

## Settlement Patterns of Toronto's Chinese Immigrants: Convergence or Divergence?\*

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While ethnic Chinese make up only 3% of the Canadian population, they are the fastest growing ethnic group in recent years, resulting mainly from accelerated immigration. In 1996, Chinese immigrants accounted for more than 10% of the immigrant population in Canada, and over 20% of all immigrants settled in the Canadian metropolitan areas.

Migration of Chinese to Canada is a product of discrete pushes and pulls

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resulting from changing geopolitics in both sending and receiving countries as well as the global economic restructuring process (Wickberg 1994; Knowles 1997; Liu and Norcliffe 1996). All the major events listed in Table 1 had a role in effecting the magnitude of emigration from Asia and the social mix of Chinese migrants to Canada in the postwar era. While the first Chinese arrivals more than

**TABLE 1 A Chronology of Events Affecting the Immigration of Chinese to Canada**

CANADA		ASIA	
1800's	CPR construction	1850-1900	Coolie trade in China
1885	Head tax on Chinese immigrants	1931	Japan invaded China
1923	Chinese Immigration Act prohibiting entry into Canada	1941	Outbreak of World War II
1947	Entry restricted to spouse and children	1945	Civil War in China
1967	Introduction of point system	1949	Communist Regime established; Nationalist fled to Taiwan; Beginning of Cold War
		1960	Great Leap Forward Movement began in China
		1966	Cultural Revolution started in China
		1967	Hong Kong political riots
1973	Adjustment of Status Program	1960's	Economic take-off in Hong Kong and Taiwan
1976	Humanitarian Clause in Immigration Act	1970's	End of Vietnam War; Boat people flight
1978	Introduction of entrepreneurial class	1976	Chinese Open Door Policy
1984	Entrepreneur Immigrant Program	1980's	Chinese economic take-off in China
		1984	Sino-British Declaration on Hong Kong Sovereignty
1989	Entrepreneur program expanded to include an Investor Program	1989	Tiananmen Incident
1990	Humanitarian Program on nationals from China		

a century ago were poor peasants from rural China, most of the later arrivals were urbanites in their places of origin. Due to the racist Canadian Immigration Policy of the time and the close door policy of the then Chinese communist regime, immigration from Mainland China to Canada in the early 50's was restricted to wives and children who had been separated from their husbands and fathers during the long period of exclusion in the first half of the century (Li 1988). The first substantial wave of postwar arrivals were the newly middle-class from Hong Kong leaving in fear of Communist China during the course of the Cultural Revolution that started in 1966 and lasted for a decade. Their exit, driven by the riots that took place in the spring and summer of 1967 in Hong Kong, was made possible by the overhauled Canadian Immigration Law in the same year which has since given equal opportunities to all races and colours. The 1973 Adjustment of Status Program, designed to clear up the backlog of immigration appeals, gave many young Hong Kong residents then on student visa status in Canada the opportunity to become permanent residents. While Hong Kong and Taiwan, respectively sheltered by Britain and the United States, experienced economic

take-off in the 60's, their neighbouring states in Indo-China faced war and political turmoil halting economic growth (Ong et al. 1994). The Vietnam War and other civil wars in the region created many "boat people" fleeing their homeland and eventually landing in Canada as refugees in the late 70's and early 80's (Hitchcox 1990). In 1976, at the purge of the Gang of Four after Mao Tsetung's death, China resumed formal contact with North America. It opened its door not only to the west, but also allowed its citizens to leave the country. A small wave of Mainland Chinese immigrants arrived at Canada in the late 70's and early 80's, some as independent immigrants, others mostly for family reunification. The Chinese from Vietnam and Mainland China in these years came with few economic or human resources. The Vietnamese were especially disadvantaged. Pioneers of their kind, they had no established network to help them in settling down and moving forward. While Hong Kong in the late 70's and Taiwan in the early 80's experienced the process of economic restructuring and began to fully enjoy the benefit of economic globalization in the mid 80's, Britain and China signed a joint declaration on the future of Hong Kong in 1984, with Britain agreeing to turn over the sovereignty of its former colony to the Chinese rule in 1997. This caused much anxiety among the middle and affluent classes in Hong Kong and put Taiwan's population on notice that its own future was not certain. The outcome, as has been well known, was a huge exodus of Hong Kong professionals to Canada (Skeldon 1994). Shortly after-wards, Canadian Immigration re-invigorated its entrepreneur business program to include an investor component. Whether this was intentionally directed at Hong Kong or not is not clear, but many wealthy immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan took advantage of this program. Emigrants from Taiwan who in the past favoured resettlement in the United States began to appear in Canada in larger numbers. During the same time, many highly educated professionals and scholars from China had entered Canada pursuing further studies and training. The Tiananmen Incident in 1989, the tragic outcome of a student pro-democracy protest in China, and the subsequent Canadian response in a measure known as OM IS 399, a humanitarian program regarding Chinese nationals, enabled a surge of immigrants from China (Liu 1997). Many of these new China-born immigrants are highly educated but economically poor.

As can be seen, Chinese immigrants in Canada comprise a heterogeneous group with varying regional backgrounds. They originated from different areas, ranging from the core comprising Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, to the near periphery of South and Southeast Asia and the distant periphery of the West Indies, Central and South America, and Africa. They speak different dialects and perhaps different languages, and as a result, may not be able to understand each other in their own languages. While such variation along linguistic and subcultural lines is not unique to the Chinese, they present a particularly interesting case in settlement studies given the lengthy history and large number of Chinese emigration and the extent of the Chinese Diaspora.

## The Research Problem and the Data

Immigrants from different origins often have different characteristics and experiences. These differences can affect their mode of incorporation in the receiving countries. While inter-ethnic differentiation has long been noted and much researched, few, with exceptions such as Der-Martirosian et al. (1993) and Della-pergola et al. (1996), pay attention to intra-ethnic differences or the role of subethnicity. Paying attention to subethnicity is significant because group level discussions can conceal important subgroup differences.

In the case of the Chinese who re-assembled in Canada, a second home to some, and maybe a third to others, a number of interesting questions arise. How do they manifest themselves spatially as well as socially and economically? Do their settlement patterns converge or diverge? What explains the existing patterns of their distribution? From an academic perspective, what is the implication on extant settlement theories, and what practical knowledge can we draw with regard to social and economic integration of the Chinese immigrants? These questions are worth exploring, particularly because the public, and even governments sometimes, tend to treat the Chinese as a homogeneous group, and more recently, Chinese are generally perceived to be rich, as a result of much media attention (for example, Financial Post Daily 1994; Globe and Mail 1995; Montreal Gazette 1988, 1992) and explosive commercial developments known as Asian theme malls in major cities across the country (Calgary Herald 1994; Canadian Press Newswire 1995; Vancouver Sun 1994; Wang 1996).

In this paper, our objectives are to delineate the residential location patterns of the various Chinese subgroups in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA thereafter), to find out if their respective settlement patterns converge or diverge, and to attempt to explain the spatial outcomes of their settlement behaviour. Respecting convergence and divergence, we chose to examine three measurement criteria. Subgroups exhibit a convergent residential location pattern if they are not highly segregated from each other, if they are more likely to settle where another subgroup dominates than they are to settle in a non-Chinese neighbourhood, or if there are overlaps in their spatial concentration.

We chose to study the Chinese settlement patterns in the GTA for the following two reasons. First, the GTA is home to the largest group of Chinese Canadians. Of the 586,645 Chinese in Canada reporting single ethnic origin at the time of the 1991 census, 222,700 (or 38%) resided in the GTA,<sup>1</sup> and of those

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1. The numbers represent only those reporting single ethnic origin. This is not considered a problem. The numbers represent only those reporting single ethnic origin. This is not considered a problem. According to Statistics Canada, there are relatively few multiple responses in ethnic origins among persons with Asian origins.

residing in the GTA, 80% were immigrants. Second, there are now five "China-towns" in the GTA, which are all thriving.

We analyzed the 1991 census data for the above-mentioned purposes. We obtained through custom tabulation from Statistics Canada two sets of data based on the 20% sample. The first set of data provides the geography of Chinese settlement characteristics at the census tract level. The second data set correlates for various Chinese subgroups their socio-economic attributes. Although somewhat outdated by now, the 1991 data inform us of trends that can be checked against the 1996 data which have just become available.

In the analyses that follow, we disaggregate the Chinese immigrants into subgroups by their place of birth and period of landing. Classifying immigrant origins by place of birth is neither the same as nor as informative as place of last permanent residence. This is especially so with the Chinese since many Chinese who were born in Mainland China had settled in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other parts of Southeast Asia before they emigrated to Canada. Unfortunately, Canadian census surveys do not ask immigrants their place of last permanent residence, and constructing the relationship between place of birth and place of last permanent residence is beyond the scope of this paper.

In terms of place of birth, 30% of all Chinese immigrants were born in Mainland China, 40% in Hong Kong, 4% in Taiwan, 10% in Vietnam, 9% in the rest of Asia, 3% in the West Indies, and 4% in the rest of the world (Employment Equity Data Program 1995; Special Tabulation 1997). This paper focuses on the four subgroups born in Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Vietnam. The first three origins constitute the core source area. Vietnam is singled out because of its significant share of Chinese immigrants now residing in Canada.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to period of immigration, we divert from the usual classification by decades. Instead, we choose 1967 and 1984 as demarcation points because these two years coincided with major changes in immigration policies in Canada and in the political and economic structures of major Chinese-sending areas, as shown in Table 1. The three periods, prior to 1968, 1968 to 1984, 1985 to 1991, account for 6%, 48% and 46% respectively of the Chinese immigrants in the GTA.

In the remaining part of this paper, we shall first examine the general settlement pattern of the Chinese as one group; then we identify areas of concentration for each subgroup; finally, we attempt to contextualize the differences through a three-part analysis.

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2. It is perhaps interesting to note that slightly less than half of the Vietnam-born population in the GTA are ethnic Chinese.

### **Settlement Patterns and Suburbanization**

Unlike their early counterparts, recent Chinese immigrants, who arrived in Canada in the second and third study periods, came primarily from urban areas and are in favour of settling in metropolitan areas. Figure 1a illustrates the urban nature of their settlement in the GTA. The distribution pattern is one of dispersal all over urbanized Toronto with particular pockets of concentration, some of which are contiguous. We can examine this pattern in two different scales. First, at a broader scale, while Chinese accounted for 5% of the GTA population in

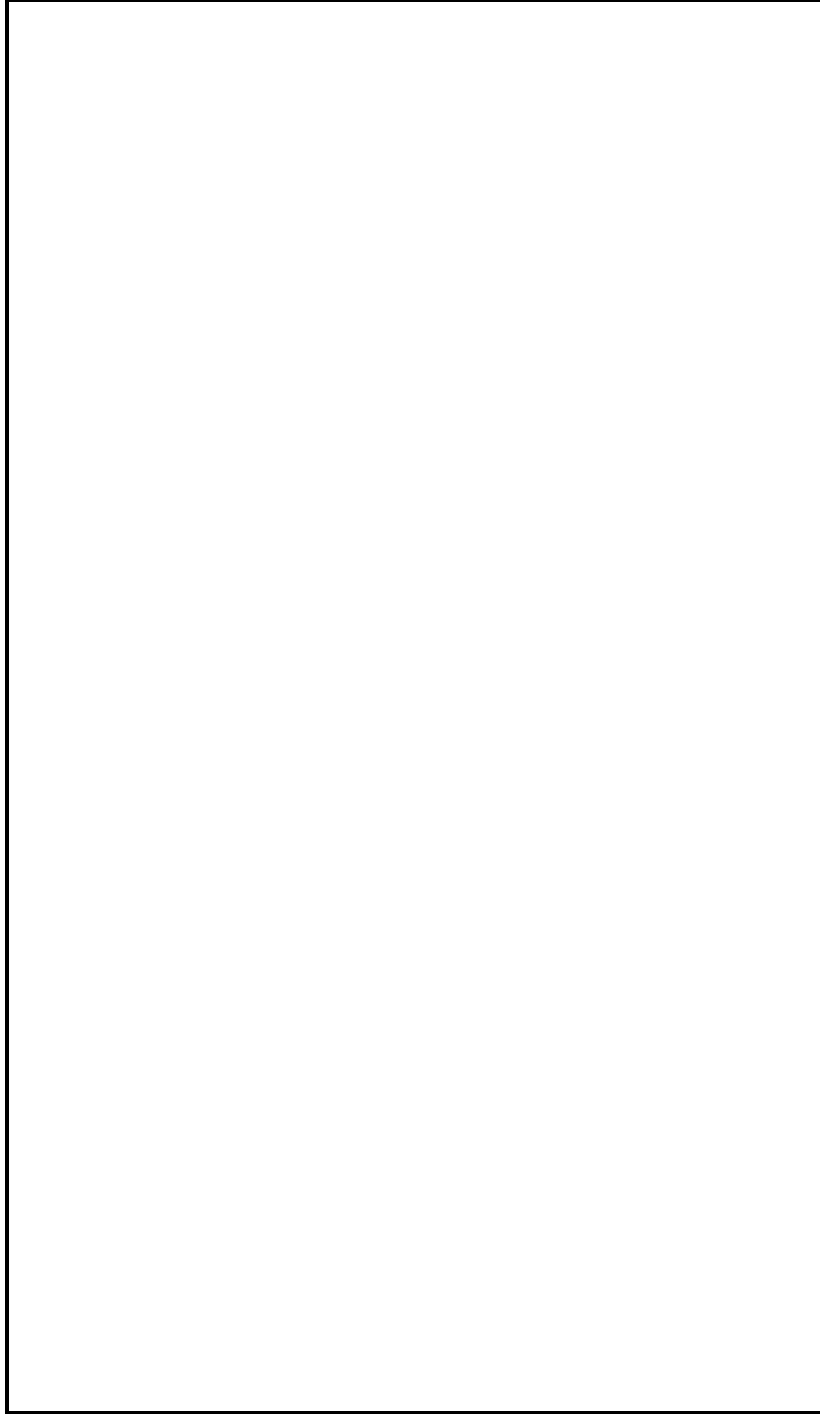


FIGURE 1a Distribution of the Chinese Population in the GTA, 1991

1991, six cities/boroughs within the region contained more than their fair share of the Chinese. These were Markham (14%), Scarborough (12%), Richmond Hill (10%), Toronto (8%), North York (7%) and East York (6%) (see Figure 1b).<sup>3</sup> The heaviest concentrations of Chinese were found in Scarborough, Toronto and North York, which respectively held 28%, 22% and 16% of GTA's Chinese population. Moderate concentrations were located in Markham (10%) and Mississauga (8%), with some beginning to emerge in Richmond Hill (4%). If GTA is delineated into the core, the inner suburbs and the outer suburbs, as outlined in Figure 1b, they took in 26%, 46% and 26% of the Chinese population respectively, indicating significant suburbanization of the Chinese in the region.

Second, at a finer scale, Figure 2 depicts the Chinese population as a percentage of the overall population in each census tract. There are 26 tracts with 30% or more of their population being Chinese. By percentage-based definitions, these are residential enclaves (Dunn 1998). There are 27 other tracts comprising 20 to 30% Chinese. The first 26 census tracts, by their adjacency, form five Chinese enclaves — two in Toronto, respectively known as Central and East Chinatown; and one each in the inner suburb of Scarborough, and the outer suburbs of Markham and Richmond Hill. Two more are emerging in NE North York and NW Mississauga.

From the above patterns, we observe the following. First, the Chinese population in the GTA has substantially decentralized. Second, the decentralization has occurred in multiple directions, primarily to the northeast, and secondarily to the northwest and west. Third, new ethnic suburban concentrations are much more expansive than their downtown counterparts. Fourth, the old ethnic enclaves in the core are still thriving.

To what factors can this phenomenon be attributed? Does this pattern of settlement and suburbanization reflect increased assimilation and integration? What light does it shed on the process of immigrant population redistribution? These are the questions we will explore in the next section. We speculate that ethnic settlement and resettlement occur along class lines and the residential invasion-succession process is not just an inter-ethnic or inter-temporal preoccupation.

### **Identifying Spatial Concentrations**

In this section, we examine individually the settlement patterns of the target

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3. Toronto, North York, East York, Scarborough, and also York and Etobicoke made up the former Metropolitan Toronto. They were amalgamated to become the City of Toronto, or commonly known as Mega Toronto, in 1998. In this paper, Toronto refers to the former City of Toronto.



subgroups of Chinese immigrants. The purpose is to identify the areas of concentration of each subgroup and to uncover convergence or divergence in their set-

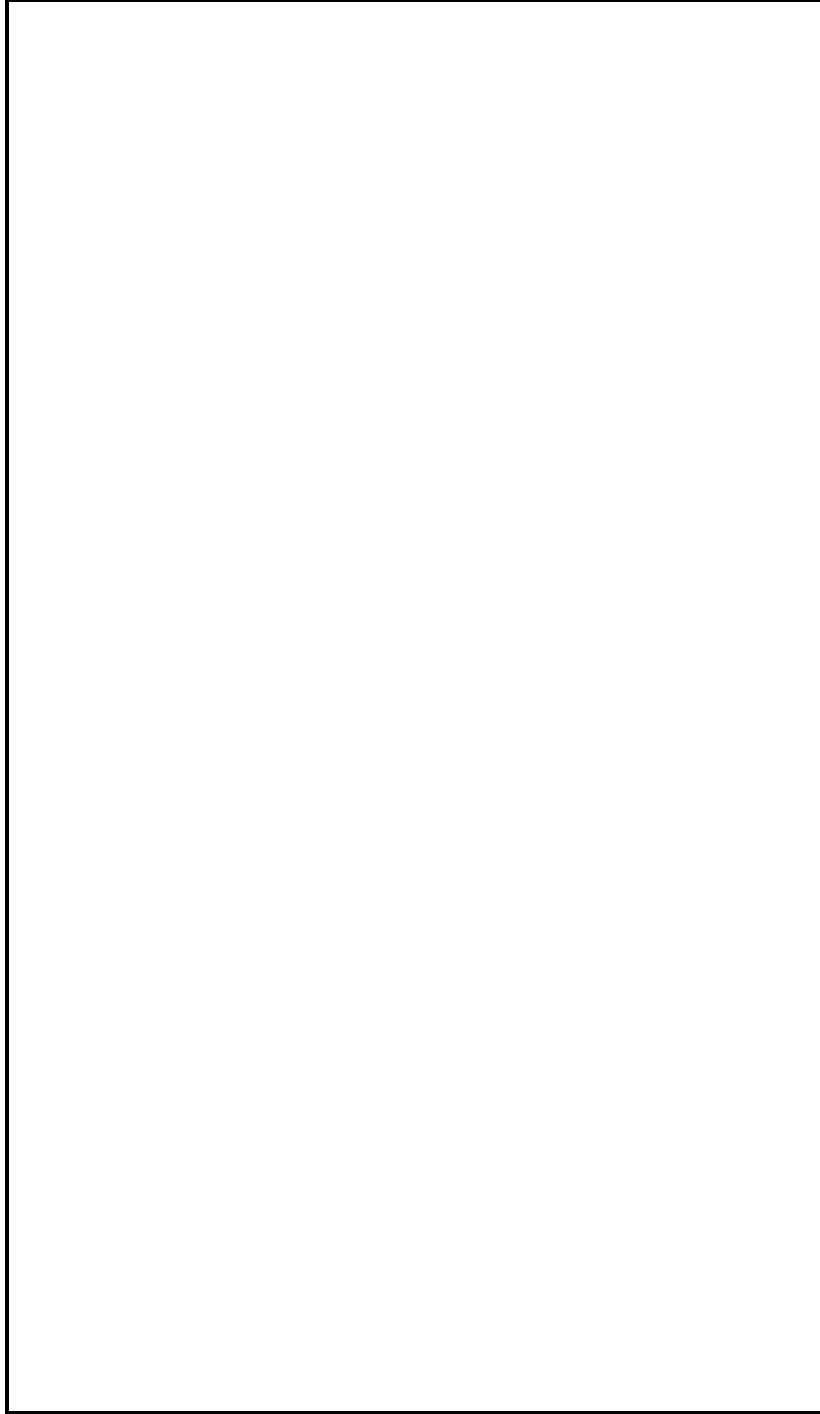


FIGURE 1b Urban Municipalities in the GTA



FIGURE 2 Percentage Chinese Population by Census tracts, 1991

**TABLE 2a Dissimilarity Indices**

Place of Birth of Chinese	GTA Population				
	All	Mainland Chinese	Hong Kong Chinese	Taiwanese Chinese	Vietnamese Chinese
Canada	48.5	--	--	--	--
China	54.1	--	35.7	54.8	57.0
Hong Kong	58.0	35.7	--	51.1	72.8
Taiwan	71.4	54.8	51.1	--	79.3
Vietnam	67.4	57.0	72.8	79.3	--
Rest of the World	51.2	37.0	32.2	53.0	66.4

Source: Special tabulation.

**TABLE 2b Dissimilarity Indices**

Place of Birth of Chinese	GTA Population					
	Mainland Chinese	Hong Kong Chinese	Taiwanese Chinese	Vietnamese Chinese	Other Chinese	Non- Chinese
Canada	23.3	29.0	53.4	60.5	30.0	53.9
China	--	35.7	54.8	57.0	37.0	59.6
Hong Kong	35.7	--	51.1	72.8	32.2	62.7
Taiwan	54.8	51.1	--	79.3	53.0	75.0
Vietnam	57.0	72.8	79.3	--	66.4	72.6
Rest of the World	37.0	32.2	53.0	66.4	--	56.7

Source: Special tabulation.

tlement patterns. As mentioned earlier in the paper, the criteria for convergence are the absence of heavy segregation among subgroups, the unlikelihood of choosing a non-Chinese neighbourhood over a Chinese, and strong overlaps in their spatial concentration. We use the aspatial dissimilarity index to measure segregation, and develop a spatial concentration index to identify subethnic clusters.

### Index of Dissimilarity

Population dispersion and concentration can be examined both graphically and numerically. Figure 3 reveals the spatial distributions of various Chinese subgroups; those of the Mainland, Hong Kong and Rest of the World subgroups are particularly similar; Vietnam is most apart from the others.

The dissimilarity indices in Table 2, which compare two subgroups as to the sum of the differences in their proportional representation in each census tract, confirm the graphical patterns. We can elaborate by using index values of less than 30, 30 to 60, and above 60 to signify low, moderate, and high segregation as Massey and Denton (1993) suggest. Internally among the subgroups, the Vietnam-borns in 1991 were moderately segregated from the Mainland-borns and highly segregated from all others; the Taiwan-borns were highly segregated from



FIGURE 3 Distribution of Origin Subgroups in the GTA, 1991

the Vietnam-borns and moderately from those born in the Mainland, Hong Kong, and Rest of the World; and segregation among Mainland, Hong Kong and Rest-of-the-World Chinese were relatively lower.

When we included the non-Chinese group and ranked order for each subgroup the indices reported in Table 2, we found that all the Chinese subgroups were more likely to settle in neighbourhoods dominated by at least one other Chinese subgroup than they were to settle in non-Chinese neighbourhoods.

What do these tell us? If we equate divergence with segregation, the Chinese subgroups are generally convergent in the sense that they are more likely to settle where other Chinese are than where non-Chinese are. However, internally, some groups such as those born in China, Hong Kong and Rest of the World are more convergent than others. The Vietnam subgroup seems most divergent.

### **Spatial Concentration**

As geographers, we are interested in uncovering geographical concentrations. Neither the dissimilarity indices nor subgroup population shares in any geographic space such as a census tract are good indicators of geographical concentration. First, the dissimilarity index is aspatial, and some argue that it is not strictly comparable when the group being measured constitutes a very small percentage of the total population (Allen and Turner 1996). Second, the reliability of subgroup population is conditional upon little size variability among subgroups. In this case study, the Chinese subgroups range in size from a low of 6370 for Taiwan to a high of 70835 for Hong Kong, and they constitute 2.9% to 31.8% of the total Chinese population in the GTA in 1991. This variation renders both the dissimilarity index and subgroup population shares as improper measures of geographical concentration. We hence developed a spatial concentration index measuring a group's micro share relative to its macro share to identify concentration. We defined those census tracts of which a subgroup's population share is at least ten times as much as the GTA share of that subgroup<sup>4</sup> as micro-spaces with high subgroup concentration. Such concentrations are mapped in Figure 4 and the following observations are made.

First, there was no apparent concentration of the subgroup born outside Mainland, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Vietnam. This is not surprising due to the mixed nature of this subgroup.

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<sup>4</sup> For example, 1.33% of the GTA population were born in China. In any census tract, if the proportion of China-born is at or above 13.3%, that census tract is said to be heavily inhabited with Mainland-born Chinese.

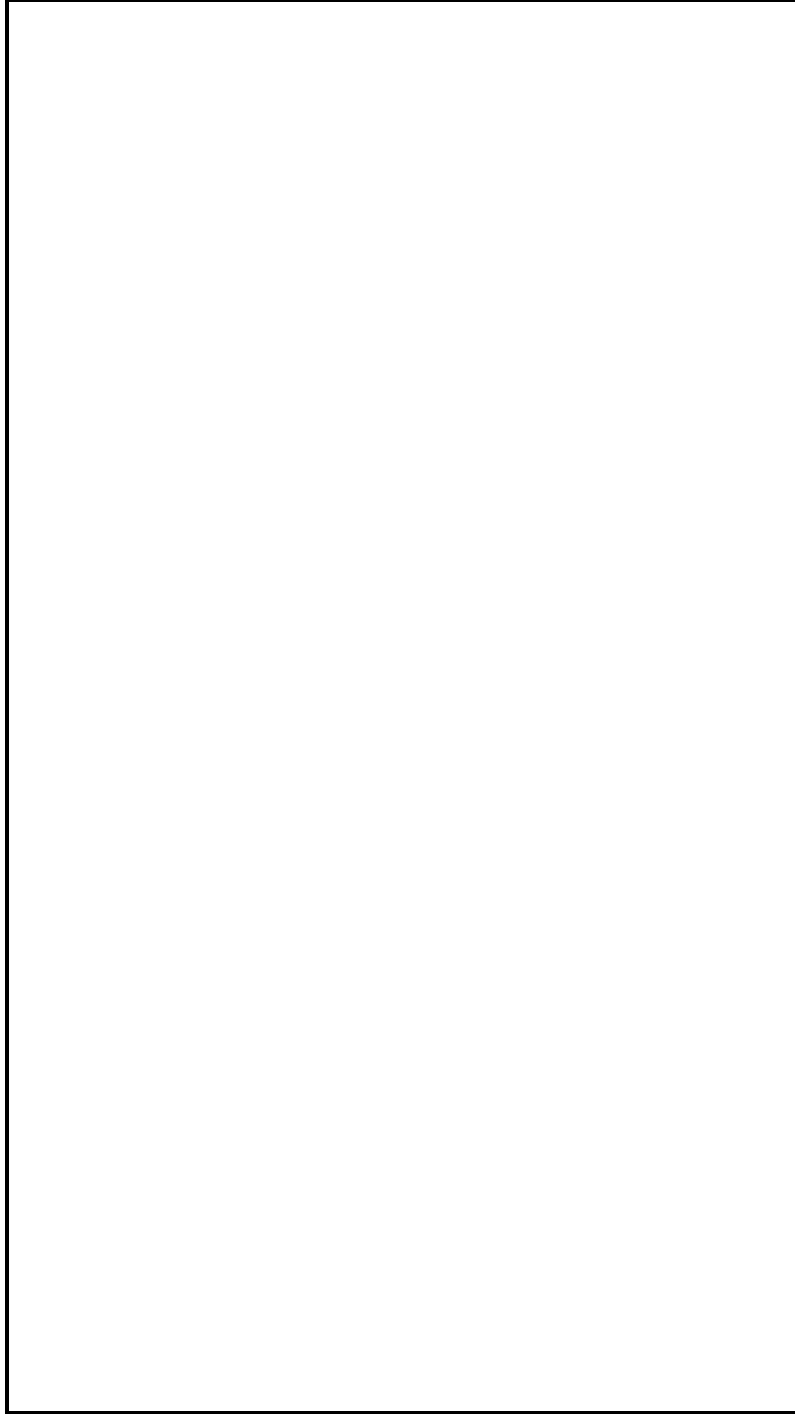


FIGURE 4 Spatial Concentrations by Place of Birth, Identifying Tracts with Ten Times or More of GTA  
Shares, 1991

Second, the most concentrated settlements of the four target subgroups were all geographically separate, with the Mainland-born in the oldest Chinatown in Central Toronto, the Vietnam-born in the newer Chinatown in East Toronto, the Hong Kong-born in the first Chinese suburb of NW Scarborough, and the Taiwan-born mostly in NE North York and in Scarborough and Markham, on both sides of the Hong Kong-born concentrations.

Third, those born in Mainland China and Vietnam, and those born in Hong Kong and Taiwan occupied distinct locations in the GTA. The Mainland and Vietnamese Chinese immigrants concentrated in the old urban core whereas Hong Kong and Taiwan Chinese settled primarily in the suburbs. Such spatial differentiation will be discussed in the next section.

Fourth, the spatial concentrations of the Vietnam and Taiwan subgroups exhibited a more diffused pattern than those of Hong Kong and the Mainland. Their pockets of concentration were found in several cities, for example, the Taiwan-born not only in North York but also in Markham, Scarborough and Mississauga; and the Vietnam-born not only in Toronto but also in York and North York.

In addition, we examined relative concentration by comparing the maximum spatial concentration index of each subgroup. The census tract with the heaviest concentration of Vietnam-born shows an index of 34 times of the GTA share. Similar indices for Taiwan, China and Hong Kong borns are 20, 18 and 15 times of the GTA share. Remember our earlier definition of spatial concentration as ten times or more of the GTA share. If we define those tracts with percent subgroup population at least twenty times as much as its GTA share as extreme concentrations, there are two such tracts with the Vietnam subgroup, one with the Taiwan subgroup, and none with the Mainland or Hong Kong subgroup. Thus the spatial concentrations of the Taiwanese and Vietnamese were not only more numerous and diffused but also denser.

The above observations paint a slightly different picture from the preceding subsection. They apparently tell that the settlement behaviour of Chinese subgroups vary and their settlement patterns are spatially divergent, supporting the presence of intra-ethnic variations in settlement patterns.

Taking everything together, we would argue that the case of spatial convergence-divergence is not clearcut. In broad distribution terms, subethnic settlement patterns are convergent, but in specific location or place terms, divergence is observed. In the residential segregation literature, the usual explanation on inter-ethnic segregation often falls on the distance dimension, be it cultural, political or economic. Do similar arguments apply to intra-ethnic variations? What determines convergence or divergence in the case of the Chinese resettling in Canada? More interestingly, will the divergence observed today converge tomorrow?



## **Contextualizing the Differences**

In this section, we attempt to explain the difference that exists in settlement patterns of various Chinese subgroups. First, we compare the concentrations in the core and those in suburbs to inform us on any differentials in immigrant characteristics. Second, we examine the distribution patterns of immigrants arriving at different time periods to identify when the specific subgroups in those concentrations arrived. This helps us to understand who they are. With this information in hand, we can relate the Chinese immigrant settlement patterns to the structural conditions underlying their migration to Canada. Our explanation is grounded on the hypothesis that those who settled in suburbs are generally younger and with better financial and human capitals than those settling in the core area.

### **A Core-Suburban Distinction in Settlement Characteristics**

We focus on those census tracts with over 20% of their population being Chinese. There are 17 such tracts in the core and 36 in the suburbs. Table 3 dichotomizes the spatial differentiation. The origin composition suggesting dominance of the Mainland and Vietnam subgroups in the core and the Hong Kong subgroup in the suburbs confirms the observation made earlier in this paper. The Chinese in the core were more likely to be older; 24% of them were aged over 55, compared with 12% in the suburbs and 15% in the whole GTA. 24% of the suburban Chinese had a university degree and 33% had post-secondary education compared with 11% and 20% in the core. These demographic variations explain their differences in economic activity participation and economic performance. 59% of the suburban Chinese as opposed to 39% in the core were in skilled occupations whereas those working in unskilled occupations were respectively at 7% and 21%. There was a much higher percentage of core Chinese in the manufacturing and construction, and accommodation, food and beverage industries, respectively at 28% and 29% versus the 19% and 13% for the suburbs. In general, the suburban group was more likely to be employed in finance, insurance, real estate and business services; it stood at 29% compared with 11% for the core. In addition, the percentage of suburban Chinese in self-employment (7.1%) was closer to the GTA average of 6.8% than to the core average of 4.6%. Unemployment of Chinese was higher in the core, standing at 2.8% of the labour force compared with 1.9% in the suburbs. Differences in age composition and economic participation and probably personal net worth explain why there was a higher percentage of core Chinese (20% versus 9% for the suburbs) receiving government transfer payments as a major source of income and why there was a higher proportion in the suburbs receiving investment income (11% versus 4%). Hence, nearly 62% living in the core compared with 48% in the suburb made less

than \$15000 in 1991. Alternatively, while 27% in **TABLE 3 Profile of Chinese Immigrants in Selected Census Tracts in the GTA, 1991**

	Core %	Suburbs %
<b>Place Of Birth</b>	41.56	20.23
China	13.88	44.73
Hong Kong	1.24	2.73
Taiwan	16.52	2.01
Vietnam	7.06	12.16
Other		
<b>Education</b>		
Less than secondary	57.04	29.23
Secondary certificate	12.37	13.95
Some post secondary	19.63	32.99
University degree	10.96	23.82
<b>Occupation</b>		
Managerial,professional	16.63	32.73
Semi-prof.,tech., admin., senior CSS	17.88	21.88
Supervisor, skilled craft/trade	4.48	3.98
Clerical, sales and service	21.11	25.25
Semi-skilled manual	18.73	8.35
Sales and service, manual workers	21.19	7.00
<b>Industry</b>		
Primary	0.29	0.45
Manufacturing,construction	27.69	19.36
Transportation,communication	3.81	5.03
Wholesale/retail trade	16.94	19.80
Finance, insurance, real estate, business	11.48	28.69
Government, education, health, social	11.24	13.50
Accommodation, food, beverage	28.55	13.17
<b>Individual Income</b>		
< \$15,000	61.80	48.11
\$15,000 - 29,999	27.79	24.72
\$30,000 - 59,999	9.20	22.89
> \$60,000	1.22	4.27
<b>Source Of Income</b>		
Wage employment	57.90	61.44
Self-employment	2.51	2.69
Government transfer payment	19.92	8.64
Investment income	4.36	10.70
Other	1.44	1.11

Notes: These statistics are based on those census tracts with over 20% Chinese population.

Source: Special tabulation.

the suburb made more than \$30000 in the same year, only 10% in the core achieved the same income status.

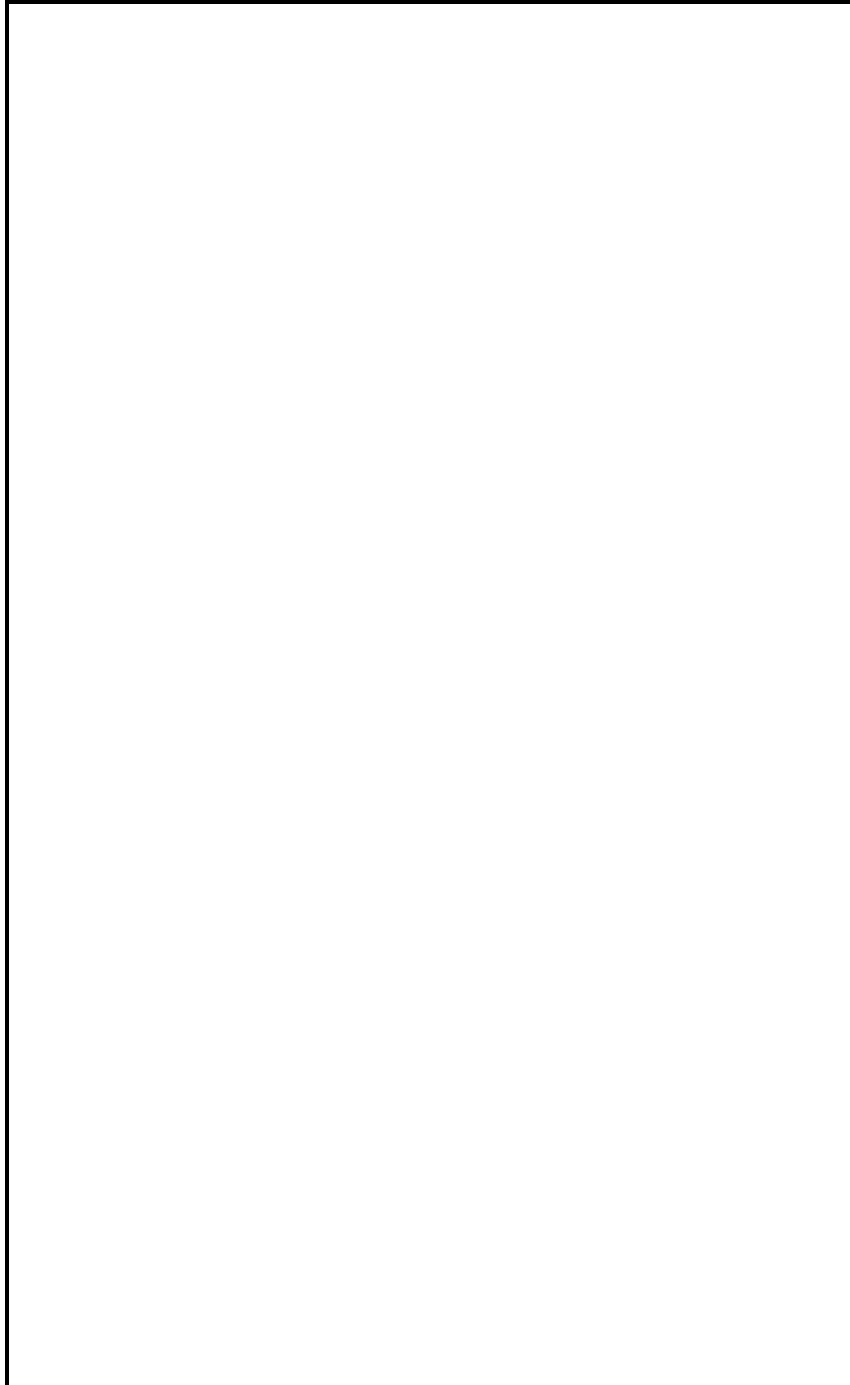


FIGURE 5 Distribution of Temporal Subgroups in the GTA, 1991

### **Inter-Temporal Variations in Settlement Patterns**

Figure 5 shows the distribution of Chinese immigrants arriving in Canada in the three periods of prior to 1968, 1968 to 1984, and 1985 to 1991. The general picture is that those arriving in the second and third periods exhibited a similar pattern of settlement relatively distant from those who arrived before 1968. This latter group concentrated more in the old downtown core although outward movement of this group has taken place, indicating upward mobility and possible spatial assimilation. Immigrants arriving after 1967 settled either in the traditional reception area or directly in the suburbs.

Figure 6 outlines the spatial concentrations of the various temporal groups. The measure is similar to the one calculated for the various place of birth subgroups. Those census tracts with their Chinese immigrant population share at least seven times above the temporal group's GTA share are highlighted. An interesting picture of population redistribution emerges. For those Chinese immigrants arriving before 68, outward dispersal is obvious. Although the older immigrants might have chosen to stay downtown, those who arrived as young children or teenagers in the early period have gained upward mobility and moved out to the suburbs. This is evidence of spatial assimilation. Some of the immigrants who arrived between 1968 and 1984 have suburbanized particularly to Scarborough. Whether this is indicative of integration is unclear. Chinese arriving after 1984 were more likely to settle in the Scarborough-Markham area. While this says nothing more than the fact that the newly arrived prefer the suburb to the downtown core, a comparison of Figures 4 and 6 suggests the following. First, in 1991, the two downtown Chinatowns comprised primarily immigrants born in the Mainland who arrived in both Period I and II (such as before 1985) and the Vietnam-born Chinese arriving in Period II. Second, the creation of an ethnic suburb in Scarborough was first prompted by the gradual arrival of Hong Kong born immigrants in Period II; the large influx from the same origin in Period III firmly established Scarborough and its northern extension in Markham as the new Chinese "ethnoburb", a term coined by Li (1997) in her Los Angeles case study.

### **A Socio-Economic Analysis of Intra-Ethnic Variations**

Our purpose in this subsection is to relate subgroup settlement patterns to their socio-economic characteristics. Ideally, we would like to compare all four target sub-groups of Chinese immigrants. But unfortunately, the census data we have do not allow us to look at the Vietnam borns separately. Hence only the Mainland, Hong Kong and Taiwan subgroups are directly compared. Information on the Vietnam subgroup has to be drawn from another source.

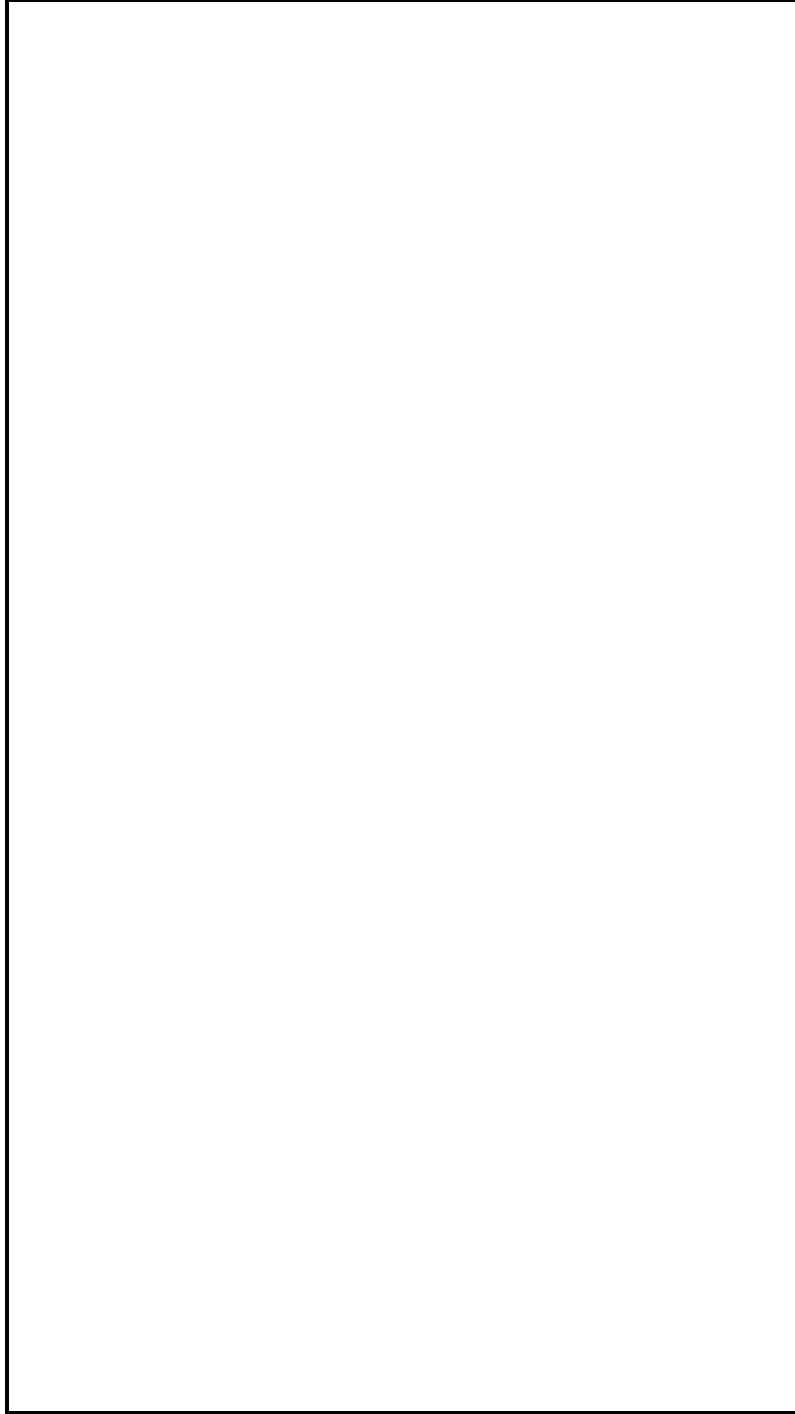


FIGURE 6 Spatial Concentrations by Period of Arrival, Identifying Tracts with Seven Times or More of GTA Shares, 1991

**TABLE 4 A Socio-Economic Profile of Chinese Immigrant Subgroups in The GTA, 1991**

Immigrant Population 15 years and over	Non- Chinese (a)	Hong Kong Chinese (a)	Taiwan Chinese (a)	Mainland Chinese (a)	Vietnam Chinese (b)
	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Age</b>					
15-24	10.1	17.6	22.9	4.6	
25-34	18.6	34.7	23.0	12.0	54.0*
35-44	22.5	33.8	32.3	22.6	
45-54	19.0	7.6	13.0	17.0	
55-64	14.6	3.6	4.5	19.9	
65 +	15.2	2.7	4.4	23.9	
<b>Education</b>					
Less than secondary	37.9	19.0	14.9	51.4	
Secondary certificate	13.1	13.1	14.2	12.9	
Some post-secondary	34.9	36.1	34.9	20.1	
University degree	13.5	31.8	35.9	15.6	8.0
<b>Employment</b>					
Employed	70.8	74.9	65.8	57.4	46.0
Paid workers	90.0	90.7	80.1	88.0	
Self-employed workers	10.0	9.3	19.1	11.9	
Full time workers	86.6	88.5	82.8	89.2	
Part time workers	13.4	11.5	17.2	10.8	
<b>Occupation</b>					
Managerial,professional	22.5	37.8	40.4	25.1	16.0
Semi-prof.,tech.,admin.,senior CSS	17.3	22.6	18.7	19.5	
Supervisor, skilled craft/trade	11.3	2.8	3.3	5.8	
Clerical, sales and service	22.8	25.6	23.1	18.4	
Semi-skilled manual	11.7	5.3	5.6	15.7	
Sales and service, manual workers	14.4	5.8	8.9	15.6	
<b>Industry</b>					
Primary	0.7	0.4	1.3	0.5	
Manufacturing,construction	29.0	15.4	17.3	25.8	>30.0
Transportation,communication	6.4	5.9	4.5	4.5	
Wholesale/retail trade	17.1	16.5	26.2	17.9	
Finance,insurance,real estate,business	16.3	33.0	23.5	14.1	
Government,education,health,social	17.4	16.3	15.1	11.7	
Accommodation,food,beverage	13.0	12.5	12.1	25.4	

Note: \* = 54% is for ages 25-44.

Source: Special tabulation 1997 and Statistics Canada 1996

Table 4 shows that the Chinese in the GTA are a socially and economically diverse group. While Chinese immigrants are generally younger, more educated and more skilled than non-Chinese immigrants, those born in Hong Kong and Taiwan on average surpass those born in the Mainland in terms of these characteristics. The overall Mainland subgroup is older, less educated and less

skilled.<sup>5</sup> While over 30% of the Hong Kong and Taiwan subgroups aged 15 and above had at least a university degree, it was only 16% for the Mainland subgroup. Members of the first two subgroups were also more likely to be employed (75% of Hong Kong and 66% of Taiwan compared with 57% of China). For those participating in the work force in 1991, a much higher percentage of the Hong Kong and Taiwan subgroups was in managerial and professional occupations (38% and 40% compared with 25% for the Mainland borns) whereas more Mainland borns worked as unskilled sales and service personnel and manual workers (16% compared with Hong Kong's 6% and Taiwan's 9%). Not surprisingly, Hong Kong and Taiwan Chinese were more likely to work in the finance, insurance, real estate and business service sectors while China-born Chinese were more likely to be engaged in the manufacturing, construction, accommodation, food and beverage industries. These findings are generally true even after controlling for age and education. For example, for males aged 25 to 34 and with a university degree, 72% of the Hong Kong subgroup and 65% of the Taiwan subgroup were in management/professional occupations compared with China's 66%; and 5% of the Hong Kong subgroup and 7% of the Taiwan subgroup worked in the accommodation, food and beverage industries compared with China's 13%.

With respect to the Vietnam subgroup, we rely on a report prepared by Statistics Canada (1996) titled *Profiles: Immigrants from Vietnam in Canada*. In 1991, there were 113,595 people born in Vietnam living in Canada. 32% of them lived in the GTA. Of these 36500 Vietnam borns, 47% of them were ethnic Chinese. Assuming that the Vietnamese Chinese are of similar characteristics to other Vietnamese and the Vietnamese in Toronto are similar to the Vietnamese elsewhere in Canada, we infer that statistics describing Vietnamese immigrants in Canada also describe the Vietnamese Chinese in the GTA. Like Chinese from Hong Kong and Taiwan, Vietnamese Chinese are younger than Chinese from China; 54% of those aged 15 and over were between 25 and 44 years in 1991. They were less likely than other Chinese subgroups to have a university education; only 8% of those aged 15 and over had a university degree, compared with 22.8% of all Chinese immigrants. In terms of employment characteristics, only 46% of them were employed in 1991, a relatively low figure compared with all the other Chinese subgroups. Chinese born in Vietnam were also considerably more likely than the other subgroups to work in manufacturing and construction (over 30%) and less likely to be employed in management or professional positions (16%).

To summarize, Hong-Kong-born Chinese are generally well-educated and

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5. These differences are partly explained by the fact that most older Hong Kong and Taiwan residents were born in China.

quite well off. Taiwan borns are similar and can be more entrepreneurial. The Mainland borns are a mixed batch, some closer to the Hong Kong subgroup in terms of education and occupation status and some closer to the Vietnam subgroup in terms of economic disadvantage. Of all Chinese immigrants, those from Vietnam are the most disadvantaged. These variations can be explained by what we earlier described as differential levels of development at various source regions and the varying social and political conditions propelling them to migrate.

### Conclusion

Immigration of Chinese to Canada is a product of discrete pushes and pulls. It was shaped not only by policies in Canada, but also by economic and political conditions in the source areas. While changes in Canadian immigration policy provided the ground conditions for Chinese arrivals, it is the growing prosperity and indications of political uncertainty that propelled middle class people from Hong Kong and Taiwan to seek safety and stability in Canada to protect their assets and to raise their children, the initial closed-window and then open-door policies of the Chinese government in the Mainland that caused intermittence in the arrival of different types of Mainland immigrants, and the internal and external warfares in and the consequent economic plight of Vietnam that implanted poor refugee migrants on Canadian soil.

Having recognizing the diversity of Chinese immigrants, we can claim that it is varying preconditions that lead to different types or classes of immigrants and effect different spatial behaviour. Our interest in this paper has been restricted to the spatial convergence or divergence of various Chinese subgroups. For the Chinese in the GTA, while the overall settlement pattern is convergent in several locations within the GTA, there is also much internal divergence. On the one hand, the Chinese settlement pattern is one of convergence in the sense that Chinese immigrants, including those with a rural background, tend to concentrate in the urbanized portion of the GTA, especially in Toronto, Scarborough, North York, Markham and Mississauga. We believe this convergence, especially evidenced by the similar distribution pattern among the Hong Kong, Mainland, and the rest of the world subgroups, has to do with cultural similarity. On the other hand, the pattern is one of divergence. Concentrations in the core and the suburbs were occupied by specific subgroups. This divergence has to do with economic class, exposure to modernity and the uneven impact of globalization.

Mainland and Vietnamese Chinese, arriving mostly as family class or refugee immigrants, and possessing few economic resources, concentrate in the old urban core. Hong Kong and Taiwan Chinese, coming either as skilled labour or business immigrants from the newly industrializing core of Asia, and benefiting much from the globalized economy, settled primarily in the suburbs. In this case,



the core-suburban dichotomy reflects a difference in economic resource possession and human capital possession. However, it should be noted that suburbs are not for the rich only. We did find a Vietnamese-Chinese pocket in North York, an inner suburb of the GTA, but we will not deal with this issue here.

Variations in Chinese settlement patterns may also be explained by the size of the subgroups and their recency in terms of arrival. The Hong Kong and Mainland subgroups are much larger and they have been here the longest. Therefore, there should be more contact or networking opportunities within these subgroups, thus more possibility for dispersion. The other two subgroups, especially those from Taiwan, are much smaller in size and significant numbers arrived only more recently. This implies fewer contact opportunities among subgroup members, thus greater need for concentration. Hence, the smaller and the newer the group, the greater is the segregation.

To conclude, this paper recognizes not only intra-ethnic variability but also the importance of its implications. Treating the Chinese as a homogeneous group conceals internal differences, which in turn has implications on the delivery of social/immigrant services, the design of policies affecting this group, and the deployment of marketing strategies etc. Other issues arise in the face of internal diversity. First, the diversity that is present among the Chinese immigrants produces a dual, if not polarized, labour force. Given the currently active Chinese ethnic economy, we wonder if there is a relationship between the two. Second, extant theories on settlement such as the factorial ecology model are too simple; there is need for a more encompassing theory that can reflect the structure governing contemporary migration systems and current social-political climates. Third, given the facts that Mainland China is a late comer in the process of world capitalist incorporation and that recent immigrants from Mainland have surpassed the Hong Kong group in number, how will this affect future Chinese settlement patterns in the GTA? Will the settlement pattern of internal divergence gradually disappear or be persistent? What impact will this generate on the urban economic system? We hope to explore this in future research using the 1996 census data.

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