centre of a city and migrate outwards in discernible *sectors* towards the periphery. Using rent (house and apartment rents as well as house mortgages or assessments) as an index of the socioeconomic composition of the population and of housing conditions, Hoyt (1939, 112–22) proposed the following principles of urban growth from a comparison of the spatial structure of 142 American cities in 1900, 1915, and 1936; for example:

1. High-rent neighbourhoods of a city do not skip about at random in the process of movement. They follow a definite path in one or more sectors of the city. Movement of the high-rent areas is the most important because it pulls the growth of the entire city in the same direction; lower-income groups seek to get as close to the high-rent pole as possible.
2. If one sector of a city first develops as a low-rent residential area, it will tend to retain that character as the sector expands.
3. High-grade residential growth tends to proceed from the given point of origin along established lines of travel or toward another existing nucleus of buildings or trading centres.

The sector theory of neighbourhood change thus presents a portrait of urban structure as consisting of a set of discernible pie-shaped wedges, not concentric zones. Figure 6 summarizes these differences. Hoyt’s alternative

model, we should note, is a partial one. That is, it stresses differences in housing and rent, but gives little explicit consideration to the characteristics of those who inhabit the structures in the various sectors of a city (Rees 1970). Nor does it adequately take into account, as Hoyt (1964) himself recognized, that the automobile and expressway system opened up large regions beyond existing settled areas. As a result, high-grade residential growth need not be confined entirely to rigidly defined sectors.

The Multiple Nuclei Theory

Both the concentric zone and sector theories assume a single centre from which growth of a city extends outward. This assumption is perhaps appropriate for the commercial-industrial city. It is less so for the contemporary metropolitan community. Harris and Ullman (1957 ed.) observed that, contrary to Burgess' and Hoyt's schemes, the land-use pattern of many twentieth-century North American cities is built around several discrete nuclei. The larger the city, the greater are the number and diversity of nuclei.

These nuclei are the basis for differentiated districts in the following way (Harris and Ullman 1957 ed., 244-45):

Certain activities require specialized facilities. The retail district, for example, is attached to the point of greatest intracity accessibility, the port district to suitable water front, manufacturing districts to large blocks of land and water or rail connection, and so on.

Certain like activities group together because they profit from cohesion. [For example, retail establishments cluster together for their mutual benefit in terms of attracting greater numbers of customers.]

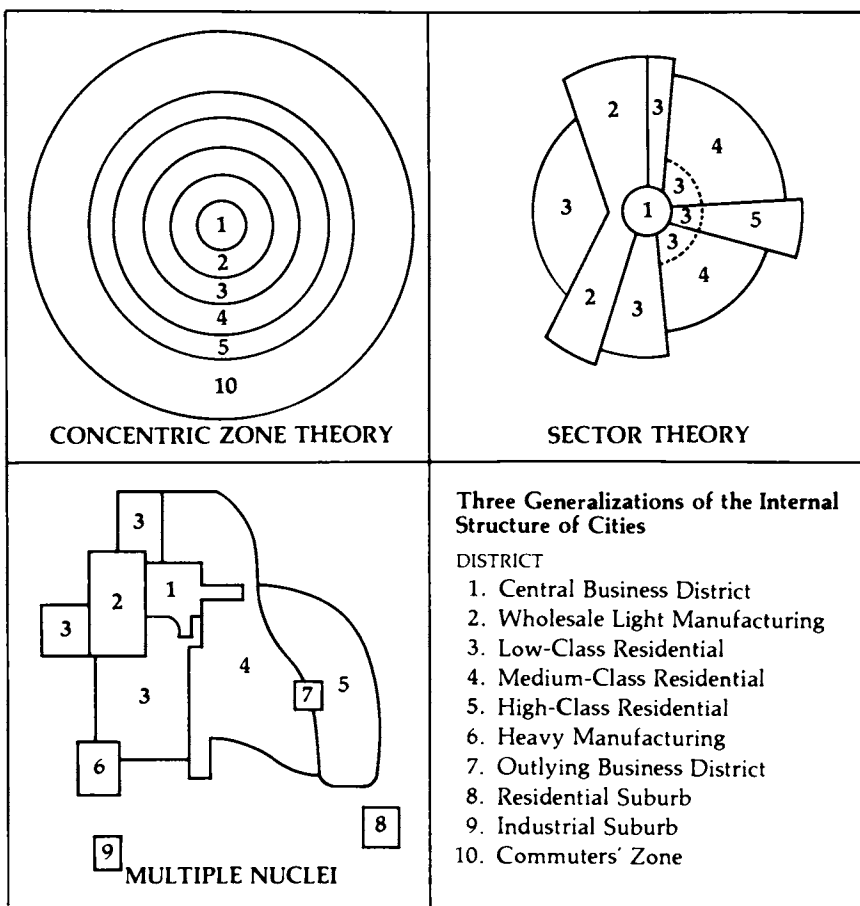
Certain unlike activities are detrimental to each other. [For example, high-status groups, as Hoyt's theory emphasizes, avoid locating close to industrial land uses.]

Certain activities are unable to afford the high rents of the most desirable sites.

Many large cities, as figure 6 suggests, contain a number of distinct districts with separate nuclei. These include: (a) the central business district, which is the point of greatest access from all sections of the city and in which many major retail establishments cluster; (b) the wholesale and light manufacturing district, which locates near the focus of extra-city transportation facilities; (c) the heavy industrial district which, because it requires large tracts of land, tends to be near the edge of the city; (d) the residential district, which in different parts of the city assumes a particular class or ethnic character; (e) minor nuclei, such as a cultural centre, park, or university, for example, which may attract a particular type of population to the surrounding area; (f) outlying suburban or satellite communities, which may arise with improvement in local transportation facilities.

The multiple nuclei theory thus seeks to represent the full complexity of spatial patterns characteristic of the expanding metropolis. The sifting and sorting of population and land use occurs about an array of nuclei, creating extensive spatial differentiation.

FIGURE 6
Generalizations of the Internal Structure of Cities



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Social Area Analysis

The concentric zone, sector, and multiple nuclei models all tend to treat the city in isolation. They fail to recognize that the city itself is a product of changes in the wider society. Social area analysis acknowledges this link (Shevky and Williams 1949; Shevky and Bell 1955). Evolving initially from studies of Los Angeles and San Francisco, this model focuses on the manner in which the level of differentiation within the urban community reflects the

extent to which the total society has undergone structural reorganization. Unlike the last urban growth model, this framework (as well as the one following) deals primarily with population characteristics. It approaches urban structure in a more restricted but nonetheless fruitful manner.

As figure 7 indicates, Shevky and Bell consider the most fundamental change that occurs with the emergence of an urban-industrial society to be a dramatic "increase in scale." Three central processes are involved in this transformation: (a) change in the range and intensity of relations; (b) differentiation of function; and (c) increase in the complexity of organization. Each component of this transformation involves specific trends which provide distinctive forms of social differentiation. Figure 7 summarizes the nature and measurement of these.

The first refers to changing bases of reward and function.

As societies increase in scale, the nature of income-producing property is altered; land gives way to the enterprise, and ownership of the enterprise becomes less significant than position within a given enterprise. At the same time, the occupations within a society are regrouped: they become hierarchically organized into levels of skill, income, and prestige. Modern society, in contradistinction to traditional societies, is organized on an occupational basis. Only in the modern period has occupation come to have a determining influence upon status and rank; today, no other single characteristic tells us so much about the individual and his position in society (Shevky and Bell 1955, 9).

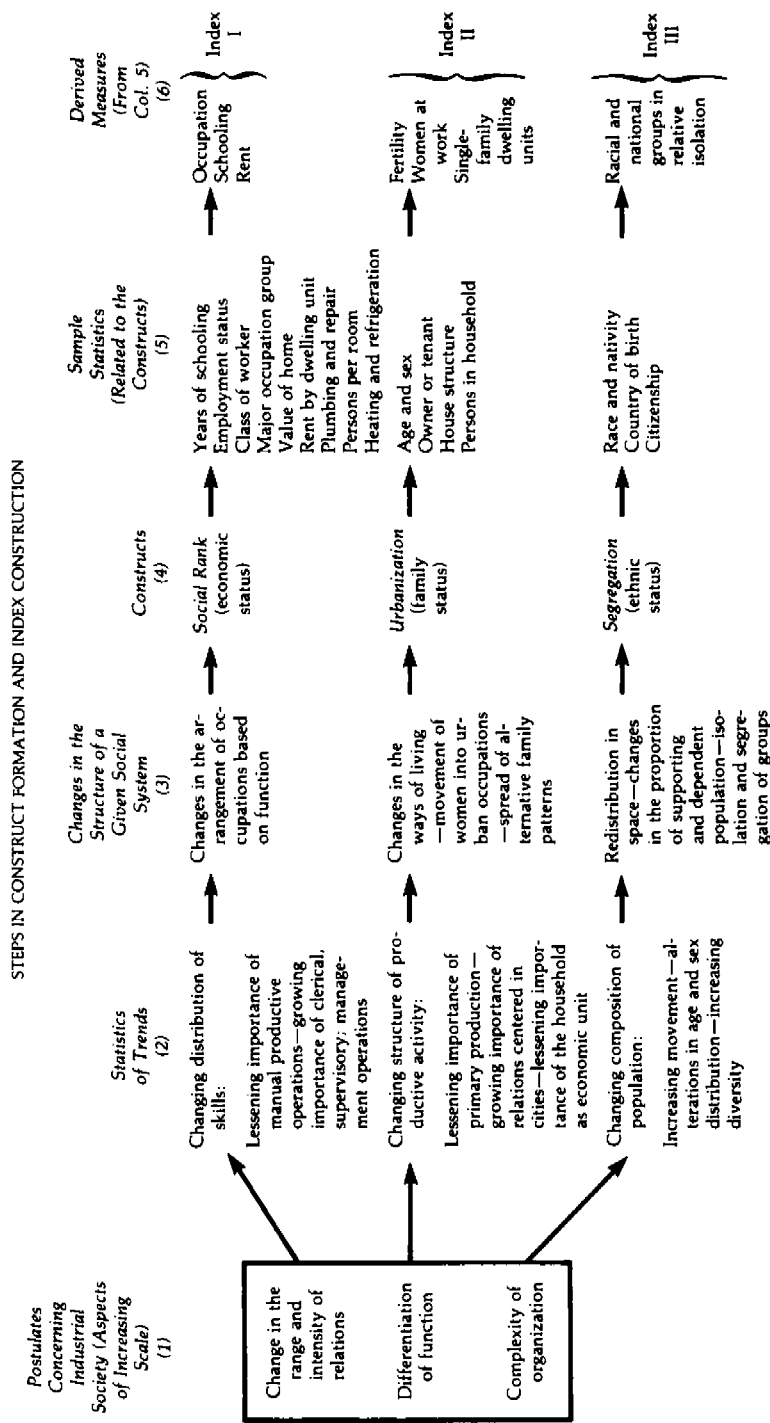
Social rank, therefore, forms an identifiable construct, measured by such indices as occupation and education.

The second fundamental aspect of the increase in scale points to certain patterns assumed to be correlated with urbanization. As the "structure of productive activity" becomes modified and made much more efficient, size of population no longer is an immediate function of the supply of food available. Rather, it becomes much more subject to individual decision making and choice in terms of desired family size. The household assumes less importance as a productive unit in the economy. Family structure becomes subject to individual choice of lifestyle, and is not simply a function of socioeconomic status. In short, as the productive capacities of a society broaden, the range of possible ways of life greatly expands. Low family status (or a high position on the urbanization dimension) is associated with lower rates of fertility, greater participation by women in the labour force, smaller household size. A high degree of "familism" is measured by the contrasting characteristics.

Changes in the composition of population constitutes the third component in the overall increase in scale of an industrial society. The widened network of functional interdependence and more efficient means of transportation and communication encourage population redistribution and mobility. Selective migration between age and sex groups occurs, as does increased isolation and segregation of particular ethnic segments of the population.

FIGURE 7

Steps in Construct Formation and Index Construction: Social Area Analysis and Urban Differentiation



Reprinted from *Social Area Analysis: Theory, Illustrative Application, and Computational Procedures* by Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell with the permission of the publishers, Stanford University Press. Copyright © 1955 by the Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

These patterns of redistribution are reflected in the construct of segregation (or ethnic status).

The Shevky-Bell model proposes, therefore, that as the scale of the wider society increases, the urban population becomes differentiated along three separate and independent dimensions – social rank, family status (or urbanization), and segregation (or ethnic status).

Each of these dimensions can be measured, in turn, by available census tract statistics, as suggested in columns 5 and 6 of figure 7.

THE MEANING OF CENSUS TRACTS

A census tract represents a sub-area in a city, delimited spatially for data-gathering purposes. It ordinarily contains several thousand residents with some degree of social and economic homogeneity. Easily recognized boundaries are used to give the tract a relatively compact shape (Kokich 1970). A city, with the assistance of local specialists, is divided into a number of such tracts by Statistics Canada. In the 1981 Census, thirty-six of Canada's urban centres participated in a census tract program. Statistics gathered on each such tract in a city – ranging from housing conditions, to household structure, to level of income – from one census year to the next provide useful measures of internal changes in the urban community which are not revealed in city-wide data. The census tract is a central unit in urban ecological research.

Through these measures census tract population can be grouped, according to their scores on the various indices of the three factors, into distinct (non-spatial) social areas. Figure 8 depicts the resultant typology. To illustrate, social area 1A contains census tract populations having high family status (or a low position on the urbanization dimension) – that is, fertility ratios are high, there are relatively few women over age 16 in the labour force, and relatively many single-family detached dwellings – but low economic status (that is, relatively many persons over age 25 who completed grade school only and who are in relatively unskilled jobs). In contrast social area 4A contains census tracts with correspondingly high family status, but with high economic status as well. Figure 8 suggests sixteen possible types of social areas. Distinctions between tracts having higher and lower ethnic status – the third dimension of differentiation – extends this to thirty-two possibilities.

Each social area thus contains similar types of census tracts, regardless of where these are located physically in the city (Orleans 1966). The focus of analysis is the underlying social structure of an urban population, not sim-

ply its spatial distribution, although it is assumed that residential patterns inevitably reflect the three bases of differentiation.

It is proposed that "persons living in a particular type of social area would systematically differ with respect to characteristic attitudes and behaviours from persons living in another type of social area" (Shevky and Bell 1955, 20). Social area analysis, therefore, is viewed not only as a useful method for understanding the level of differentiation in an urban population but also an instrument for comparing diverse sub-populations in the city in terms of particular behaviour patterns (Bell 1961), such as degree of involvement in the neighbourhood. (We shall explore this in a later chapter.)

In summary, the Shevky-Bell model can be used to compare the levels of differentiation among urban populations according to the degree of modernization characterizing the wider society. Its utility extends to comparing subpopulations within the same city. Assuming that urban social and spatial structures are interdependent, social area analysis seeks to delineate the nature of, and changes in, residential patterns among urbanites.

Our earlier review of the evolution of Toronto and Winnipeg lends support to this model's prediction of increasing differentiation along the socio-economic, family status, and ethnic status dimensions. Nevertheless, although an important contribution to ecological research, social area analysis contains central weaknesses. In particular,

1. It is too closely linked to census tract data gathered with respect to American cities. The model assumes that the three basic dimensions derived from these data are the most important bases of urban differentiation (Hawley and Duncan 1957).

2. It assumes that census tract populations are relatively homogeneous. This is not necessarily the case; aggregate averages and proportions may

FIGURE 8
Social Area Typology

	High	1A	2A	3A	4A
		1B	2B	3B	4B
Family Status		1C	2C	3C	4C
	Low	1D	2D	3D	4D
		Low			High
		Economic Status			

Reprinted from "The Utility of the Skevky Typology for the Design of Urban Sub-Area Field Studies" by Wendell Bell in *Journal of Social Psychology* 47 (1958) by permission of The Journal Press.

conceal significant individual variance within a tract. A social area may, therefore, be more heterogeneous internally than the scheme suggests (Hawley and Duncan 1957).

3. The theory of social change which forms the basis of this model needs to be more fully tested itself on a cross-cultural basis (Udry 1964; Abu-Lughod 1969). Some have argued that this is an *ex post facto* theory created to justify the three dimensions extracted from census tract data.

4. Most significantly, the model seeks to address the question of how an urban population becomes more socially differentiated over time. It fails, however, to explain fully how this is linked to "the realities of areal residential differentiation within cities" (Johnston 1971). In short, it does not adequately integrate social differentiation and urban spatial structure (Duncan 1955; Hawley and Duncan 1957; Chan 1970).

Factorial Ecology

In the years following its initial elaboration, social area analysis was subjected to a variety of tests and applications, chiefly in the United States (e.g., Bell 1955; Van Arsdol, Camilleri, and Schmid 1958; Schmid, MacCannell, and Van Arsdol 1958). This research attempted to clarify some of the assumptions and generalizations derived from that model, but did not necessarily confirm their validity in all cases.

Beginning in the late 1950s, factor analysis was used by urban ecologists to replace the less precise methods of social area analysis (Abu-Lughod 1969). Factor analysis, as a statistical procedure, is a way of determining the basis dimensions (or factors) which account for most of the variation in a particular data set. Factorial ecology seeks to overcome some of the weaknesses, noted above, of social area analysis. Through the use of factor analysis, it examines the relationships between socioeconomic, demographic, and an array of other characteristics of an urban population. Its goals are twofold: (1) to identify the fundamental dimensions (called "factors") according to which that population is differentiated; and (2) to describe the spatial distribution within the city of those dimensions (Johnston 1971; Berry 1971; Rees 1971; Barrow 1972; Hunter and Latif 1973). Factorial ecology has also been used to develop intercity classificatory schemes (Chan 1970).

In contrast to social area analysis, factorial ecology is more inductive. That is, it examines a much wider range of variables, and is not directly tied to any previous theoretical assumptions about social change (Schwirian 1972; Davies and Barrow 1973). The basic premise in factorial ecology, Berry (1971) observes, is that "meaning in any situation has to be learned rather than posited by aprioristic theory." It can, therefore, "extract" a

larger number of factors or dimensions of urban organization than the Shevky-Bell approach.

Factorial ecology research has shown wide variations from study to study in the number of urban characteristics analyzed, the type selected, and the precise factorial methods used (Barrow 1972). We might classify these studies as follows (Chan 1970):

1. Those which review generally the underlying dimensions of urban structure and their areal distribution (e.g., Timms 1971);
2. Those which focus on the changing pattern of the internal structure over a certain time period (e.g., Hunter 1974);
3. Comparative studies of communities within a large metropolitan area (e.g., Rees 1970);
4. Comparative studies of the internal structure of several cities at the same time (e.g., Clignet and Sween 1969);
5. Studies of the cross-cultural variation of urban structure (e.g., Abu-Lughod 1969).

Most of these factorial ecology studies have identified more than the three dimensions found by Shevky and Bell (Johnston 1971). For example, Chicago's community areas are differentiated in terms of a number of factors, including socioeconomic status, stage in the life cycle, race and resources (reflecting the relation between socioeconomic and racial status), immigrant and Catholic status, and Jewish population (Rees 1970). Cross-cultural comparisons, in addition, suggest that, consistent with what we argued earlier in this chapter, the independence of such dimensions as family status and social rank increases with societal scale (McElrath 1968). A city such as Calcutta (Berry and Rees 1969) or Cairo (Abu-Lughod 1969) fails to show the degree of differentiation between socioeconomic status, family status, and ethnic status that appears to exist in cities of more modernized societies. In Singapore, for example, unlike Western industrial cities where all three of these factors (among others) are important, family status functions as a particularly central basis of differentiation; other characteristics of the population, such as type of housing, are closely correlated with it (Chan 1970). Similarly, in Cairo we find that such an index of family status as fertility varies directly according to class (Abu-Lughod 1969). As Timms (1971, 147) has observed: "Only in the modern metropolis, with its emphasis on individualism and its opportunities for expressing individual choice, may it be anticipated that social rank and familism will become fully independent factors. Even here, the degree of their independence is a problem for empirical investigation, rather than theoretical 'fiat.' "

With respect to the spatial distribution of the fundamental dimensions of differentiation, factorial ecology has demonstrated that the concentric zone and sector models need not be viewed as mutually exclusive. That is, the two

converge insofar as the spatial distribution of factors can be identified in terms of gradients (or zones) and sectors (Schwirian 1972). In particular, investigations of modern industrial and metropolitan cities indicate that socioeconomic status follows a sectoral pattern, whereas family status varies zonally with distance from the city centre (Berry and Rees 1969). In addition, ethnic status tends, although not always consistently, to manifest a clustering or multiple nuclei pattern. Recall that Toronto's and Winnipeg's evolution, discussed earlier, reflected such an areal distribution. The sectoral pattern of socioeconomic status partly derives from, for example, the fact that lower-income groups must live close to their work in the core or along rail and water transport lines. More affluent groups have greater freedom and resources to reside in more desirable areas. Similarly, the zonal pattern of familial characteristics partly reflects that single-family homes and greater space for families increase with distance from the central business district (Rees 1970). Those groups attracted to a more familistic life style, therefore, are more likely to choose residence in an outlying area. Any clustering pattern that the ethnic status factor reveals, in turn, may be consequences of in-group cohesiveness, levels of social distance between groups, and more explicit efforts to exclude possibly dissimilar residents from the immediate area.

In the following chapter we shall examine and illustrate this "convergence" among such urban growth models within Canadian cities as well as patterns of residential distribution.

SUMMARY

1. Spatial structure is closely linked to the ecological process of urbanization. With urban growth, sub-areas become more specialized and differentiated in terms of population and land-use types.
2. This process of increased spatial differentiation is revealed when we examine the movement from the commercial centre of the nineteenth century to more complex forms of urban ecological organization.
3. The compactness, small size, and economic base of the commercial centre precluded the level of spatial differentiation found in the industrial and metropolitan communities. We must not, however, overlook the "seeds of specialization" within the spatial form of the commercial centre.
4. Examining the evolution of Toronto and Winnipeg, we find similar patterns of increasing spatial differentiation. Their central cores assumed more predominantly commercial functions as these cities expanded economically and in size. With the development of improved local transportation systems, their residential populations diffused outward, but not in random fashion. Segregation between classes and ethnic groups occurred to a much greater extent than was possible in the commercial centre.

5. Urban growth models seek to determine general patterns in this process of increased spatial differentiation.
6. The Burgess concentric zone theory formed the dominant model of urban growth in classical ecology. However, it was based on a number of assumptions – for example, that a city contains a relatively heterogeneous population, or exists within a particular type of economic and cultural system in which private ownership of property and competition for desirable land are legitimized – which may not be appropriate cross-culturally or in varying urban contexts.
7. The sector theory argues, in contrast, that growth occurs not in uniformly concentric fashion from a central core, but rather axially along main transportation routes. Similar types of land use and population originate near the centre of a city and migrate outward in discernible sectors toward the periphery. For example, high-rent neighbourhoods expand in the same wedge for a long period of time; they do not encircle the city core.
8. In contrast to the concentric zone and sector models, the multiple nuclei scheme proposes that the land-use pattern of many contemporary cities is focused on several discrete nuclei. The larger the city, the greater are the number and diversity of these nuclei. We must distinguish, for example, the wholesale and light manufacturing districts, segregated residential areas, and outlying suburban clusters. This scheme seeks to represent the full complexity of spatial patterns found in the expanding metropolis.
9. The concentric zone, sector, and multiple nuclei models fail to emphasize that the level of differentiation within the urban community reflects the extent to which the total society experiences structural reorganization. In recognition of this, social area analysis argues that as the scale of the wider society increases, the urban population becomes differentiated along three separate and independent dimensions – social rank, family status, and ethnic status. This scheme also provides a method for comparing diverse sub-populations (within different social areas) in terms of particular behaviour patterns.
10. Although an important contribution to ecological research, social area analysis suffers from several important shortcomings – including its failure to adequately integrate social differentiation and urban spatial structure.
11. Factorial ecology has emerged as a way of identifying more precisely than social area analysis the fundamental dimensions according to which urban populations are differentiated. Through the use of factor analysis it can explore the relationships between a wide array of population variables and characteristics, without necessarily being restricted to any *a priori* assumptions about the nature of social change. It is a particularly useful tool for comparative and cross-cultural studies of variations in urban structure.
12. Factorial ecology studies have identified in many cities more than the three dimensions found by Shevky and Bell. In addition, they support the latter's assertion that the independence of such dimensions as family status

and social rank increases with modernization and the intensification of societal scale.

13. Factorial ecology has also suggested, in terms of the spatial distribution of these dimensions of urban differentiation, that there may be a convergence among the previous urban growth models. That is, socioeconomic status frequently follows a sectoral pattern, whereas family status varies zonally with distance from the city centre. Ethnic status represents spatially a clustering or multiple nuclei pattern.

Chapter 8

Contemporary Internal Urban Structure

The internal spatial structure of Canada's cities is a fascinating mosaic. As we observed in chapters 4 and 7, the contemporary urban and metropolitan community consists of a set of sub-areas differentiated in terms of population and land-use types. One major process affecting that distribution, as our earlier portraits of Toronto and Winnipeg reveal, is *decentralization* (Nader 1975, chapter 3). In the late nineteenth century the extension of streetcar service permitted a greater separation between place of residence and place of work. More important, it encouraged the development of residential suburbs. Such a trend intensified in the twentieth century as the automobile and other forms of local transportation improved accessibility to all parts of the urban region. A variety of urban activities and categories of land use now enjoy a greater freedom than in the past with respect to determining their location (Nader 1975, 62). Accompanying the outward diffusion of the population has been a redefinition of the functions of the central core. Wholesale and industrial establishments increasingly seek to locate in outlying areas where large tracts of vacant land exist, property taxes are lower, and access to interurban transport lines is available. The creation of numerous shopping centres on the periphery since 1950 has led to an erosion of the CBD's prominence in many categories of retail sales. Compensating for the decline in manufacturing, wholesaling, and to some extent retailing activities in the central city has been an expansion there, especially in more recent decades, in office functions. The cores of most of Canada's metropolitan areas have emerged as the pre-eminent office districts for their respective regions. Services that require accessibility to the whole metropolitan area find this location attractive, as do those relying on personal contacts with others in allied firms. Downtown Calgary, for example, showed an annual increase between 1960 and 1974 of 600,000–700,000 square feet of new office space (Zieber 1975, 82–83). Reflecting the city's economic structure, as discussed in chapter 4, oil firms are the primary users of this space. We should note that some categories of office functions have also begun to locate in suburbs as more advanced forms of communication render personal contacts less necessary. Most of the office space in Greater Vancouver is concentrated in the City of Vancouver, although office development has occurred in Burnaby, Richmond, and other outlying municipalities.

Decentralization is the dominant process. Segregation of land uses is sustained, with the central core compensating for these changes by assuming new functions. Continuing our emphasis on the distribution of population characteristics, we shall sketch selected aspects of their spatial organization, using the urban growth models when applicable to analyze urban form. We shall first examine the general patterns of urban differentiation as revealed through recent factorial ecology studies in Canada. To fully understand the "sifting and sorting" of population which produces the observed spatial structure of a city, however, we must explore in greater detail the process of residential mobility or intraurban movement. Certainly one significant component of the spatial form of the contemporary city, which all urban growth models identify, is the ethnic enclave. We must probe the extent to which residential segregation of different ethnic groups occurs and its social significance. Finally, as an additional example of contemporary internal urban structure, we shall briefly consider the ecology of crime, a different type of "sifting and sorting," but nonetheless one of considerable social relevance.

GENERAL PATTERNS OF URBAN DIFFERENTIATION

To identify these patterns let us focus on three questions: (1) What are the fundamental bases of differentiation in Canadian cities? (2) How are these dimensions distributed spatially? (3) Do any changes occur over time either in these dimensions or in their areal distribution?

Paralleling what factorial ecologies have discovered in cities of other modern and industrialized societies, socioeconomic status, family status (or family life cycle), and ethnic status do appear to be important bases of urban differentiation in Canada (e.g., Murdie 1969; Peucker and Rase 1971; Haynes 1971; Bourne and Barber 1971; Bourne and Murdie 1972; Schwirian 1972; Barrow 1972; Davies 1975; Davies and Barrow 1973; Hunter and Latif 1973; Keith 1973; Shrimpton 1975; Hill 1976; Balakrishnan and Jarvis 1976, 1979; Healy 1976; Welling 1977). Despite this general pattern, however, we must recognize that: (1) the relative importance of these dimensions varies across urban Canada (ethnic status is less evident in St. John's); (2) additional bases of differentiation emerge frequently (such as one identifying mobility and population growth in Vancouver); (3) even the three fundamental dimensions appear to be more complex themselves than initially recognized (familism may in some cities be multidimensional; level of fertility, proportion of women in the labour force, and type of dwelling are not necessarily correlated).

Spatial Distribution

These dimensions of differentiation are not distributed spatially in a random manner. In most Canadian cities socioeconomic status follows a sectoral

pattern, whereas family status, however measured, tends to be distributed zonally in a direct relation to distance from the centre (Balakrishnan and Jarvis 1976; Robineault 1970). An analysis of differences between the neighbourhoods within each Canadian metropolitan area reveals

a widely known fact that, in most cities, age differences in the population are distributed in a concentric zonal pattern. Peripheral areas tend to be dominated by families in the early stages of child-bearing and child-rearing; inner suburbs tend to have a somewhat older age profile which approximates that of the city as a whole; and inner city areas are less family-oriented and have a disproportionate share of the city's elderly population, young singles who have left their parental home and childless couples (Hill 1976, 31).

Family status follows a concentric pattern in urban areas smaller than metropolitan communities as well (Bourne and Barber 1971). Nevertheless, these are general spatial trends; cities do vary in the extent to which modifications in such patterns appear. For example, comparing the eleven largest cities in 1961 if we separate the different familism variables, we find that type of dwelling is distributed in a gradient pattern, with the proportion of multiple-dwelling units declining with distance from the city centre. However, in only about half of these cities are the proportion of women in the labour force and the level of fertility likewise distributed zonally (Schwirian 1972). In addition, we should note that "many cities also have sizable areas in the inner city with a fairly young population. Such areas are often associated with a recently arrived immigrant group, or with public housing projects" (Hill 1976, 31).

Similarly, variations appear with respect to socioeconomic status. For example, whereas Edmonton shows a relatively clear sectoral pattern, in Winnipeg and Regina we find, in 1961, "a basic city-wide zonation separating the high status west and south areas from the low status areas on the north and east" (Davies and Barrow 1973, 338).

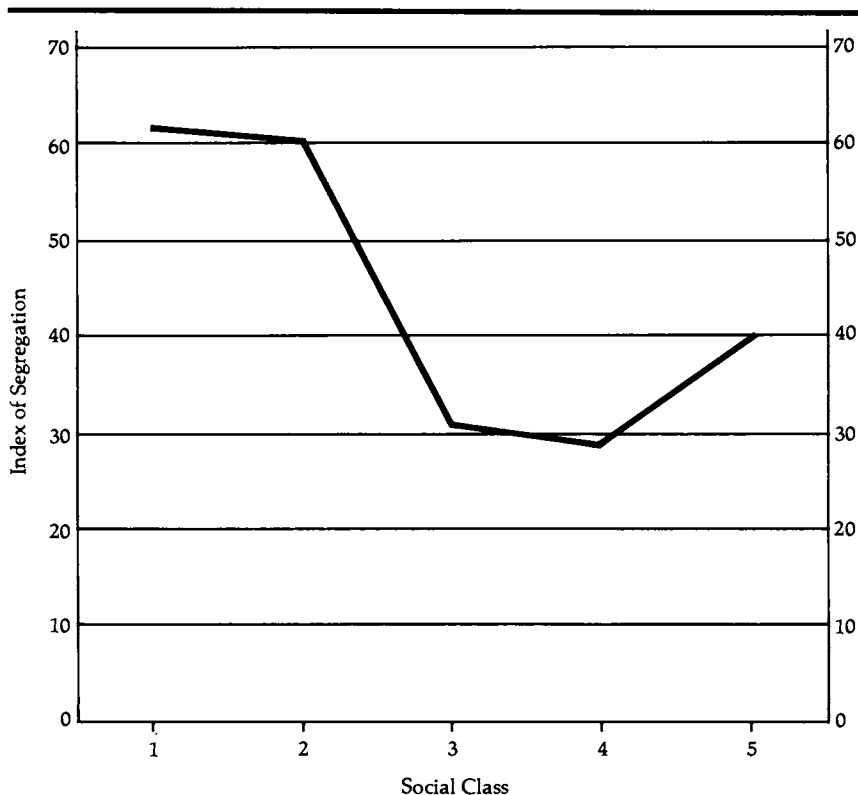
Finally, ethnic status (the spatial contours of which we shall explore more thoroughly later in this chapter) shows considerable variation in its spatial distribution. Not uncommonly it exhibits a clustered or nucleated pattern, as in Montreal (Haynes 1971) and Vancouver (Peucker and Rase 1971). Yet, frequent modifications of this pattern do appear. For example, in Toronto in 1951 a non-British immigrant reception area extended to the northwest of the central business district. During the subsequent decade, several interesting changes occurred (Murdie 1969). A sector in which Italians were concentrated extended outward toward the northwest, reaching a point of six miles from the centre. An additional sector of Jewish settlement diffused outward, toward the north to Forest Hill Village and North York. The deconcentration of these ethnic groups was, thus, increasingly evident; in both cases a sectoral pattern crystallized. Similarly, the St. Boniface area of Winnipeg illustrates the expected ethnic clustering; no such pattern appears in Regina where a combined ethnic socioeconomic dimension exists that is distributed in a sectoral form.

Patterns of Social Class Segregation

The urban population in Canada is differentiated partly in terms of education, occupation, and income, as we have seen. In short, it is stratified in terms of a number of economic groupings. The life chances (i.e., opportunities to obtain material goods and other desirable resources) of any individual or family is partly a function of relative position within this stratified order. In examining the spatial distribution of the socioeconomic dimension of differentiation, it might be useful here to briefly review some of the general patterns of residential segregation among social classes within Canada's metropolitan areas. In particular, we should note the following:

1. As figure 9 illustrates for Regina, those in the middle of the socioeconomic hierarchy show the *least* degree of residential segregation. This

FIGURE 9
Relative Degrees Of Segregation For Social Classes in Regina, 1971



(Social class defined in terms of occupational status; Social Class 1 = highest; Social Class 5 = lowest) (The higher value of the index, the greater the relative segregation).

SOURCE: Luscombe, 1977: Figure 17, p. 98.

reflects the general ecological proposition that residential segregation is greater for those "groups with clearly defined status than for those groups whose status is ambiguous" (Duncan and Duncan 1961 ed.). Segregation more commonly appears among groups at the extremes of the socio-economic scale.

2. The greater the degree of income disparity between families in a metropolitan community, the greater will be the differences between neighbourhoods in family income (Hill 1976, 46). Cities manifesting higher levels of income differentiation also achieve greater residential segregation between income groups. In such communities the "sifting and sorting" process is more vivid along economic lines; patterns of social distance between income groups are spatially more evident.

3. In most of Canada's metropolitan areas, low socioeconomic groups tend to be concentrated near the central business district.

The central business district is almost always poor, and poor areas extend outwards from the core along railway tracks and waterfronts, areas which also include industrial uses which detract from the area as a place of residence. A sectoral pattern is the norm. Often low-income areas also have an ethnic minority. ... In most cities, areas with a concentration of low-income families are entirely within the older inner city, but pockets of rural poverty are occasionally found on the fringe of the CMA (Hill 1976, 59).

High-income sectors also extend outward, although they rarely reach the boundary of the metropolitan community. Hoyt's assertion that such sectors are contiguous to intermediate socioeconomic neighbourhoods frequently proves accurate.

Changes in Spatial Distribution

It has been commonly observed that the pre-industrial city displays a spatial structure that is the complete opposite of the Burgess model.

Concentrated in that city "central" area ... are the most prominent governmental and religious edifices and usually the main market. ... The pre-industrial city's central area is notable also as the chief residence of the elite. ... The disadvantaged members of the city fan out toward the periphery, with the poorest and the outcasts living in the suburbs, the farthest removed from the centre. Houses toward the city's fringes are small, flimsily constructed, often one-room hovels into which whole families crowd (Sjoberg 1960, 96-98; Caplow 1961).

The commercial centre, as we saw earlier, shows a greater residential mixing of the classes within the inner core. Residential segregation is heightened with the emergence of the industrial and metropolitan community formations. An intriguing research question that emerges is whether urban residential structures can be viewed as evolving in a predictable direction from the pattern of "wealthy at the centre" and "poor at the periphery" to the reverse outlined in Burgess's model (Schnore 1972, 16). With the growth and expansion of the city accompanying industrialization, and the development

of short-distance transportation facilities, a closer approximation to the latter might be predicted. A brief examination of this hypothesized change in spatial distribution over time will enable us to elaborate on the patterns of class segregation discussed earlier.

In a detailed series of research studies, Schnore (1965, 1972) explored the nature of central city-suburban differences in class composition as an initial step toward establishing the conditions, even in a highly industrialized society, under which Burgess's assertion that the socioeconomic status of residential areas increases with distance from the city centre is applicable. For example, Schnore (1965) examined the structure of 200 urbanized areas (each of which consists of one or more cities of 50,000 population minimum and all the nearby closely settled suburban territory, or urban fringe) in the United States. He discovered that the size and age of the urban area are important factors.

1. The larger the urban area, the more likely is the suburban population to be of higher socioeconomic status in comparison to the central city residents. This is also the case, the older the urban area. Suburban fringes manifest higher median family incomes over the central cities of older areas (classified in terms of when the central city first attained a population of 50,000). The newer urbanized areas show larger proportions of central cities with higher incomes. Hence, "the common conception – that higher status people live in the suburbs – tends to be true of the very oldest areas, but it is progressively less true of newer areas" (Schnore 1965, 209).

2. Further analysis reveals that age constitutes a better predictor of city-suburban differentials in socioeconomic status than does the size of the urban area. In attempting to explain this, Schnore (1965, 214) observes that the housing stock of older areas is more commonly obsolescent in the central cities. Such housing is unattractive to more affluent and higher-status groups, who seek residence in newer developments on the periphery. In contrast,

In the newer urbanized areas, the housing stock of the central city itself is neither so old nor so run-down as to be unattractive to potential home-owners of the expanding "middle class" ... [and] the competition of alternative (nonresidential) land uses on inner zones now appears to be less intense in these newer cities than they were in older cities at comparable stages in the past.

Such differences suggest a possible evolutionary pattern: as urban areas grow and mature, higher-status groups tend in time to shift from central to peripheral residence. Yet, the general applicability of this pattern can be limited because of the continuation of specific high-status neighbourhoods near the centres of the cities – a possibility Firey (1945) emphasized. In addition, renewal of inner-city areas may create stocks of luxury highrise apartments to which particular segments of more affluent groups are attracted. Finally, middle-class residents may themselves seek to renovate housing in formerly working-class neighbourhoods of the inner city.

Beyond these qualifications, however, it is important to determine whether this evolutionary pattern occurs not only in the American cities (e.g., Pack 1984), but in the Canadian urban context as well. Here we can cite the results of two studies that have tentatively searched for evidence of such a pattern.

1. Examining 1961 variations in levels of education and income within thirty-seven of Canada's urban communities, Guest (1969) initially found support for that pattern. The higher educational and income groups tended to be over-represented in the suburbs of older, larger, and extensively suburbanized urban areas. During the 1951–1961 decade this pattern became more pronounced among fifteen of the largest and oldest metropolitan areas in Canada: "higher income and education groups were generally becoming more heavily represented in the suburbs and less represented in the central cities. The opposite process was occurring for lower income and education categories" (Guest 1969, 275).

Nevertheless, more detailed study of the pattern of these changes reveals inconsistencies. Guest examined differences in the proportion of university-educated residents within concentric zones around the centres of four cities – Montreal, Toronto, Windsor, and Winnipeg. Contrary to what appeared above, no discernible pattern is evident; the changes in proportion university-educated by concentric zone tend to occur randomly. The incomplete congruence between these zonal data and the broad city-suburban comparisons suggests that the latter capture "only very gross changes and that significant variations in change exist within central cities and suburbs" (Guest 1969, 276). As we noted earlier, changes in socioeconomic composition more commonly follow sectoral paths in Canadian cities, which is consistent with the lack of a discernible pattern in the zonal distributions. In any case, Guest's research suggests that Schnore's evolutionary hypothesis is too imprecise a statement of the changes occurring in residential socioeconomic differentiation.

2. This is confirmed in Balakrishnan and Jarvis's (1979) analysis of changes in spatial differentiation within fourteen of Canada's largest metropolitan areas. Dividing each of these communities into distinct sectors and zones, they found that contrary to the evolutionary hypothesis "the majority of Canadian cities actually increased in the [socioeconomic] status of inner-city census tracts and decreased in the status of outlying, suburban tracts" (Balakrishnan and Jarvis 1979, 227). Indeed, in ten of these fourteen cities socioeconomic status is distributed more by sector than by distance zones – a pattern ignored in the evolutionary hypothesis.

In contrast, family size (a measure of family status) does increase with distance from the centre of almost all these cities. This spatial pattern becomes clearer over time. As cities become older and larger, family status, as we saw with respect to Toronto's growth, assumes more clearly a zonal spatial pattern. Such is not the case, however, for ethnic status. This basis of differen-

tiation does not assume a uniform pattern across all these metropolitan communities.

These findings therefore provide little evidence of a tendency toward the Burgess pattern for socioeconomic characteristics as Canadian cities become older and larger; the prevailing sectoral distribution remains pronounced. The evolutionary hypothesis does, however, gain support in terms of family status, which becomes more zonally differentiated over time. Both Guest's and Balakrishnan and Jarivis's research underlines again a point made earlier: Canadian urban ecological structure does not necessarily replicate the patterns found in American cities.

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

The spatial distribution of the fundamental bases of urban differentiation is created by regularized patterns of residential mobility (Short 1982). This we might term the "sorting-out" phenomenon: those with similar economic, social, or ethnic characteristics are likely to move to common residential areas in the city (Salins 1971). That is, "an orderly social geography results as like individuals make like choices, in response to regularities in the operation of the land and housing markets and the collaboration of similar individuals who act to exclude dissimilar people from their neighbourhood or to restrict minority groups to particular areas" (Rees 1970, 313). The decision of where to live is a product of the interaction of such factors as price of the dwelling unit and type and location of residence, as well as such individual attributes as housing needs reflecting stage of the family life cycle, income, and particular lifestyle preferences (Berry and Rees 1969; Rees 1970). Certain spatial regularities emerge from that interaction. For example, with respect to the concentric or zonal distribution of family status, as households move through the family cycle (distinguishing such possible stages as: single or pre-family, young married couple, young family with children, mature family with older children, mature family without children present, and widowed), their requirements for space change (Salins 1971). As the number of children in the family increases, the demand for greater space also enlarges. This need can best be met by relocating at greater distances from the city centre. A gradient pattern is thus produced: households in the child-bearing and child-rearing stages more commonly reside on the periphery; pre-child or post-child households are more attracted to core or inner zone areas (Hayter 1973; Michelson 1977).

Intraurban migration is also shaped by economic constraints that tend to create that sectoral bias observed earlier.

The wealthiest class will bid for sites as near the desirable central business district activities (fashionable shops, offices, and so on) as possible; and progressively lower status classes will flank them on progressively less desirable sites near heavy industry, railroad yards, and swamps. This original pattern of settlement sets the

precedent for all subsequent locations decisions by class status. As the population of the metropolitan area grows, the increase in the number of families of each class status results in a gradual expansion of each status neighborhood outward, and if the relative proportion of households in each class remains the same, a wedge-shaped or *sectoral* pattern by class will emerge. Each class is kept within the sectoral boundaries because of the preemption of flanking sites by another class (Salins 1971, 237).

This outward expansion within each class is partly promoted by those seeking greater space to accommodate changes in household composition. Thus, family status is influential here too. Nevertheless, examining economic status and family status as independent dimensions of urban differentiation reveals relatively separate biases toward, respectively, sectoral and concentric spatial distributions. These patterns are, of course, influenced by the spatial location of new housing; any asymmetrical aspects of these distributions are responses to how the housing market may operate in particular cities. Distance from the core in itself, for example, is of less importance than where appropriate dwelling space can be found (Simmons 1974b).

It might be useful to summarize briefly some of the major generalizations about intraurban residential mobility which illustrate the complexity of this "sorting-out" phenomenon (Simmons 1968, 1974b; Hayter 1973; Obright 1973; Lukomskyj 1974; McCracken 1973; Michelson 1973a, 1973b, 1977; Atkinson 1982; Short 1982; Mison 1982).

1. Residential movement is most clearly related to age of household head and household size. Young, growing families are the most likely to change residences within the city, most commonly moving toward the periphery. Economic factors constrain but do not in themselves motivate intraurban migration.

2. Those renting more commonly change residences. Home ownership discourages further mobility.

3. Intraurban migration tends to be greater in larger cities, reflecting the dynamic aspects of the housing market (e.g., the relatively larger number of new housing units constructed, thus encouraging changes of residence among those seeking more appropriate dwelling space). Communities experiencing population growth also provide greater opportunities for housing relocation.

4. Although job considerations may motivate interurban moves, place of employment has far less influence on the choice of destinations in intraurban mobility than does, for example, stage in the family life cycle. This perhaps reflects the expanded system of local transportation in the contemporary metropolis that permits separation of place of work and place of residence without prohibitive "diseconomies." Low-income groups, however, are more constrained than others to seek housing in proximity to their work.

5. Most intraurban moves are of relatively short distance. More affluent residents are able to move longer distances because their economic resources provide them with greater choice and more extensive housing opportunities.

Residential relocation from inner to outer parts of a metropolitan area results in a longer journey to work (extended pattern of commuting).

6. Earlier we observed that in metropolitan areas middle-income families show the least degree of residential segregation. This reflects patterns of household movement. Using Toronto as an example, we find that "income groups at both the high and low ends of the scale are segregated and move among a few locations with little net change (high symmetry). Movement of middle income groups are less symmetrical and have a much greater range when plotted. It is the latter who generate observed social change in a neighborhood" (Simmons 1974b, 71). The lowest-income residents in Toronto relocate within the oldest parts of the inner city; similarly, the most affluent group changes residences, but remains within the North Toronto sector and central Etobicoke.

7. An important factor influencing the search for housing and ultimately the destination of a change in residence is the *mental map* of the city which the intraurban migrant possesses.

Each migrant household begins its search of the housing market with a preconceived image of the city – some areas are deemed desirable, others are avoided, and still others are simply unknown. In short, each migrant household possesses a certain "awareness space," that is, a set of locations within the total urban space about which it has at least some threshold level of knowledge (Obright 1973, 39).

This mental map or "search space" does not remain fixed; acquisition of new information about the location of housing opportunities, quality of diverse neighbourhoods, etc., will refine that subjective chart (McCracken 1973). Such a map varies among different classes and among households at different stages of the family life cycle.

8. Reasons for moving within the city vary according to the type of housing and location selected (Michelson 1977). For example, those moving to inner-city highrise apartments frequently seek greater access to their workplace, to the downtown area, and to public transportation; they also are attracted to recreational benefits both within the building and nearby. In contrast, as we have noted, those moving to suburban single-family homes seek extra space within the dwelling and private grounds outside to accommodate their household size. Residential mobility commonly reflects a compromise between different needs. Suburban dwellers, for example, may have sacrificed accessibility to shopping facilities in their quest for more living space.

9. Satisfaction with housing and location after the move does not deter subsequent mobility (Michelson 1977). This is especially the case among those who choose to live in downtown highrises. Residents in the early stages of the family life cycle see this type of housing as only temporary, and are satisfied with it because they anticipate moving ultimately to the "ideal" – which is widely shared among diverse segments of the urban population – of a single-family, detached house.

These generalizations emphasize that the "sorting-out" process, which influences the spatial structure of the city, is a product of intricate locational decisions made on the basis of household perception and evaluation of needs and opportunities (Simmons 1968). That process is also influenced by the nature of the housing supply that exists in an urban area (Short 1982).

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY AND SOCIAL SEGREGATION: AN ILLUSTRATION

We have observed that one important characteristic of urban ecological structure is the manner in which social classes are segregated, especially groups at the extremes of the socioeconomic scale. Residential mobility tends to sustain this pattern of segregation. That is, different socioeconomic groups move within "distinct migration channels, as expressed in the similar status categories of the origin and destination area" (Short 1982, 199). This is a function both of choice (desire among the more affluent to live in a neighbourhood that forms an appropriate symbol of their status) and constraint (the less affluent are unable to afford the housing and commuting costs associated with living in a particular neighbourhood).

The relation between mobility and social segregation can be empirically illustrated by comparing the degree of dissimilarity in residential location of local movers (those living in a different dwelling but the same municipality they resided in five years earlier), classified in terms of socioeconomic status. We can present relevant data for four urban areas in Atlantic Canada – St. John's, Halifax, Saint John, and Moncton. The measure we rely on here is the index of dissimilarity, which indicates the proportion of the population in one group (e.g., high-income movers) who would have to relocate to a different census tract or neighbourhood in order to make their spatial distribution identical with that of another group (e.g., low-income movers). The greater the value of the index, therefore, the greater is this spatial or residential separation between two groups.

In each of the four cities, we find in table 30 that the greatest spatial dissimilarity occurs between local movers who differ the most from each other in socioeconomic status (local movers with high education versus local movers with low education; those with high occupational status versus those with low status; those with high income versus those with low income). Residential mobility within the urban community, in short, maintains the spatial separation characteristic of groups at the opposite ends of the socioeconomic scale. Mobility within a city is not random, but relates to overall differences in socio-

economic status. Urban spatial and social differentiation are closely intertwined.

TABLE 30

Indices of Dissimilarity for Groups of Local Movers, St. John's (CMA), Halifax (CMA), Saint John (CMA), and Moncton (CA), 1981

Local Movers	St. John's (CMA)	Halifax (CMA)	Saint John (CMA)	Moncton (CA)
Classified by education*				
High vs. low	34.7	32.7	35.0	29.2
Medium vs. low	23.5	25.0	23.2	20.4
High vs. medium	21.8	18.1	22.4	13.2
Classified by occupational status**				
High vs. low	28.7	31.5	17.4	15.9
Medium vs. low	18.4	17.1	12.5	11.2
High vs. medium	18.7	20.2	15.1	10.8
Classified by income***				
High vs. low	26.0	26.1	33.5	20.5
Medium vs. low	18.1	23.0	20.3	14.9
High vs. medium	14.7	12.6	18.1	12.6

*Education = high (11+ years of schooling), medium (7-10 years of schooling), low (0-6 years of schooling).

**Occupational status = high (upper white collar), medium (clerical-sales-service), low (crafts-trades and manual).

***Income = high (\$21,671+), medium (\$13,000-\$21,670), low (less than \$13,000).

SOURCE: Special census tract tabulations, 1981 Census. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

One central feature of Canada's urban spatial mosaic is ethnic residential segregation. Ethnic collectivities are not distributed randomly. Since Park attempted to systematize its focus, a fundamental concern of urban ecology has been the patterns of ethnic and racial residential segregation manifested within the city (e.g., Duncan and Duncan 1957; Lieberman 1963; Taeuber and Taeuber 1965). The study of such differentiation contributes to an overall understanding of social geography, and also serves to reveal the level of assimilation among minority groups and to suggest the degree of social distance existing between them and the dominant society. Frequently, a strong association exists between "institutional completeness and residential segregation - both factors which sustain ethnic solidarity and inhibit assimilation" (Driedger and Church 1974). In the following we shall briefly explore

the formation of an ethnic enclave, using Chinatown as an example. At a more general level we shall document how such residential segregation varies across Canada's largest cities and among ethnic groups. Our understanding of ethnic residential segregation, of the factors affecting it, and of change in its shape will be helped further by a closer look at a specific city such as Toronto. Our ultimate object here is to identify a series of principles that are applicable to ethnic residential segregation across urban Canada.

In chapter 6 we observed that an ethnic community represents a form of social organization in which informal relationships and institutions develop to fulfil a range of the needs for members. Territorial segregation within the city helps to strengthen such a community, and provides the opportunities for necessary in-group contact (Darroch and Marston 1984). An ethnic spatial enclave is frequently a product of a variety of factors – including, for example, the influence of social networks (friends and kin encourage their intimates to live nearby), the desire to reside with neighbours of similar values and customs, the ability to afford only low-income housing which is frequently concentrated in particular areas of the city, inability to speak the language of the host society, and active discrimination on the part of the latter towards members of the ethnic group.

CHINATOWN: AN ILLUSTRATION OF AN URBAN ETHNIC ENCLAVE

Perhaps one of the most striking cases of an urban ethnic enclave is the formation of Chinatowns in such cities as Vancouver and Calgary. The gold rush in British Columbia first attracted large numbers of Chinese to the West (Chiang 1978). They then turned to construction work on the transcontinental CPR. After its completion they sought employment in unskilled jobs, such as domestic labour, selling vegetables, or operating laundries, in both the larger and smaller centres of the West (Voisey 1970; Baureiss 1971).

The Chinese frequently encountered hostility and open discrimination from the white society. Labour groups sought to expel them, seeing them as possible threats to their own jobs. Evidence of an anti-oriental prejudice commonly appeared. For example, in Vancouver an Anti-Chinese Pledge Group was established by businessmen agreeing not to serve Chinese customers: "Each of the members placed a card in the window of their establishment which read: 'The undersigned pledges himself not to deal directly or indirectly with Chinese' " (Young 1975, 60). Mob attacks on the Chinese led to the imposition of martial law on Vancouver for a brief time.

In response to white oppression, and coupled with a desire to construct a familiar social and cultural environment, the Chinese clustered

in their own enclaves, separate from the rest of the city's population (Voisey 1970). In Vancouver, Chinatown was initially located near False Creek; white businessmen sought to restrict its expansion in the early 1900s. From time to time outside groups attacked Chinatown. Issues such as the employment of white girls exposed the enclave to frequent antagonistic action by Vancouver's City Council (Young 1975).

Because of immigration restrictions most of Chinatown's initial residents were males. The shortage of Chinese women created social disruption (Voisey 1970). Many of the men saw themselves as sojourners who might eventually return to their homeland. Nevertheless within their enclave they formed a variety of organizations based on clan, dialect, and locality divisions. The tongs – composed of those with the same last name – emerged as powerful protective and welfare units (Voisey 1970; see also Light 1974). Most of the residents' needs could be fulfilled within the enclave.

The Chinatowns of Vancouver and elsewhere have experienced significant change during the later decades of this century. The repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1947 allowed single Chinese women to enter Canada in greater numbers, providing a more balanced sex ratio and social structure. Greater acceptance of the Chinese on the part of the wider community permitted them to disperse throughout the region (Cho and Leigh 1972). They are now less segregated than in the past. The Canadian discovery of Chinese food encouraged growth of the Chinese restaurant industry. Post-war immigration brought better-educated Chinese, especially from Hong Kong, who were less willing to accept the traditional social organization of Chinatown based on ascriptive and local ties (Young 1975). Many of these moved directly into suburban locations (Cho and Leigh 1972). New types of organizations, concerned with local Vancouver issues, have emerged with young leaders. Tensions between those supporting the Nationalist Party of Taiwan and those more sympathetic to Mainland China have appeared (Glynn and Wang 1978). Reflecting immigrant youth's lack of identification with Chinatown's traditional social structure, juvenile delinquency is increasing.

Most significantly, Chinatown has become decreasingly a residential community. Its land-use patterns reflect predominantly commercial functions serving the wider community. In 1971, of the 6,000 Chinese living in Calgary, all but 500 resided outside Chinatown (Baureiss 1971). The latter are older and less educated than Chinese living elsewhere. Vancouver's Chinatown Chinese are more likely to have been born outside Canada, to have been taught in school in the Chinese language, and to continue to participate actively in Chinese associations and festivals than their ethnic compatriots living elsewhere in the community (Cho and Leigh 1972). Despite the erosion of its residential function, Chinatown continues to serve the specialized

commercial and cultural needs of Chinese throughout the urban community. Even among those who may have lived at one time within the enclave, it remains a centre for shopping and socializing (Nann 1975). Indeed, vigorous efforts have been made to protect Chinatown from redevelopment and transportation projects that threaten its physical integrity.

Ethnic Residential Segregation in Metropolitan Canada

Not all cities manifest the same level of ethnic residential segregation, nor do all ethnic groups achieve similar degrees of concentration (Richmond and Kalbach 1980). These variations are illustrated in tables 31 and 32. Compar-

TABLE 31
Average Segregation Indices Among Metropolitan Areas, 1971

Census metropolitan area	Average segregation index*
Calgary	.213
Edmonton	.258
Halifax	.208
Hamilton	.282
Kitchener	.241
London	.227
Montreal	.520
Ottawa-Hull	.389
Quebec	.292
Regina	.234
St. Catharines-Niagara	.254
St. John's	.266
Saint John	.184
Saskatoon	.208
Sudbury	.261
Thunder Bay	.200
Toronto	.358
Vancouver	.260
Victoria	.206
Windsor	.251
Winnipeg	.332
Average - Metropolitan Canada	.309

*This is the average level of segregation found among 10 ethnic groups - British, French, German, Italian, Jewish, Native Indian, Dutch, Polish, Scandinavian, and Ukrainian. The segregation index "represents the proportion of the ethnic group's population which would have to move to a different census tract in order for that group's distribution to resemble the distribution of the rest of the population in that metropolitan area" (Hill 1976, 84). Thus, the higher the value of the index, the greater the segregation.

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ing the average segregation (that is, the extent to which ethnic group members would have to move elsewhere in the city to parallel more fully the distribution of the rest of the population) for ten ethnic groups, we find substantial differences between metropolitan areas. The greatest segregation exists in Montreal, followed by Ottawa-Hull, Toronto, and Winnipeg. The lowest level is found in Saint John.

In general, the larger the community, the greater its average ethnic segregation. Specialization of land use is more intense in larger cities; "sifting and sorting" of ethnic groups occurs more vigorously here.

Although the data are not explicitly presented in table 31, it does appear to be the case that cities containing a high proportion of non-British residents also manifest clear patterns of ethnic residential segregation (Balakrishnan 1975). Toronto, in which many foreign-born persons reside, illustrates this relationship. The pressures to assimilate, we might speculate, are muted somewhat by the presence of residents from other than the British group.

Ethnic groups themselves differ in their levels of residential segregation within metropolitan Canada. Table 32 reveals that of the ten groups compared, the Jewish population is typically the most segregated, followed by the native Indians and the Italians. A variety of factors account for these differences. For example:

1. The Jewish pattern is a product partly of their relatively strong cultural identity (Driedger 1978b).
2. The greater the proportion of a group which (a) retains its own lan-

TABLE 32
Average Segregation Indices of Ten Ethnic Groups in Canada's Census Metropolitan Areas, 1971

Ethnic Group	Average Segregation Index*
British Isles	.197
French	.224
German	.181
Italian	.378
Jewish	.581
Native Indian	.401
Netherlands	.227
Polish	.239
Scandinavian	.186
Ukrainian	.231
Average	.309

*See table 31 for definition of the Index.

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guage and (b) is foreign-born, the more likely will it manifest a high level of segregation (as in the case of the Italians).

3. Relative degrees of social distance from the British charter group are also important here. That is, Eastern and Southern Europeans tend to be more segregated from the British than are Western and Northern Europeans (Balakrishnan 1975; Richmond and Kalbach 1980). (The relatively low level of segregation found among the Germans is consistent with this proposition.)

4. Residential segregation, as has been noted earlier, is related to level of institutional completeness. These are mutually reinforcing aspects of an urban ethnic community's existence. (The Jewish and Italian groups illustrate this pattern.)

5. Finally, a group's level of segregation may also be influenced by its socioeconomic status. Many urban native Indians, as we saw in chapter 5, are economically disadvantaged. Their segregation partly reflects their lack of resources and freedom to reside elsewhere than in low-income housing. Discrimination against them, of course, may also be influential in restricting this group to concentrated areas.

Ethnic Residential Segregation in Toronto

The above generalizations are derived from broad comparisons across metropolitan Canada. It will be useful to focus on one community in greater depth. Let us examine more clearly the contemporary spatial distribution of ethnic collectivities in Toronto.

We have repeatedly observed in this chapter and in chapter 6 the impact of immigration on Toronto. The multiethnic character which Toronto assumed especially in the post-war period provides an ideal environment in which to examine patterns of ethnic segregation. Many heads of household in the metropolitan area are foreign-born (Richmond 1972, 15; Sharma 1982). Almost half the CMA population in 1981 were of an ethnic origin other than British or French. Ethnic status has emerged as an important and independent dimension of differentiation in the population.

In considering the residential distribution of Toronto's ethnic groups it should be recalled, as we saw in chapter 4, that the entire metropolitan population grew by seven percent between 1976 and 1981, and by more than one-third between 1961 and 1971. As in other cities, this increase was more pronounced in outlying areas. A number of large, inexpensive homes were available in the inner city. These were particularly attractive to the foreign-born. Whereas the British group were far more willing to rent, the Italians and Slavs, even when it was financially feasible, seemed less desirous of residing in the city's highrises. The residential distributions of these ethnic groups reflected such preferences, as well as in-group cohesion, level of assimilation and ethnic identity, intergroup patterns of social distance, and

levels of socioeconomic status. Those areas of Toronto in which the Jewish, Slavic, and Italian groups had been concentrated in 1961 maintained their ethnic character in subsequent years. Indeed, it appeared that with the out-migration of those of British origin the city's general level of ethnic segregation had actually become more pronounced (Richmond 1972). In addition, there was evidence of an expansion outward by ethnic groups to either the northern or western sections of the metropolitan area (Murdie 1969; Wong 1982).

To determine ethnic spatial location more precisely, Richmond (1972) divided Metro Toronto into three zones – inner city, inner suburb, and outer suburb – and delineated separate areas within each. Focusing on the Jewish, Slavic, Italian, and British groups, he constructed indices of relative concentration for each. As we would expect, table 33 indicates that the various ethnic groups are not concentrated in the same areas of the city. For example, the Jewish group is clustered in two inner and outer suburban areas where non-Jews are strongly underrepresented.

There are three additional aspects of these spatial patterns we should emphasize.

TABLE 33
Indices of Relative Concentration by Ethnic Group in
Metro Toronto, 1970¹

Zone	Ethnic Group			
	Jewish	Slavic	Italian	British
Inner city				
1	- 83	+ 26 ²	- 71	- 36
2	- 85	- 31	+ 37 ²	- 50
3	- 26	- 32	- 36	+ 5
Inner suburb				
4	- 87	+ 15 ²	- 67	- 8
5	+ 27 ²	- 44	- 49	- 26
6	- 53	- 22	+ 33 ²	- 44
7	- 91	- 58	- 65	+ 29 ²
Outer suburb				
8	- 92	+ 4 ²	- 45	+ 18 ²
9	+ 53 ²	- 53	+ 1	- 42
10	- 81	- 4	+ 21 ²	- 21
11	- 68	- 14	- 12	+ 17 ²

1. The index of relative concentration measures the degree of representation of a group compared with a hypothetical random distribution in which each group would be found in a given area in proportion to its size and the total population. A positive value, therefore, presents the degree of over-representation; a negative value points to the level of under-representation. This measure controls for the size of the ethnic group in the city's population. It should be noted that in almost all areas the British constitute a majority or plurality, regardless of the level of relative concentration of any minority ethnic group.

2. Areas of concentration by the particular ethnic group.

Adapted from Richmond 1972.

1. With respect to their residential distributions, Toronto's ethnic groups tend to be internally differentiated in terms of class, period of immigration, and family status (Richmond and Kalbach 1980). The pattern of Jewish concentration itself varies by socioeconomic status: "In the inner suburb (roughly corresponding with the Forest Hill area) concentration increases with higher social status, whereas in the outer suburb concentration is greatest among the [Jewish] lower and middle status householders" (Richmond 1972, 41). Similarly, Italians who had more recently arrived cluster especially in an inner-city area, whereas Italians of longer tenure in Canada are more commonly found in an inner suburb. Family status is also not without importance. British non-family households, for example, are concentrated in an inner suburb. These variations reflect what we observed generally with respect to intraurban residential mobility. Locational decisions by those even of the same ethnic group will vary according to household requirements and economic and cultural resources.

2. Movement of an ethnic group outward to the suburbs need not lead to erosion of its level of residential segregation. This is illustrated in the continuation of Jewish segregation, despite their suburbanization over the past several decades (Wong 1982). The exodus of members of an ethnic group from an area of concentration in the city does not necessarily lead to spatial diffusion. Particularly when coupled with a high level of institutional completeness, redistribution may lead to re-creation of new areas of concentration (Driedger and Church 1974).

3. Consistent with the independence of ethnic status as a dimension of social differentiation, variations in ethnic residential segregation cannot be explained by reference solely to differences in socioeconomic status (Darroch and Marston 1971). To illustrate, those of both the British and Jewish groups are overrepresented at the upper levels of the socioeconomic dimensions; yet, as table 33 reveals, they are not concentrated in the same areas of Toronto. Likewise, although the Italian and Slavic occupational distributions are not dissimilar, their residential patterns are. Ethnic affiliations and identities thus continue to exercise an important influence not only on urban social organization, as we argued in chapter 6, but also on spatial structure.

4. Expanding on the first point made above, in chapter 6 we distinguished between the concepts of ethnicity, ethnic affiliation, ethnic group, and ethnic community. Typically, as we have seen, ecological research subsumes these within the more general term "ethnic status." This tends, however, to conceal the complexity of this basis of differentiation. That is, contrary to the rather oversimplified approach of social area analysis, ethnic status can be measured in terms of at least six separate indices - national or ethnic origin, race, religion, immigrant status (i.e., period of immigration), birthplace, and language (Darroch and Marston 1969). Although this is not shown in table 33, each of these manifests a relatively independent pattern of residential segregation. This residential dissimilarity occurs in significant variations along each dimension. For example, with respect to religion, the

Jewish group tends to be highly segregated residentially from Catholics and Protestants. Likewise, a low level of segregation exists between groups from Northern and Western Europe; yet those from Southern and Eastern Europe are not only relatively segregated from both of these, but also from each other.

The various dimensions of ethnic status are independent. One cannot be subsumed within another; each exercises an independent influence on residential segregation. Hence, it can be argued "that a representation of the degree of residential integration and assimilation among ethnic groups may depend to a larger extent on the particular dimension to which reference is made" (Darroch and Marston 1969, 86). To achieve a comprehensive understanding of the ecological distribution of ethnic collectivities in any city it is thus necessary to take account of all the components of ethnic status. This has not yet been adequately done in urban ecological research.

THE ECOLOGY OF CRIME

We in this chapter have been examining the spatial distribution of such central characteristics of the urban population as socioeconomic status and ethnic status. There are other socially relevant characteristics we can explore this way as well – for example, criminal activities. One persistent interest in urban ecology has been to examine the environmental conditions under which crimes of different kinds occur and to analyze the spatial distribution within the city of criminal activities (Harries 1980). This focus on the spatial distribution of crime within communities has existed at least since the nineteenth century. Henry Mayhew's (1968 ed.) mammoth study of the subculture of poverty in London during the mid-1800s anticipated many of the concerns of contemporary criminologists and ecologists. With the development of the Chicago School and its articulation of the nature of human ecology, analysis of the spatial dimensions of criminal activities became more fully systematized. As illustrative of this perspective, Shaw and McKay (1972 ed.) examined the distribution of juvenile delinquency in Chicago over several decades. Delinquency rates, they documented, decrease gradually to the periphery of the city, and cluster particularly in inner-city areas characterized by physical deterioration, decreasing population, low rentals, foreign-born residents, and newly arrived migrants. Although they failed to distinguish between "areas of criminal production" and "areas of crime commission" (Morris 1957), their work (later broadened to include cities other than Chicago) stands as a valuable attempt to examine how "differences in the economic and social characteristics of local areas parallel variations in rates of delinquents" (Shaw and McKay 1972 ed., 13).

Recent years have seen a resurgence of interest in the ecology of crime, especially in the United States (e.g., Harries 1974, 1976, 1980; Wolfgang 1968; Newman 1972; Jeffery 1976; Pyle 1974; Schmid 1960a, 1960b; Boggs

1970; Beasley and Antunes 1974; Shelley 1981; Wilkinson et al. 1984). Similar work has also been completed in Canada (Atkinson 1982b; Engstad 1980; Hagan, Gillis, and Chan 1980; Waller and Okihiro 1980; Worrell and Sparkes 1982; Ross 1977; McGahan 1982a, 1984a, 1984b). This research is linked to an interest in specifying more clearly the nature of criminogenic environments, but at the same time avoiding the tendency towards environmental determinism for which ecological studies have been severely criticized in the past (Harries 1980). Ecological analyses, it is recognized, may provide a grasp of the correlates of crime; this is quite distinct from causal analysis, which requires appeal to an array of socioeconomic and sociopsychological variables.

Several themes repeatedly appear in this more recent ecological research that we might usefully identify.

- Central areas of cities frequently show the highest concentration of crime, with lower rates occurring in outlying residential areas (Schmid 1960a, 1960b).

- Areas of highest educational status show low crime rates. A recent study (McGahan 1982a) of the distribution of crime in St. John's, for example, found that the greater the proportion of multiple-family dwellings, of residents with low levels of education, and of lone-parent families (among other characteristics) in an area of the city, the more likely are the police to receive calls there – such as crimes against the person and disturbances in the home.

- We must distinguish between areas where criminals reside and where they commit their offences. The latter, especially in the case of property crime, reflect varying opportunities presented. The former frequently are characterized by low socioeconomic status, physical deterioration, residential mobility or transience, and weak family life.

- The spatial distribution of crime may vary according to the category of offence. For example, whereas violent crime is more apt to occur in low-income areas (Ross 1977), unarmed robbery appears more dispersed throughout the city (Pyle 1974; Boggs 1970; Atkinson 1982).

- The journey to crime, as one type of intraurban travel behaviour (and distinct from the journey to work) is of particular interest. Crimes against the person are more apt to occur close to where the offenders live (Wolfgang 1968). Similarly, it has been suggested that “the higher the rate of delinquent residence in any ward, the shorter distance do offenders who live in that ward tend to travel when committing their offense” (Harries 1980, 85–86).

- As land-use patterns change, crime may be displaced from one area to another within the city. This may be most dramatically evident in mass clearance projects occurring in a process of urban renewal.

- As an extension of ecological research, the manner in which building design or more specific environmental conditions (proximal space) provide greater opportunities for criminal activities must be examined (Newman

1972; Engstad 1980). The broad span of unsupervised parking lots adjacent to new shopping malls, for example, offers opportunities for theft from unlocked cars. Similarly the design of buildings may not be conducive to the type of informal surveillance by neighbours that discourages possible burglaries or break and entries.

SUMMARY

1. Socioeconomic status, family status, and ethnic status are important bases of urban differentiation in Canada.
2. Nevertheless, depending on such factors as size and homogeneity of an urban community, the relative importance of these dimensions varies between cities. Additional bases of differentiation frequently appear.
3. The three fundamental dimensions are also complex. Socioeconomic status is not necessarily a single differentiating axis across urban Canada, nor is family status unidimensional.
4. With respect to spatial distribution in most Canadian cities socioeconomic status follows a sectoral pattern, and family status is arrayed zonally in direct relation to distance from the centre. Departures from these general patterns, however, do occur. The spatial patterns that ethnic status manifests fluctuate between cities.
5. Residential segregation is greatest among groups occupying extreme positions on the socioeconomic dimension.
6. Cities with a higher degree of family-income disparity will manifest greater residential segregation between income groups.
7. In most metropolitan communities, low socioeconomic groups are clustered in proximity to the central business district.
8. The spatial distribution of the dimensions of differentiation may change over time. One possible model of these changes argues that as cities grow and age their residential structures will evolve in a predictable direction from the pattern of "wealthy at the centre" and "poor at the periphery" to the reverse outlined in Burgess's scheme. Although evidence appears to substantiate this in the American context, such a prediction does not gain clear support in Canadian cities where changes in socioeconomic composition more commonly follow sectoral paths. The evolutionary hypothesis is applicable, however, in terms of family status which over time assumes a clearer zonal distribution.
9. The "sorting-out" of those with similar economic, social, or ethnic characteristics through residential mobility accounts for the spatial distribution of the fundamental bases of urban differentiation.
10. Intraurban mobility is a function especially of changes in household size and composition or stage in the family life cycle. As the number of children in the family increases, the demand for greater space encourages relocation at greater distances from the city centre. The gradient distribution of family status thus emerges.

11. Economic constraints also influence intraurban migration and help to shape the sectoral distribution of socioeconomic status. Middle-income families move within a greater range of locations than those at either end of the socioeconomic dimension; this accounts for the lesser degree of residential segregation found among the former.

12. The motivations for intraurban mobility vary according to the type of housing and location selected. Central city highrises, for example, attract those in the early and later stages of the family life cycle because this type of housing best satisfies their need for accessibility to the downtown.

13. The formation of a spatial enclave within the city helps to strengthen the cohesiveness of an ethnic community.

14. Ethnic residential segregation is more intense in Canada's larger cities. Cities which contain a high proportion of non-British residents manifest clear patterns of ethnic residential segregation.

15. Ethnic groups themselves differ in their levels of residential segregation. The Jewish population tends to be the most segregated in metropolitan Canada, followed by the native Indians and the Italians. Such variations reflect an array of factors, including strength of cultural identity, proportion of a group which retains its own language and which is foreign-born, and level of institutional completeness.

16. More precise examination of patterns of ethnic segregation in Toronto reveals several interesting themes – for example, that the residential distribution of those in the same ethnic group varies by class and family status, that an ethnic group's overall level of residential segregation is not solely a product of its general position on the socioeconomic dimension, and that all the components of ethnic status must be measured to grasp fully the complexity of ethnic segregation. These themes must be explored more widely on a comparative level across urban Canada.

17. Criminal activities and the residences of offenders are spatially distributed in regularized patterns. Urban ecology seeks to identify these patterns. For example, central areas of cities frequently contain the highest concentration of crime, and the spatial distribution of crime varies according to the category of offence.

Part Five

Urbanism

As we observed in the Introduction, another major area of study in urban sociology is the structure of urban social organization. In this part we shall survey selected aspects of "urbanism," or the social life found within cities. We shall look first analytically at the fate of kinship and community in the urban system; this will be balanced with a more holistic view of the structures of inner-city and suburban communities.

In chapter 1 we noted how the classical analyses of urban social organization generated a typological perspective which was elaborated, for example, in the work of Robert Redfield. In contrasting the urban with the non-urban, emphasis is given to the decline in significance of the local community and all primary intermediate groups. As with kinship, the neighbourhood is seen as increasingly of little importance. The assumption is that intimate and familial-like relationships are now no longer pronounced. Urbanites are related functionally rather than in terms of close moral ties. In addition, this paradigm emphasizes the problem of social order in the city. With the demise of the traditional bases of social solidarity, concern is manifested for the apparent disorganization of the city and for the manner in which the individual can now be integrated into the urban system.

It is important to recall that Redfield, in particular, emphasized that his theoretical scheme represents only one step toward a more comprehensive understanding of urban social structure. Subsequent research has indeed demonstrated the inadequacies of that model and the need to take fuller account of the complex ways in which urban residents organize their social lives. Despite the proliferation of secondary relationships in the city, primary group ties continue to be important to urbanites. In the following chapters we shall examine the fruits of this research.

Chapter 9

The Fate of Kinship and Community in the Urban System

A central task of urban sociology is the delineation of those types of relationships and institutions which structure the social life of city residents. An added goal is the explanation of any variations in these social patterns. A significant research interest related to this task has been the fate of kinship and community in the urban system, which we shall explore in this chapter.

URBAN KINSHIP

The fate of urban kinship represented an important topic in the classical literature on the city. Toennies, for example, saw the kinship bond as one of the clearest manifestations of *Gemeinschaft*. He proposed that with the increasing dominance of the *Gesellschaft* mode of life, the centrality of the family and its integration into a wider kinship network were becoming less apparent. This theme reappeared in the works of many others considered to be the "founders" of urban sociology as a discipline. Wirth (1938, 21) summarized this position.

The transfer of industrial, educational, and recreational activities to specialized institutions outside the home has deprived the family of some of its most characteristic historical functions. In cities mothers are more likely to be employed, lodgers are more frequently part of the household, marriage tends to be postponed, and the proportion of single and unattached people is greater. Families are smaller and more frequently without children than in the country. The family as a unit of social life is emancipated from the larger kinship group characteristic of the country, and the individual members pursue their own diverging interests in their vocational, educational, religious, recreational, and political life.

Redfield found evidence to support this position in his comparison of the Yucatán communities. Tusik, the tribal community, displayed strong familial organization, integrated extended family systems, and the wide applicability of kinship terms. Urban Merida manifested the opposite. From this Redfield delineated an ideal type of folk society within which kinship relations oc-

copy a dominant position; the urban counterpart de-emphasizes such bonds.

This typological perspective crystallized in the formulation of the isolated nuclear family thesis, espoused particularly by Talcott Parsons.

The Isolated Nuclear Family Thesis

Parsons' (1959, 1964a, 1964b) primary interest was in the delineation of the place of kinship in modern industrial-urban society. Through a formal, cultural analysis he proposed that the contemporary kinship system is characterized by a set of interlocking but nonetheless separate conjugal families – the "family of orientation" (which one enters through birth) and the "family of procreation" (which one enters through marriage). The uniqueness of this arrangement rests especially in "the absence of any important terminologically recognized units which cut across conjugal families, including some members and excluding others" (Parsons 1959, 242). The nuclear family is, in short, structurally isolated, not being integrated into any wider kinship unit.

The structural isolation of the conjugal family is further revealed in that it constitutes the ordinary unit of residence, geographically and economically independent of other kin. This is most fully realized in the urban middle class. It is among this group, Parsons believed, that the nuclear family isolation thesis has greatest applicability. Particularly within this segment the marriage bond holds prime importance over other possible kinship ties. This demonstrates the close interrelation which exists between the kinship and occupational systems of contemporary society. Parsons argued that as a consequence of the emphasis on functional achievement, the occupational system requires that other sectors containing contrasting orientations be segregated. The kinship structure, especially with its emphasis on ascribed roles (such as that of son, acquired without individual choice) and particularistic relations (involving obligations specific to these roles), needs to be restricted in its sphere of influence. Parsons proposed that isolation of the nuclear family is the most functional pattern in a society marked by high levels of urbanization and industrialization. The rapid rates of social and residential mobility in such a context demand the lessening of any inhibiting kinship bonds beyond those found within the immediate family. Detachment from strong allegiances to kin constitutes an important prerequisite to the most efficient functioning of that occupational structure characteristic of the modern industrial-urban community. Substantially the same conclusion was drawn by several others (Linton 1959; Schneider and Homans 1955) who supported the isolation thesis.

The isolated nuclear family thesis represents a continuation of the classical and typological view of the fate of kinship in the urban system. It constitutes

a translation of that interpretation into a general position on the role of kinship in the contemporary city, characterized by high levels of role specialization and mobility (cf., Gibson 1972).

The Rediscovery of Urban Kinship

Just as in time there emerged empirical evidence to challenge other features of the typological perspective of urban social organization, so too was the isolated nuclear family thesis the object of substantial critical review. Urban kinship was "rediscovered" and the complexity of this bond more fully appreciated (e.g., Axelrod 1956; Sharp and Axelrod 1956; Greer 1956; Coult and Habenstein 1962; Adams 1968; Aiken and Goldberg 1969; Firth, Hubert, and Forge 1970; Carns, Goldenberg, and Greer 1973; Rosenberg and Anspach 1973; Stack 1974; Goldenberg 1977).

To illustrate, in a series of early studies conducted in Cleveland and elsewhere, Sussman (1959, 334; 1953) provided evidence suggesting "that many neolocal families are closely related within a matrix of mutual assistance and activity which results in an interdependent kin related family system rather than the currently described model of the isolated nuclear family." Sussman found that almost all middle-class and working-class households interviewed were engaged in patterns of mutual aid with their kin. Parsons had proposed that the isolation of the nuclear family reached its fullest development among the middle class. Yet Sussman (1959, 338) found that it was precisely among this group in which the amount of help exchanged between kin was greatest.

The middle more than the working class are in a better position to give financial help and expensive gifts; and non-working middle-class grandmothers are more likely to be "free" to take care of grandchildren. The offering of advice, most likely to be given by the parent to the child, reflects middle more than working class occupational status and child rearing patterns.

In short, the isolated nuclear family thesis is "more fiction than fact." Reflecting a traditional bias emphasizing urban social disorganization, it fails to give full recognition to the manner in which urban families are linked with kin in "complicated matrices of aid and service activities" (Sussman and Burchinal 1969, 362). A more appropriate view is that of an interdependent kin-related family system to replace the stereotype of the atomized family. In such a system, Litwak (1960a, 1960b) has shown, ties with kin are not necessarily disrupted by occupational or geographical mobility. In a wide variety of metropolitan areas, involvement in kinship networks appears to be an extremely important part of many residents' patterns of social participation (Wellman, Carrington, and Hall 1983). Such links provide urbanites with material and psychological support, and are sustained by the sense of obligation to maintain contact and by mutual concern for well-being. Ties

with parents remain strong, as do those with siblings. Relations with more distant kin are more selective and respond to differences in personal compatibility (Carns, Goldenberg, and Greer 1973; Adams 1968; Firth, Hubert, and Forge 1970).

Historical Analysis of Urban Kinship

Examination of the significance of kinship relations in urban social organization is not restricted merely to the contemporary scene. More recently, attention has been given to this from a historical perspective, filling a critical gap (Hareven 1977; Nett 1981; Tilly and Cohen 1982). As Laslett (1972a, 2) observed, there has been generally a lack of interest in the history of the family.

Sociologists of the family have evidently been satisfied with contemporary materials and have tested their hypotheses about familial attitudes, the institution of marriage, and even the size and structure of the domestic group itself, with no more than occasional reference to the past.

Frequently, there has been the tendency to project from the present to the past by identifying family systems in underdeveloped countries as the predecessors of contemporary forms in more industrialized societies. This, Laslett pointed out, involves inappropriate assumptions.

One important consequence of this lack of historical research on the family is acceptance without question of the notion "that in the past the domestic group was universally and necessarily larger and more complex than it is today in industrial cultures" (Laslett 1972a, 5). The view of a "classical extended family," existing prior to the emergence of the industrial-urban community – proposed in the isolation thesis – is derived from this assumption.

Laslett (1972b, 130) demonstrated that at least for England this interpretation is unwarranted. Examining the records of a large number of English parishes, he discovered that the mean household size remained at 4.75 persons from the late sixteenth century to the first decade of the twentieth century. This covered a span from the pre-industrial social order to a point well after industrialization and urbanization had become solidly established. Decline in household size, evident especially after 1911, occurred only in the later stages of industrialization.

In addition, traditional English households, prior to the industrial-urban age, did not appear to contain resident kin. Only a small minority of the households had members representing more than two generations. The largest households were found among the upper socioeconomic strata, reflecting the presence of many servants.

Although much more research in this area is needed, the relative constancy of mean household size from the late 1500s to the early 1900s cannot be dismissed, nor the more general implications of this pattern ignored.

There is no sign of the large extended coresidential family group of the traditional peasant world giving way to the small, nuclear conjugal household of modern industrial society. In England in fact, ... the large joint or extended family seems never to have existed as a common form of the domestic group at any point in time covered by known numerical records (Laslett 1972b, 126).

Such a historical clarification suggests, as do the initial empirical challenges discussed above, the need to revise significantly the isolated nuclear family thesis. Indeed, extending this historical analysis, on the basis of his study of kinship in the Union Park community of Chicago during the late 1800s, Sennett (1970) concluded that the nuclear family was *not* more adapted to the constraints of the urban-industrial order. On the contrary, it represented a means of retreat from the perceived disorder and complexity characteristic of the rapidly growing city.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Chicago underwent dramatic changes in demographic and economic structures. Its population doubled each decade after the Great Fire of 1871 and, concomitantly, its status as a marketing centre, initially oriented to the immediate area, assumed much broader regional and national concerns. Its economic activities were increasingly conducted in highly bureaucratic organizations. The instability of class position across generations, the emergence of large, bureaucratized structures, and "the shifting character of the division of labor in the work force" all created a sense of fear among many in the middle class. Involvement in the small intense or nuclear family was a means by which some sense of security could be attained. It was not, however, conducive to upward mobility. Those living in nuclear families were unable to respond to opportunities for status advancement and to pass on this capacity to their sons: "in the intensive families the father did not exhibit to the sons a pattern or a model of successful adaptation to work in a way that was present in the other homes" (Sennett 1970, 178-79). Not only were sons of nuclear families less likely to be upwardly mobile than those in extended families, but they were also much less likely to move out of Union Park. This retreat from participation in the city's rapidly expanding economy was paralleled by their physical attachment to the place in which they had spent their childhood.

Such patterns suggest that the Parsonian assumption as to the greater functionality of the isolated nuclear family in the emerging industrial-urban system is open to question on historical grounds (cf., also Anderson 1971; Shorter 1975; Griffen and Griffen 1975; Modell and Hareven 1975; Hareven 1975, 1977; Hareven and Langenbach 1978).

CANADIAN URBAN KINSHIP PATTERNS

In examining the fate of kinship in Canadian cities it is important that a historical perspective be adopted, as Laslett and Sennett have done (Nett 1981; Tilly and Cohen 1982; Bradbury 1984).

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE IN MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY URBAN NEW BRUNSWICK

In the mid-1800s Fredericton and Saint Andrews were two relatively small urban centres. Each contained approximately 700 households. And despite their small scale, each community manifested the same patterns with respect to size and structure of household that occurred in larger cities such as Hamilton and Toronto.

The vast majority of households in both Fredericton and Saint Andrews were nuclear. More importantly, a strong link existed between socioeconomic rank and size of household (table 34). Those in the lowest (V) occupational category were twice as likely as those of the highest rank (I) to live in small (1-3 person) households. The reverse occurred with respect to large (7+ person) households. Associated

TABLE 34

Size and Structure of Household by Occupational Classification of Head, Fredericton and St. Andrews, 1851 (%)

		Socioeconomic Rank*				
		I (High)	II	III	IV	V (Low)
SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD						
1-3	Fredericton	11.3	13.9	20.9	24.9	24.9
	St. Andrews	14.3	12.3	23.0	21.6	32.6
4-6	Fredericton	41.3	46.4	33.6	32.4	47.6
	St. Andrews	45.7	38.7	40.1	41.4	37.5
7+	Fredericton	47.6	40.1	45.7	43.2	27.6
	St. Andrews	40.0	49.0	37.0	36.9	23.8
STRUCTURE OF HOUSEHOLD**						
Nuclear	Fredericton	76.3	88.8	92.2	89.2	92.4
	St. Andrews	74.3	79.0	77.7	83.8	83.8
Extended	Fredericton	17.5	3.8	4.9	8.1	4.8
	St. Andrews	20.0	13.4	20.4	9.9	8.8
Multiple	Fredericton	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
	St. Andrews	0.0	3.2	0.0	3.6	2.5
Non-family	Fredericton	3.8	2.5	1.5	2.7	0.7
	St. Andrews	2.9	2.7	0.6	2.7	2.5
Solitary	Fredericton	2.5	5.0	0.5	0.0	2.1
	St. Andrews	2.9	1.6	0.6	0.0	1.3

*Adapted from Katz 1975

**Structure of household: nuclear = married couple with or without children or a widowed person with children; extended = contains unmarried kin; multiple family = two or more married couples; non-family = unmarried people whether related or not; solitary family = living alone without spouse, children, or other kin, although they may have boarders or servants present.

SOURCE: McGahan 1982b, Appendix B.

with wealth and status in nineteenth-century urban New Brunswick was the ability to maintain larger households. This link between socioeconomic rank and household size persists when we control for age, origin, and date of entry to the province, of the head of household.

In Fredericton, as in Saint Andrews, incidences of extended households were also more prevalent among those with the highest socioeconomic rank. The greater the wealth and status of the head, the more likely was his household to include kin. Nevertheless, most households regardless of socioeconomic rank were nuclear.

Two notes of caution are in order here.

1. Table 34 presents a static picture of household size and structure. It captures these households at only one point in time. Through the course of the entire life cycle, households may have included, at a particular stage, relatives and others such as boarders, servants, or apprentices. Such "malleability" was a prominent pattern in nineteenth-century urban (Modell and Hareven 1977) as well as rural (Gagan 1981) households.

2. In focusing on the size and structure of the household, these data do not allow us to examine the strength of relationships that existed between members, coresident or not, of the urban family as a social network. Prominence of the nuclear household can, as we have noted above, coincide with strong ties to kin living outside the household.

We must recognize that, with respect to the Parsonian thesis, industrialization initially affected families in the commercial city (Katz 1975; Katz, Doucet, and Stern 1982). In a community such as mid-nineteenth-century Hamilton, the vast majority of households were simple in structure. Nevertheless, many expanded for a time to include relatives or boarders (many of whom were young, unmarried people); as these left, the households contracted. Such "malleability" or fluidity in household composition represented an important characteristic that Laslett underestimated.

In actuality boarders and relatives probably moved in and out of households fairly often ... in the mid-nineteenth century it was common for families to have other people living with them at various points in their histories. ... [We must recognize] the dynamic nature of the household, which continually expanded and contracted its membership around a nuclear one. ... (Katz, Doucet, and Stern 1982, 302, 304).

Only among the relatively wealthy were households extended in their composition on a more stable basis. As Hamilton industrialized after 1851, this malleability lessened. A larger proportion of young people remained at home with their parents for a longer period of time. Adolescence emerged as a distinct phase in the life cycle. Young men went to school longer and entered the labour force later. Their dependency on immediate kin thus increased during early adulthood.

Despite the prevalence of the nuclear family in contemporary Canadian cities, kinship continues to exercise an important role. For example, a recent survey of East York residents in Toronto reveals that half of all their intimate ties are with kin (Wellman 1978, 1979; Wellman, Carrington, and Hall 1983), many of whom are spatially dispersed. Through such links mutual assistance and support are exchanged (Shulman 1976), particularly between parents and their children (Irving 1972; Snider 1972; Beland 1984). The significance of kinship for urbanites persists, even though it may not function in the form of a large, closely integrated network of extended kin relations.

THE FATE OF COMMUNITY IN THE URBAN SYSTEM

Thirty years ago Edward Shils (1957, 131) expressed a profound rejection of the classical image of urban society.

As I see it, modern society is no lonely crowd, no horde of refugees fleeing from freedom. It is no "Gesellschaft", soulless, egotistical, loveless, faithless, utterly impersonal and lacking any integrative forces other than interest or coercion. It is held together by an infinity of personal attachments, moral obligations ...

Criticizing nineteenth-century sociological thought for having ignored the place of primary groups in complex society, he pointed to the increasing recognition being given at the time to the role of "informal and intimate relations." In such areas as industrial sociology, sociometry, and social psychology, the research of Mayo, Moreno, and Lewin all demonstrated the need to see primary groups as not dated remnants of an earlier age, but integral parts of larger ongoing social structures. In short, there appeared to be a renaissance of the study of primary groups which was "leading to a more realistic awareness of the dynamic components of social life which operate in all spheres, those which are informally organized as well as those which are formally organized" (Shils 1951, 69). Such a "renaissance" had important implications for the study of urban social life.

The Community of Limited Liability

Illustrating that "renaissance," one of the most significant initial challenges to the typological conception of urban social organization was Morris Janowitz' *The Community Press in an Urban Setting* (1952). At the time of this study, the city of Chicago contained eighty-two community newspapers with a total weekly circulation of close to one million readers. This represented a substantial increase since 1910; during those years circulation had grown over 700 percent. These were English-language publications oriented to specific local areas within the metropolis. Adopting the classical typological perspective, this growth would have been puzzling. Such a counter-trend would have been explained away as a mere rural survival "destined to

be eliminated in the so-called 'long run' " (Janowitz 1967 ed., 2) with the general decline in significance of the local community in the urban system. In contrast, Janowitz argued that the persistence of the local community press was indicative of the central functions it performed. It represented an important means through which the individual was integrated into the urban social structure and consensus on the local level maintained. Readership was concentrated especially among those closely tied to the local area: women, married couples, households containing children, long-time residents, and those whose own socioeconomic status paralleled that of their local community.

The local press, it is important to note, was not a substitute for the city-wide mass media. Insofar as the local press concentrated on events in the immediate area, it represented "an auxiliary not a competing news source with the daily press." Local involvement, in short, did not exclude broader orientations: urban residents effected a balance between involvement in local and non-local institutions. This demanded revision of traditional conceptualizations.

Social scientific efforts to analyze community involvement have been dominated by a typology involving a sharp distinction between those individuals who display local community orientation and those who are reputed to have a broader or metropolitan outlook. At numerous points, the data at hand question the advisability of considering urban personality in these sharply opposing terms (Janowitz 1967 ed., 199).

An "either-or" framework is less appropriate generally than one which stresses *relative commitments* to both local and non-local social systems.

That the community press was read by most of the urban residents also suggested the need to recognize the importance of intermediate institutions within the local community. These exercised control over many individuals, and integrated them into the larger society. Janowitz found, for example, that those who were highly attached to the local area were also those with the greatest political knowledge and competence. Participation and confidence in the wider political structure were encouraged, not discouraged, by local community identification.

In summary, contrary to the typological scheme which assumed the demise of the local community as a significant social fact, Janowitz' research pointed to its continued role as an agent of integration and control. A more appropriate view is that of a community of limited liability. That is, "in varying degrees, the local community resident has a current psychological and social investment in his local community" (Janowitz 1967 ed., 211). Such involvement is particularly pronounced among those households faced with problems of child-rearing, yet is limited by their need to take account of non-local institutions. The individual's allegiance to the local area is contingent on the community's ability to serve her needs. Should that not occur, what social and psychological investment has been developed is withdrawn.

Generalizing on the basis of this model, therefore, Janowitz (1967 ed., 212) proposed,

The resulting balance of social control at the local community level is one which leaves relatively untouched only a minority of residents, heavily involves another perhaps smaller group in the community, and creates varying degrees of involvement for the bulk of the residents.

As with urban kinship, the local community was "rediscovered," but the need to recognize the complexity of involvement in it among urban residents was also emphasized. Janowitz' research and that of others (e.g., Smith, Form, and Stone 1954; Stone 1954) pointed to the need to reconsider the fate of community in the urban system and thereby modify some of the assertions in classical urban theory.

Much the same conclusion was reached by other students of urban social life at the time. For example, Greer (1962, 21) observed that, in part, the crisis of the city is actually an intellectual one. The traditional images of the urban system reflect more nineteenth-century "laissez-faire" liberalism than they do current reality. Similarly, Gans (1962a, 628-29) attacked Wirth's characterization of urban life, noting that it is actually valid only for particular areas in the inner city, and can be challenged on three points.

- (a) the conclusions derived from a study of the inner city cannot be generalized to the entire urban area;
- (b) there is as yet not enough evidence to prove ... that number, density, and heterogeneity result in the social consequences which Wirth proposed;
- (c) even if the causal relationship could be verified, it can be shown that a significant proportion of the city's inhabitants were, and are, isolated from these consequences by social structures and cultural patterns which they either brought to the city, or developed by living in it.

These criticisms parallel those made of the general folk-urban scheme.

In an attempt to clarify the fate of community in the urban system, an important area of concern has been the social significance of the urban neighbourhood. Attention has focused on the extent to which this is an important source of social participation and integration for city dwellers. A significant empirical issue is the extent to which *physical* proximity is translated into *social* propinquity. Janowitz' model of the "community of limited liability" only partially resolves this question.

Variations in the Urban Neighbourhood as a Local Community

Extending that model, we must analyze the urban neighbourhood as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. The various aspects of locality-based relationships include (Keller 1968; Hunter 1974, 1975),

1. *definition of the neighbour role* – that is, the set of norms that reflect and guide the type of contact between co-residents of a specific area in the city (cf., Useem, Useem, and Gibson 1960);

2. the type of *neighbouring interaction* that actually occurs between co-residents;

3. the *symbolic-cultural* dimension of the neighbourhood, which includes *cognitive* definition of what the neighbourhood is, its *assessment* or evaluation (in terms of meeting particular needs, for example), and the sense of *attachment* it engenders between its residents.

As has been seen, classical urban theory proposed that the neighbourhood's social significance for urbanites has eroded (cf., McKenzie 1968e; Roper 1964; McClenahan 1942). Yet subsequent research clearly demonstrated that any generalizations about the urban neighbourhood as a social fact must be derived not only from investigation of all the above dimensions but also of the various types of local areas within the urban community. With respect to the latter, for example, Bell and Boat (1957) found in San Francisco that informal participation with neighbours is more common among those residents of areas where family life especially is a dominant daily concern. Generalizations about "the" urban way of life, therefore, are imprecise if they fail to recognize that the social significance of the neighbourhood does vary systematically among different parts of the city.

Additional confirmation of this point came from a series of studies done in Los Angeles (Greer 1972). Greer's analyses suggest

... that the disappearance of the "local community" and neighborhood in the city is far from complete. It is most nearly true in the highly urban area [i.e., one containing few children, few single-family detached dwellings, and many women in the labour force], but in those neighborhoods characterized by familism there is considerable vitality in local associations. This is evident in neighboring, local organization and church participation, readership of the local community press, and ability to name local leaders. It is accompanied by an attitude of commitment to the area as "home" – a place from which one does not want or expect to move. In participation and in felt permanence, the highly urban areas had a much weaker hold on their residents (Greer and Kube 1959, 46–47).

Just as there was concern for identifying variations in the urban neighbourhood as a local community, so too was consideration given to those individual characteristics that appear to be most closely associated with high levels of involvement in the locality as a social system (e.g., Shuval 1955, 1956; Tomeh 1967). This research, again, was stimulated by the desire to refine the generalizations of classical urban theory. For example, Caplow (1964) found that neighbouring is most intense among San Juan women living in the best housing, from families with high socioeconomic status. Those most fully involved locally were also long-time residents of the area (cf. Kasarda and Janowitz 1974).

In exploring generally the fate of the local community in the urban system it is particularly necessary to integrate these strands of neighbourhood research – that is, to articulate the relative influence of social contexts and individual characteristics on degree of involvement with neighbours.

The Theory of Opportunity Structures

One attempt to take both of these factors into account and thus provide a more comprehensive explanation of the apparent variations in neighbouring behaviour is the theory of opportunity structures (McGahan 1972a; 1972b; 1973). In chapter 8 we explored the bases of urban internal differentiation. Contemporary factorial ecology has demonstrated that the city is a mosaic of sub-areas differentiated along such dimensions as socioeconomic status, family status, and ethnic status. Here we are examining the social consequences of this *spatial* structure (cf. Scheu 1975). The following "model" consists of a series of empirical generalizations which emphasize the importance of family status:

1. *The ecological structure of the urban community in part consists of sub-areas differentiated in terms of familism* (Greer 1962, 80-97). As we noted in chapter 8, it appears that in many Canadian cities this variable may be multidimensional. It is, in any case, a measure of lifestyle divergences: contrast, for example, the highly familistic way of life – in which orientation to child-rearing and family living has predominance – with a type of career orientation in which child-rearing is less central. Thus, a highly familistic sub-area in the city might be one in which there is high fertility, relatively few women in the labour force, and many single-family dwelling units. Recall again from chapter 8, however, that at least in the Canadian urban context these three indices are not necessarily correlated.

In that chapter we also observed that the spatial distribution of the bases of urban differentiation is created through a "sorting-out" of those with similar economic, social, or ethnic characteristics in regularized patterns of intraurban residential mobility. In particular, individuals wishing to pursue a similar life-style tend to choose similar places to reside within the urban community, if their social rank and ethnicity permit (Fava 1956, 37). Those who are committed to a familistic way of life tend to choose peripheral and suburban areas within which to reside. The consequence of similar locational choices is the ecological differentiation of lifestyles; that is, the development of primarily familistic areas as contrasted with other areas that are less so (Schmidt 1975).

2. *The structure of opportunities for interaction of the neighbouring types varies directly according to the degree of familism of the specific subarea* (Nohara 1968, 186-87; Greer and Orleans 1968, 204). Interaction in spatially defined groups is encouraged by the following conditions, which are found most frequently in highly familistic neighbourhoods (Greer 1962, 111-12): (a) "intersecting trajectories of action" – that is, the use of common or overlapping space for daily household tasks; (b) common routines during the day; (c) common needs (for example, maintenance of safety of children) which stimulate some degree of functional interdependence between households; and (d) the presence of children who, through mutual play, encourage interaction between their parents.

In general, the more familistic the neighbourhood, the more important the dwelling unit as a site for everyday life because of the large number of daily activities that centre on it. Surrounding households assume greater importance for the successful functioning of the resident's own home. This situation and the factors listed above serve as conditions for the occurrence of what Festinger (1950, 34) refers to as "passive contacts" between neighbours – that is, casual or involuntary meetings between the residents of an area.

3. *Since in a highly familistic area the opportunities for neighbouring are greater, the level of social contact will be greater than between those living in a less familistic area.* This assumes, however, a certain degree of homogeneity among neighbours (Gans 1968, 154). In short, the greater the opportunities for interaction, the greater the actual neighbouring between those individuals so predisposed. In addition, a highly familistic neighbourhood gives rise to a normative and value environment in which even the less predisposed are stimulated to interact.

4. *Whereas the degree of familism determines, to some extent, the structure of opportunities for neighbouring, access to that structure may be determined by such critical individual characteristics as: class, length of residence, marital status, age, and personality type.* Many studies (cf. Keller 1968) have found that these variables do tend to affect the individual's potential for neighbourliness. As a result, within the same type of area there can be wide variations in the levels of neighbouring between residents because not all are equally predisposed to engage in this form of interaction. However, those with similar social characteristics are more likely to interact in a highly familistic area where the opportunities for this form of contact and its encouragement are greater (Fava 1958, 125; Nohara 1968, 187; Blum and Kingston 1984).

5. *Apart from the degree of familism of an area, there are additional aggregate characteristics which may influence the opportunities for and actual level of neighbouring interaction.* Some of the more important of these appear to be,

(a) *Degree of class heterogeneity among the area residents.* Bracey (1964, 86–87), for example, found that neighbouring is less intense in areas containing residents from different social classes. Gans' (1967, 161–62) research also documented this.

(b) *Degree of residential mobility among the area's residents.* Contrary to the assumptions of classical urban theory, Fellin and Litwak (1963) have pointed out that this may not retard local social involvement if neighbourhoods are structured to deal with high residential turnover.

(c) *Ecological location of the area*, that is, whether it is located in a suburb, central city, or on the periphery of the city. Fava (1958, 124–25), for example, found that suburban residents have higher neighbouring scores than inner-city residents – even when controlling for such individual characteristics as sex, age, and marital status (cf. Tomeh 1964).

(d) *Length of settlement of the area.* With respect to the influence of this variable, Keller (1968, 68) has noted: "Two phases of neighboring and socializing may be identified according to available data on communities in transition and on new communities. The first phase is characterized by eager interaction and mutual helpfulness, whereas the second is characterized by restricted interaction, selectivity, and withdrawal." Gans' (1967, 45f.) study of the evolution of Levittown tended to validate the existence of these phases.

(e) *Population density of the area.* Wirth proposed that high density breeds superficiality and impersonality in social relationships between neighbours. Kasarda and Janowitz' (1974) comparative analysis of communities in England fails to support this: length of residence is a far more important factor than community size or density in influencing local social bonds and attachments.

(f) *Physical structure of the area.* Festinger (1950, 37f.) has documented the influence of physical design features on the likelihood of initial "passive" contacts and the formation of friendships between neighbours. The necessity of examining the impact of physical structure – for example, layout and spatial distribution of housing – has been demonstrated in a number of different contexts (Merton 1948; Kuper 1953; Whyte 1957; Stevenson, Martin, and O'Neill 1967).

The preceding generalizations represent one means through which some of the variations in urban neighbouring can be explained and the differences between urbanites with respect to their involvement in the local community better understood. Although certainly limited – for example, this "model" does not fully address the interrelations between the three aspects of locality-based relationships we identified earlier – and is in need of much further refinement – particularly if additional ecological research does demonstrate and elaborate the multidimensional nature of family status – this theory of opportunity structures does attempt to go beyond the broad generalities proposed in the typological tradition.

Conception of the Neighbourhood

As early as 1921 Roderick McKenzie (1968e, 73) observed: "Probably no other term is used so loosely or with such changing content as the term neighbourhood, and very few concepts are more difficult to define." Viewing the neighbourhood from an ecological perspective would lead one to define it "as an area or a place within a larger entity, [which] has boundaries either physical or symbolic and usually both – where streets, railway lines, or parks separate off an area and its inhabitants ..." (Keller 1968, 88–89). On the other hand, the neighbourhood can be viewed as a social unit in which there are "shared activities, experiences, and values, common loyalties and

perspectives, and human networks that give to an area a sense of continuity and persistence over time" (Keller 1968, 91). These definitions of neighbourhood as physical and social units are not necessarily incompatible, but they are distinct.

We have briefly examined the nature of variations in neighbourhoods as social units. It has, however, been increasingly recognized that attention must also be given to the local area as a spatial unit within which social networks are developed. Particular concern has focused on the subjective conception that urban residents have of their neighbourhood – the symbolic-cultural component of locality relationships (Seabrook 1974; Baskett 1970). As Strauss (1967, 89) observes, an important task of contemporary urban theory is "to develop categories and related hypotheses about the differential symbolism of space, and the differential behavior associated with that symbolism." It is necessary, in short, to consider not only the individual resident's involvement in the local community, but also his conception of what that area constitutes, as this may reflect or influence that degree of involvement (Hunter 1974). In the Fleetwood section of Surrey, British Columbia, for example, the mental map (or subjective social space) of the area held by long-term residents is more compact and organized than is that of those who have only recently moved there (Cromwell 1972). Similarly, newcomers to Edmonton – perhaps partly reflecting their as yet limited involvement in the city's institutions – do not have as detailed a mental map of the downtown area as do those who have lived there for a long period of time (McGillivray 1974).

Such a subjective conception is termed by Lee (1968, 248) a "socio-spatial schema."

... space is effected by what fills it, the social relationships are influenced by space, and the physical objects are closely identified with the people who live in them or make use of them. This complex interdependence results in a mental organization that functions as a unit.

This mental schema emerges in an intricate manner.

Repeated transactions with people and places in the urban environment leads, by a process of differentiation, to the separation of an organized socio-spatial whole ... People, buildings, and space are articulated into a figure which is well-defined and stands out from the ground, and the space within is continuous; it appears "different" from the remainder; it has familiarity and "meaning."

This neighbourhood schema is also a product of the resident's past experience in the urban environment and in other spatial settings as well. It constitutes only one part of a comprehensive set of images of the city which most urbanites develop. With respect to this, Lynch's (1960, 85–86; also Lynch and Rivlin 1970) detailed investigations of patterns of urban imagery showed that

Rather than a single comprehensive image for the entire environment, there seemed to be sets of images, which more or less overlapped and interrelated. They

were typically arranged in a series of levels, roughly by the scale of area involved, so that the observer moved as necessary from an image at street level to levels of a neighbourhood, a city, or a metropolitan area.

Conceptions of neighbourhood may, therefore, be strongly influenced by these other sets of images (cf. Tuan 1974; Lofland 1973; Rowles 1978).

"TROUBLE AREAS" AND POLICE URBAN IMAGERY: AN ILLUSTRATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTION

Consideration of the symbolic-cultural dimension of the urban neighbourhood and of the "socio-spatial schema" is part of the more general study of environmental perception. The urban environment is conceived of in different ways by different social and cultural groups (Ittelson 1978; Moore 1979; Gerson and Gerson 1976; Tuan 1977). All residents do not see their street, neighbourhood, or city in the same manner (Karan, Bladen, and Singh 1980). Those who are part of the same "social world" tend to attribute similar meaning and structure to the environment around them (Duncan and Duncan 1976).

One group whose daily work is directly dependent upon a keen knowledge of how the urban environment is structured is certainly the police (Vincent 1979). Any police force is closely tied to the type of environment within which it must operate. In the course of their daily duties – whether on the street, in a patrol car, or in more specialized units – officers develop and enrich their imagery of that environment. Such perceptions, in turn, will have some influence on how they deal with the surrounding community (Wethman and Piliavin 1967; Groves and Rossi 1970). This is illustrated in a recent study of how members of the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary interpret their urban environment, the city of St. John's (McGahan 1984c, 1984d).

A central part of the content of police urban imagery is their perception of the distribution of crime in the city. The subjective conception of the ecology of crime both reflects the primary interests of their occupation, and indeed, influences how their policing activities are executed. Aside from an absolute increase in crime, the police in St. John's identify as an important trend the outward spread of shoplifting, of theft from vehicles, and of domestic disputes. This is partly due to the development of malls outside the downtown area and the dispersion of public housing units throughout the city.

The city is perceived by the police partially as a mosaic of "trouble areas": islands of "offensible space" (Hagan, Gillis, and Chan 1980). Specific sections of the community are identified as the source of calls, as the location of known and suspected offenders, and of those who repeatedly cause problems for the police. The distribution of these

"trouble areas" or "hot spots" dominates their imagery of the urban environment.

There are differences in location, size, density, and period of development of these trouble areas. Nevertheless, they possess, to the police, many common characteristics. They typically represent concentrations of low-rental and subsidized housing, defined as row housing or town housing. The development of these over the past decade has significantly influenced officers' cognitive representations of the community. The residents are characterized as of low income, on welfare, unemployed, and with low education. They are seen as living in excessively congested conditions, and manifesting a similar "style of life" because of their common economic and social characteristics. The moral character the police attribute to them is based on overt indices of that style of life, such as residents' disregard for property, an apparent lack of interest in maintaining their housing. Deterioration of the housing is viewed as an inevitable process within trouble areas, no matter what efforts are made by the city to forestall it. Newer public housing units on the outskirts are perceived as simply at an earlier stage in that evolution which culminates in severe dilapidation.

To the police what is most distinctive about these trouble areas is the prevalence of crime and calls. There is, in their assessment, a direct and clear correlation between row housing/public housing and crime. Compared to these areas, the rest of the city is likened to a "house with nobody in it." Disorderly conduct, malicious damage, liquor-related calls, neglected children, disturbances in the home, car thefts, are all perceived as especially prevalent in these neighbourhoods.

These are neighbourhoods containing, as well, possible suspects for crimes committed elsewhere in the city. It is generally assumed that residents of trouble areas are responsible for disorder and crime in other parts of the community. Perceptions of a criminogenic environment channel police investigatory activities.

At the root of police apprehension regarding subsidized town housing and its dispersal throughout the city is the manner in which it affects the surrounding neighbourhoods. The "imageability" of trouble areas is heightened by an implicit theory of contamination. The outward spread of public housing introduces crime and disorder to areas that had not experienced such problems before. Differential association between young residents of surrounding neighbourhoods and those living in trouble areas, for example, leads to greater incidences of juvenile delinquency. "Contamination" also occurs as a consequence of public housing residents themselves taking advantage of the opportunities for crime in the surrounding area.

Citizens' resistance to the dispersal of public housing elicits sympathy, given the process of contamination that appears to the police to be

almost inevitable. That resistance, while understood, is likewise seen as relatively fruitless. The police are powerless observers of an ecological pattern of invasion that has direct implications for their own work. Dispersal of town housing is a marked trend over the past decade in St. John's, a trend that has transformed the environment in which the police must carry on their daily routines. It has served to heighten the prominence of trouble areas within the total set of images they develop of that environment.

Most importantly, they adapt their policing activities to the types of problems and frequency of calls they encounter in trouble areas. Residents are hostile to the police, which confirms the attribution of social disorder to, and general characterization of, these sections of the city. Precautions must necessarily be taken in responding to calls from these neighbourhoods – for example, ensuring backup units or additional patrol cars are available if needed.

In summary, there is an inherent consistency in the police conception of trouble areas: their characterization is integrated to create a holistic image of this part of the environment. This "model," in turn, is used both to predict the type of calls likely to develop in such neighbourhoods and to direct the most appropriate response. It helps the police give order to those parts of the city with which they must continually deal. Cognitive order facilitates coping with a threatening and troublesome segment of their environment.

THE STUDY OF URBANISM: NETWORK ANALYSIS AND SUBCULTURAL THEORY

This chapter has examined the fate of kinship and neighbourhood involvement separately. Yet there is a need to better articulate the nature of urban social organization as a whole, to better grasp the complexity of urban social life without the assumptions and biases of the classical typological perspective. Two recent attempts to do this are social network analysis and subcultural theory. These are not incompatible approaches, but rather emphasize different components of urbanism.

Social Network Analysis

The classical typological paradigm, it will be recalled, assumed that urbanization and modernization, and the large-scale division of labour in a society, erode primary groups (Wellman 1978, 1979; Fischer 1977). This chapter has shown that such an assumption is an oversimplification. That assumption also does not give adequate recognition to the restructuring of primary ties which characterizes contemporary urban social life. Social network analysis

has emerged as a valuable alternative. The approach developed partly through the efforts of urban anthropologists to understand the nature of social order in African cities, despite the fluidity and transience of their populations. Sociologists have increasingly found equal value in this orientation for analyzing North American urbanism.

Any urban community contains three general orders or types of social relationships (Mitchell 1966, 51–56): (1) *structural relationships* – that is, those within such organized groups as a factory, a mine, or a governmental agency, which are relatively ordered through clearly defined roles and positions; (2) *categorical relationships* – where social contacts are directed more through broad visible criteria or stereotypes, such as ethnicity or race; and (3) *personal networks* – the personal linkages which individuals have established with others, as well as the social ties between the latter themselves. Such networks are frequently composed of members from different spheres of the urban social system, such as the locality and kinship contexts. We must delimit this third order of relationships because of the frequent blurring of group boundaries and the “interpenetration between different systems of groups, classes, and categories” (Srinias and Bereille 1964, 165) particularly characteristic of rapidly expanding communities.

In concentrating on the nature of these personal links, network analysis is able to “bridge the gap” between the individual and the collective level of social life (Fischer 1977). Groups consist of networks; connections between them through higher-order networks form institutions. The total social structure, thus, consists of interrelated sets of interpersonal networks. Changes in the networks are influenced by both the choices of the individual actors within them as well as aggregate characteristics (such as network density). In short, “networks influence individuals, individuals influence networks” (Fischer 1977, 30).

Social network analysis is a useful means for determining, for example, (a) processes of communication and control in the urban community and, hence, how norms are sustained or transformed (Laumann 1973); (b) patterns of mutual aid and assistance which facilitate adjustment during entrance to the urban system; and (c) how ethnic ties can be sustained, while at the same time other types of linkages are created – by virtue of the fact that all participants in ego’s network are not necessarily known to one another, or are not all mobilized for similar purposes.

Most significantly, network analysis does not interpret the nature of urban social organization from the perspective simply of the fate of distinct primary groups (Shulman 1976; Anderson and Christie 1982), as did the classical typological paradigm. The latter assumed that with urbanization and the erosion of dense (i.e., networks in which members have links with one another) and multiplex (i.e., the social bonds between network members involve more than one type of social relation – e.g., kin who are co-workers) networks, social relationships are less intimate and enduring. Such an

assumption is not supported by contemporary research (Fischer 1977). Wellman's (1978, 1979; Wellman, Carrington, and Hall 1983) detailed analysis of East Yorkers' social networks shows that their intimate ties are sparsely knit and spatially dispersed; they are not confined to a single densely knit, tightly bounded solidarity.

SOCIAL NETWORKS OF EAST YORKERS

Classical urban theory defined community as a spatially based, densely knit social collectivity. Rather than beginning with this assumption, network analysis proposes that it is more useful to examine the networks of ties, the informal links of companionship and aid, in which urbanites are involved. These networks are not necessarily restricted to the local area, nor are they inevitably densely knit. They do, however, perform many of the same functions of communities understood in the classical sense (Wellman, Carrington, and Hall 1983; Anderson and Christie 1982).

A recent study of East Yorkers' (Toronto) social networks finds that most have at least eleven active ties, that is, relationships which they actively think about and maintain (Wellman, Carrington, and Hall 1983). These include both intimate ties (those they identify as socially close) and routine links (those with whom they are in contact several times a week). Almost half of the East Yorkers' active and intimate ties are with kin. Few have close relationships with neighbours; indeed most of those with whom they have active ties live more than nine miles away. Yet they have frequent contact in the course of a month. These are long-standing relationships, having been formed many years ago.

With respect to the structure of these networks, they are sparsely knit overall. Yet they contain relatively dense segments or clusters in which particular sets of members in the network are directly or indirectly linked with each other.

East Yorkers benefit considerably from their social networks. Most over time obtain small services and emotional aid, especially from intimates. Different ties provide different types of assistance: in this sense, "most networks are specialized boutiques" (Wellman, Carrington, and Hall 1983, 50). The exchange of aid is reciprocal and balanced in the network overall. An East Yorker may receive assistance from one person in his/her network but at a later point return the favour to some other intimate. These patterns of reciprocity allow for the sharing of resources throughout the network, and promote adaptation to the urban system.

It has been commonly observed that the continued expansion of urbanization has increasingly demanded a rethinking of the notion of community. Improvements in transportation and communication facilities have enabled widely dispersed groups and institutions to be more fully integrated (Webber 1968). Constraints imposed by geographical distance are no longer as significant as they once were. In Webber's (1970) terms, "interest communities" now rival "place communities" in the degree of attachment they elicit from urban dwellers. Communities marked by despatialization and specialization of interest have become more common. Intimacy is no longer totally dependent on spatial propinquity (Fischer 1977).

Network analysis attempts to meet that need for reconceptualization, and represents, as we have seen, an alternative perspective in the study of the city's social life. The urban community is seen as a complex of social networks in which individuals and collectivities are linked (Wellman 1973). These ties, although generally differentiated, overlap and are not necessarily spatially restricted, nor are they static. Significantly, *indirect* bonds between members of networks provide essential functions in terms of communication, assistance, and control which cannot be ignored (Lee 1969; Granovetter 1973).

Urbanites are viewed from this perspective as involved in "personal communities" or segments of networks "characterized by both a high density of ties between network members, and a relative paucity of ties outside these areas" (Craven and Wellman 1973, 34). Since they are ego-centred, no two personal communities are exactly alike. The city dweller's typical involvement in multiple communities has important implications for the overall integration of the contemporary metropolis. These multiple bonds link diverse sectors of the population. As a result, the city itself can be seen as "a network of networks" (Craven and Wellman 1973, 50). Through their elaborate linkages social networks provide a basis for the co-ordination of urban activities and the attainment of order despite the city's heterogeneity and diversity. Social network analysis, therefore, represents a fresh approach to the study of urban social organization distinct from the traditional typological perspective. It holds much promise in furthering our understanding of the process and consequences of urbanization (cf. Wellman et al. 1971; Wayne 1971; Shulman 1972, 1975; Laumann 1973).

Subcultural Theory

A central thesis in classical urban theory was that size and density exercise an independent effect on social life. Wirth argued that alienation, impersonality, and isolation are more likely to be found in the city (Fischer 1972). Comparative research fails to support this thesis (Fischer 1973, 1976). For example, Booth (1976) found that neither objective nor subjective (per-

ceived) crowding at both the household and neighbourhood levels affects social integration or participation. Indeed, crowded living conditions in themselves appear to have few consequences in areas such as health, reproduction, family relations, or level of political activity.

Population concentration may influence social life by supporting the emergence of distinctive subcultures. This effect is proposed in the subcultural theory of urbanism (Fischer 1975, 1976). As with the theory of opportunity structures, this model consists of a set of interrelated hypotheses in need of further testing (Fischer 1975). They include the following:

1. *The more urban a place, the greater its subcultural variety.* "Urban" is defined here in terms of population concentration: the greater the size and density of a community, the more urban the place. This subcultural variety is a product of the structural differentiation which, as we have seen, accompanies urban growth. For example, in chapter 8 we noted that such dimensions as socioeconomic status, family status, and ethnic status emerge as significant bases of social differentiation. These also form the roots for distinctive subcultures. Large cities also attract diverse streams of migrants; this heightens subcultural variety.

2. *The more urban a place, the more intense its subcultures.* Large cities are more likely to achieve that "critical mass" of population necessary if any given subculture is to develop its own institutions (Darroch and Marston 1984). (Chinatowns, for example, are more commonly found in Canada's largest cities.) Such institutional completeness will, in turn, enhance attachment to the subculture's values and beliefs. The clash and contrast between subcultures in large communities also foster in-group cohesion and strengthen the central norms and values of each subculture.

3. *The more urban a place, the more numerous the sources of diffusion and the greater the diffusion into a subculture.* The co-existence of a number of diverse subcultures initially leads to an intensification of each; nevertheless, over time some degree of diffusion of beliefs or behaviours – particularly with respect to less central elements, such as style of dress – will occur from one group to the next. Such intermixing encourages social and cultural innovations (for example, new forms of music).

4. *The more urban a place, the higher the rate of unconventionality (attitudes, values, and behaviour that diverge from the central norms of society).* This follows from the preceding hypotheses: the greater the variety and intensity of subcultures, the greater the likelihood that some will support behaviour that is defined as "deviant" or unconventional. Large cities encourage the congregation of those with similar interests; the emergence of vital subcommunities will sustain activities that depart from mainstream norms. Deviance is thus not a consequence of anomie and alienation, as Wirth argued, but of subcultural strength and of innovations arising from subcultural intermixing: "With size comes 'community' – even if it is a com-

munity of thieves, counter-culture experimenters, avant-grade intellectuals, or other unconventional persons" (Fischer 1975, 1328–29).

This model does not minimize the importance of individual factors such as social class and stage in the family life cycle in accounting for social relationships between urbanites, nor of type of residential area. It simply seeks to present possible consequences of the sheer size and density of urban communities. The verification of this model requires a comparative study along a wide rural-urban gradient (Fischer 1972).

We should note that social network analysis and subcultural theory are complementary. That is, by reference to the structure of urbanites' social networks we can understand better how particular subcultures in the city are integrated and sustained. The persistence of ethnic communities, which we discussed in chapter 6, is a product of ethnically based social linkages, for example. In addition, the diffusion process which occurs across subcultures in the city is effected through the interlocking of networks. These bonds, directly and indirectly linking diverse segments of the population, serve as channels for the transmission and intermixing of subcultural elements. The mosaic of networks thus forms the social basis for the mosaic of urban subcultures.

SUMMARY

1. A central proposition in the classical typological interpretation of urbanism was the decline in significance of such primary intermediate groups as kinship and the local community.
2. The isolated nuclear family thesis represents a continuation of that paradigm's interpretation of the fate of kinship in the urban system. It argues that detachment from kinship networks is an important prerequisite to the efficient functioning of that system.
3. That thesis is not supported by contemporary analyses of urbanism. In a wide variety of urban communities, involvement in kinship networks appears to be a central part of many residents' patterns of social participation. Kinship ties provide urbanites with various types of assistance and support. Such ties – particularly between parents and their adult children and between siblings – are sustained by both mutual concern and the obligation to maintain contact.
4. The isolation thesis may also be challenged on historical grounds. For example, the assumption that a classical extended family existed prior to the emergence of the industrial-urban community does not appear to be correct. Examining patterns of social mobility during Chicago's industrialization in the nineteenth century also casts doubt on the necessarily greater functionality of the isolated nuclear family.

5. Within the Canadian urban setting as well little support for the isolation thesis exists when we examine the nature and content of residents' intimate ties.
6. As with urban kinship, the typological interpretation of the local community in the urban system has been challenged. One alternate model initially proposed was that of the "community of limited liability." The urbanite typically shows a limited social investment in the local community insofar as it exercises some control and partially fulfils household needs. Thus, it is more correct to speak of relative commitments to both local and non-local social systems than the complete demise of the former as a significant social fact.
7. The urban neighbourhood is a multidimensional phenomenon, which includes the way in which the neighbour role is defined by local residents, the type of neighbouring interaction that occurs between them, and the subjective conception of the neighbourhood.
8. The theory of opportunity structures argues that social involvement in the neighbourhood varies according to type of area as well as individual characteristics. The degree of familism influences the structure of opportunities for neighbouring. Those with similar social characteristics are more likely to neighbour in a highly familistic area where the opportunities for this form of contact and its encouragement are greater. This is not to deny the importance of other "contextual" characteristics beyond family status, such as extent of residential turnover in the neighbourhood, in affecting the level of local social participation.
9. The symbolic-cultural or subjective dimension of the neighbourhood includes the cognitive, evaluative, and affective responses to it of its residents. The neighbourhood subjective "schema" is a product of the form of local relationships developed, as well as of past experiences in other spatial settings. It is a part of a more comprehensive set of images of the different levels of the urban system. Social and cultural groups vary in the meaning and structure they attribute to the urban environment.
10. In an effort to grasp the nature of urban social organization as a whole, social network analysis has emerged in recent years as a useful alternative to the classical typological paradigm. This theoretical approach examines the structure and content of urbanites' personal networks, and provides a better understanding of the processes of communication and control as well as the flow of mutual aid and support within the urban community. Urbanites' intimate ties, contrary to the classical assumption, have not eroded, but rather tend to be sparsely knit and spatially dispersed. The overlapping of social networks provides a basis for the co-ordination of urban activities and the attainment of order despite the city's heterogeneity and diversity. Urban social structure is seen as a set of interrelated networks in which intimacy is no longer as dependent on spatial proximity as in the past.

11. In an attempt to refine the typological paradigm, subcultural theory argues that population concentration in itself may influence social life by supporting the emergence of distinctive subcultures. The larger and denser the community, the greater the structural differentiation which, in turn, encourages subcultural formation. Reinforcing this process is the influx of migrants from a variety of places. Large cities are also more likely to attract sufficient numbers to support the institutions needed for each subculture's vitality. The co-existence of diverse sets of subcultures will strengthen the central basis of each, but at the same time allow for diffusion of peripheral elements from one to the other. Subcultural theory depicts the city as a mosaic of social worlds, some of which may support unconventional or deviant behaviour; the latter, thus, must not be interpreted as a symptom of anomy or disorganization.

12. Subcultural theory and social network analysis can be usefully integrated. Urbanites' social bonds are patterned in such a way as to create and sustain distinctive subcultures, including, for example, viable ethnic communities. The images of the city as a set of interlocking social networks and as a series of differentiated subcultures are complementary.

Chapter 10

The Fate of Community in the Inner City and the Suburbs

Classical urban theory frequently generalized about the nature of urban social organization on the basis of what was observed in the inner city. Park's concern for the disintegrating influences of the urban system, for example, was derived from his analysis of the processes occurring there. Redfield's implicit characterization of the urban type embodied those traits which supposedly marked particularly the inner-city way of life. Indeed, much of the work of the Chicago school (e.g., Zorbaugh 1929; Thrasher 1963 ed.) was devoted to exploration of the variety of social patterns found in this setting. The previous chapter, however, has demonstrated the increasing importance that has been given to the fact that there are systematic variations in the social significance of the local community within the urban system. It is thus inappropriate to generalize from what might be found in the inner city to the entire urban area: such global characterizations of urban structure are imprecise and oversimplified.

An additional task of contemporary urban research, it should be noted, is a more rigorous investigation of social patterns within the inner city as well. In an attempt to modify and develop the generalizations of classical urban theory, attention has been given to the structure of social life found in the working-class neighbourhood, the slum, and the highrise apartment building, all three of which form central parts of the inner city's "mosaic of minor communities." In this chapter we shall briefly review a selected sample of the fruits of this research and its significance to our understanding of the nature of urban social organization. To complement this survey, we shall also examine the structure of communities at the other spatial extreme in the metropolitan area – the suburbs. In a sense, we shall explore the "micro-ecology" of each of these types of living areas and the consequences each has for patterns of social life.

THE INNER CITY

In earlier chapters we observed that ecologically the metropolitan area represents an extensive territorial division of labour. Sub-areas within it assume diverse and specialized functions, and attract particular types of resi-

dents. The distinctive characteristics of the inner city (as well as the suburbs) can be inferred from our previous analyses of the patterns of urban expansion and residential mobility.

As we observed in chapter 8, the central areas of many of Canada's metropolitan communities are undergoing change in their land-use patterns. As the population expands outward to the periphery in search of available housing, the central core also experiences a decline in its proportionate share of total metropolitan employment (Nader 1975). Manufacturing and wholesaling are no longer as prominent in the centre as they once were. Those losses are compensated for by gains in office employment, as we noted earlier.

The downtown area typically contains the highest land values and the most intense land use in the city. Retail activities serving some of the daily needs of those employed in the area locate there, as do highly specialized establishments requiring accessibility to the whole metropolitan population. Some industries also remain here, requiring access to other services and firms, for example, job-printing industries (Nader 1975).

Linked to the commercial core are the highrise apartment buildings, which house those who are at certain stages in the life cycle. By the middle 1980s Vancouver's downtown (broadly defined) will contain a residential population of approximately 100,000 (Collier 1978). Many of these will continue to locate in highrises in the West End – the most densely populated square mile in Canada (McAfee 1972). Such a location is attractive to many because of its accessibility to places of work and nearby entertainment facilities. High-rise apartment construction is also occurring in some suburban areas.

While one might no longer go so far as to call it the "heartbeat" of the metropolitan region, the downtown area remains one of the most vital parts of the urban system. We shall now look more closely at the population characteristics and heterogeneity of the inner city.

Definition of the Inner City

The inner city represents the central core of an urban area (McLemore, Aass, and Keilhofer 1975). Since it is ordinarily the first part of the community to be settled, it contains the oldest housing stock. It is a dense, congested area, into which the central business district expands, thus corresponding to Burgess's zone in transition. Not infrequently, it functions as the point of initial settlement for new groups of immigrants and migrants.

Typically, in comparison to the wider metropolitan area the inner city is marked by these characteristics (McLemore, Aass, and Keilhofer 1975).

1. A smaller proportion of the young, and an overrepresentation of the elderly (Shrimpton 1979; Kuz 1984);
2. Lower average household income (a pattern noted in chapter 8); (Sharma, 1982);

3. Smaller average household size (see also Kumove 1975; Liroy 1975);
4. A greater proportion of the population with little education;
5. A higher unemployment rate;
6. A larger proportion of the population foreign-born (except for Montreal and cities that are ethnically relatively homogeneous);
7. A lower proportion of single-family homes;
8. Lower average number of rooms per dwelling, as well as lower average gross rent.

These demographic features are consistent with our earlier portrayal of urban spatial structure in Canada. It is important to note that the inner city is not characterized by a pronounced proportion of overcrowded dwelling units. This partly reflects the outflow of population from such areas.

The statement of these general features, however, conceals the heterogeneity which does exist within inner-city areas. The core contains diverse sections, neighbourhoods that have experienced not necessarily similar consequences of urban growth and development (McLemore, Aass, and Keilhofer 1975).

■ *Declining areas.* These might be viewed as "slums," that is, parts of the inner city undergoing physical deterioration. The threat of urban renewal and transition to non-residential land uses discourages maintenance and improvement of the buildings. Those residents who are able to achieve some economic mobility are apt to leave; among the remainder of the population major social problems are especially evident.

■ *Stable areas.* The inner city frequently contains socially and physically stable neighbourhoods, such as the working-class community and the ethnic enclave. These are "viable" neighbourhoods, containing housing that is not dilapidated – communities to which the residents are attached.

■ *Revitalized areas.* Certain sections of the inner city may experience a return of the more affluent middle class, who perhaps desire to live in proximity to the downtown core. They frequently purchase and rehabilitate older homes there, competing with lower-income groups for available housing (Garner 1976). In Toronto this process is called "whitepainting" (Spragge 1983), in St. John's "gentrification" (Shrimpton and Sharpe 1981). Such an influx can erode the cohesiveness of inner-city working-class and ethnic communities.

■ *Areas subject to massive redevelopment.* Both public and private renewal programs have in the post-World War II period physically transformed many downtown areas. Highrise apartment and office buildings, for example, have replaced older residential communities. This has permitted the expansion both of the managerial-administrative sectors in the downtown and of housing attractive to those employed in such jobs (Hardwick 1974).

In summary, although we can draw a broad demographic profile of the in-

ner city, we must also recognize its internal richness; it serves the needs of a range of residents (McLemore, Aass, and Keilhofer 1975). Canadian literature, we should note, captures that richness in the portraits presented by a number of novelists of central city neighbourhoods (e.g., Roy 1969 ed; Lemelin 1965 ed.; Wiseman 1956; Fennario 1974; Carrier 1973; Richler 1955, 1969; Garner 1976). Gabrielle Roy, for example, in *The Tin Flute*, writes of the Saint-Henri section of Montreal as "an antheap with the soul of a village!"

During the day it knew a life of relentless toil. In the evening it had its village life, when folks gathered on their doorsteps or brought their chairs out to the sidewalk and exchanged gossip from door to door (Roy 1969 ed., 202).

Roy and other Canadian novelists show us the influence of economic insecurity on family life among disadvantaged inner-city residents, their transience, and the difficulties they encounter in their quest for upward mobility. Similarly, Lemelin (1965 ed.) portrays the localism, provincialism, and relative separation from outside institutions among those in working-class neighbourhoods.

We shall explore analytically the "content" of these synthetic portraits in the following section.

The Working-Class Neighbourhood

In the inner city the working-class neighbourhood functions partly as a transitional community, "helping to absorb low status migrants who are economically necessary but socially neglected participants in urban, industrial life" (Fried 1973, 44). It provides a context in which new entrants and their children can gradually adapt to the demands of the urban system, and thus become more fully prepared for social mobility within the wider society. It represents, in short, "a vast 'processing mechanism' ... a port of exit as well as a port of entry" (Fried 1965, 128). That many of its residents are at least second-generation, however, clearly suggests that such "processing" is not completed within a relatively short period of time.

Although much of the housing in a working-class neighbourhood may be relatively old, it is a source of satisfactory shelter for less privileged groups in the city. Indeed, contrary to the stereotype frequently held of such low-rent areas, "the image of slum residents as people largely incapable of maintaining decent conditions of housing is manifestly at variance with the great care and attention lavished upon the dwelling units by many working-class tenants" (Fried 1973, 68).

Most significantly, the urban neighbourhood is an extremely meaningful and satisfying community for many of its residents. This is most pronounced among older adults, relatively long-term residents, and members of the community's dominant ethnic group.

Such attachment is revealed also in the locally based social relationships which develop (Young and Willmott 1957; Bott 1957; Gans 1962b; Fried 1973). Not uncommonly, residents of the working-class community have kin living nearby, whom they rely on and see very frequently. Bonds between parents and adult children are relatively close; the tie between mother and daughter is particularly strong. In addition, involvement with neighbours appears to be a central source of localism. The vast majority of the residents develop close relationships with others in the area; such contacts encourage frequent exchange of assistance in day-to-day situations.

Locally based patterns of association tend to assume the form of dense or close-knit networks in which social ties directly or indirectly overlap. The centrality of the relationship between neighbours is due to the fact that it provides an avenue for further contacts with other residents to whom each is linked. Thus, "one contact or one relationship or one form of participation readily leads to others. In this sense, the close-knit network, locally based within an urban working-class community, provides the framework of social organization and the basis of inter-personal commitment and stability in the working-class world" (Fried 1973, 114). Kin, friends, and neighbours are, as a result, all joined in the same local relationships. These constitute an important source of gratification for the majority of residents whose options are limited because of their economic position (Fischer 1977). Non-local social ties are dominant between the small number preparing to move "beyond the urban village."

That intense localism of the working class is also reflected in the "spatial identity" they construct. We noted in chapter 9 the importance of analyzing such a subjective conception for a full understanding of the locality relationships of urban dwellers. Residents of this type of inner-city area feel, in a very real sense, that this area is their "home" and that it belongs to them. Conversely, they feel estranged from places beyond its boundaries. Their conception of local space, therefore, seems somewhat different from that found among the middle class.

While people in the working class are comfortable primarily in "places," in areas in which they can function, middle-class people quite readily accept the impersonality of many areas of the city as passageways between places they know or want to. It is a fundamental difference in the sense of spatial identity, in the conception of the physical environment as a personal region. The spatial identity that characterizes working-class people is a "territorial one," based on and largely confined to a particular, bounded area. The spatial identity of higher status people is more generally a highly "selective" one, defined on the basis of desire or interest rather than propinquity or contiguity (Fried 1973, 104; Fried and Gleicher 1967, 131).

The significance of the local community is also revealed – perhaps most dramatically – in the case of those forced to move from such an area because of urban renewal (Henry 1974). For example, interviewing several hundred former residents of Boston's West End after their removal, Fried (1963, 152)

found that a large number had experienced a severe sense of loss, approaching real grief. Many were deeply dissatisfied and unhappy with their involuntary departure. This was particularly true for the majority of working-class residents unprepared for such change (Fried 1965, 159). Relocation disrupted the spatial and social bases of their sense of community. The feelings of grief they so clearly manifested were the psychological fruits of this loss. It was also evident that post-relocation experiences were important. Many were unable to "re-establish all or any significant part of the West Enders' close-knit ties with the same individuals" (Fried 1965, 150). Even if they had, after the move, developed new relationships with kin and neighbours, these were frequently not sufficient to increase satisfaction. Objective improvement in residential status did not really compensate for the loss suffered through social dislocation. The West Enders' sense of grief was socially and spatially rooted. Movement to a "better" neighbourhood in itself did not temper this feeling. Relocation from the West End thus constituted a traumatic experience for a large proportion of the ex-residents. This crisis underlined the deep significance the local community has for the social and spatial identities of the urban working class.

In summary, the working-class neighbourhood represents a locally based social system in which close-knit networks centred within the area elaborate a distinctive subculture. Such localism reflects in part residents' class position, and forms a basis of social support in dealing with the institutions of the wider society. Consideration of the Canadian urban working-class community (Lorimer and Phillips 1971; Grayson 1972) generally suggests that structural impediments, including lack of adequate education, are central factors inhibiting substantial upward mobility, and thus movement out of such a social system. Such a neighbourhood provides important functions for the variety of types of residents (Crysdale 1968, 211-12). For the native-born, it offers some security in a familiar social and residential context. For immigrants it provides an opportunity to acquire their own homes, and thus security and status in their new homeland. Political isolation, however, renders such an enclave vulnerable to external agencies.

The Urban Slum

Paralleling the study of the social structure of the urban working-class neighbourhood are attempts to understand how those inner-city areas containing high proportions of low-status residents frequently living in dilapidated housing are socially organized (Mann 1970; Rowley 1978). Such areas are often designated as "slums" (Hunter 1968), the targets of a variety of redevelopment and renewal projects during previous decades in a number of North American cities.

Increasing recognition has been given to the need to delineate more carefully the existing functions which urban slums provide for their residents. In

addition, the necessity of distinguishing between the various categories of slum dwellers according to these functions has become apparent. Seeley (1959), for example, identifies twelve types of residents in slums. The central criterion is whether slum residence occurs because of necessity and lack of alternatives, or instead represents a means for the attainment of some ultimate goal. Slum dwellers vary in the meaning which they attach to their presence in this type of urban area; they do not all derive the same benefits or disadvantages from living within it. Destruction of the slum through urban renewal would necessarily have different consequences – not all inevitably favourable – for many of these diverse categories of residents.

Even with such a possible diversity of residents, however, and with evidence of social problems (such as high rates of unemployment), there still appears to be some underlying order in the urban slum which has not, perhaps, been fully recognized in the past (Kerr 1958; Lees 1969). A common assumption – particularly in classical urban theory – is that the physical deterioration in such areas is matched by pronounced social disorganization. This assumption has been challenged; it represents more an evaluative impression than a conclusion derived from empirical analysis – which indeed provides contrasting evidence. One form of social organization that can evolve in such areas is that of “ordered segmentation” (Suttles 1968, 1972). Ethnic, age, sex, and territorial segments or groupings are established as bases of association and differentiation. Slum-dwellers are able to achieve some degree of mutual predictability and co-ordination, and thus social order.

The Urban Highrise

An important change in inner-city housing has been the development of highrise apartment buildings during the past several decades. Construction of public housing projects and luxury apartments has created a new physical environment for various segments of the inner-city population. Since 1945 at least 450,000 highrise apartment units have been constructed in Canadian cities (Lorimer 1978, 129). This trend is especially pronounced in the largest metropolitan areas, and has occurred outside their central cores as well. The rapid rate of highrise apartment construction is a function of the increased demand for this type of accommodation among those, for example, with small households (Nader 1975). Highrises are economically attractive to developers because of the revenue rentals bring, coupled with tax benefits (McAfee 1972). An intriguing area of study is the social patterns manifested in these new types of housing.

In an effort to improve the living conditions of slum dwellers, public housing projects have been constructed in which low-income inner-city residents are frequently concentrated. An example of this is Blackmoor, a thirty-building complex located in the centre of an American midwestern city

(Moore 1969). Constructed to replace a slum, this highrise project offers no significantly greater advantages. Although the physical structure of the housing does represent an improvement, many of the same problems remain. Overcrowding is still pronounced within many individual apartments. The noise level is intense, services and facilities are not maintained, and the residents still lack relative control over their total life situations.

More important, the tenants are subject to the general stigma of living in public housing. They are, in a sense, victims of their locale: "It appears that mere residence in Blackmoor makes the tenant suspect. Many people in Mid-west City believe that all the tenants in Blackmoor receive welfare, that all the children are illegitimate, that all the homes are broken, and that most of the residents are criminal" (Moore 1969, 30-31). This negative stereotype tends to be internalized by the residents themselves. A manifestation of this is the shame they feel about where they live.

Almost two-thirds of "project" households are without a male head. Overall, the fathers who are present occupy a marginal role. A large proportion are unemployed. Most are unskilled, and with the declining job market are unable to obtain a secure wage. In view of the generally insecure position of most of the adult males, the daily life of the families in Blackmoor is characteristically unpredictable (cf. Rainwater 1970). This is intensified by their subordination to the local housing authority whose rules cannot be ignored because of the threat of possible eviction. Despite their common situation, the relationships between these project families do not seem particularly close. This is perhaps partly a consequence of the high rate of turnover among the tenants, and the absence of some focus for local involvement.

Similar difficulties appear in Lawrence Heights, a Toronto public housing project (Delegan 1970). Tenants improved their physical accommodations when they moved to the project from other neighbourhoods, but they view it unfavourably in terms of social considerations. They see "The Heights" as "a swearing, drinking, fighting, noisy, destructive population with few controls (particularly over children); therefore, control must be imposed from outside by the Housing Authority, police, social agencies, etc." (Delegan 1970, 81). As a result few consider the project as home, and indeed, the vast majority do not believe that residence there is a good experience for their children, whose chances for upward mobility are viewed as limited. As in Blackmoor and other public housing projects (Rainwater 1970), there is an underlying anxiety that violations of various housing regulations might be reported by neighbours. This fear heightens a sense of distance between one another, discouraging community cohesiveness (Gillis 1983).

In contrast to the public housing projects, an increasingly important type of dwelling in the inner city is the "luxury" highrise in which more advantaged segments of the urban population reside. For example, "Manhattan Towers" represents an extremely large highrise complex in New York City (Zito 1974). It consists of eight 29-storey buildings in which 12,000 residents

live. Most of the tenants are middle-aged and Jewish. Reflecting the levels of rent in the complex, the majority are at least middle-class. A significant proportion are employed in professional occupations, earning substantial incomes. Although most are married, few households contain children, and fewer still contain teenagers. As we saw in chapter 8, young newly married couples tend to move away when their children reach school age. Similarly, older couples move in after their children have been reared.

In general, a relatively high degree of anonymity is manifested in Manhattan Towers (cf. also McGahan 1972a). Most residents have superficial contacts with neighbours, and the complex is not generally seen as a source of friendships. This certainly reflects the lifestyles of the majority of tenants. Few are at home during the day, and therefore they have less opportunity and need to cultivate local contacts. Such anonymity also serves a "latent function" by permitting "privacy among the propinquitous."

In a chokingly close, urban environment, a high level of pervasive sociability could be psychically suffocating. Anonymity not only provides psychological distance, it also allows more freedom to come and go without interruption, thus permitting time-pressed residents to maintain their life routines and meet their preferred social obligations (Zito 1974, 262).

That there is some appreciation of the value of this function is revealed by the low incidence of loneliness among these highrise tenants. There is no evidence that they find this anonymity dissatisfying.

In contrast to a neighbourhood of single-family dwellings a highrise apartment complex such as Manhattan Towers manifests particular physical and social characteristics that influence the patterns of interaction and the general degree of normative formation found there. For example, Reed's (1974, 473) comparative analysis of residential environments in Toronto suggests that the highrise possesses much less "symbolic information content" than single-family homes.

While the exteriors of the single-family homes were quite expressive of their inhabitants' socioeconomic status, tastes, and living patterns, there were, typically, no differentiating characteristics of unit exteriors in the HR [highrise] building. People living in the SF [single-family] neighbourhood could easily ascertain who were desirable neighbors or interactants, and which families or individuals did not fit this category; HR residents could not evaluate their fellows so easily because everyone lived behind an identical door.

The highrise residents, in short, are less able to manifest their particular identities through manipulation of their dwellings. The absence of open areas makes it difficult for the tenants to observe one another's life routines. These conditions mean that co-residents do not obtain extensive information about each other. As a result, there is an underlying uncertainty regarding the benefits to be gained in cultivating relationships with neighbours. The greater heterogeneity of the highrise also fosters this uncertainty. The sharing of walls, floors, and ceilings means that the tenants have less control over noise, cooking odours, and so on. Domestic arguments can at times be

overheard, thus providing neighbours with private and perhaps discrediting information. The possibility that neighbours possess this knowledge only serves further to restrict social contact. This pattern reflects "the almost universal inverse relationship between control of physical distance or boundedness and control of social distance: the greater the amount of physical distance (or control over it) between people, the less the need for devices to control or signal social distance" (Reed 1974, 475). The greater mobility or turnover among the highrise tenants also represents an important factor discouraging social contacts, and creates an undeveloped informal normative structure – an extremely "precarious social order" at the informal level. In contrast, the residents of the single-family neighbourhood are able to develop greater consensus regarding these norms. Highrise tenants are, as a result, more dependent on agents of formal authority to secure order; strong reliance is placed on the superintendent to mediate relationships among them.

To summarize, in contrast to the social order achieved in the working-class neighbourhood, the public housing project and the luxury highrise both evidence a precarious informal normative structure.

While the public housing project may offer improved physical accommodation for its low-income residents, it does not necessarily eliminate many of the social problems they experienced in their previous locale. They must contend with the stigma attached to living in public housing, which is frequently isolated from the surrounding neighbourhood. More significantly, the residents often appear unable to establish a cohesive social life. Extensive solidarity is inhibited by their mutual distrust, inability to co-operate, and subordination to the external control of a housing authority. The residents recognize their economic deprivation and inability to achieve the success goals of the wider society. Confined to what they view as a relatively dangerous and socially unsatisfactory environment, they manifest caution and distance in dealing with one another to protect what limited resources they possess.

The luxury highrise, increasingly evident in many North American cities, offers housing for residents at the opposite end of the socioeconomic continuum. Its tenants are primarily middle-class. Just as in the public housing project, relationships between the residents are not close. This, however, is due less to feelings of deep distrust and fears of potential exploitation than to the limited opportunities in the highrise for mutual contact. It is also a reflection of the life-style of most of the residents: propinquity is not viewed as an important factor in the formation of social ties. In both the public housing project and the highrise the lessened control over physical distance fosters social distance. In each the lack of extensive relationships between the residents, coupled with the high rates of transience, discourages the formation of clear sets of informal norms. Greater dependence must therefore be placed on agents of formal authority to secure order.

THE SUBURBS

One central feature of North American urbanization in the twentieth century has been the increasing growth and settlement of suburban areas. The term "suburb" has been most commonly applied to "an urban place (usually an incorporated place) outside the corporate limits of a large city, but either adjacent thereto or near enough to be closely integrated into the economic life of the central city and within commuting distance of it" (Duncan and Reiss 1958, 45).

Although the settlement of suburbs has been extensive in recent decades, they did exist on a more modest scale in Europe centuries before the emergence of the industrialized city. Indeed, as Mumford (1961, 483) has shown, the suburb became visible "almost as early as the city itself, and perhaps explains the ability of the ancient town to survive the unsanitary conditions that prevailed within its walls." Particularly for the upper classes the suburb presented a means of escape from the physical and social dangers of urban civilization: "From the thirteenth century on, the dread of plague prompted a periodic exodus from the city; and in that sense one may say that the modern suburb began as a sort of rural isolation ward" (Mumford 1961, 487).

As we saw in part two, it was not until transportation and communication facilities had become more fully developed with industrialization that large-scale dispersion of population became feasible (Warner 1962). The metropolitan community expanded beyond the confines of the earlier, more concentrated "pedestrian city" without lessening the net of functional interdependence. Stimulating that dispersion as well was the expanding demand for housing, fuelled in turn by the growing urban population. The availability of large tracts of vacant land on the periphery permitted construction of numerous single-family dwellings. This is illustrated by the rapid growth of Vancouver's suburban municipalities (Evenden 1978; Greater Vancouver Regional District 1980, 1981); with the better placement of bridges and construction of access routes across the Fraser delta, suburban expansion intensified among those seeking improved housing on the Lower Mainland. In the United States those living in suburban areas constituted little more than 15 percent of the nation's population in 1900. From 1940 onward, however, this suburban proportion grew rapidly, as mass housing outside central cities became more readily available. The result of this redistribution is striking: "The 1970 census counted more than 75 million Americans as suburbanites, comprising 37.6 percent of the total American population; only 31.4 percent of Americans lived in the central cities of metropolitan areas ..." (Fava 1975, 11; cf. Hawley 1956).

A similar pattern has occurred in Canada. Between 1951 and 1961 the population residing within metropolitan areas but outside incorporated centres of 10,000 and over, more than doubled (Stone 1967). In contrast, the central cities of these areas increased by only one-fourth during the same

decade. In chapter 4 we noted that the rate of population growth in rural areas has in more recent years been greater than that in urban areas. As table 35 indicates, almost half this rural growth has occurred in the outlying parts of census metropolitan areas (CMAs) and census agglomerations (CAs). The cores are growing less rapidly than the fringes, which include new suburban developments and "exurban" areas (those communities most distant from the core).

It is important to recognize that not all suburbs are "dormitory towns" – that is, not all function simply as residential havens for workers employed elsewhere (Schnore 1965a, 154–55). As metropolitan areas expand, many economic activities disperse as well, paralleling the decentralization of population (Hardwick 1974). "Suburban cities," for example – such as Toronto's Erin Mills or Edmonton's Mill Woods – seek to develop their own employment opportunities (Pressman 1975). Similarly, "during the last nine years, there has been a marked shift in the location of new jobs created within the Vancouver region. Employment growth in the suburban municipalities far surpassed growth in the central municipalities. By 1980, employment in the Burrard Peninsula municipalities had fallen to 65 percent of the regional employment total. More than half of the new jobs created were located in the suburban municipalities" (Greater Vancouver Regional District 1981, 18).

Considerable attention has been given to the demographic and planning

TABLE 35

Rural Fringe Population Growth as a Percentage of Total Rural Population Growth, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1976–1981

Province/Territory	Rural growth		Percentage of rural growth in rural fringe areas of CMAs/CAS
	Total	Within rural fringe areas of CMAs/CAS	
Canada	480,846	216,825	45
Newfoundland	8,562	4,825	56
Prince Edward Island	6,108	4,907	80
Nova Scotia	20,184	8,896	44
New Brunswick	28,412	13,537	48
Quebec	176,435	82,396	47
Ontario	84,919	50,173	59
Manitoba	329	3,124	950
Saskatchewan	– 1,549	527	–
Alberta	65,628	12,740	19
British Columbia	89,694	35,700	40
Yukon	– 186	–	–
Northwest Territories	2,310	–	–

SOURCE: *Urban Growth in Canada* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1984, table 4. Reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

implications of this suburbanization process (Whyte 1958; Carver 1962; Lithwick 1970; Goliger 1983). Of greater relevance here, increasing consideration has been given to the social organization of suburban communities in order to determine whether it is significantly different from the social patterns displayed in cities. This research has particular importance for the elaboration of more comprehensive and precise theories of urbanization (Popenoe 1977).

The Myth of Suburbia

The initial understanding of the social structure and social consequences of the suburban community was strongly influenced by several investigations in the mid-1950s (Spectorsky 1955; Seeley, Sim, and Loosley 1956; Whyte 1957). These studies so captured the public mind that a "myth of suburbia" was unconsciously constructed, much as the theme of urban disorganization had been emphasized within the earlier typological tradition. Subsequent research sought to modify and test more rigorously the contents of this myth.

One of the most influential portraits of suburban society is Whyte's (1957) analysis of Park Forest, Illinois. Whyte argues that this "package" suburb, housing many aspiring executives of large companies or "organization men," represents more than newly constructed mass housing. The influx of the mobile middle class creates a "new social institution," a communal way of life in which adjustment and group involvement are highly valued. The residents of Park Forest moved there seeking better housing at a reasonable price, and more adequate facilities for themselves and their children. After arriving, "they created something over and above the original bargain. Together, they developed a social atmosphere of striking vigor" (Whyte 1957, 314).

The picture which this and other writings present of suburbia, though not necessarily consistent with each other, generated a great deal of criticism. In the years following World War II, as the settlement of mass-produced suburban housing increased rapidly, a number of commentaries appeared condemning and attacking that style of life suburbanites were said to lead. Mumford (1972, 7), for example, views the evolving mass suburb with disdain, accusing it of "snobbery, segregation, status seeking, political irresponsibility." It represents, in his judgment, an unfortunately artificial environment in which homogeneity, uniformity, and standardization are all dominating features. Reisman (1964, 235), in turn, interprets suburbanization as "a tremendous but tacit revolt against industrialism." Although defences of the suburban community are not lacking (e.g., McGinley 1959), an emphasis on the negative features of suburbia predominates.

Donaldson (1969, viii) offers several possible reasons for this pessimism.

First of all, the "post hoc" fallacy accounts for much of the attack. Critics in the 1950s watched conformity spreading across the land, for example, and attributed its spread to the concurrent phenomenon of suburbanization. People moved to the suburbs, such arguments ran, and the suburbs made the people conformists ... Another source for the attack was provided by the many writers who tended to generalize about all suburbs from the sample of a single one. This practice frequently resulted in unjustified conclusions, and explains why some critics found too much neighboring in the suburbs, while others found too much loneliness.

In addition, at a more fundamental level, the attack on suburbia derives from a recognition that such an environment does not embody that Jeffersonian ideal – stressing "a return to nature, a return to the small village, a return to self-reliant individualism" – to which many of the critics unconsciously adhere (Donaldson 1969, 22). Just as earlier the city had been seen as a disorganizing force, now the suburb itself is viewed in a negative light (Bell 1968, 143).

Implicit in these criticisms is a set of images of suburbia, derived especially from Whyte's analysis, that "coalesced into a full-blown myth, complete with its articles of faith, its sacred symbols, its rituals, its promise for the future, and its resolution of ultimate questions" (Berger 1960, 3–4). Insofar as it does form a "myth," the degree to which it accurately reflects reality is ignored. The meaning of suburbia becomes standardized and stereotyped in the popular mind. Suburbs are believed to be

1. Warrens of young executives on the way up;
2. Uniformly middle class;
3. "Homogeneous";
4. Hotbeds of participation;
5. Child-centered and female dominated;
6. Transient;
7. Wellsprings of the outgoing life;
8. Arenas of adjustment;
9. Beulah Lands of returns to religion;
10. Political Jordans from which Democrats emerge
Republicans (Dobriner 1963, 6).

These features are viewed as particularly characteristic of the mass-produced tract developments in areas surrounding many North American cities. Implicit in this myth is the belief that there exists a distinctive suburban way of life which contrasts with what is manifested in the city. This interpretation represents a continuation of the typological perspective (Fava 1975, 15). Just as the city has been viewed as containing unique social patterns that set it apart qualitatively from the non-urban, so too is "suburbanism" identified as unique to these outlying areas. New entrants to these settlements are socially and culturally transformed, paralleling changes urbanites are believed to have undergone (Dobriner 1963, ix). The suburban and urban products are qualitatively different. Yet in each case the process of transformation is similar: type of settlement, it is implicitly believed, constitutes the dominant force in the emergence of a unique style of life. This

popular assumption subsequently became the object of scrutiny in more rigorous investigations of the nature of suburban social life. For example, Berger's (1960) study of working-class suburbanites in San Jose, California, demonstrates that they are not transformed to a middle-class way of life. The supposed attributes of suburbanism are not manifested in a working-class suburban tract. While this suggests the over-generalized nature of the portrait of suburbia that has been drawn, it also points to a need to determine whether, and in what manner, the suburban type of settlement gives rise to a unique style of life.

The Suburban Life-Style: From Myth to Attempted Explanation

Three alternative interpretations of the relationship between suburban residence and life-style patterns have emerged (Dobriner 1963, 61f.; Marshall 1973; Fischer 1976). Each stresses a separate set of factors to account for whatever differences appear to exist between suburban and urban social life. Each attempts to explain the essential social structure of the suburban community.

The structural interpretation. From this perspective, the specific structural and demographic characteristics of the suburb encourage a distinct style of life. For example, Martin (1956) distinguishes a set of "definitive" characteristics of the suburb which constitute the dominant factors affecting its social life.

1. Ecological position: The suburban community is located outside the central city but within its hinterland. As a result, suburbanites are "less active than urban residents but significantly more active than farm residents in social events located at the city center" (Martin 1956, 447). Those living in outlying areas are less able to take advantage of the different social opportunities in the central city.

2. Commuting: Because of the ecological position of the suburban community and its residential specialization, commuting to work is a necessity. This structural feature, too, has important social correlates.

Commuters participate less than non-commuters in voluntary associations and informal groupings in the residence community. Commuters participate more than non-commuters in the affairs of some community other than the residence community. As a result of the daily commuting of males, women play an unusually important role in voluntary association and other interaction situations in the suburbs (Martin 1956, 449).

As Dobriner (1963, 16) has pointed out, however, the need to commute to work is not restricted to suburbanites. Those residing in central cities also frequently are required to travel daily to their place of employment. Commuting, therefore, more correctly seems "a national, not a suburban, pattern." Nor is there conclusive evidence, as Martin himself admits, that the

above correlates are actually a function of cummuting, rather than some other factor, such as length of settlement or type of suburb.

3. Size and density: Paralleling Wirth's analysis of the demographic sources of urbanism, Martin argues that the size and density of the suburban community are also important in accounting for specific life-style patterns. Although this has not been adequately documented, he proposes "that the relatively small size and low density of most suburban populations would provide a social situation conducive to certain types of relationships (e.g., neighboring, visiting, and primary types of relations in general) and disadvantageous to others (e.g., gatherings of individuals with extremely rare interests ordinarily occur only in urban centers large enough to include several such persons) ..." (Martin 1956, 450). To these characteristics of small size and low density, Dobriner (1963, 9) adds the heightened "visibility" which accompanies residence. The openness and spaciousness of suburbs permit residents the opportunity to observe more readily one another's behaviour. This, in turn, allows for clearer recognition of any common interests as bases for further social contact. An important problem overall is to determine whether particular aspects of suburban life-styles can be explained by reference to such factors as size, density, and visibility, apart from ecological position and commuting.

Although he recognizes the importance of secondary and "derivative" features of the suburb (such as its socioeconomic composition), Martin still proposes that the structural "definitive" features exercise an independent influence on behaviour patterns, and thus account in part for particular components of suburban life-styles.

The selective migration interpretation. A second attempt to explain the nature of suburban life-styles places greater emphasis on the selectivity process than on any structural differences between urban and suburban communities. Particular types of families are attracted to the suburb because of the opportunities it affords for the fulfilment of certain types of needs and values. Their behaviour patterns simply reflect these attitudes.

Bell (1968), for example, distinguishes three dominant types of life-styles between which an increasing proportion of the population in urban-industrial societies are able to choose.

1. Familism: This life-style places "a high valuation on family living, marriage at young ages, a short childless time span after marriage, child-centeredness ..." (Bell 1968, 147).

2. Careerism: Here the emphasis is given to the pursuit of a career. Involvement in activities not directly related to the attainment of increased status and wealth is restricted.

3. Consumership: Within this life-style individuals focus "their effort, time, and money on 'having a good time,' 'living it up,' or enjoying life as much as possible, and they do so in ways that are unconnected with family

or career goals" (Bell 1968, 148). Individuals do not necessarily pursue the same life-style throughout their lives. An emphasis on one does, however, tend to preclude simultaneous commitment to the other.

Bell argues that suburban residence does not appeal equally to persons manifesting these different life-styles. It is most conducive to the pursuit of familism.

The move to the suburbs expresses an attempt on the part of the movers to find a location in which to conduct family life that is more suitable than that offered by central cities, i.e., that persons moving to the suburbs are principally those who have chosen familism as an important element of their life styles as over against career or consumership (Bell 1968, 151).

His examination of the motives people have for moving to Chicago's suburbs confirm this.

Nevertheless, Marshall (1973, 141) has argued that this research is actually inconclusive, partly because of the methodological weakness of its approach.

It is not clear that the reasons given by people for moving to suburbs – at present, the principal technique for evaluating the selective migration hypothesis – correspond to their "real" reasons. While respondents tend to give "familistic" answers such as "better for children," "more space," and so on, they may in fact be providing *themselves* with an ad hoc interpretation of behavior, the causes of which involve such factors as availability of suitable housing.

In addition, it is not altogether certain that this research adequately controls for all the structural factors which might influence the patterns found.

A slightly different attempt to validate the selective migration thesis is illustrated in Fava's (1956, 1958) investigations of urban-suburban variations in levels of neighbouring. She selected sub-samples of residents from Manhattan, Queens, and suburban Nassau County within the New York metropolitan area. These were matched on a number of different characteristics – including, for example, marital status, education, and length of residence. Despite these controls, those living in suburban Nassau still manifest higher levels of neighbouring than their Manhattan counterparts. One possible explanation for this, she proposes, is that those moving to suburbia possess specific values and attitudes – one of which is a positive orientation to neighbouring – that distinguish them from urbanites. In short, "selectivity on the basis of non-rational elements of habit, feelings, and experience, which may be called social-psychological, should be added to standard ecological factors in explaining suburban social characteristics" (Fava 1958, 126).

Class and life-cycle stage interpretation. A third perspective proposes that suburban life-styles are simply the function of class and life-cycle variables and not of suburban residence per se. Hence, if these variables are held constant in comparing behaviour patterns of urbanites and suburbanites, no significant differences will emerge. This interpretation minimizes the impor-

tance of the structural features of the suburb. It also can be distinguished from the selective migration approach.

Advocates of the selective migration hypothesis argue that selection is *not* solely on the basis of class and life-cycle stage. Rather, they seem to be contending that "segments" of the middle and working classes in particular age categories value such things as family life and social involvement to a much higher degree than their class and life-cycle counterparts in the city ... [on the other hand] some families may choose to remain in the city, even though they have children and are middle class, in order to maximize access to various activities which can only be found there ... (Marshall, 1973, 126-27).

Among those emphasizing this third perspective are Gans (1962), Berger (1960), and Dobriner (1963). The latter, for example, argues that attention to the class factor will provide "a major key with which to unlock the suburban riddle" (Dobriner 1963, 38). As does Berger, Dobriner believes that many of the earlier descriptions of the suburban way of life are nothing more than portraits of middle-class behaviour patterns. The fact that families of this still rather heterogeneous stratum concentrate in various outlying areas only serves to heighten awareness of those patterns. Dobriner does admit that particular structural features of the suburb have some influence on residents' social activities. As noted earlier, its greater spaciousness enhances mutual "visibility," which in turn encourages interaction between those with similar interests. Similarly, there seem to be greater opportunities for the middle class to pursue their child-rearing ideals in the suburban community. Nevertheless, he emphasizes, these differences must not be exaggerated.

The urban and suburban upper-middle-class share many more significant characteristics between them than either shares with the working class. The similarities in their views of education, political ideology, family organization, religion, and life style in general are far more numerous than the differences ... But the massive intrusion of class variables into the entire complex of relationships and values in the suburbs clearly indicates the primacy of class over place variables. In the final analysis, suburbanites and city dwellers are joined together by common class bonds, and relatively few factors separate them. It is unfortunate that the emphasis given to the few uniquely suburban situational features have blinded so many to this basic fact (Dobriner 1963, 59).

As Berger clearly demonstrated, a similar conclusion can be drawn generally with respect to working-class suburbanites and urbanites.

In evaluating these three perspectives, there are still several fundamental issues to be resolved, such as the underlying typological orientation inherent in the first two approaches.

Indeed, it may be that we are asking the wrong question - that the question of urban-suburban variations in life styles is irrelevant. Given our interest in determinants of particular life styles, perhaps we ought to be more concerned with specifying and evaluating the types of variables which affect them, rather than with the simple comparison of "suburban" and "urban" behavior - a comparison which inevitably confounds a variety of possible causes (Marshall 1973, 143).

A similar criticism, as we saw earlier, was directed at the more general typo-

logical perspective derived from classical and urban theory. In addition, we should note the frequently arbitrary and ambiguous meaning of a suburb – for example, it is not uncommon to exclude from this category low-density areas *within* a city's boundaries despite the fact that they are quite similar to "suburban" communities in terms of a variety of structural features. Finally, there is a clear need for more rigorous research, employing adequate controls, to distinguish "the independent, joint, and interactive effects of structures, social-psychological selection, class, and family composition" (Marshall 1973, 143). Insufficient attention has been given to this methodological imperative (Popenoe, 1977).

The Canadian Suburb

Empirical investigations of particular suburban communities (e.g., Willmott and Young 1960; Gans 1967; Zelan 1968) have attempted to move beyond the facile generalizations promulgated in the mass media. These investigations prove invaluable in demonstrating the complexity of suburban social life and the need to integrate more rigorously the alternate interpretations noted above.

Concern for the social structure of suburban communities in Canada has not been lacking. Complementing an earlier study of Crestwood Heights (Seeley, Sim, and Loosley 1956) is Clark's (1966) analysis of the suburbanization process in the Toronto area during the 1950s. Paralleling the findings of others, the results of this research are not entirely consistent with the portrait drawn in the suburban myth.

Clark sees the process of suburban development as one in which the country becomes transformed into the city (cf. also Carver 1962). The suburban community represents a society in transition, hence lacking definable form or structure. It is "an urban society not yet complete." Clark analyzes some of its social features, manifested particularly in the mass-produced suburban areas outside Toronto.

The dominant motivation for the move to such areas is the desire to obtain a house and adequate living space. Change of residence does not appear to represent an attempt to escape from the city. Nor does it manifest for more than a small minority an attempt to relocate in a prestigious setting. There is a certain self-selection, however, involved in the types of population participating in this suburban influx. They are not from the extremes of the economic continuum, but are primarily young middle-class families – native-born, Protestant, and of British origin. Nor are they as deeply attached socially and culturally to the city as those who stay behind: "It was people with no great stake in the urban society, no heavy commitment to urban values, who were prepared to move to the suburbs without regard to what the suburbs were like" (Clark 1966, 83). Urbanites such as newly arrived immigrants, dependent on the ties of social support they have forged

in the city, are less prepared for any such change of residence. Consistent with their less intense attachment to urban social life, those moving to the suburbs are also characterized by the relative absence of any pronounced sense of community or strong involvement in groups beyond the family. Such an orientation influences social patterns evolved after the move, particularly since the residents have much greater interest in establishing a new home than in constructing a new way of life.

In direct contrast to the image of suburbia portrayed by Whyte in his analysis of Park Forest, Clark emphasizes more the Toronto suburbanites' desire to be left alone. The young families concentrate primarily on their new homes and are not interested in assuming constraining obligations at the neighbourhood and community levels. There is little evidence of intense neighbouring or participation in local life. Far from the stereotype of suburban hyperactivity, a general tone of social apathy is present in these communities. Clark argues that the "sameness" of the suburban population contributes to this lack of close relationships: "Everyone is too much like everyone else. Where there were no means of discerning who among the neighbours could be claimed a good friend, neighbourhood associations necessarily assumed a character of casualness and ephemerality. There were few with whom secrets could be shared or intimacies exchanged" (Clark 1966, 143). The absence of a distinctive physical character in the suburban neighbourhood discourages the development of close bonds between those within the same local area. The set of mutual obligations developed between those living on the same street, for example, are extremely limited and have a minimal impact on behaviour. The conception of the "good society," to which the suburbanites appear to be attached, "was the society that made no demands upon them." The new suburban community is, therefore, characterized by little organized activity outside the home. In its incomplete and transitional state, it is, in a sense, a society of strangers. In time, as it loses this character and a definable structure emerges, it assumes less the status of a "suburban" society, and becomes more fully "urban."

The validity and generalizability of Clark's analysis of suburbia have not been extensively investigated. There have, however, been several additional tentative explorations of particular aspects of the Canadian suburban community (e.g., Rush and Mansfield 1973). One important example is Michelson's (1973a, 1973b, 1977) long-term study of the social consequences of the suburban residential setting in Toronto. This is part of a more comprehensive comparison of four different residential environments in which a metropolitan area's population is housed - downtown apartments, downtown homes, suburban apartments, and suburban homes. In examining the social correlates of these four types of housing and location combinations, Michelson's research addresses the following questions:

- (1) To what extent does a particular residential environment tend to attract a particular type of resident?

- (2) To what extent does a particular way of life become pronounced in a particular physical setting? Do aspects of the environment influence "what people do, with whom they do it, and where they do it", or all else being equal, do they merely repeat the round of life which they formerly pursued in a physically different environment?
- (3) If a typical way of life emerges in a particular setting, what happens to the new resident who fails to adopt it?
- (4) What effect does the passage of time have on people's adjustment to their environment? (Michelson 1977, 5).

These research foci parallel closely other earlier attempts, discussed above, to explore systematically the social implications of urban and suburban residence, and to explain more fully any apparent differences.

TORONTO'S SUBURBS IN TRANSITION

We must recognize that the population composition of suburbs may change over time. As an example, we might cite what is now occurring in Metro Toronto's suburbs (Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto 1979, 1980; Goliger 1983). These suburbs doubled in population between 1951 and 1971 but in more recent years have experienced a significant decline in their rate of growth. There has been a marked trend towards greater diversity of age, ethnic, socioeconomic groups, and of types of households. The proportion of children under the age of four has declined. The dominant age group in Toronto's suburbs is now that of 10 to 14. The proportions of elderly and widowed have increased, as has that of lone-parent families. And approximately a third of all suburban families include no children living at home.

With the expansion of public housing in the suburbs we also find that low-income residents are more pronounced there than in earlier decades. The suburbs now contain a diversity of income groups, just as the central city does; the single-family dwelling is not the only type of housing found in the suburbs. And the stock of apartment units has increased, accommodating a greater diversity of household types.

Also, the suburbs absorb many new immigrants to Toronto. And cultural diversity of populations in these areas becomes more visible.

In short, Toronto's suburbs are becoming more like the central city. This transformation has occurred rather rapidly and has created needs for new types of community resources and services in the suburbs (such as a greater range of public meeting places for young people).

A large number of families were interviewed several times during an eighteen-month period – Phase I occurred at the point of signing a lease or

agreement to purchase, Phase II two months after the move, and Phase III one year later. Michelson (1973a, 7) argues, for a fuller understanding of the social consequences of an affluent family's location in any of the four types of settings, it is necessary to focus on more than the mere move itself. Attention must be given to the stage "where a family falls within its own successive pattern of residential movements." The motivations for different moves as well as the types of satisfactions experienced can thereby be more clearly grasped.

Michelson identifies three fundamental stages in the "family mobility cycle": (1) *the baseline stage* – this constitutes the first stage in establishment of a family or after its entrance to a metropolitan community. Residential choice is determined less by previous experience than by consideration of such factors as distance from work; (2) *the stage of incremental change* – during this stage, the family may move several times in response to practical considerations, but without realizing the ideal of a single-family home in a low-density setting; (3) *the approximation of the ideal* – here that ideal is attained with settlement in a suburban single-family home.

Families in Stage 2 living in highrise apartments are found to be satisfied with their housing, even though it does not represent their ultimate aspiration. They view it as a temporary compromise, and believe that in due time they will attain their ideal. Those in Stage 3 are also satisfied – they have achieved some approximation of that ideal. They are unlikely to move again, except as required by job changes. The conception of the family mobility cycle, therefore, reveals "how both groups of movers could be reasonably satisfied while maintaining basically the same housing aspirations, but while living in very different objective situations" (Michelson 1973a, 15).

Michelson's research also clearly demonstrates some selectivity in the types of population attracted to the four residential settings. Those moving to downtown housing are more likely to be highly educated, with both husband and wife employed as professionals. The proximity of cultural facilities is one important reason for the decision to live there. Downtown highrises attract residents who are in the early stages of their careers. As our discussion in chapter 8 suggested, familism as a lifestyle orientation is not pronounced, a fact reflected in the high proportion of females in the labour force. Ultimately, these women expect to move to their own detached homes in outlying areas.

In contrast, families moving to suburban homes tend to be more highly oriented to neighbours. One central reason for this is that "most of them are moving from situations where they feel socioeconomically superior to their old neighbours and to one where they feel that their neighbours are equal or superior to themselves and are personally compatible" (Michelson 1973a, 24). This influences the subsequent degree of contact between co-residents. With respect to suburban highrises, Michelson found a greater concentra-

tion of families with children among these than is true for their downtown counterparts. These suburban families appear more uncertain as to when they would move, reflecting their lower economic status. These represent the least satisfied, and illustrate a case of "families in Stage II of the family mobility cycle, whose movement into Phase III is potentially blocked" (Michelson 1973a, 25).

Consistent with this pattern of selectivity, residential satisfaction is a function of the level of "congruence" between types of housing context and individual orientation (Popenoe 1977). Wives living in downtown highrises and working are more fully satisfied after a year than are those not employed. In the case of those living in suburban single-family homes, levels of satisfaction are highest among residents who arrived with a greater interest in establishing relationships with their neighbours.

In addition to such patterns of selectivity, there appear to be a variety of post-move differences in social contacts, daily activities, and leisure patterns, among the residents of the four settings. Those living in suburban single-family homes are much more likely to develop close relationships with their neighbours, including patterns of mutual aid. Michelson interprets this intensive level of contact as a sign of their "vulnerability." These suburban homeowners do not adjust as readily to their new residences as do those in other settings. This, along with their greater spatial isolation – especially among the wives – encourages social ties with neighbours.

One year after arrival, suburban wives appear least satisfied with the way they spend their time. This is partly the result of their not being employed; but another important factor is the distances they are required to travel for various activities. Although they had not foreseen this as a problem prior to the move because of their preoccupation with the greater space and more intense social life afforded by suburban settlement, they are extremely dissatisfied with such inconvenience. Over time the suburbanites feel this even more strongly, although they do become more satisfied with the social aspects of their residential setting. As a consequence of their location, the "paths of travel" followed by these families are quite different from those downtown.

People living in centre city concentrate their trips ... to traditional downtown destinations ... Suburbanites, particularly those living in towns, not only travel further to get anything but once underway are very likely to go all the way downtown. At the least, suburbanites exhibit a far greater diversity in the locations where they choose to shop for clothing or to seek entertainment (Michelson 1973a, 43).

This diversity is partly a function of their greater reliance on the automobile. Distance is also a factor in discouraging suburban housewives' involvement in organizations located elsewhere. As a result, despite their greater contact with neighbours, they still spend more time alone during the week than those living elsewhere.

The variety of housing types and locations – of which the suburban home is one example – thus offers different opportunities for behaviour patterns (cf. also Popenoe 1977). The advantages of each benefit selective segments of the population. In particular, Michelson (1973a, 51) argues,

...the primary benefits intended and realized by the respective environmental choices focus on the wife for the downtown apartment (to alleviate her travel time, in the perspective of her career pursuits and the postponement of children), on the husband in the downtown house (reflecting his emphasis on his job and on cultural pastimes, usually shared by his wife, but not as strongly), and on the husband for the suburban single family home (he is the one believing most strongly in the virtues of the suburban location as desirable for his family, at the same time suffering few obstacles in escaping this location to reach his daily place of employment, leaving his wife to encounter the negative aspects of this setting) ...

Satisfaction is less, therefore, among the family members who do *not* benefit the most from the housing choice.

In general, such comparisons of the suburban residential setting with other types of housing environment will enable us to understand better the relative importance of structural and selectivity factors in accounting for suburban life-style patterns. This has the potential for significantly advancing our understanding of the social correlates of suburban residence.

SUMMARY

1. In comparison to the wider metropolitan area the inner city typically is marked by such characteristics as lower average household income, a greater proportion of the population with little education, and a higher unemployment rate. The Canadian inner city, however, does not contain a higher degree of overcrowding.
2. The inner city is internally heterogeneous. It includes such diverse neighbourhoods as declining areas (or slums), stable areas (such as working-class communities), revitalized areas (due to re-entry of middle-class renovators), and areas subject to massive redevelopment (through public and private renewal projects).
3. As part of the inner-city mosaic the working-class neighbourhood provides important functions for its residents – satisfactory shelter, security in a familiar social and residential context to which they are strongly attached. It forms a locally based social system in which close-knit networks centred in the area channel that attachment. Involuntary relocation from such a neighbourhood disrupts the spatial and social bases of residents' sense of community. That such relocation can occur reflects the political vulnerability of working-class residents.
4. Public housing projects and luxury highrise apartments provide accommodations for residents at opposite ends of the socioeconomic continuum. Neither type of housing is confined to the inner city. In each, lessened con-

trol over physical distance fosters social distance between residents. High rates of transience and the lack of extensive relationships between them inhibit the development of clear sets of informal norms. To achieve order they must rely heavily on agents of formal authority, such as the housing authority or the superintendent of the building.

5. As metropolitan areas expand and become more internally differentiated, suburban communities emerge as more visible parts of the territorially extended system. During the last several decades, as in the United States, Canadian suburbs have experienced significant growth in population. We must recognize, however, that not all suburbs are primarily residential communities. Many offer significant employment opportunities.

6. With respect to the social consequences of suburbanization, a "myth of suburbia" was initially developed that proposed, much like the theme of urban disorganization within the classical typological paradigm, that this new type of settlement fostered a distinctive style of life among its residents. This included such traits as child-centredness, almost frenetic involvement in local social life, and conformity to middle-class standards or symbols of status and success. Such a portrait of the suburban way of life has been found to be over generalized and stereotypical – just as Wirth's depiction of the urban way of life was.

7. In attempting to understand the nature of suburban social organization, three alternative perspectives have emerged, each stressing a different set of factors. The structural interpretation argues that the specific structural and demographic characteristics of the suburb – including its ecological position, size, density and distance from the workplace – exercise an independent and important influence on social life. In contrast, a second perspective emphasizes that any distinctive features of suburban social organization, such as high involvement in local social relationships, are products simply of the fact that the suburb attracts particular types of families and individuals who value such involvement. In short, social patterns found in suburban communities are not structurally induced but rather reflect a process of selective migration. The third interpretation proposes that suburban social structure is shaped predominantly by the class and life-cycle composition of its population. Urban and suburban residents of the same class are far more similar to each other than are suburbanites with different class backgrounds.

8. A comparison in Toronto of the social consequences of a variety of residential environments suggests the importance of all three approaches and the need to synthesize them more fully. A residential setting such as a low-density suburban community does attract particular categories of persons because of its congruence with their desired life-styles. Such a setting also provides both opportunities for particular behaviour patterns after the move – for example, relatively active contact with neighbours is facilitated in the suburban setting – as well as disadvantages, such as the need to travel some distance to various facilities. Not all residents benefit equally from liv-

ing in this environment. In summary, suburban social structure is influenced by the class, life-cycle composition and life-style orientations of the population it attracts, as well as by the nature of its residential environment. Rather than view these three perspectives as mutually exclusive, we must explore on a comparative level how the factors they emphasize interact in complex ways.

Part Six

Regulating the Urban System

In examining urban social and ecological organization from both a dynamic and a structural perspective, we must recognize that the growth, development, and resultant structure of the urban system are influenced by how power is distributed and exercised. Not all groups are equally effective in shaping the city's spatial and economic patterns for their own benefit. Concern for regulating the urban system, as we observed in the Introduction, is increasingly the focus for formal planning efforts on the part of the three levels of government. A variety of issues – ranging from the shape of urban redevelopment to the role of citizen participation in city government, the value of new community formation, and the possible benefits to be gained from political restructuring of metropolitan communities – have emerged with important social and ecological implications for both understanding and directing urban growth.

Chapter 11

Power and Planning in the Urban System

POWER AND THE URBAN SYSTEM

Classical urban theory, proceeding with a consensus model of the social order, tended to ignore the patterned conflicts of interest that are a vital part of urbanism (Cox 1978). The city can be seen as "an areally localized resource system" (Harvey 1973) to which groups vary in their accessibility depending on the amount of power, influence, and wealth they can command. The spatial and social form of the urban system reflects the clash of interests and the quest for dominance by specific groups, classes, and organizations. Let us first define the meaning of power, survey briefly some of the types of participants in this clash, and explore as an example the influence of the "property industry."

The Study of Community Power

In studying the nature of power in any community it is useful to distinguish the following (Clark 1968):

1. *Power* refers to the potential capacity to affect the "life chances" of other groups and to achieve desired change in the existing social and political structure.
2. *Influence* is the actual exercise of that capacity in specific situations.
3. *Power structure* is the overall distribution of power between groups, classes, and individuals in any community social system.
4. *Decision-making structure* consists of the relative distribution of influence in the community.

A major issue in the study of community stratification systems has been the manner in which power and influence can best be measured. There are three general approaches (Clark 1968; Hawley and Svara 1972; Bonjean and Grimes 1974; Domhoff 1978).

■ *The positional or structural approach*: The leaders of a community are designated according to who occupies the key positions or offices in the central community organizations. The assumption here is that an individual's

power derives from the formal position he holds. Yet this approach does not measure directly the level of influence, nor does it identify those who may possess power in the community although they do not occupy a formal position.

- *The reputational approach:* Here key informants are simply asked to designate those whom they believe to be powerful in the community, whether they hold formal positions or not. This approach, however, has several critical weaknesses – it may provide information on the reputation of power rather than its actual possession or exercise, and it fails to distinguish levels and relative scope of leadership.

- *The decisional approach:* To overcome the above weaknesses, an alternative strategy is to select important issues in the community's history and examine who is most influential in resolving them. Although this approach may help to identify some of those who actually exercise power in the community, it may overlook the importance of "non-decision" in revealing who are the influentials. In addition, the sample of issues it analyzes may not be representative of the most important decisions made, and may thus create a biased portrait of a community's leaders.

Adoption of one of these methods to the exclusion of the others, it has been discovered, may significantly affect the findings. That is, those employing the positional or decisional approaches are more likely to discover a pluralistic power structure (power and influence distributed relatively equally between a number of competing groups). A monolithic power structure (in which power and influence are concentrated among a few central leaders) is particularly likely to emerge if one adopts the reputational approach, which tends to assume the existence of such a structure. It is generally agreed at present that a comprehensive analysis of the power and decision-making structures of a community requires a combination of these approaches. In addition, it is important to compare how these structures vary between communities distinguished in terms of size, rate of growth, and function. Most important, we must not ignore the consequences of particular leadership formations – for example, with respect to policy "outputs." Hawley (1968c) has shown that the greater the concentration of power in any city, the greater the probability of success in undertaking and completing any collective action such as a program in urban renewal (cf. Lincoln 1976). Such concentration provides a greater chance of mobilizing the necessary personnel and resources to deal with the specific issue. This, however, is still too imprecise a generalization as it fails to include the relative importance of other factors such as the community's rate of growth in affecting policy outputs. Finally, we might note that a common problem with many community power studies in the past "is their failure to consider local power in relationship to the national ruling class and the needs of the national corporate economy" (Domhoff 1978, 152). How decision-making

structures are linked across communities is a critical empirical issue that has only recently begun to be explored.

Political Participants in the Urban System

In Canada, municipal government was first established in Ontario (Higgins 1977). Municipal institutions have been the responsibility of the provinces. As a result, their development has been erratic. One major theme that characterizes the history of municipal government is the continued erosion of its financial position. With urban growth and expansion the provinces have assumed greater influence in municipal affairs, as has the federal government. More than half the revenue of local governments comes from these sources (Higgins 1977). Although they traditionally have dealt with the provision of more routine or "housekeeping" services, Canada's cities have at the same time increasingly found themselves faced with more challenging and controversial issues, such as the need to curb undirected physical expansion. Since 1954, one response to this has been efforts to restructure municipal government – especially in the larger cities. We shall examine this response at a later point.

The structure of municipal decision making varies greatly across urban Canada. In smaller cities we find city council linked to standing committees which oversee the activities of municipal departments. This permits council members to concentrate on particular areas. For larger cities, however, this is a less efficient structure. Such committees tend to be inadequately connected to one another. The process of making decisions is retarded by the need to discuss at the council level what each committee has already thoroughly reviewed (Higgins 1977). Larger communities require a more co-ordinated, less diffuse structure, as we shall see later in this chapter. In the West, boards of commissioners co-ordinate programs and services at the local level. Other communities employ a board of control or city manager system to facilitate co-ordination of the administrative responsibilities of the municipality. The relative power of the mayor varies greatly among these municipal structures. Although our understanding of the relation between them and the manner in which power and influence are distributed in Canada's cities is as yet only at a rudimentary level, it is apparent that not all segments of the population are equally likely to be represented at city council or its equivalent. A survey of council members in Toronto in the early 1960s revealed the following traits of the typical "successful politician": conservative, Protestant, affiliated with a business group, about fifty years old, married with two children, owns his own house, has lived in the community for at least fifteen years, and is employed in a professional or managerial position (Joyce and Hossé 1970, 16). Women, poor people, and members of minority ethnic groups tend to be underrepresented on city councils (Higgins

1977; Kelner 1973). The question of which groups are excluded from the process of political recruitment is an important one for understanding the possession and exercise of power and influence in urban Canada (Slemko 1974).

POLITICAL RECRUITMENT IN URBAN ALBERTA

Political recruitment on the municipal level refers to the process whereby elected officials are selected from the eligible citizens in the city. The manner in which this process operates is particularly of interest in urban Canada because of the ideology of non-partisanship that still exists in many cases at the local level. Unlike the United States, Canada's municipal candidates frequently run without explicit and direct endorsement by the national political parties.

Let us examine the characteristics of aldermen and mayors in five Alberta cities – Edmonton, Calgary, Lethbridge, Red Deer, and Medicine Hat (Slemko 1974). In each case their campaigns and victories were not linked to the efforts of organized political parties. Nor, reflecting their own belief in non-partisanship, did they actively solicit the support of local civic associations. The public, they felt, would not have viewed as appropriate close association with particular interest groups.

Consistent with what has been found elsewhere, these aldermen possess distinctive characteristics not necessarily shared by the wider population. Most are male, over thirty-five, of high socioeconomic status, fairly well educated, and hold white-collar jobs. This group of elected officials, however, forms more of a "class elite" than an "ethnic elite" (Slemko 1974). That is, they are not predominantly Anglo-Saxon Protestants, although they are of more affluent social standing than the average residents of their community.

Of particular importance, most had prior involvement in community business and service organizations, where they obtained experience and skills that could be transferred to elective office. Such participation indeed provided them with the sense of "personal competency" which enabled them to think seriously of seeking such an office. The social networks they formed through involvement in these associations encouraged them to make that decision, and were an indispensable resource in their success. In short, these community associations performed "diffuse recruitment functions" and served as "entry channels into civic politics" (Slemko 1974). That the membership of these associations is composed primarily of more affluent members of the community suggests that, unless alternate recruitment channels are established, municipal government in these cities will continue to be

dominated by those with characteristics similar to these elected officials. Local community associations link the community's stratification system with the formal political structure.

The urban political system is, of course, influenced by more than the persons formally occupying municipal offices. It includes a broader variety of actors ranging from special purpose boards (such as the board of education) to various corporate and non-corporate special interest groups – for example, the local chamber of commerce, a grass-roots association established to oppose construction of an expressway, and the media (Higgins 1977). Of particular importance here is the ideology of non-partisanship. Beginning in the early years of this century an anti-party orientation was established at the local level. Reflecting the influence of the American municipal reform movement, it was strongly argued that urban government should be treated as a business, that municipal issues are not inherently political, and local parties would foster patronage and corruption. The non-partisan ideology also reflected the balance of power between provinces and municipalities; the latter's subordination to the former was not conducive to involvement at the local level by political parties (Lightbody 1971; Anderson 1972). Exceptions to this did occur. During the 1920s and 1930s in Western Canada socialist and labour groups fielded candidates in municipal elections to counter the rule of the more affluent business elite (see also Taraska 1975). Non-partisanship in many cities permitted the middle-class business and professional segments of the population to sustain their formal and informal power and influence.

This tradition of non-partisanship has eroded in recent years. The formation of Mayor Drapeau's Civic Party in Montreal in 1960 encouraged the emergence of party politics at the municipal level (either through local parties or through affiliation with provincial parties) elsewhere in urban Canada. Increasing recognition has been given to some of the advantages of civic parties, which include the following:

- Civic parties are better able to achieve a consensus in council on some issues.
- The electorate has an opportunity to vote on a series of proposals and programs – rather than simply voting for individual personalities.
- Party platforms tend to be broader and more comprehensive than the view of one independent candidate.
- Party discipline facilitates implementation of politics. Civic parties improve voter turnout and community involvement in local problems.
- Parties are able to select and screen the best candidates (Joyce and Hossé 1970, 22f).

If a civic party gains control of the council, however, its policies may not be equally responsive to the needs of all segments of the population. The extent to which municipal parties encourage patronage is uncertain, as is the degree

to which the above advantages actually do occur. The number of local civic parties appears to be increasing, frequently emerging around a specific issue. Not all, of course, survive from one election to the next. Those that initially adopt a relatively non-partisan orientation find they become over time increasingly partisan (that is, they develop an articulated policy, and employ caucusing and bloc voting as instruments for defining and implementing that policy).

The growth of urban areas, the emergence of more complex metropolitan municipal systems, and the shift in municipal governments from "non-controversial decision making to more politicized policy making" (Higgins 1977) have encouraged the national parties to become more directly involved in the urban political system (Lightbody 1971). Their entry may offer several advantages over local civic parties.

- Local civic parties may be less democratic than national political parties operating at the municipal level in that the former are dominated by a small active elite.
- National civic parties want their members to devise party policy whereas local parties, in contrast, leave the creation of platform and policy with the party representatives on council.
- Some local parties do not select candidates democratically; national civic parties choose their candidates at open nomination conventions.
- Knowledge that a candidate is a member of a certain national party gives the voters some indication of the candidate's philosophy.
- National political parties have the resources to carry out their programs at the municipal level. Local parties, in contrast, tend to be more unstable; they frequently dissolve after election defeats (Joyce and Hossé 1970, 59f).

Again, whether these advantages truly exist is an issue that has not been fully resolved. In any case, the involvement of mainstream parties, particularly the NDP and the Liberals in municipal politics, such as in Toronto, is a relatively new political phenomenon which will become more pronounced in the years ahead – especially in the larger cities where the need for coordinated political action is increasingly evident.

The Urban Community as a Political Economy

At various points in preceding chapters we have argued that the city must be analyzed as a sociospatial system. Social and spatial structures are closely intertwined. In chapter 8, for example, we explored how in urban Canada the fundamental bases of social differentiation are in turn spatially expressed. An additional and equally important illustration of this interrelation is the conception of the urban community as a political economy (Harvey 1973, 1978; Molotch 1976; Pickvance 1976; Castells 1976, 1977; Walton 1981). That is, urban space and land are structured according to the distribution of wealth and power within the city. Any parcel of land represents an interest for a particular segment (Molotch 1976). The urban locality consists of an aggregate of interest groups competing for the most advantageous

land-use patterns. Simply put, politics at the local level has to do with distribution of valuable resources, of which land is the most important. The more powerful groups and individuals in a community frequently are committed to local growth and development, and form a loosely structured coalition to advance their common interests. For them the city is a "growth machine" which must compete with other localities for economic expansion. Municipal government is viewed by local businessmen, property owners, and investors as the political instrument through which growth is to be sustained, the costs for which may have to be borne by the wider public. The costs are justified ideologically by reference to the number of jobs that will be created by growth. In more recent years the extent to which growth may be a liability has emerged as an important issue. Population and economic growth as well as physical expansion of the city may benefit only a small proportion of the residents, and may impose greater financial hardships on many taxpayers (Molotch 1976).

The portrait of the urban map as "a mosaic of competing land interests capable of strategic coalition and action" (Molotch 1976) argues that urban structure must be more explicitly linked to capitalistic market processes (Castells 1977; Harvey 1973) – a point which classical urban theory did not adequately articulate. That is, urban policies and political structures reflect and sustain the concentration of power and wealth characteristic of advanced capitalism (Harvey 1973; Harring 1983). For example, the city as a "growth machine" does not include within its municipal government, as we saw earlier, representatives of all segments of the population. Businessmen and those oriented to local growth dominate municipal affairs (Molotch 1976). Such a proposition, consistent with an urban political economy paradigm, is a central tenet within a controversial argument advanced about the power and influence of the property industry in urban Canada.

The Property Industry and the Urban System

Since World War II Canadian cities have experienced a dramatic physical change. With metropolitan growth and expansion five major types of development projects have become increasingly visible. These include large-scale suburban developments, highrise apartment buildings, industrial parks in outlying areas, office towers, and shopping centres (Lorimer 1978). Such a trend reflects the evolution of a complex and financially concentrated urban development industry in this country. Beginning at the level of small entrepreneurs, with the financial and other assistance of the federal government, this industry has expanded to such an extent that it now controls approximately \$18 billion in real estate, with annual operating profits of about \$1 billion. It is increasingly dominated by investor-owned, professionally managed development corporations such as Trizec, Cadillac-Fairview, and Genstar. Smaller development firms are unable to compete with these corporate enterprises (Barker, Penney, and Seccombe 1973).

As in the other sectors of the Canadian economy, foreign ownership and foreign capital have played an important role in this industry. British property companies, banks, and insurance interests, for example, have exercised an important influence on Canadian urban development. A major source of real estate capital in past years in Montreal, for example, has been Italy (Aubin 1977). Foreign property investors own over one-third of downtown Vancouver, and the proportion is increasing (Gutstein 1975). Foreign developers have helped to intensify the trend toward greater concentration in the industry; their activities have also enhanced the price of urban real estate (Lorimer 1978).

If we examine the sixty largest land development companies that produce most of the new residential land in metropolitan Canada, we find many operating in various sectors of real estate across the country (Spurr 1976; Lorimer and Ross 1976). Their land holdings are quite large (Gunton 1983). In cities such as Toronto, Thunder Bay, Calgary, and Edmonton they dominate the local new housing market. For example Spurr (1976) reported that of approximately 40,000 acres of land available on Toronto's fringes for residential development, more than four-fifths of this is controlled by only nine firms. These companies are able to bear the costs of site acquisition and preparation, and they have access to large amounts of capital through their ties (and interlocking directorates) with financial institutions. Such resources provide them with a significant advantage over smaller development firms. That competitive advantage is also enhanced by the major types of integration that major developers manifest. These include (1) *vertical integration*, where development firms control a number of subsidiaries that provide the necessary supplies and services to produce new urban accommodation (for example, a cement or construction company); (2) *horizontal integration*, where a corporation's activities and interests are spread across various sectors of the urban real estate market (from highrise office towers to single-family suburban dwellings); and (3) *conglomerate integration*, where joint ventures are undertaken with other large developers such as occurred in the Erin Mills project west of Toronto (Spurr 1976). Such strategies reduce costs, increase profits, and allow these firms to reduce their risks involved in large-scale development projects. Although the data to support this contention are incomplete, the dominance over the real estate market they achieve appears to contribute to the rising cost of residential lots in many cities. Holding a monopoly on the supply of new house lots, it is argued, allows these major developers to continue raising prices to support increased profits (Lorimer 1978).

It has been contended that such dominance extends to city hall. The economic power of the property industry is matched by its political power and influence – especially at the local level (Lorimer 1972, 1978; Barker, Penny, and Secombe 1973; Caulfield 1974; Gutstein 1975; Lorimer and Ross 1976). Let us examine in greater detail this thesis which involves a com-

bination of those approaches to the study of community power discussed earlier in this chapter.

The property industry, as it operates in Canadian cities, consists of a coalition of all the businesses and professions that own, manage, or service existing urban property, or supply new urban accommodation (Lorimer 1972). These include, for example, property-owning businesses, lending institutions, insurance companies, construction businesses, lawyers, real estate agents, insurance agents, and civil engineers. The various segments of this industry have a common set of interests which derive from their conception of the city as a "growth machine" – as a source of profit from investments in urban property. They seek to maintain and develop the value of that property through, for example, controlling the supply of new residential land, and opposing any attempts to tax more heavily their operating profits. Most important, it is argued, the property industry pursues a political program that helps to promote its interests. With respect to the senior levels of government, the industry has sought mortgage-lending and tax policies that would not restrict the flow of capital necessary for its investments. The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) has functioned as an important ally in the industry's expansion – for example, by not strongly advocating in past years the creation of non-profit companies providing low-cost housing that might affect the general value of urban property, and thus lower the industry's profits.

It is at the municipal level where the power and influence of the property industry are especially visible. City government, it is argued, represents "the political arm of the industry" (Lorimer 1972). Control is exercised over city council through a variety of measures, including the following:

- Persons oriented to the interests of the property industry frequently are members of city council;
- Contributions are made to political campaigns in the hope that the elected officials will give serious attention to the concerns of the industry;
- Informal social ties are cultivated between city politicians and those in various segments of the industry;
- When leaving city politics, officials may be offered lucrative positions within the industry.

As a result of these ties, city council will be more likely to support policies and programs that will coincide with and advance the interests of the property industry, such as permitting massive construction and development of the downtown core of a metropolitan area without adequate planning controls or concern for the fate of inner-city neighbourhoods (Caulfield 1974). The influence of the development industry extends to special-purpose agencies and the municipal bureaucracy. City planning boards support policy proposals and modifications in existing plans from which the industry bene-

fits, such as amendments to zoning by-laws that might permit placement of a new shopping mall in a residential area. Even the urban media support the industry's interests. Growth and expansion are portrayed as inherently good for any city. Indeed, the media themselves, through their dependence on advertisement revenues from businesses in the industry and their own real estate holdings, are economically linked to those interests.

The political strength of the property industry has generated citizen opposition in a variety of cities. Citizen groups have sought to challenge that influence by opposing specific projects (such as the Spadina Expressway in Toronto) and seeking to elect to city council those who might be more responsive to the need to balance the economic goals of the development industry with concern for the viability of existing neighbourhoods and for establishing greater controls over land and housing costs. The relative success of these groups in attaining their ends has varied greatly across urban Canada.

The thesis that the property industry dominates municipal decision making is a compelling one. Nevertheless, it is in need of much further verification and elaboration. It assumes a more monolithic power structure at the local level than may be the case – that the various sectors of the property industry act in concert and co-ordinate their efforts to achieve common goals. This may underestimate the clash of interests *within* the industry – for example, between the media's need to respond to citizen groups' demands for critical journalism and developers' desires for "boosterism" reporting. In addition, this thesis does not adequately analyze in a systematic manner how the influence of the property industry over municipal government might vary according to the size and functional structure of a city. There is a need to employ more carefully the positional, reputational, and decisional approaches in a variety of urban settings to determine in greater detail how power is exercised, and whether the variety of measures noted earlier used to influence city council are equally prevalent and successful. The roles local and national civic parties play in supporting or challenging the interest of the property industry must be more thoroughly explored. It has been argued that with the late 1970s many of Canada's cities may have entered a "post-developer era" (Lorimer 1981). The downturn in post-war economic growth in Canada on the national level has curbed development at the municipal level. Developers may therefore have less control over city councils than in earlier years.

Indeed, one recent test of this thesis, employing a combination of the decisional and positional approaches, fails to document the dominant influence of private land developers in the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton (Sesay 1978). Focusing on several important decisions made by the regional council, including the development of an official plan, no single group or sector of the community gained more advantages than did others. The region's official plan, for example, presented both benefits and disadvan-

tages for private land developers in the area. Examining, in addition, the composition of the 1974-76 regional council reveals that only about one-fourth of the members have property industry occupational affiliations. Nor is there any evidence of a close link between how a councillor voted on issues relating to development and whether he had such an affiliation. In short, at least in this context it is incorrect to attribute significant political influence to the property industry. Rather, there exists a more pluralistic pattern in the distribution of influence. The extent to which this is the case elsewhere has been strongly debated (Gunton 1983). At times the arguments that such influence does exist has been advanced more in terms of illustrations than by systematic and comparative analyses of how the municipal decision-making structure operates.

PLANNING AND THE URBAN SYSTEM

Urban planning represents the formal, institutional attempt to regulate the physical, ecological, and social dimensions of urban growth and structure according to specific objectives and interests. Stated more simply, it seeks to "harness" systematically urbanization (understood both demographically and ecologically) and urbanism. Urban planning policies and techniques frequently reflect and even sustain the manner in which power and influence are distributed. In many instances planning can be seen as "the intervention of the political in the different instances of a social formation to assure the interests of the dominant social class" (Castells 1977, 261). North American urban renewal projects, for example, in many cases appear to have benefited more the commercial and corporate interests encouraging these projects than the inner-city residents forced to relocate. Planning policies also reflect how the urban community is conceptualized, according to the social model used to portray its structure. The British garden-city movement that emerged in the early years of this century and sought to achieve a balance between town and country living in rebuilding cities perceived urban structure as based on a fundamental consensus of interests and values, as did classical urban theory.

In the old city these theorists saw many evils, but they saw victims rather than villains. They tended to blame the evils not on class exploitation but on historical inheritance of poverty and poor buildings, on institutional inadequacies, or at worst on ignorance or apathy. They sought to cure the evils by methods which did not seem to them to threaten many significant interests. It should be possible to achieve such reforms by sweet reason and popular enlightenment, without revolution or divisive class politics (Stretton 1978, 21-22).

Such an orientation deeply influenced Canadian urban planning, at least in its early stages of development. It de-emphasized the conflicts of interest and the unequal distribution of wealth and power that formed a central part of urban structure.

Canadian Urban Planning

Although the emergence of urban planning as a bureaucratized activity and formal profession is a twentieth-century phenomenon, we must not ignore the historical roots of planning in Canada. Early eighteenth-century settlements reflected efforts to self-consciously incorporate clear spatial plans. The foundation of Louisburg in 1726 was carefully planned as a military base and town to accommodate several thousand inhabitants. As elsewhere, a gridiron plan was imposed on Halifax. Although it was never completed, in the late 1700s the first governor of Cape Breton envisioned a plan for Sydney that was remarkably similar to Howard's garden city – incorporating the notion of a centre, satellite communities, and preservation of open space (Gertler 1968; see also Hugo-Brunt 1972).

Despite these roots, planning, both social and physical, was at a rudimentary level throughout the nineteenth century. The rise of the commercial centre and the commercial-industrial city occurred without sustained efforts to regulate the changing physical and social structures. We find, for example, during the first half of the 1800s, the continued failure of such communities as Saint John, Halifax, and St. John's to develop a systematic employment policy for the poor (Fingard 1977). Nor were the structural causes of unemployment directly attacked; instead poverty was interpreted as a moral, not an economic problem (Janice Harvey 1978). Individual character defects, such as intemperance, were of greater concern than the sources of inequality. Such a bias continued well into the present century.

The failure to institutionalize appropriate planning policies and procedures was reflected as well in the social conditions of the metropolitan community as it emerged in the late nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century. The years 1896–1921 represented a time of great economic expansion in Canada, especially in its largest cities. The gross value of manufacturing production in Toronto increased more than 500 percent between 1900 and 1921 (Piva 1975). The number of highly skilled and white-collar jobs grew rapidly. Yet the workforce expanded at an even faster rate, causing severe unemployment, especially for blue-collar workers. In both Montreal and Toronto during these years the working class benefited very little from industrial growth (Copp 1974). For example, "real income" (that is, wages measured against the cost of living) was more than 10 percent *lower* for Toronto's construction and manufacturing workers in 1920 than it had been eighteen years earlier (Piva 1975). In the cities, few workers were able to rise above the poverty line. At least two wage earners per family commonly were necessary to do so. Women and children thus were encouraged to enter the labour force, without adequate controls over their working conditions.

Despite the plight of the urban working class, little was done to improve health, housing, educational, or economic conditions. Infant mortality in the working class (especially among French Canadian families) was Mon-

treal's greatest public health problem; yet, pasteurized milk was made widely available to the less affluent only in the years after World War I (Copp 1974). The inadequacy of public health care systems was also reflected in the high rate of tuberculosis evident at the time in working-class neighbourhoods. In Toronto working mothers were blamed for the high death rate found among their infants; the factors that forced them to enter the labour force during their child-rearing years were ignored.

In each of the major industrial centres, the working class was unable to significantly improve its economic and social position through political or organized efforts. Although labour unrest was common during this period, unionization did not advance the workers' interests. In 1920, for example, Toronto experienced twenty-four strikes, of which only one-fifth successfully achieved the employees' objectives. A number of union locals indeed disappeared that year (Piva 1975). Workers were therefore dependent on the reform activities of the wider community, which were extremely limited and failed, as in earlier years, to deal with the direct causes of poverty.

What urban reform measures were implemented between 1880 and 1920 reflected the values and interests of the dominant middle class (Rutherford 1974, 1977; Weaver 1977; Van Nus 1977). The architectural and planning achievements displayed at Chicago's 1893 World's Fair and the influence of the "city-beautiful movement" (Hines 1974) stimulated the desire to construct civic monuments, promote a sense of civic grandeur, and in general create a more aesthetically appealing urban environment that might in itself, without changing the class structure, remedy some of the major social problems existing in the largest cities. As the inadequacies of this planning approach became more evident in the first decade of this century, emphasis was placed increasingly on "purifying" the city – that is, encouraging the internalization of middle-class values and mores among the less affluent. Reformers argued that relocating slum dwellers in new suburban residential areas, for example, would be an effective means to achieve this goal (Weaver 1977). Housing codes were enforced and low-income housing destroyed in an effort to improve the physical environment, which was believed to breed vice and social disorganization, without equal attention being given to supplying adequate amounts of replacement housing for the poor.

The urban middle class also supported the move to municipal control of utility companies (Armstrong and Nelles 1977). This was motivated by the desire to obtain cheap and reliable power and transport which would enhance real estate values and business profits, and make the city generally more attractive for industrial investment and expansion. Reflecting the influence of the American reform movement at the time, the urban municipality was increasingly viewed as a business corporation that must be managed efficiently and economically. Administration must be separated from politics, civic government bureaucratized and run by experts (Rutherford 1977). City-wide boards and commissions and the separation of municipal legi-

slative and executive functions were viewed as necessary instruments for a competent city government. They also served to insulate that government from political challenges to middle-class domination by the less affluent (Weaver 1977).

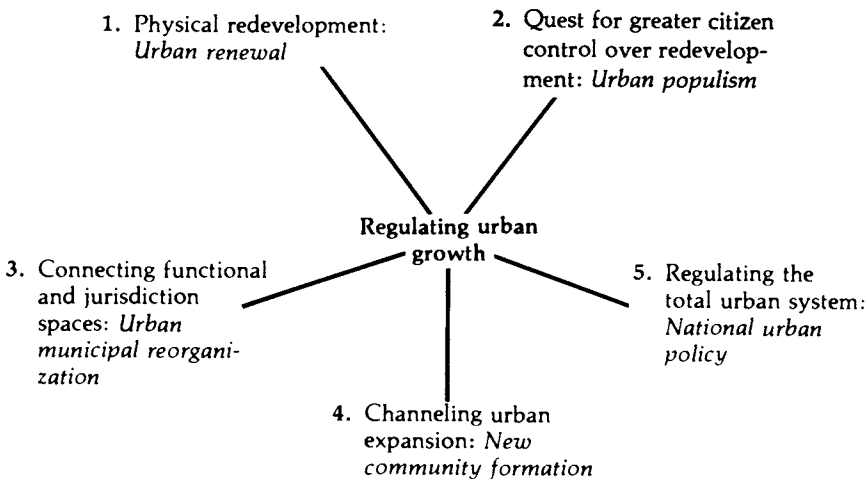
As it began to emerge, modern city planning in Canada reflected a middle-class ethos. It also was influenced by American reform ideology as well as by the efforts in Britain to regulate urban life through legislation. One channel through which the British influence appeared was Thomas Adams, one of the founders of the British Town Planning Institute. In 1909 the Commission of Conservation was established, with Clifford Sifton as Chairman, to examine how Canada's natural resources might be better managed. One of their concerns was with the problems of town planning. Adams was invited to join the Commission in 1914, bringing with him experience in framing the British Town Planning Act of 1909. Adams subsequently aided in the writing of town planning laws and zoning by-laws in Canada before his work ended in 1921 (Gertler 1968; Oberlander 1976). Although he did not challenge the predominant middle-class ethos of planning, many of his ideas influenced and indeed anticipated the concerns of post-World War II urban planning. These included:

- The need for orderly, scientific planning of the city as a whole;
- The need to plan regionally – to co-ordinate town-country interdependence;
- The need to control land and development outside municipal boundaries;
- The need for a comprehensive, flexible city plan dealing with such prerequisites as efficient traffic circulation, adequate rapid transit, and parks;
- The need for advisory town planning commissions in each province, so that planning at the provincial level would parallel that done locally (Rutherford 1977, 247f).

In summary, urban growth in the early years of this century demanded regulation – but in a form that would sustain the power and influence of the middle class. The “urban crisis” was one of inefficient municipal government, of moral and social departures from middle-class mores. Municipal and housing reforms were encouraged, but in ways that would not undermine the desirable “bourgeois character of the city” (Rutherford 1977). Contemporary efforts to regulate the urban system frequently reflect a continuation of this orientation, although not without challenge (Matthews 1976).

The continued growth of urban areas in the decades following World War II has created a variety of serious problems, ranging from the need for more efficient mass transit systems (Soberman 1983), to inadequate supplies of low-cost housing (Rose 1980), to environmental decay (Science Council of Canada 1971). That such problems require a more comprehensive under-

standing of the interrelation between the demographic, ecological, economic, social, and political aspects of urbanization and urbanism for their solution is increasingly recognized (Oberlander 1976; Wiesman 1976; Gertler 1976). We shall briefly survey five critical issues in contemporary urban planning, emphasizing their social and ecological implications where appropriate. These include the following:



These issues reveal at least some of the concerns of contemporary planning, ranging from attempts to renovate the physical and political structures of cities to the best means for redirecting urban growth at the national level.

Urban Renewal

During the last several decades in North American urban communities, an important attempt to change especially the inner-city physical environment has been made through the development of urban renewal projects. These projects have varied greatly in scale and location, and include such cases as the total destruction of Africville, on the periphery of Halifax (Clairmont and Magill 1971, 1973); the redevelopment of the Rose-Blanshard area of Victoria in the late 1960s (Robertson 1973); and the rehabilitation of the Strathcona area in Vancouver (Wong 1978). Urban renewal, in its simplest form, can be defined as "the process by which the various parts of an urban area are repaired or replaced as they become physically deteriorated, obsolete, or suitable for alternate use" (Bunge 1967, 1). Increasing attention has been given to the social consequences of this process to determine how this instrument of planned urban change might be more beneficially utilized.

The development of urban renewal in Canada progressed through a series

of legislative stages (Bunge 1967; Report of the Task Force 1969; Bettison 1975; Rose 1980). As in the United States, federal involvement in the housing industry was strengthened as a result of the Depression in the 1930s. In order to provide more adequate housing, the Dominion Housing Act was instituted in 1935. Through the federal Department of Finance loans were secured for residential mortgages. The scope of this assistance was increased in 1938. With the advent of World War II, however, the entire problem of housing in Canada became overshadowed by more pressing concerns. In 1941 it again became an important issue. The Curtis Subcommittee on Housing and Community Planning – part of the broader Committee on Post-War Reconstruction – predicted a serious shortage of adequate housing by 1946 and documented the existence of widespread slums in many communities. In order to remedy this bleak picture, the National Housing Act was passed in 1944. The act provided federal assistance to municipalities for slum clearance. The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation was created to administer this program. Its lending role was enhanced through subsequent amendments in 1946 and 1947 – which, as we noted earlier, laid the basis for the private house building industry's expansion (Lorimer 1978).

Amendments to the National Housing Act were introduced in 1949; these established joint federal-provincial participation in public housing projects and federal involvement in land assembly schemes. Additional changes to the act seven years later were particularly critical in that they "made provision for urban renewal studies to be conducted to determine 'the condition of urban areas, means of improving housing and the need for additional housing or urban redevelopment.' The cost of these studies was to be shared 75% by Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, and 25% by the municipality" (Bunge 1967, 15). Areas designated in need of urban renewal were predominantly residential (Lowden 1970, 1-1). This, however, was increasingly seen as too narrow a definition. In 1964 that restriction was removed. Urban renewal was broadened to include non-residential land use, and was taken now as involving more than merely "redevelopment" – that is, mass clearance and reconstruction of physically deteriorating areas. The need to pursue less drastic actions to preserve the physical structure of the inner city was also recognized. "Rehabilitation" – repair of existing structures – and "conservation" – maintenance of properties according to acceptable standards – were seen as equally important. The 1964 amendments systematized the procedures through which an urban renewal program was undertaken. Despite frequent difficulties in the co-ordination of different political levels, the 1964 legislation attempted to broaden urban renewal "from the provision of assistance for the clearance of slum housing and its replacement by low-income housing, into an attack on the physical problems affecting all parts of an urban area" (Bunge 1967, 17). The 1967 amendment to the National Housing Act strengthened this "attack" by providing federal loans to those seeking to rehabilitate housing in any part of an urban community.

The effect of this governmental expansion in urban housing was revealed in the fact that by 1961 almost half of the total housing stock in Canada had been constructed during the post-World War II period. This represented, indeed, "the highest ratio of new housing additions in the entire Western world" (Report of the Task Force 1969, 6). Between 1954 and 1968, almost three-fourths of the federal funding for urban renewal supported projects concentrated in Ontario and Quebec, reflecting their higher rates of urbanization and the greater ability of these provinces to provide matching funds. During that period, more than 200 urban renewal studies were initiated, with the majority completed (Lowden 1970, 2-1f). Almost all of the federal assistance for urban renewal during these years was concentrated in cities with populations greater than 30,000. Because of the higher tax returns from commercial and industrial land uses, renewal programs were less concerned with improving the residential sector.

A number of weaknesses in the Canadian urban renewal program became increasingly evident. Its general objectives were not clearly defined, nor was there consensus among the different levels of government as to the nature of these goals. In many cases it was interpreted as a means for stimulating urban economic development, or as a means whereby a city could obtain improvements that it alone could not afford, or as an instrument for the physical redevelopment of the community. Paralleling this ambiguity in objectives was an underlying vagueness in the exact meaning of "blight," which appeared to be "whatever the municipality designated as blight" (Lowden 1970, 1-10).

Instead of precise delimitation of the goals of the program, greater emphasis was given to the formulation of administrative procedures which all renewal projects were required to follow, regardless of local circumstances. As a result, smaller cities found it financially difficult to meet all the prerequisites – such as preparation of the urban renewal scheme according to the required format – for obtaining CMHC support. Physical deterioration within these communities tended to be less frequently clustered within definable areas. Yet, federal assistance was allocated to projects that had designated whole sections as in need of urban renewal. The federal guidelines, moreover, did not demand any regional planning considerations, despite the fact that this would have been especially advantageous for smaller cities.

Certainly a major problem with the urban renewal program derived from the difficulty of co-ordinating the three levels of government that were involved. As a result of the division of responsibilities and power established in the British North America Act, initiation of a project was restricted to the provinces and municipalities. Federal involvement occurred after the submission of applications for assistance, and was limited to the determination of whether they met the standardized guidelines. Such a system, indeed, produced a set of basic "anomalies."

First, the municipalities have the necessary initiative but are ineffective because they haven't enough money. Second, the provinces have the necessary power but are ineffective because they see their role as a passive one, and do not offer leadership and direction, and have an anachronistic concept of their relationship to urban growth problems. Third, the national government has the necessary money but its range of participation in urban development is severely limited by both law and custom (Bunge 1967, 35-36).

One important consequence was the difficulty of formulating a systematic and consistent approach to the solution of urban problems. Renewal tended to proceed in a more ad hoc fashion than was desirable. The need for approval from the three levels of government for each project encouraged unnecessary duplication and over-bureaucratized the entire administrative procedure. As a result, the time lag between initiation of a renewal study or scheme and actual implementation widened; five and a half years was not uncommon. This created additional problems.

"The time lag caused by the extensive number of steps required to carry out a program often [resulted] in a change of the actual needs of the program from those originally proposed." Among these changes could have been the municipal council itself. A new council could decide on different priorities to those of its predecessors, resulting in only partial fulfillment of the renewal program ... Another problem was the stigma created by a renewal designation on an area where no public action was taken, due to this extensive time lag. "Such designations create a semi-freeze of real estate transactions and tend to discourage maintenance and repairs." (Lowden 1970, 3-49).

The most dramatic illustration of this is the case of Africville - a small black ghetto on the outskirts of Halifax (Clairmont and Magill 1971, 1973). Although its actual final destruction began in the mid-1960s, the community had long experienced the threat of expropriation and the stigma of being defined as a slum. In the late 1800s Africville faced expropriation of some of its land for industrial use. Municipal authorities expected that eventually the entire community would be relocated to complete this process. As a result, little was done to improve basic services for its population. Facilities that were considered undesirable in the city proper, such as the dump and incinerator, were moved to an area near the community. In 1947 Halifax City Council formally approved the designation of Africville as industrial land; yet not until 1961 were details of the relocation project elaborated. During this period the community continued to experience physical deterioration and social disruption. The lengthy delay in implementing an effective renewal program that would respond more adequately to the needs of the residents facilitated the eventual total destruction of Africville.

A variety of other weaknesses in the renewal program were also increasingly recognized. These included overemphasis on the physical aspects of the urban environment, a general lack of concern for the dynamic processes in the urban real estate market, and inadequate attention to the problem of relocation (Carver 1965; Prince 1967; Rose 1968; Williamson 1971; Robertson 1973; Yauk 1973; Henry 1974).

In response to these problems and gaps, the federal government suspended the entire program in mid-1968, and initiated a careful evaluation by a housing task force of the most appropriate remedies. Its recommendations represented fundamental revisions in the whole process of urban planning and redevelopment – including, for example, the exercise of greater selectivity in demolition of existing housing and the avoidance of designating wide sectors as urban renewal areas. The task force emphasized the need to consider the social consequences of urban renewal programs. Any substantial clearance of housing has important social costs. It may, as in Boston's West End or Halifax's Africville, "destroy not only buildings, but also a functioning social system" (Social Planning Council of Hamilton and District 1963, 25). Strong local social networks can be disrupted without meaningful replacements. As we saw in chapter 10, residents of inner-city areas slated for urban renewal are often satisfied with many aspects of their neighbourhood, and express a relatively strong sense of identification with it (Jensen, Mozoff, and Richmond 1970, 32f). Forced relocation can have disruptive effects (Lipman 1968; Robertson 1973).

During the early 1970s amendments to the National Housing Act created two new programs, with greater attention given to preservation and improvement of existing neighbourhoods – the Neighbourhood Improvement Program and the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (Wong 1978, Rose 1980). Yet, these programs fail to deal with that heterogeneity typically found in Canada's inner cities. Such programs are more oriented to protecting "stable areas" such as working-class neighbourhoods (McLemore, Aass, and Keilhofer 1975), and fail to deal effectively with, for example, "declining areas" whose residents may be too poor to participate in rehabilitation and which may require more intense economic revitalization. A "diverse, multi-functional inner city" requires a selectively applied combination of programs that respect the varying interests and values of the different categories of residents – from the more affluent in luxury highrises to the less advantaged in low-cost housing (McLemore, Aass, and Keilhofer 1975). A central planning problem in the past has been to assume that the inner city represents a homogeneous ecological unit, for which a single set of programs is most appropriate to improve its physical and social environment.

One innovative example of a comprehensive set of programs established to deal with the range of problems experienced by inner-city residents is the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative. Begun in 1981, with the support of the three levels of government, this strategy of revitalizing Winnipeg's core seeks to enhance employment opportunities for its residents, especially for the native population, improve the housing, and expand community services and facilities. Because of the way in which it addresses the social, economic, and physical conditions of the core in tandem, it represents perhaps one of the most ambitious rehabilitation efforts aimed at the inner city anywhere in urban Canada.

Urban Populism

One important reaction to the urban renewal process and the dominance of the property industry is the generation of mounting demands by urbanites for greater control over the whole planning institution and wider participation in the political structures of their communities. Inner-city residents increasingly believe that redevelopment programs give insufficient attention to their needs, patterns of social life, and economic and cultural investments. "Urban populism" has emerged in recent years as a movement for greater local control – particularly in the inner city (Lotz 1970; Head 1971; Kotler 1969). Countering the traditional manner in which cities have been governed, it proposes two fundamental principles: "(1) that people should have a say in decisions that affect them, and (2) that those decisions will be more closely in tune with the interests of the ordinary citizens" (Axworthy and Epstein 1974, 2). The primary emphasis is on improved planning, more responsive municipal government, and meaningful local participation in the entire decision-making process (Nowlan and Nowlan 1970; Granatstein 1971; Lorimer 1970; Fraser 1972; Sewell 1972). A basic premise of this movement, therefore, is that urban residents should not be powerless victims of governmental actions such as renewal schemes but rather full participants in the process determining the goals and contents of these actions (Axworthy n.d.).

City politicians and appointed municipal officials have, nevertheless, in the past resisted efforts to decentralize the process of decision making on the local level (Dixon 1972; Rigby 1975; Bureau of Municipal Research 1970). Working committees or local planning groups have been established in cities such as Toronto (Bureau of Municipal Research 1975) and Vancouver (Horsman and Raynor 1978) to allow citizens an opportunity to provide input into the planning of their neighbourhoods. The amount of control they can exercise is, however, questionable. Efforts to institutionalize citizen participation in Winnipeg through establishment of resident advisory groups have not been especially successful (Repo 1972; Axworthy and Cassidy 1974; Bureau of Municipal Research 1975; Higgins 1977). Their role within Winnipeg's new municipal structure has not been carefully defined, nor have they gained the necessary support from City Council members who are fearful of political activism and challenge by these groups. In short, structural reform within an "inhospitable" political climate does not ensure "meaningful" (in the sense of power-sharing) citizen participation.

The urban citizen participation movement also lacks internal cohesion (Bureau of Municipal Research 1975; Rigby 1975; Bystydzienski 1974). Residents of working-class or low-status areas, because of their educational and economic disadvantages, are less likely to organize groups opposing some development project or renewal scheme. When these groups do emerge, their interests and objectives may not coincide with those found in middle-class groups. The former, for example, may place greater value on low-

income housing and tenant rights than do the latter (Bureau of Municipal Research 1975). The extent to which any particular community association adequately represents the range of interests in its neighbourhood is frequently a contentious issue (Carr 1980). A group's leadership may be drawn from a highly select segment of the local population, and, as a result, fail to obtain widespread legitimacy or support in the neighbourhood (Rigby 1975). As yet, the fate of urban "participatory democracy" is unclear (Downey 1982).

Urban Municipal Reorganization

One characteristic of urbanization understood ecologically, as the spread of a more comprehensive and intricate territorial division of labour, is the increasing irrelevance of urban municipal boundaries. The "jurisdictional space" of a municipality does not parallel the functional integration of an area or region (Kaplan 1965; Diemer 1975). The scope of such problems as the need to control environmental pollution, curb urban sprawl, and provide improved transportation systems extends beyond municipal boundaries. Municipal fragmentation results in inefficient and costly duplication of services in the region, inequities in tax revenues and service expenditures among adjacent municipalities, and in inadequate planning generally. The absence of municipal co-ordination can have particularly important consequences for the distribution of land uses on the periphery. For example, between 1971 and 1976, over 62,000 hectares of rural land were converted to urban uses (Warren and Rump 1981). Most of this land was in Ontario, Quebec, and Alberta, and much of it was prime agricultural land. Toronto, Edmonton, and Calgary each converted over 3,000 hectares of improved agricultural land. Consistent with the deconcentration of the urban population, smaller cities have shown an increased share of total land converted to urban uses. This will have important implications for food production (Howard 1972; Yeates 1975; Lichfield 1980). Urban sprawl involves not only the creation, without adequate planning, of new housing and developments on the periphery. It also affects the rural landscape through extension of highways, power lines, and other facilities. The "urban shadow" (Gertler 1976, 1978) represents an extensive area around the city that is directly or indirectly affected by actual or potential expansion; agricultural land is eroded or held for speculative purposes in anticipation of future development. Private companies, as we observed earlier, seek to assemble large tracts of land on the periphery. Such rural-to-urban conversion, without adequate public controls (Seidler 1978), is marked by environmental imbalances (such as unsystematic placement of open spaces for public use) and rising land prices (Jacobs 1981).

Only a very small proportion of British Columbia's total land area can produce appropriate levels of food crops. Much of this, however, is on the

Lower Mainland where urban expansion is rapidly occurring (Evenden 1978). The need to curb such urban sprawl and protect valuable agricultural land led to the establishment in 1973 of the B.C. Land Commission (Rawson 1976). The functions of this body are to co-ordinate a system of zoning for agricultural use and to regulate urban intrusions (such as power lines and highways) on agricultural land.

A variety of efforts have been made to reorganize urban municipalities in such a way that regional co-ordination and planning might be improved, and political fragmentation reduced.

1. *Creation of special-purpose agencies:* These have emerged in various metropolitan areas as ways of providing necessary services (such as transit systems) to residents in different jurisdictions. Throughout urban North America such agencies have become increasingly numerous; Metro Toronto alone contains ninety-four (Del Guidice and Zacks 1976). Although they may provide a particular service with relative efficiency, they add to the proliferation and fragmentation of municipal authorities within one area. In addition, citizens' access to and influence on the decision-making process within these agencies are limited (Downey 1982).

2. *Creation of two-tiered or federation-type municipal governments:* Metro Toronto, created in the early 1950s and modified in 1967, is the best example of this type of reorganization (Kaplan 1967; Rose 1972). Prior to this reorganization the Toronto region contained a total of thirteen independent, but economically and socially interdependent, municipalities. In such a two-tiered system, certain functions are shifted to the Metro level – such as public financing and provision of necessary service facilities – without disturbing existing municipal boundaries. A Metro council is created, with proportionate representation from the member municipalities. This system was weakened in Metro Toronto's early years by the continued stronger support which officials gave to the interests of their own municipalities than to those of Metro Toronto as a whole (Kaplan 1967). Such issues as the need for greater public housing units were avoided, partly because of a lack of consensus in council as to their location. Metro Toronto dealt far more with physical planning and provision of services necessary for the opening up of peripheral areas for development than it did with social planning. This enabled private companies to meet the increased demand for single-family houses. During these years the City of Toronto's position within Metro Toronto eroded, as it experienced "a declining share of the total population and of total assessed valuation" in the region (Rose 1972, 177–78). Less emphasis has been placed on the city's own redevelopment needs. This is a common problem in metropolitan government – an imbalance in the relative importance attached to centre city and suburban interests.

Increasingly, however, it has been recognized that regional planning must extend even beyond the limits of this metropolitan area. In 1970 the concept of the Toronto-centred region was introduced as a basis for restricting exces-

sive growth within Toronto, decentralizing population, and regulating development with the entire region (Design For Development 1970). In addition, the formation of regional governments, with regional councils responsible for planning and provision of a variety of services, is viewed as a useful means of ensuring implementation of a development scheme that reflects the varied needs of an area. Following the lead of Alberta, which pioneered the establishment of "district planning regions to reflect the interdependence of town and country" (Gertler 1976, 90), a large proportion of Ontario's population now live within such a two-tiered system (Higgins 1977). British Columbia likewise has developed regional districts, such as the Greater Vancouver Regional District instituted in 1967 as an attempt to co-ordinate the planning activities of different municipalities in the area (Lioy 1975; Greater Vancouver Regional District 1980). This does not represent, however, a metropolitan form of government as found in Toronto, in which a higher degree of political and functional integration is sought.

3. *Extension of urban municipal boundaries*: An alternative method of reducing municipal fragmentation is by extending the boundaries of the urban municipality – creating a single-tiered form of government in a region. *Amalgamation* is "the legal process by which a political unification occurs of two or more incorporated urban jurisdictions"; *annexation*, the other means through which urban expansion jurisdictionally occurs, represents "the legal process by which an incorporated area is added to a corporate city" (Diemer 1975, 58). Amalgamation is not a common process in urban Canada. One example is the creation of Thunder Bay, Ontario in 1970 by integrating Fort William and Port Arthur (Kosny 1978). The results of this amalgamation have been mixed. It allows for a more efficient provision of basic services and facilities to area residents. Nevertheless, because of its greater scale, this new governmental form does not allow for significant citizen input into local decision making. Administrative centralization which seeks to reduce duplication of services impedes public accountability (Kosny 1978).

Perhaps the most striking illustration of single-tiered form of municipal government is the creation of Unicity Winnipeg in 1972. Twelve municipalities were merged into one city, organized in terms of wards, community committees, and, as we noted earlier, resident advisory groups (Axworthy and Cassidy 1974; Higgins 1977). This system was introduced to achieve greater efficiency in the provision of services, and at the same time institutionalize citizen participation. The difficulties of the latter were matched by other problems. Members of the new expanded council had previously served on municipal councils where administration, not development of policies, was stressed. They continued to manifest this bias, and balked at dealing with complex policy issues, especially in the absence of a strong executive and municipal party system. Similarly, the influence of suburban interests on council has meant that development projects are strongly supported with less attention paid to the need, for example, for low-income housing or resolution of other inner-city problems (Axworthy and Cassidy 1977).

Annexation is a tactic employed by Calgary to gain control over "contiguous metropolitan development" (Diemer 1975, 139). Although this meets the need for additional land, it is not feasible in areas such as Edmonton where economically stable communities on the periphery resist the loss of any part of their jurisdiction – especially if it reduces their tax revenues and autonomy. Similar opposition exists to amalgamation; the fear of increased taxes and regulations encourages peripheral communities to resist extension of urban boundaries.

Attempts to adjust municipal boundaries to the planning and administrative needs of the urban system frequently reflect a greater emphasis on economy and efficiency in the provision of services than on citizen participation in local decision making. A fundamental issue is whether the two are inherently incompatible (Higgins 1977; Lorimer 1978).

New Community Formation

Beginning in the years after World War II, a number of new towns have been built in Britain in an attempt to regulate the spatial distribution of the population within the urban system (Bourne 1975). The goal of this program is to create a series of viable communities, linked to regional development policies, offering employment opportunities to residents, and encouraging decentralization of the population. Similarly, in Sweden construction of new towns is viewed as an important strategy for creating a better-integrated social and physical environment. Less emphasis is placed on attaining relative self-sufficiency in terms of jobs; the new communities around Stockholm, for example, are economically closely tied to the centre city (Pressman 1975).

New community formation has a long heritage in North America. During the nineteenth century and even earlier a number of utopian communities were founded in reaction against the perceived disharmony of the wider society (Kanter 1972). They sought to implement in a new, more controlled environment religious values and a communal lifestyle. Few of these experiments survived for more than two or three years. Contemporary communes are more concerned with the personal fulfilment of their members through close relationships and emphasis on collectivism than with extensive social reform.

As in Europe, non-utopian new communities have become increasingly visible in North America. New towns have emerged, however, in the United States chiefly through private enterprise (Gertler 1976). Unlike the Scandinavian and British examples, they are characterized by a less diverse mixture of residents from different social classes (Popenoe 1977). American new towns are more oriented to the affluent, and in addition rely less on a system of public ownership of the land.

Over the past several decades a wide variety of types of new communities have been constructed in Canada (Pressman 1975). These include:

1. *Resource-based single enterprise communities* (Lucas 1971): This is the most common type of new community. Usually developed by a private company, they house and serve the needs of employees and their families. Closely tied to a single economic function, such communities are less stable than more diversified cities. Changes in the demand for that resource, for example, or competition from other locales in its exploitation, strongly influence employment conditions in this type of community. Settlements planned around communications (such as Gander) or administrative functions (such as Oromocto) experience a similar degree of vulnerability.

2. *Satellite towns*: These communities (for example, Don Mills and Kanata) are created to provide additional housing in a metropolitan area. They are frequently financed and constructed by private companies. These are similar to dormitory suburbs in that they offer few employment opportunities for their own residents, who must commute elsewhere in the region to their jobs.

3. *Satellite cities*: These seek to accommodate a larger population having greater self-sufficiency in employment. Established either through private enterprise or governmental sponsorship, such communities as Bramalea, Meadowvale, Erin Mills, and North Pickering in Ontario are increasingly viewed as valuable channels for structuring regional growth and attaining a more balanced population distribution in an area.

A central question in planning is whether satellite towns and cities can be developed more extensively as a strategy for curbing excessive urban concentration and regulating more fully urban expansion. Several critical issues have emerged in the attempt to adopt this strategy (Pressman 1976). To illustrate:

- To what extent can new communities become more than satellite subdivisions – that is, offer not only housing but employment opportunities to their residents? If they are to be “free-standing” or relatively independent communities, it is essential that a comprehensive socioeconomic environment be developed.

- New towns may not be integrated political and administrative units. Rather, they may be subject to the control and jurisdiction of larger municipalities. The extent to which this inhibits the provision of necessary services and stifles housing and environmental innovations in a new community is unclear.

- The construction of new communities on a large scale requires an alliance between the public and private sectors to bear the costs of financing, land acquisition, and development of the necessary services or infrastructure. Reliance on the private sector alone for new community building is not realistic. Public land assembly projects, subsidized by CMHC, are seen as possible vehicles for developing new communities, as reflected in the 1973 amendments to the National Housing Act that made provision for a new communities program in Canada and provided loans to municipalities for

land acquisition. Experience with this strategy is still rudimentary. We should note also the "phasing problem" that exists in the financing of new communities – new towns must supply the necessary services and have in place major facilities (water and sewerage systems), the costs of which must be borne before substantial revenues from the sale of houses and land are generated. Without adequate public control and regulations, developers may build poorly designed projects quickly; similarly, the price of housing rises as a way of subsidizing these costs, thus restricting the community to the upper middle class.

- Public participation in the planning of new communities and their development is necessary. The manner in which this can be most effectively achieved is unclear, especially at the beginning of a development project when there is no resident population in the community. In North Pickering, as development proceeded the hope was that as people arrived they would contribute to environmental management through a local citizens' environmental advisory committee.

- Attention must be given to the relationship between the building of new communities and the expansion of existing towns as alternate or complementary ways of deflecting urban growth. In addition, the new community must not be developed without adequate concern for its economic and spatial ties to other communities and cities in the region. In short, it must be integrated with the surrounding urban system. The Toronto-centred region scheme seeks to create a set of new communities above the lakeshore that would create a single labour market (Pressman 1975).

- On a more theoretical level, it is critical to examine the varying social structures found in these new communities – whether some of the generalizations we have explored in earlier chapters (for example, regarding the nature of urban and suburban locality-based relationships) are applicable in these contexts (Langin 1981; Krahn, Gartrell, Larson 1981). There are important planning implications here too. The extent to which a new community should contain a socially heterogeneous or homogeneous population – a compelling issue – cannot be adequately addressed until such an analysis is completed.

It is increasingly clear that the development of new communities is only one possible instrument for regulating the urban system. Its usefulness in the long run is dependent on how it is integrated within a more general national urban policy that addresses as well, for example, redevelopment of existing centres.

National Urban Policy

The goal of a national urban policy is to regulate on a national level the rate of growth and spatial distribution of urban development. The formulation of such a policy is more difficult to achieve in Canada than in countries such

as Britain or Sweden where the political system is more centralized, where there is greater public acceptance of government involvement in local affairs, and where a greater homogeneity of the population exists such that a consensus on policy goals is more feasible (Bourne 1975). Even these societies have not yet fully attained their objectives in this matter. In Sweden, for example, the growth of regional centres has been encouraged as a way to control excessive concentration of population in the major metropolitan areas. Yet economic imbalances (measured in such terms as employment opportunities) between the regions continue to exist.

The term "national urban policy," it has been pointed out, is indeed a misleading one (Boothroyd and Marilyn, 1972). It suggests a uniform set of strategies in directing urban development, applicable regardless of local circumstances. Such an approach is undesirable in a country like Canada which contains significant regional differences. If we do wish to regulate better urban evolution, the strategies adopted must reflect the following:

1. The demographic and ecological meanings of urbanization or urban growth must be distinguished. Concern must be not only with the increase in population of individual centres such as Edmonton and Calgary, but also with *structural* growth – that is, the evolution of a more comprehensive and intricate territorial division of labour as exists in a metropolitan region. Strategies for regulating each dimension of urbanization, although inter-related, may emphasize different problems. Whereas the demographic dimension might call, for example, for greater control over the destination of immigrants, the ecological directs us to more efficient mass transit systems that help to better integrate functionally the different communities in an area. The ecological dimension reminds us of the need to examine how consideration of energy costs may in the future influence the spatial shape of settlements (Robinson 1981; Regenstreif 1983; Melvin and Scheffman 1983).

2. If Canada's entire set of urban areas should be conceptualized as a national system of cities, as we have argued in chapter 3, efforts to regulate it must treat that system holistically. The economic links between the different levels must be recognized. Such interdependence implies that attempts to curb or redirect growth within, for example, the Windsor-Quebec City subsystem, will have significant consequences for other regions and sectors of the national system. At the same time, it must be recognized that the different levels of that hierarchy may present different demographic, ecological, and economic problems that require diverse solutions. We observed in chapter 4 that Canada is now experiencing a counterurbanization phase. The rate of urban and metropolitan growth has declined. We must frame a national settlement policy sensitive to this pattern of deconcentration, and recognizing the diversity of individual community growth rates (Robinson 1981). Such is not an easy task; policies in the past have assumed continued urban growth and concentration. The recent counterurbanization trend demands that we identify the problems associated with rapid growth of small towns

(Abrahamse 1977; Haigh 1978; Haynes 1979; Amos 1979; McElroy 1981; Hodge and Qadeer 1983), as well as those resulting from slow growth or decline of larger centres.

3. A fundamental issue particularly relevant to Canada because of its political system is to better articulate the relative responsibilities of the different levels of government in regulating urbanization (Bourne 1975). Federal and provincial policies dealing with urban development must be adequately co-ordinated. Political fragmentation impedes long-range planning.

4. Urban and regional planning must be closely linked. The use of urban growth centres as a strategy for regional economic development must be tied to a more complete understanding of the functional connections between different levels of settlement within the area (Guerette 1970). The social and economic consequences of the creation of such centres for the other segments of this territorial system must be carefully analyzed beforehand (Matthews, 1976).

5. The question of seeking to impose greater limits on urban growth must be examined more explicitly in terms of which groups would or would not benefit from this (Bourne 1975-76). Rigidly limiting suburban expansion, for example, may create serious costs, especially with respect to the availability of needed housing and jobs.

6. Similarly, the quest for regulating urban growth at times appears to be a panacea for resolving a number of social ills. In chapter 3 we saw that in Canada city size and rate of growth are not necessarily correlated with social, economic, and environmental problems. Such problems must be directly attacked through social policies. Physical planning, in short, in itself cannot achieve such goals as equitable distribution of wealth and power.

7. Finally, it is increasingly recognized that efforts to regulate the urban system must be closely tied to other policy issues, such as control over the flow and distribution of immigration (recall from chapter 6 the clustering of immigrants in the larger urban communities), the need for a comprehensive land policy (to prevent excessive speculative gain by private developers, control land prices, and facilitate public land assemblies), and control over foreign ownership (Bourne 1975; Gertler 1976; Spurr 1976). The Science Council of Canada (1984) has recently proposed the formation of "metropolitan technology councils" in each of Canada's largest cities to promote industrial development and to create an attractive environment for innovative firms. These efforts must be tailored to the particular "needs and potential of each metropolitan area." A "package" of policies must be elaborated that reflects the interdependence of the social, ecological, economic, and political dimensions of Canadian urban society. Similarly, it is critical that policies and programs dealing with urban renewal, urban populism, urban municipal reorganization, and the development of new communities be closely co-ordinated within such a package, and at the same time incorporate the above planning prerequisites.

SUMMARY

1. Although this is not emphasized in classical urban theory, the spatial and social form of the urban system, we must recognize, are influenced by the way in which power is distributed and exercised.
2. There are three general approaches to the study of community power, influence, power structure, and decision-making structure: the positional or structural approach (which focuses on who occupies the central positions in community organizations); the reputational approach (which stresses perceptions of power); and the decisional approach (which analyzes how influence is exercised with respect to selected issues).
3. Since adoption of only one of these approaches may lead to a highly selective view of community power and decision-making structures, it is more fruitful to employ a combination of the three. In addition, an important task is to determine how these structures vary according to the size, rate of growth, and functions of a city, as well as their consequences, in such areas as the types of policies or programs pursued by a community and their level of implementation.
4. Our knowledge of the nature and variation of community power and decision-making structures in Canada is still limited. Although the municipal structure of formal decision making varies greatly across urban Canada, consistently we find that those of low socioeconomic status, women, and members of minority ethnic status groups are underrepresented on city councils. The process of local political recruitment is a relatively selective one, permitting the continued dominance of the more affluent, the better-educated, and those supportive of business interests.
5. A strong ideology of non-partisanship has existed in urban Canada. The introduction of parties into the urban political system was discouraged because of the fear that they would foster patronage and corruption. Non-partisanship in many cities helped to sustain the power and influence of middle-class business and professional groups; those desirous of advancing other sets of interests could not gain support through a formally organized local party.
6. This tradition of non-partisanship has eroded in recent years. As urban areas have continued to expand and municipal governments have become involved in more controversial issues such as development projects, local civic parties have increased in number. They may provide the means for more efficient urban policy making and implementation. The national parties also have become more directly involved in the urban political system. The consequences of this trend are as yet unclear.
7. In examining the patterns of power and influence in the urban community it is useful to conceive of the city as a political economy. Urban space and land are structured according to the distribution of wealth and power. Politics at the local level is one of apportioning valuable resources – such as

land – for which various groups compete. Coalitions are formed to advance common interests.

8. One such coalition is that of the property industry. Since World War II the urban development industry has experienced rapid growth and increasing corporate concentration. Such economic dominance, it is contended, is matched by its political power and influence at the local level. The property industry, which consists of a coalition of all the businesses and professions that either own, manage, service, or supply urban property and accommodation, seek control over the city councils and municipal governments such that their interests are adequately protected and politically advanced. Although this thesis is a compelling one, it may underestimate the clash of interests within the property industry. There is a need, employing a combination of the three approaches to the study of community power, to examine how, for example, the proposed influence of the property industry over municipal government varies according to the size and functional structure of a city.

9. Urban planning is the formal and institutional attempt to regulate urbanization and urbanism. We consider it in this chapter because it frequently reflects and sustains the distribution of urban power and influence systems.

10. The history of Canadian urban planning illustrates this point. The period between 1896 and 1921 was one of significant economic expansion in Canada, yet the urban working class in communities such as Toronto and Montreal gained few benefits. Little was done to improve their health, housing, education, or economic conditions. What urban reform measures were implemented reflected the values and interests of the middle class. Greater emphasis was placed on purifying the city environment or on making city government more efficient than on restructuring the manner in which wealth and power were redistributed. Modern city planning as it emerged thus assumed a middle-class ethos.

11. Such an orientation is reflected in contemporary efforts to regulate the urban system. For example, aside from ambiguities in policy objectives and administrative difficulties in their implementation, urban renewal projects failed to consider adequately the social costs of destroying existing communities and neighbourhoods and the social disruption caused by forced relocation among low-income groups.

12. The demand for greater local control and increased citizen participation in the urban political system has emerged as a reaction to the manner in which both public and private development schemes have been implemented. City politicians and officials have resisted efforts to decentralize decision making. Attempts to institutionalize citizen participation, for example, such as in Winnipeg, have not been uniformly successful. This movement itself lacks internal cohesion: the interests of those in working-class or low-status areas do not necessarily coincide with the objectives of middle-class groups.

13. One serious problem in the continued process of urbanization is the increasing irrelevance of existing urban municipal boundaries in dealing with such issues as pollution, sprawl, and transportation. The coexistence of a number of distinct jurisdictions in an area impedes efficient planning and creates costly duplication of services. Attempts to reorganize urban municipalities include the creation of special-purpose agencies, of a two-tiered or federation type of municipal government (such as Metro Toronto), and of a single-tiered unit through extending the boundaries of a city by amalgamation or annexation. Such reorganization frequently places greater emphasis on the need for efficiency in the provision of services than on heightening citizen participation in decision making. This parallels to some extent an orientation to urban reform found earlier in this century.

14. Aside from municipal reorganization, an additional strategy that has been proposed to regulate better urbanization is the development of new communities. These might encourage decentralization of population and create on a regional scale a more fully integrated social and physical environment. A number of issues remain unresolved here, however – including, for example, whether the employment base of such communities can be strengthened so that they are more than large-scale housing subdivisions. Again, the role of citizen participation in their planning and development is unclear.

15. Urban renewal, urban populism, urban municipal reorganization, and the development of new communities must all be linked more explicitly to a set of policies which seek to regulate the urban system in a more systematic manner than has occurred in the past. This is not easily achieved in a nation as politically and regionally fragmented as Canada. It demands that the urban system be treated holistically – with sensitivity to the economic and ecological links and differences between its various levels. Efforts to channel urban growth must not supplant, as many urban reformers of the early 1900s failed to see, the formulation of social policies dealing directly with urban unemployment, poverty, and other economic and social problems in the city.

Conclusion

Evolving beyond its classical foundations, contemporary urban sociology is a highly diffuse and eclectic field. As has been noted, its concerns range from the process of entrance to the urban system, to the varying significance of the local community, to the manner in which social and spatial structures are interrelated. Our understanding of these issues within the Canadian context is still incomplete. The exciting and demanding task in the years ahead is the extension of that understanding and the determination of how the theories, concepts, and empirical generalizations pertaining to these issues apply within the Canadian urban scene.

This text has made frequent reference to the notion of an "urban system." This system must be conceptualized *as a set of interrelated levels*.

1. The urban family;
2. The urban neighbourhood;
3. The urban community as a whole – its population, institutional, and functional structures;
4. The urban community and its hinterland;
5. The urban community as a unit within a regional and national system of cities.

The task of the urban sociologists in Canada, as elsewhere, is to specify the social and ecological processes operating at each of these levels and to identify and explain systematically the factors affecting those processes. As should be evident, much work remains to be done before we can fully grasp the complexity of the urban system.

On the most immediate level – that of the urban family – we must still systematically identify, for example, variations in the structure of kinship ties. While contemporary research challenges the isolated nuclear family thesis, we must develop more refined alternative conceptualizations. We must articulate more clearly how class, stage of the family life cycle, and ethnicity influence kinship patterns. We cannot assume that generalizations derived from other national and cultural contexts are directly applicable to the Canadian urban scene; their applicability must be demonstrated empirically. Most important, we cannot overlook the nature of kinship patterns at different historical stages of urban growth. We must examine the functions, norms, and ideologies of kinship involvement not only in the contemporary industrial-metropolitan community, but also in the early industrial city. Such a comparison will provide a deeper understanding of the role of kin-

ship ties in enabling new entrants to adapt and in contributing to the attainment of urban social order.

With respect to the urban neighbourhood, it is necessary to rely on both social and ecological schemes for grasping its structure. An important issue is the process through which distinct "natural areas" form – in short, how spatial structure reflects social structure. As discussed briefly in part four of this book, patterns of residential segregation respond to the level of modernization and technological advancement in the wider society. The "sifting and sorting" of urban populations reflect the importance of class, lifestyle, life cycle, and ethnicity in determining housing and locational choices. We require much more detailed documentation of this process and of how neighbourhoods as natural areas emerge within Canadian cities.

An equally important research imperative, as noted in part five, is the determination of the social structure of the urban neighbourhood. Discarding the over-generalized myth of the demise of the local community, a central concern of contemporary urban sociologists is to determine how the significance of the neighbourhood as a social fact varies within the urban population. In exploring the nature of locality relationships, much further study is needed of the manner in which the neighbour role is conceptualized, of the functions and levels of involvement in neighbour relationships, and of the subjective spatial organization of the neighbourhood. The role of the neighbourhood as a status symbol and as a mechanism for sustaining class and ethnic identities has only been tentatively explored. Further study on all of these issues promises a more complete grasp of the place of the local community within the city.

At this level of the urban system, an important focus of attention is the nature of community life in the inner city – where the less affluent and culturally dissimilar segments of the urban population tend to concentrate. Not accepting the assumption of classical urban theory that inner-city life is disorganized, contemporary researchers seek to document how social order exists in the working-class neighbourhood and in the slum, and the frequent socially destructive effects of urban renewal programs. The increase of public housing projects and highrise apartments in the inner city and elsewhere since World War II has presented the important task of determining whether particular social and physical conditions of these new types of environment actually hinder the attainment of social order on the local level.

Beyond the structures of the urban family and urban neighbourhood, analysis of the urban system also requires consideration of the city as a whole – its population, institutional, and functional structures. From a demographic perspective, we must consider the city in terms of its size, density, heterogeneity, and age and sex distributions. Most important, the city as a locus of destination for internal migrants and immigrants must be recognized and the implications of this explored. An important concern of contemporary urban sociology, as we have seen, is the process of entrance to

the urban system. We have emphasized the necessity of understanding the social dimensions of this process because of the critical role which migration and immigration have played in the evolution of Canada as an urban nation. The meaning of, and the stages in, the entrance process, the factors responsible for variations in adjustment, and the comparison of different categories of entrants – ranging from native peoples to immigrants – in terms of their patterns and relative levels of assimilation are all intriguing questions to which further research must be dedicated. It will be particularly fruitful to extend comparisons between Canadian urbanization and the dynamics of the entrance process as manifested in other contexts, such as in African cities. Much can be gained by examining the encapsulation and retribalization processes in African cities for understanding the possible fate of ethnic identities, and the impact of pre-existing ethnic communities on urban entrants.

Analysis of the urban system at this level also implies concern for the institutional and functional structures of the city. With respect to the first, urban sociologists are concerned with the political structure of the urban community, with the manner in which formal and informal decision making occurs, and how patterns of interest group formation and conflict influence and reflect the changing structure of the city. Aside from the political sector, it is necessary that the educational and religious institutions be examined not as isolated entities, but in terms of their connection to the class, ethnic, and ecological structures of the city. How, for example, does the urban school system influence the process of assimilation of new entrants? What function does the local educational institution perform in fostering neighbourhood cohesion? Similarly, in terms of the religious sector, to what extent is a local church, parish, or congregation successful in resisting residential succession by a different ethnic or income group? Complementing political, education, and religious institutions, voluntary associations also not infrequently perform vital functions for urban residents, and contribute to the attainment of social order. Urban sociologists have examined how such organizations relate to the process of entrance, how involvement in them varies by class, and how they compare with other forms of social involvement. But, again, more systematic analysis of their place within Canadian urban social organization is needed.

With respect to the functional structure of the city as a whole, we have noted in preceding pages that the central concern here is with the development of the industrial and commercial bases of the city and their implications for urban growth. As a city assumes metropolitan status, its economic functions become more complex and diversified. A central need in Canadian urban studies is for additional historical analyses of this process, such as those completed of the evolution of Toronto and Winnipeg. It is particularly important that these analyses be explicitly set within the ecological framework. This will allow us to see more clearly whether the variety of gener-

alizations developed within that framework are applicable to the Canadian setting. A city's functional structure determines both its basic and non-basic employment patterns. Further research must concentrate on determining how each influences the stratification system of a city and its patterns of social mobility, and how the level of assimilation varies according to changes in, and vitality of, the functional structure.

The last two levels of analysis of the urban system underline the obvious fact that a city does not exist in isolation. Of key interest in urban ecology are the functional connections between an urban community and the surrounding hinterland, for which it provides vital services. It is essential to explore how these linkages change over time as the city grows in size and economic complexity. The urban community and its hinterland, viewed ecologically, represent an integrated unit in which the exchange of people, goods, and services occurs in an orderly and predictable fashion. An important research task is to trace how this unit evolves. Ecological theory gives particular emphasis to the impact of improved transportation and communication facilities in widening the scope of interdependence. The metropolitan community represents the product of this expanded organization.

One central feature of this process is the diffusion outward of the urban population – suburbanization. Initially, it was assumed that suburban residence in itself had profound implications for the structure of social life. As we have seen, however, this assumption has increasingly been challenged. An important task of contemporary urban sociology in Canada – aside from documenting more thoroughly the ecological factors responsible for suburbanization and the “counterurbanization” process – is to clarify whether indeed relocation in a suburban residential setting does have any implications for how social organization is evolved, in contrast, for example, to how social order is achieved in the inner city.

Finally, a particularly demanding task facing urban sociologists is the examination of the urban community as a unit within a regional and national system of cities. This is the most comprehensive level of ecological organization – one that is characteristic of a highly urbanized society such as Canada. We can conceptualize this society as an integrated network of urban “nodes” – each of varying size, function, and relative dominance. Such heightened interdependence means that the economic, social, and ecological changes occurring in any city must be examined in terms of how they reflect the linkages that community has externally. Patterns of growth, decline, and change in the entire system may filter through and effect particular modifications in the structure of a specific node. Our grasp of this process in the Canadian setting is still relatively incomplete. The need to evolve a more comprehensive ecological theory to clearly articulate this process is evident.

Certainly, it is also apparent when examining these five levels of analysis of the “urban system” that urban sociologists must rely on a diversity of methodologies and research techniques in acquiring the relevant informa-

tion. The use of participant observation and ethnographic approaches in the study of neighbourhood social life are as valid and necessary as the use of historical documents, survey analyses, and census materials in the investigation of urban growth and its correlates. The nature of the city is too complex to permit restriction to a limited number of data-gathering instruments. Our study of the fruits of these instruments and methodologies must be equally receptive to insights regardless of the manner in which they are gained.

As early as 1911, J.S. Woodsworth (1972 ed., 30) pointed to the need in Canada for a "comprehensive city plan." Six decades later, Lithwick (1970) emphasized the continued failure to fill this need and to design a sophisticated and enlightened public policy for the cities of this country. Such major urban problems as poverty, escalating housing costs, and transportation congestion are a product of our inability to conceptualize and regulate the urban process as a whole. Urban sociology, while not dealing directly with the solution of these specific problems, can contribute to the formation of national urban policies by providing through its research a greater theoretical understanding of that process. A central goal of this field is a more complete analysis of the dynamic forces operating at each level of the urban system. It seeks to dispel our myths about city living, to reveal the complexity of urban structure. If knowledge is a necessary prerequisite for reform, the further development of urban sociology with adequate funding (King 1976) can be viewed as one important step in achieving a more humane urban environment in Canada.

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