

Ecology of Deprivation: Spatial Concentration of Poverty in Canada*

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During the last quarter of the 20th century, the industrial nations of the western hemisphere have been experiencing profound economic transformations with far-reaching social consequences. The underlying causes of these transformations are still under debate. Some attribute it to the 'postindustrialisation' of the economy, reflected in the decentralisation of capital and decision-making, the emergence of a new labour aristocracy, the expansion of the new middle class, and the feminisation of the class structure (Clement and Myles 1994). Others point to the 'globalisation' of the economy as the underlying factor, manifesting itself in the internationalisation of capital and the emergence of supranational institutions (Teepie 1995; Marchak 1991). The debate is less intense, however, concerning the social consequences of these economic changes. Few would disagree, for example, that the recent economic changes in the industrial world have led to escalating pressures on the lower classes and an increase in the number of those living in poverty. This has led in turn to the proliferation of poverty research during the late 1980s and early 1990s (see, for instance, Lawson and Wilson 1995; McFate 1995; McFate et al. 1995; Danziger and Weinberg 1994; for the particular case of Canada, see National Council of Welfare 1992; Kazemipur and

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Halli 2000a).

The publication of *The Truly Disadvantaged* by Wilson (1987) highlighted for researchers the plight of those hit hardest by this recent blow of poverty. In a study of Blacks in Chicago, he clearly showed that they not only suffer from their own general poverty but also from having to live in neighbourhoods with an unusually high concentration of the poor. Such neighbourhoods tend to experience massive breakdowns in social institutions, poor health care and educational facilities, and severe forms of joblessness, family disruption, teenage pregnancy, school dropout, crime and drug abuse (Massey and Eggers 1990; Massey and Denton 1993). These problems and the social behaviours associated with them gradually become part of the youth's outlook as a result of the youth's exposure to them, with therefore a long-lasting effect on their lives (Lawson and Wilson 1997; Wilson 1996). The concentration of poverty, therefore, favours the development of poverty across generations.

Some social geographic studies have recently shown the relationship between the geographic location and the type of identities that are more likely to be nurtured in them (McDowell 1997). For example, it has been argued that West Hollywood has become an area of 'alternative lifestyle', particularly for those associated with the music industry. The relatively affluent gays and lesbians constitute about 30 to 40 % of West Hollywood's population, giving rise to a distinct gay identity in this neighbourhood (Forest 1995). This example underscores the relationship between the social composition of neighbourhoods and the cultural identities they nurture. There is little doubt that the identity such a neighbourhood nurtures would have been radically different, had poor heterosexuals, rather than affluent homosexuals, constituted the majority of its population.

Despite the burgeoning literature on the spatial concentration of poverty in the United States, and to a lesser degree in Europe, during the 1990s, this issue has not received much attention in Canada. The few Canadian studies either have slightly different focuses or use older data. Those studies without these inadequacies lack comprehensive coverage of Canadian cities, which inhibits an appreciation of the magnitude of the problem in Canada. Furthermore, none of these studies has provided a conceptual framework within which one can understand the social implications of the spatial concentration of poverty. The present study is an effort to fill this gap in the Canadian literature, by using the 1986, 1991, and 1996 data, and employing a conceptual framework.

A Brief Review of the Literature

An important baseline study was that of Hajnal (1995) who studied the Spatial Concentration of Poverty (SCOP) in Canada, with a comparison of its manifestations in Canada and the United States. The major finding of this study was that, despite the smaller number of people living in extremely poor neighborhoods in Canada, they constituted a higher proportion of the population compared to the

United States. This study had two main limitations: its descriptive nature, and its use of 1986 data, which does not cover the period with the most noticeable increase in poverty.

In a more comprehensive study, MacLachlan and Sawada (1997) examined income inequality and social polarisation in Canadian metropolitan areas. While having a better coverage of Canadian cities and using a better methodology, this study was more concerned with inequality than with poverty. Although closely related, the two concepts of poverty and inequality have their own distinct connotations, implications, and significance and, as a result, those studying inequality have long had their own research agendas and concerns, distinct from those of poverty researchers. In a very general and perhaps somewhat oversimplified manner, one can argue that the former group of researchers considers the whole income scale as their research focus, the latter only the lower end of income scale. This difference of focus is echoed in the debates on poverty and inequality (see, for example, Sarlo 1992, 1994). Despite this distinctiveness, however, MacLachlan and Sawada's (1997) study constitutes a significant step towards linking spatial trends and the broader structural changes.

In two more sharply focused studies, Ley and Smith (1997) and Murdie (1998) examined the spatial concentration of poverty in three Canadian CMAs. Focusing on the patterns of SCOP in Montreal, Vancouver and Toronto, Ley and Smith (1997) found in Montreal the greatest incidence of what they called 'deep poverty', a more conventional American pattern of inner city ghettos in Vancouver, and a suburbanisation of SCOP in Toronto. Studying Toronto, Murdie (1998) broadened the perspective by introducing the notions of *inner suburb* and *outer suburb*, with the former referring to the constituent municipalities of Metropolitan Toronto outside the city of Toronto built between the end of WWII and the early 1970s, and the latter to the rapidly growing suburban municipalities beyond Metropolitan Toronto but within the Toronto CMA. Murdie shows that the *inner suburbs* are those that have experienced an increased incidence of low-income households, low educational achievement, lower levels of occupational status and higher unemployment. Despite their limited scope, these studies have been very useful in demonstrating the difference between Canadian and American trends, as far as the spatial concentration of poverty is concerned.

More recently, Kazemipur and Halli (1997, 2000a) examined the magnitude of SCOP in Canada by investigating the distribution of population in neighbourhoods of different poverty levels, and the changes in this distribution between 1986 and 1991. Mainly concerned with the experience of SCOP in relation to visible minority ethnic groups and immigrants, they found that a moderate but positive correlation existed between the poverty level of a neighborhood and the proportion of its population who are immigrants, and that the magnitude of correlations was the highest for visible minorities such as Vietnamese, Spanish, Chinese and Black. The only other groups with equally high correlation coefficients were Aboriginal and Polish. Also, they found negative correlations for those of European origin, such as German, British, Dutch, Swedish, Finnish,

and Jewish.

Despite taking the much-needed first steps in this direction, these studies fall short of offering a comprehensive view of the severity or the magnitude of the problem in Canada. The major shortcoming was the use of 1986 and 1991 data. The extrapolation of the trends observed in the 1986 to 1991 period is questionable for various reasons. First, the period is too short to reveal neighbourhood trends reliably, which by nature do not come and go very quickly. Second, the noticeable rise in Canada's overall poverty rate, also reflected in neighbourhoods, began in 1989 (Kazemipur and Halli, 2000a, 2000b), i. e., close to the end of the period under investigation by these earlier studies. By 1991, the poverty rate was not high enough to show its full impact. Third, the year 1991 was a time of severe economic recession in Canada; any study of the period that ends in this year may give a false impression of the long-term poverty trends in Canada. For these reasons, the studies based on the 1986 to 1991 period do not adequately capture the effects of the recent rise of poverty in Canada. The present study tries to address these limitations by including 1996 data.

Why Study Neighbourhood Poverty: A Conceptual Backdrop

As noted above, the spatial concentration of poverty does not affect only the morphology of a city. It also triggers some far-reaching social processes that go well beyond the immediate problems associated with living in poor neighbourhoods. The literature has already shown some of these consequences: the massive breakdown of social institutions, severity of the problems of joblessness, family disruption, teenage pregnancy, school dropout, crime and drugs. These are the short-term consequences. In the long run, it can rob the residents of the motivation to change their living conditions. In other words, a high level of spatial concentration of poverty can lead to the perpetuation of poverty. To illustrate this point further, there is merit in Tocqueville's theory of relative deprivation, which he employed to explain the French Revolution. Below, I will explain this theory in more detail.

Tocqueville's Relative Deprivation Theory

The French Revolution was an unprecedented event, the occurrence of which surprised not only those observing it then, but also those reflecting upon it later. Among the puzzling aspects of the French Revolution was that, contrary to popular view, it did not occur at a time when the people's misery was at its climax. Rather, it happened when France was recovering economically. In his *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*, Tocqueville (1955 [1856]) argued

that economic conditions in France had greatly improved in the two decades before the revolution; there was a “spectacular increase in the wealth of individuals” (ibid: 173); and, “living conditions improved throughout the land” in the same period (ibid: 174). Along with these changes in the economy, there was also a change in the mentality of the ruling class. They began showing “a genuine respect for civic freedom and the rights of individuals”, as well as “a real concern for the hardship of the poor” (ibid: 172). The irony was that “the chief centers of the revolutionary movement” were “those parts of France in which the improvements in the standard of living was most pronounced” (ibid: 175). How can this paradox be explained? How can people be content with the most severe living conditions but revolt against the establishment and try to change it when it has begun to improve?

Tocqueville answers this question by going beyond the ‘objective’ factors, and by bringing in a ‘subjective’ element. For him, this element is represented by ‘changed perceptions’. He argues that the economic and political reforms in France during the two decades before the revolution changed not only the living conditions of the French but also their perceptions of the life they deserved. Before the reforms began, people would consider their living conditions as normal, inevitable and unchangeable. No alternative arrangement would have been imagined, and this made the misery tolerable. The introduction of reforms changed their living conditions and, consequently, the state of mind so closely tied to it. An alternative arrangement appeared, and misery became removable. In Tocqueville’s (1955[1856]: 177) words:

“Patiently endured so long as it seemed beyond redress, a grievance comes to appear intolerable once the possibility of removing it crosses men’s minds.”

The implication of Tocqueville’s thesis is very simple: people do not make a serious attempt to change their living arrangement so long as it is considered normal and unchangeable. This applies to both collective and individual levels. Any personal effort to change one’s living condition is contingent upon one’s perception that such a change is not only desirable but also possible.

Whyte’s (1971) notion of objective versus subjective poverty takes Tocqueville’s thesis one step closer to the poverty debate. He suggests that the individual unable to satisfy minimal needs of food, clothing and shelter, and unable to fulfill a normal occupational role to provide for these needs, is said to experience objective poverty. Those who sense their deprivation manifest subjective poverty. While the former results from economic factors, the latter grows out of “a comparison of what an individual has with what he would like to have” (ibid: 79). These two experiences of poverty have distinct natures of their own, and due to this distinction, “objective poverty can exist without being experienced subjectively” (ibid: 80).

The relationship between objective and subjective poverty, and the outcome

of this relationship, is rather complex. To illustrate this, let us imagine three hypothetical examples. The first one is a person experiencing objective but not subjective poverty. Such a person is unlikely to make any attempt to get out of poverty, as he or she most likely sees nothing problematic about his or her situation. The second example is that of a person who lives in poverty (i.e., experiences objective poverty) but considers his or her poverty undesirable and would like to change it (i.e., experiencing a certain level of subjective poverty). The awareness of poverty and its undesirability, however, does not automatically translate into action. For that, one needs to be convinced that the poverty situation is not only undesirable but also changeable, and this constitutes a third hypothetical situation. Using Whyte's conceptualisation of poverty within the framework of Tocqueville's theory of revolution, one can argue that a poor individual will make an effort to break the poverty trap only if he or she experiences poverty subjectively. It is such an experience that provides the necessary discrepancy between what 'is' and what 'ought to be', which in turn triggers the effort to overcome poverty.

Let us add some flesh to these theoretical bones by applying the relative deprivation theory to neighbourhood poverty. The concentration of the poor in certain neighborhoods means that their contacts would be confined mostly to other poor. Through these contacts the poor will be exposed to a lifestyle similar to that of their own, hence involving little exposure to an alternative lifestyle. The prevalence of a similar lifestyle in such neighbourhoods blocks the development of an awareness of alternative lifestyles, and makes the formation of subjective poverty unlikely. Without experiencing subjective poverty, the poor are more likely to believe that their situation is the only one they can have, and that it is inevitable and unchangeable. In other words, while they experience objective poverty, they are unlikely to feel subjective poverty. The poor who are spatially concentrated are more likely to consider their situation as, using Tocqueville's words, something 'beyond redress'.

In sum, the spatial concentration of poverty is not merely a particular distribution of people in urban space. It may also result in some social and psychological processes with far-reaching consequences for society in general, and the poor in particular. If identified and measured properly, the spatial concentration of poverty and its consequences can be dealt with more effectively.

Data and Methodology

The present study uses the from three consecutive census years, 1986, 1991 and 1996. The public use version of these data are reported in separate sets for individuals, families, households and census tracts. The first three data sets do not include information on respondents' geographical location smaller than city or town, due to the confidentiality principle. The last set, which contains such information, reports the data only in aggregate form. This duality in the nature

of the data seriously limits the type of analysis one can undertake using census data. In particular, they do not allow an examination of the relationship between the individual variables and the locational outcomes, something of great importance in regional research. Due to this inherent problem with data, studies of neighbourhood poverty have tended to be descriptive in nature; this is a problem which does not have an immediate solution given the current data generation practices, and to which the present study is not an exception.

In the census profile data sets used in this study, the census tract is the unit of analysis. Although it has been common practice in urban research to use census tract and neighbourhood interchangeably, the two are technically different. The 'tract' is a census artifact, referring to relatively homogeneous geographical units within a city with a population of about 4000. The 'neighbourhood', on the other hand, is more of a social entity, a geographical unit often with a distinct social configuration and a known history. Given this difference, the findings of studies based on census-tracts need to be checked against neighbourhood-based studies for possible variations and discrepancies. However, the census tract is still the dominant unit of analysis in spatial research, for two reasons. First, the data for public use are reported only for census tracts. Second, the few comparative studies that have used both units have reported little variation. Such variation will be even less significant for our study, which is more concerned with the general morphology of cities.

Census tracts are categorised according to their poverty rates, i.e., the percentage of their population who are poor. Of special interest in neighbourhood poverty research is the frequency and distribution of these neighbourhoods with a high level of poverty, also referred to as poverty zones, neighbourhoods of urban concentrated poverty, underclass tracts, areas of spatial concentration of poverty, and finally, *ghetto* neighbourhoods (Wilson 1987, 1996; Jargowsky and Bane 1991). The literature suggests the 40 % poverty rate as the threshold for the identification of a ghetto (Jargowski and Bane 1991; Wilson 1987, 1996). Wilson (1987: 38) argues that a poverty level of 40 % seems to act as a critical mass, and that when this is reached, "a self-sustaining chain reaction is set off that creates an explosive increase in the amount of crime, addiction and welfare-dependency".

How are the poor in a census tract identified? Most discussions of poverty in Canada during the last 25 years have relied on 'Low Income Cut-Offs (LICOs)', a measure of poverty suggested by Statistics Canada. To compute these cut-offs, Statistics Canada conducts a detailed survey of the expenditure patterns of Canadian families every four years. It then calculates the average percentage of pre-tax income that Canadian families spend on food, shelter and clothing expenditures. The LICOs are set where families spend 20 percentage points more of their income than this average. The low-income lines are then calculated for communities and for families of various sizes within those communities, and updated annually using the data obtained from the Consumer Price Index surveys (Statistics Canada 1998).

At present, Statistics Canada has set 56 % as the threshold for LICOs, hence, any family spending more than 56 % of gross income on the basic necessities is considered poor (Krahn 1995). The Low Income Cut-Offs for 1985, 1990, 1995, which are used for the census years 1986, 1991, and 1996, respectively are shown in Table 1.

In the present study, the LICOs-based poverty status indicator contained in **TABLE 1 The Low-Income Cut-Offs for Families and Unattached Individuals (1986-Based) in Dollars, 1986, 1991, 1996**

Family Size	Year	Size of Area of Residence				
		500,000 or more	100,000 to 499,999	30,000 to 99,999	Small Urban Areas	Rural Areas (Incl. Farms)
1	1985	11,382	9,996	9,766	8,902	7,748
2		15,428	13,551	13,238	12,068	10,504
3		19,610	17,224	16,826	15,339	13,350
4		22,578	19,830	19,372	17,660	15,371
5		24,669	21,666	21,166	19,295	16,793
6		26,776	23,518	22,975	20,944	18,229
7 or more		28,800	25,295	24,711	22,527	19,606
1	1990	14,155	12,433	12,146	11,072	9,637
2		19,187	16,854	16,464	15,008	13,064
3		24,389	21,662	20,926	19,076	16,605
4		28,081	24,662	24,094	21,964	19,117
5		30,680	26,946	26,324	23,997	20,887
6		33,303	29,248	28,573	26,047	22,672
7 or more		35,818	31,460	30,734	28,017	24,385
1	1995	15,819	13,895	13,574	12,374	10,769
2		21,442	18,835	18,399	16,771	14,600
3		27,256	23,941	23,387	21,318	18,556
4		31,383	27,561	26,927	24,547	21,364
5		34,287	30,114	29,419	26,818	23,343
6		37,219	32,686	31,932	29,109	25,337
7 or more		40,029	35,159	34,347	31,311	27,252

Source: Statistics Canada (1998).

the census data has been used. Not all researchers agree upon the legitimacy of using LICOs as poverty status indicators (see, for instance, Sarlo 1992, 1994; Fellegi 1996). An examination of the debates surrounding this issue, however, is beyond the scope of this study, and has been addressed by authors elsewhere (Kazemipur and Halli 2000a).

Findings

To measure the magnitude of neighbourhood poverty, the frequency distribution of census tracts by their poverty rates was examined. The poverty rates of census

tracts are broken down into five categories: 0-9.9 %, 10-19.9 %, 20-29.9 %, 30-39.9 % and greater than 40 %. The distribution of census tracts in these categories in the years 1986, 1991 and 1996, are reported for Canadian CMAs. The complete results are included in the Appendix, partial representation of which are illustrated in Figures 1 through 9.

Figure 1 shows the frequency of ghetto neighbourhoods, i. e. census tracts with a poverty rate of at least 40 %, expressed as a proportion of the total num

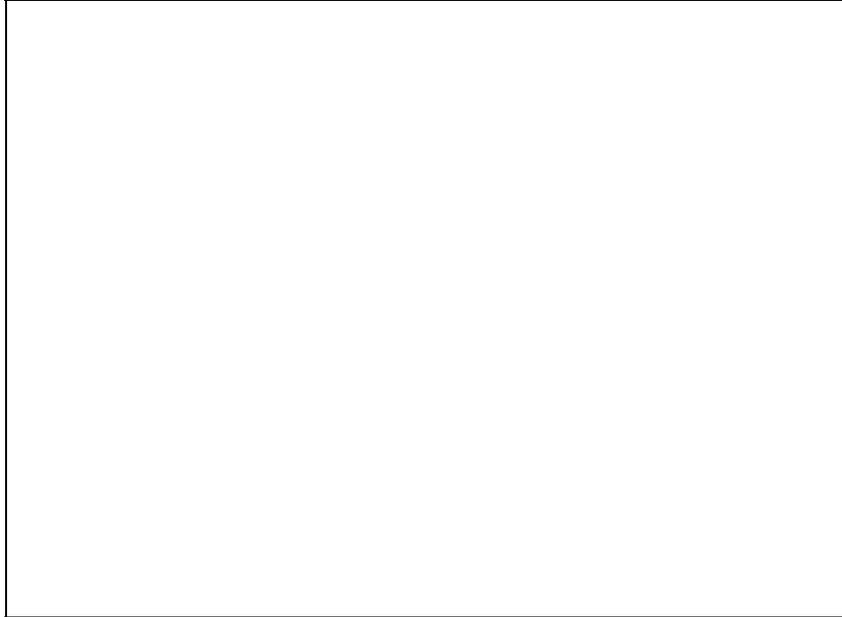


FIGURE 1 The Change in the Number of Census Tracts with a Poverty Rate of 40% and more, as Proportion of CTs in the city, 1986-1996, Pattern I

ber of census tracts in the city. One evident trend in this figure is the magnitude of the problem in cities such as Saint John, Quebec City, Montreal, and Winnipeg, for which the proportion of *ghetto neighbourhoods* has almost doubled between 1986 and 1996. Among these, Montreal and Winnipeg have had the most severe experiences, with about 17 % and 13 % of their census tracts in this category, and the constant increase of these rates throughout this period. For Quebec City and Saint John, the situation has noticeably worsened only since 1991. Cities such as Ottawa-Hull, Hamilton and Saskatoon have experienced the second harshest situation (Figure 2), followed by St. John's, Halifax, Kingston, Toronto, Windsor, Regina, Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver (Figure 3). The last five of these cities (except for Edmonton) show a different pattern. For them, the proportion of ghetto neighbourhoods has decreased in the 1986 to 1991 period and increased thereafter. The trend is quite distinct for St.Catherines-Niagara, Kitchener, Guelph and Victoria (Figure 4), as they are the only cities with the lowest percentages that have experienced little or no increase over the period 1986 to 1996.

Figures 5a through 5g provide a visual image of the distribution of ghetto neighbourhoods in the Canadian cities in which at least 10 % of census tracts have a poverty rate of 40 % and higher (Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg, Hamilton, Edmonton, Quebec City). Vancouver is also included to allow for a comparison among the larger CMAs. Among these seven cities, Montreal stands

out not only as the city with the highest level of neighbourhood poverty, but also

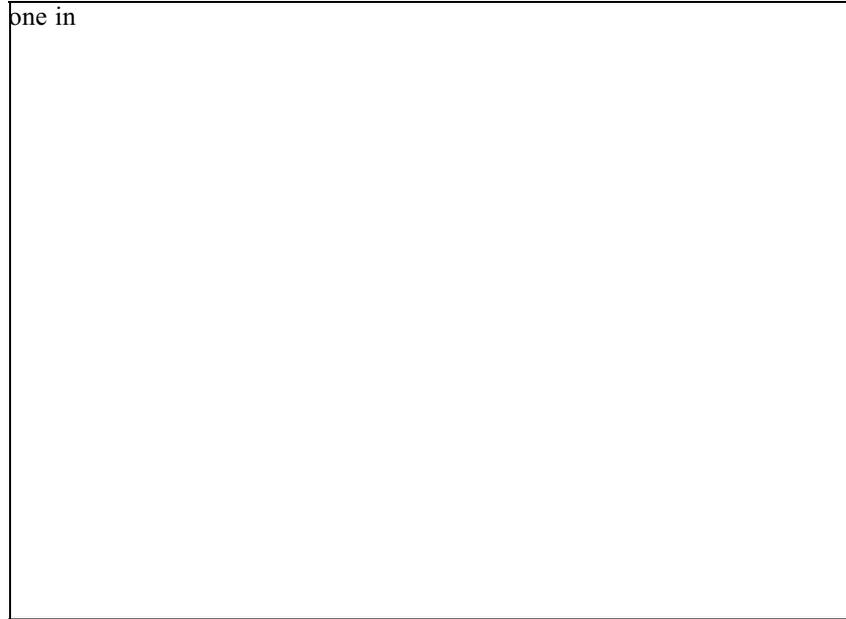


FIGURE 2 The C hange in the N umber of C ensus Trac ts with a P overty Rate of 40% and more, as P roportion of CTs in the city, 1986-1996, Pattern II

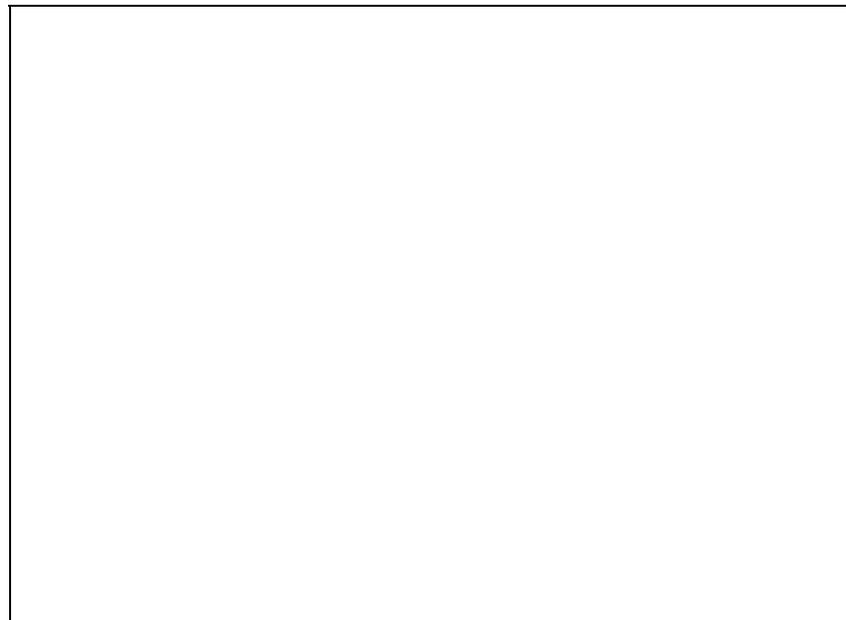


FIGURE 3 The C hange in the N umber of C ensus Trac ts with a P overty Rate of 40% and more, as P roportion of CTs in the city, 1986-1996, Pattern III

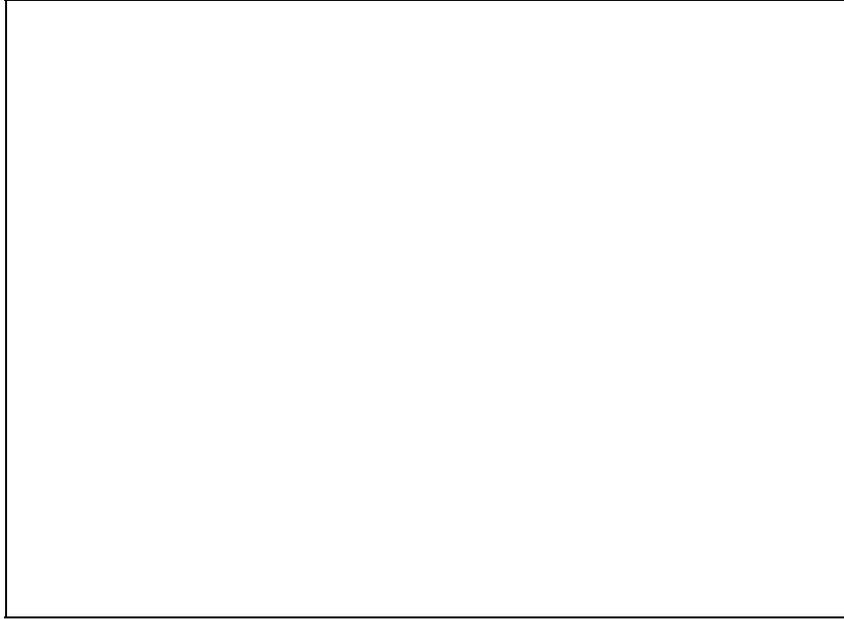


FIGURE 4 The Change in the Number of Census Tracts with a Poverty Rate of 40% and more, as Proportion of CTs in the city, 1986-1996, Pattern IV

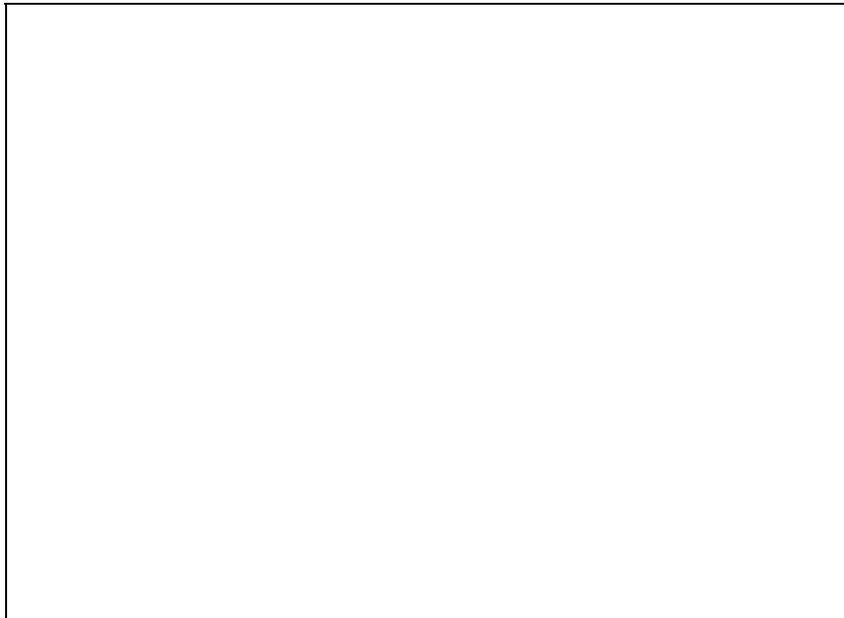


FIGURE 5a Census Tracts with a Poverty Rate of 40% and Higher, Toronto, 1996

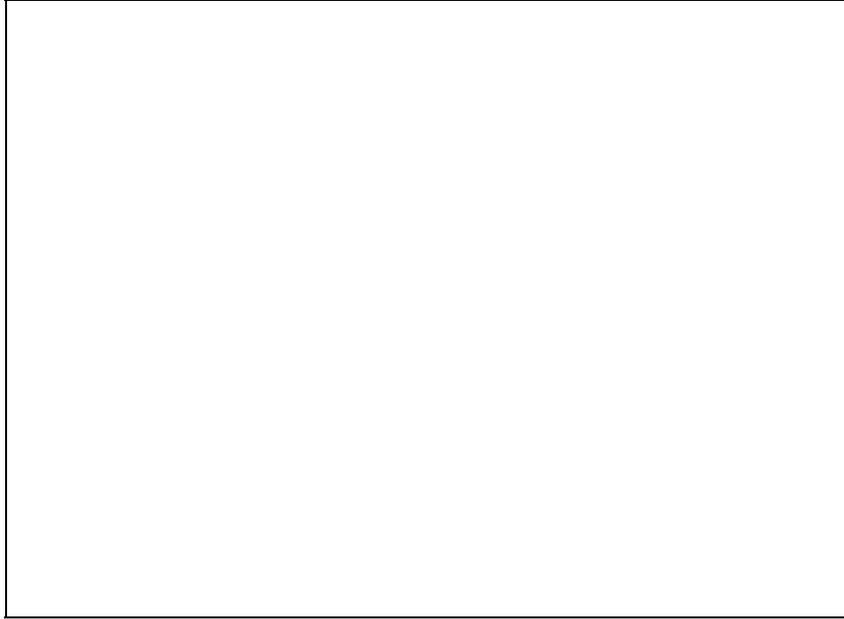


FIGURE 5b Census Tracts with a Poverty Rate of 40% and Higher, Montreal, 1996

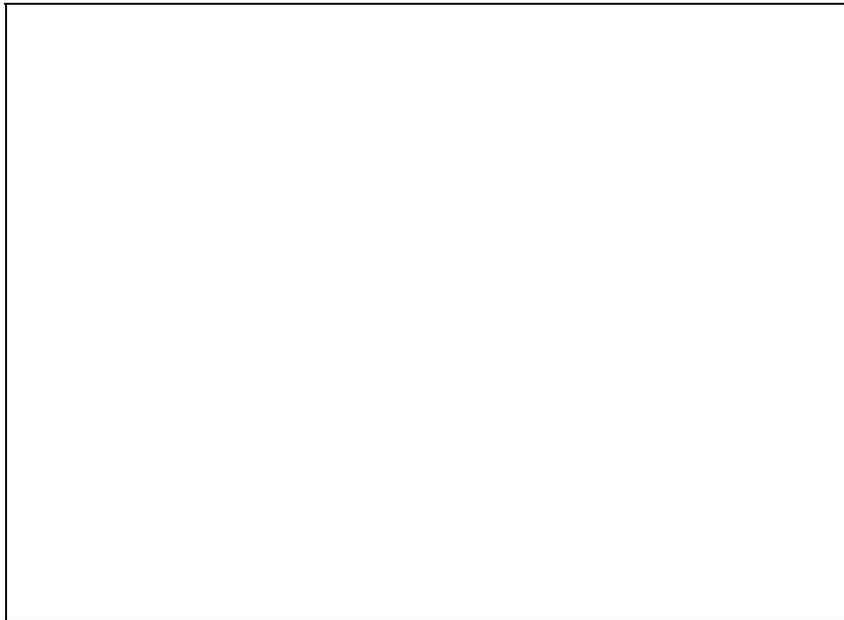


FIGURE 5c Census Tracts with a Poverty Rate of 40% and Higher, Vancouver, 1996



FIGURE 5d Census Tracts with a Poverty Rate of 40% and Higher, Quebec City, 1996

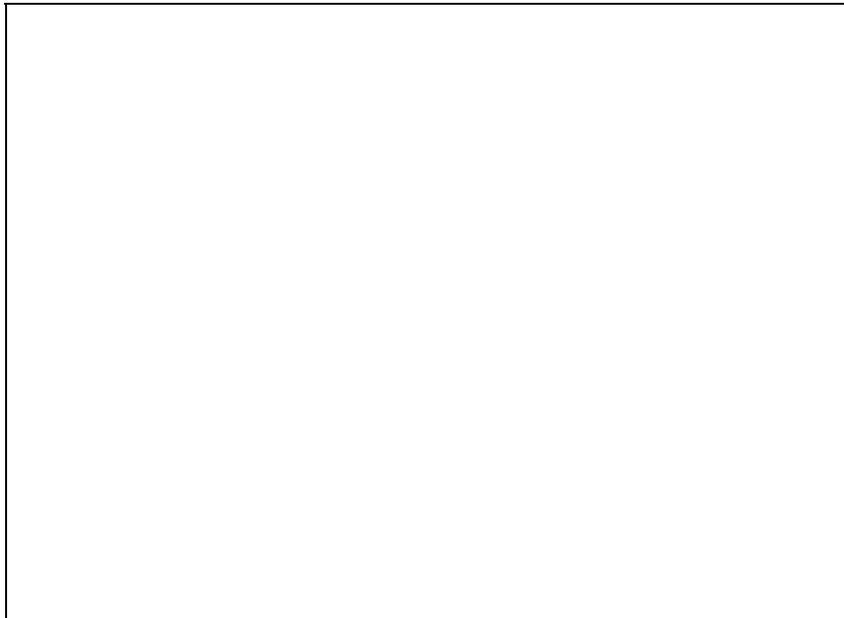


FIGURE 5e Census Tracts with a Poverty Rate of 40% and Higher, Ottawa-Hull, 1996

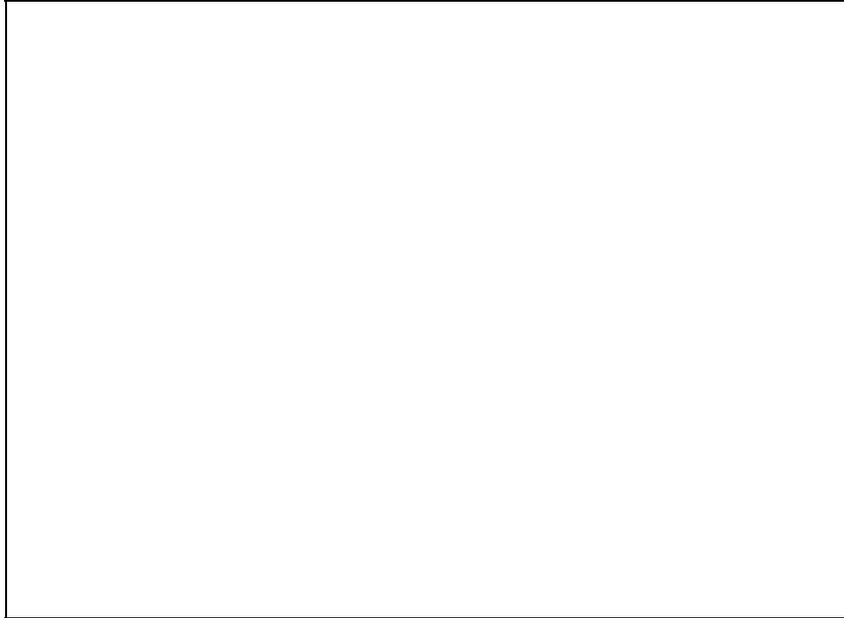


FIGURE 5f Census Tracts with a Poverty Rate of 40% and Higher, Hamilton, 1996

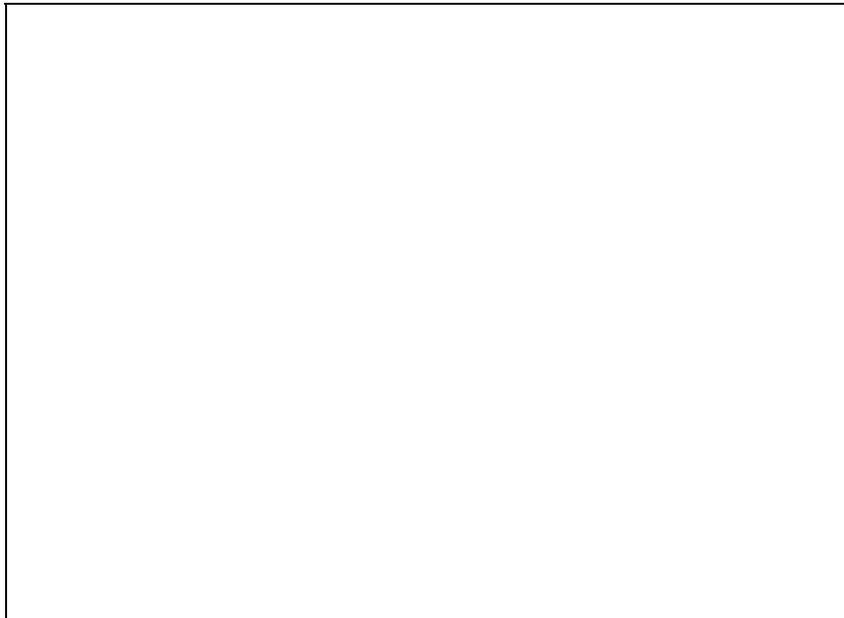


FIGURE 5g Census Tracts with a Poverty Rate of 40% and Higher, Edmonton, 1996

which the high poverty neighbourhoods are spread out all across a noticeably larger area and do not constitute a condensed cluster. This pattern also applies to Toronto, but to a lesser extent. This is in contrast to all other cities, which have a cluster of high poverty neighbourhoods in the central districts of the city.

The changes in the proportion of neighbourhoods in the second highest poverty category, i.e. 30-40 % poverty (Figure 6), also reveal some distinct patterns. Kitchener, Guelph, and to a lesser extent, Victoria show trends similar to what they had in the highest poverty category. Montreal, again, has the highest rate. St. John's, Windsor, Edmonton and Victoria are the cities for which the rates have declined since 1991, after an increase between 1986 and 1991. Toronto has experienced the most conspicuous increase in the proportion of this type of neighbourhood, from about 1 % to more than 12 %.

Figure 7 illustrates the magnitude of change in the proportion of neighbourhoods with 20-30 % poverty rates. The patterns observed in this figure are quite mixed. For example, the two cities of Saint John and Edmonton, which have experienced noticeable rises in the proportion of their high poverty neighbourhoods, represent two opposite and extreme situations: the former experienced a decline of about 15 percentage points, the latter an increase of about equal magnitude. Likewise, Montreal and Winnipeg which had shown similar trends with regard to high poverty neighbourhoods, experience opposite trends here. The changes in this category, therefore, do not reveal much about the situation of the cities unless they are examined along with changes in the high and low poverty categories.

Figure 8 reveals the changes in the second richest type of neighbourhood, that is, those with 10-20 % poverty rates. The changes illustrated in Figure 7 are the most limited in magnitude, in comparison to all other figures. The main reason for this may be the fact that Canadian poverty rates in all the three census years under study fall into this category. Since a larger proportion of neighbourhoods in Canada still cluster around the national poverty rate, they have remained more or less in the same category.

Figure 9 captures the most conspicuous changes, that is, those which have occurred in the lowest poverty rate category: 0-10 %. It shows that the number of rich neighbourhoods has declined in all cities during the 1986 to 1996 period. Saskatoon is the only exception, in which the trend has been constantly upward. Next to Saskatoon is Windsor with relatively stable rates over this period. Toronto has the sharpest decline trend, with about 25 % of its census tracts falling in this category in 1996, down from 60 % in 1986. Regina also constitutes a unique case, as it suffered in the 1986 to 1991 period but recovered in the 1991 to 1996 period. Guelph has the highest proportion of rich neighbourhoods, followed by Victoria and Kingston. Cities in the Atlantic, Prairie provinces and Quebec represent the cities with the lowest proportion of rich neighbourhoods.

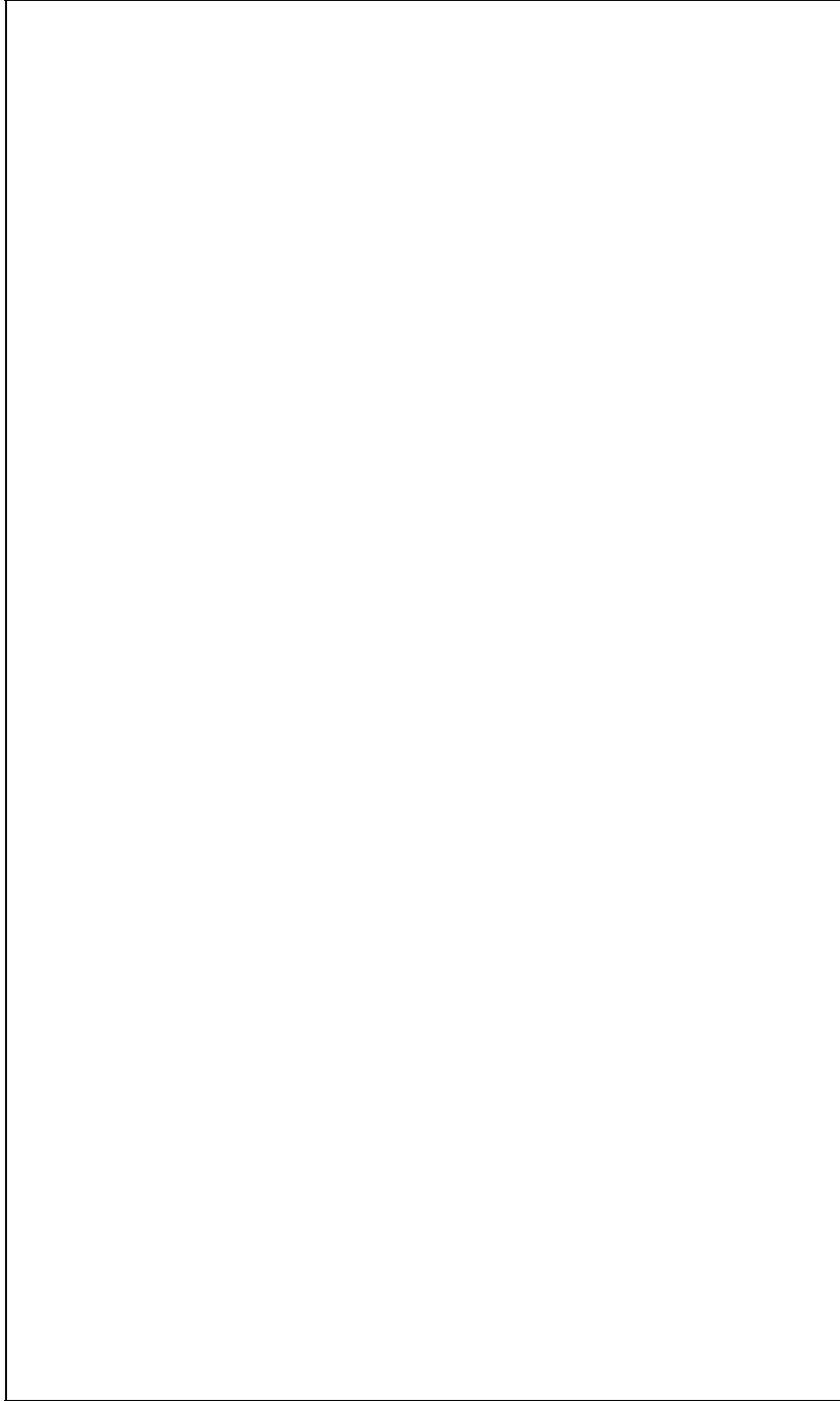


FIGURE 6 Change in the Number of Census Tracts with a Poverty Rate of 30-40%, as Proportion of CTs in the city, Major Canadian Cities, 1986-1996

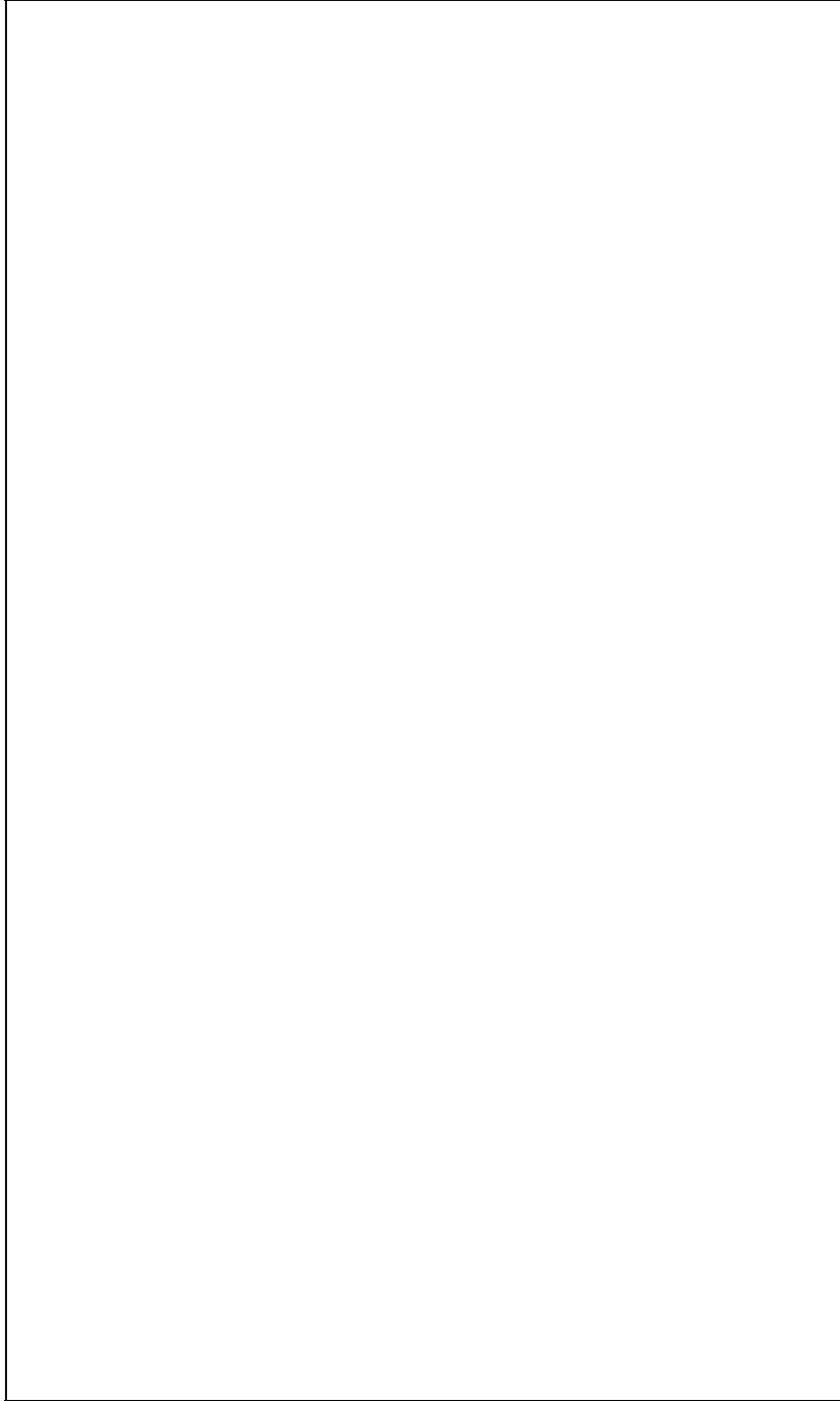


FIGURE 7 Change in the Number of Census Tracts with a Poverty Rate of 20-30%, as Proportion of CTs in the city, Major Canadian Cities, 1986-1996

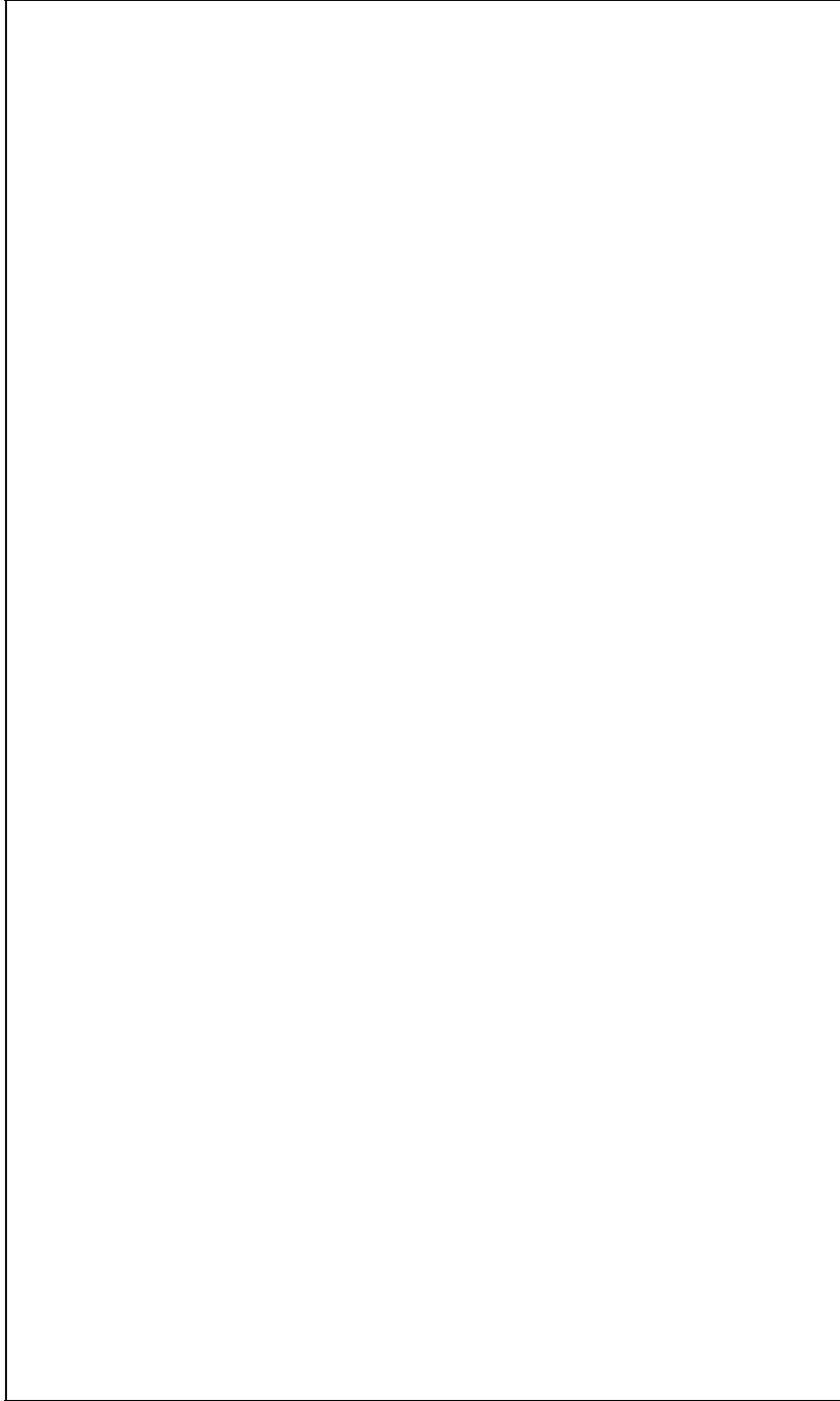
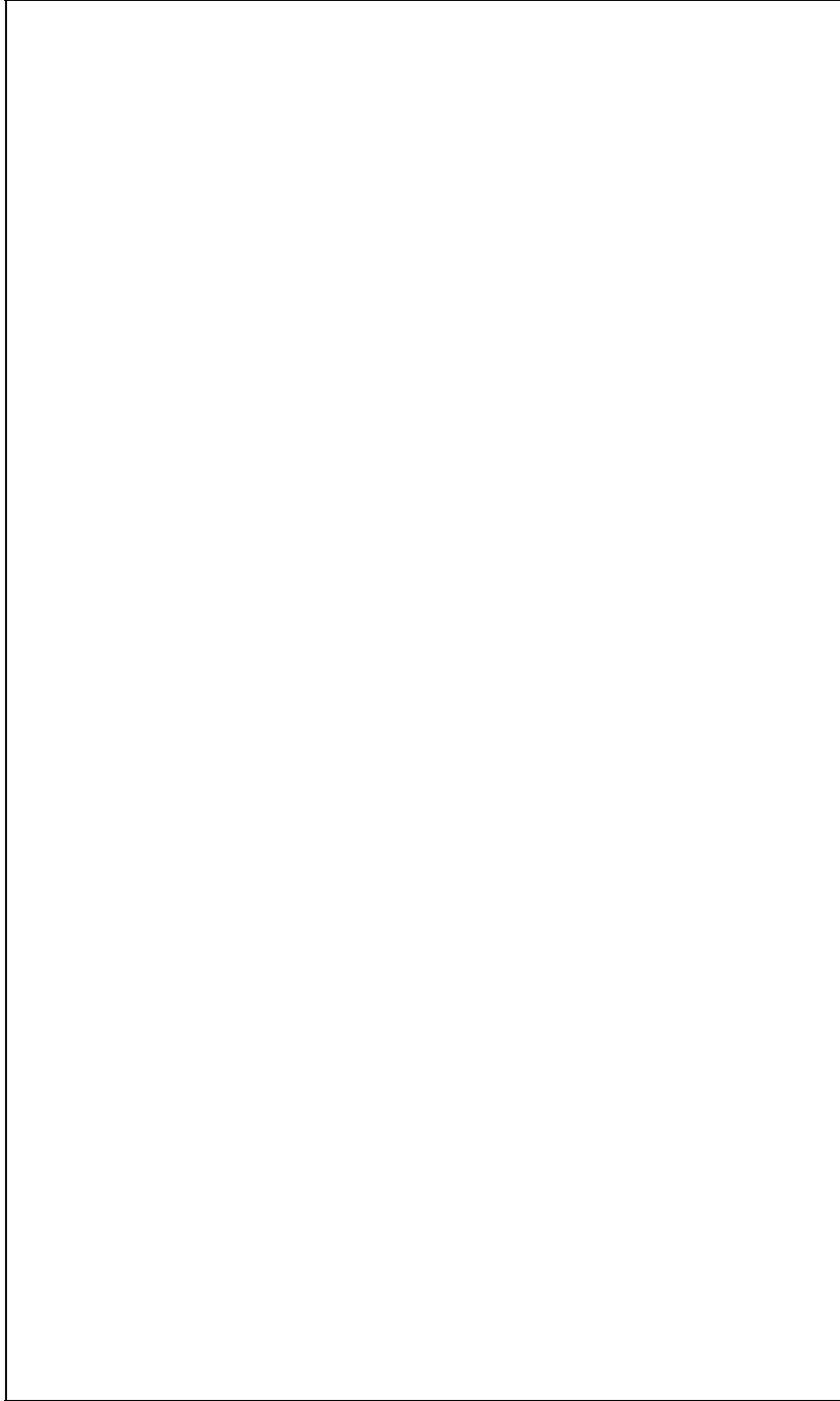


FIGURE 8 Change in the Number of Census Tracts with a Poverty Rate of 10-20%, as Proportion of CTs in the city, Major Canadian Cities, 1986-1996



FIGURE

9 Change in the Number of Census Tracts with a Poverty Rate of 0-10%, as Proportion of CTs in the city, Major Canadian Cities, 1986-1996

Conclusion and Implications

The trends observed in the figures above indicate that the overall rise in general poverty in Canada is well reflected at the neighbourhood level -- a constant increase in the number and proportion of neighbourhoods with high rates of poverty, and an opposing trend for those with low rates. The persistence of such trends for the whole of the 1986 to 1996 period implies that although these trends were aggravated by the 1983-1984 and 1991-1992 recessions in the Canadian economy, they have not resulted merely from these recessions.

The observation that neighbourhood poverty is on the rise in Canada has certain implications for future research. Since this line of research in Canada is still in an embryonic stage, more qualitative research is needed to capture the dynamics of social life in high poverty neighbourhoods, and to examine if the Canadian experience shows any departure from that of the U.S. There is also a need to focus on identifying the social composition of those living in poverty zones in terms of age, occupation, income, gender and ethnicity. A recent study by the author has shown, for example, that immigrants are more likely than native-born Canadians to be living in extremely poor neighbourhoods (see, Kazemipur and Halli, 2000b). This is surprising, given that immigrants tend to have a higher average income than the native-born population, but it suggests that one's decision of where to live is also affected by factors other than income. The study of such potential factors, however, is hampered by the nature of the data available, i.e., lack of combined data on individual and geographical variables. A revision in the data generation practices in Canada is necessary before more rigorous studies of neighbourhood poverty can be attempted.

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*Appendix***TABLE A1 The Distribution of CTs in Different Poverty Areas, 1986-96**

CITY	Poverty Rate of Census Tracts														
	0-9.99%			10-19.99%			20-29.99%			30-39.99%			40%+		
	'86	'91	'96	'86	'91	'96	'86	'91	'96	'86	'91	'96	'86	'91	'96
St. Johns	24	38	22	45	40	39	18	10	22	11	13	12	3	0	5
Halifax	51	55	37	34	31	39	11	12	15	4	1	5	0	1	4
Moncton	41	44	33	32	30	46	23	26	17	5	0	4	0	0	0
Saint John	17	28	23	31	35	32	29	23	14	17	7	16	7	7	16
Chicoutimi-Jonquiere	3	29	9	59	46	51	22	17	26	16	9	9	0	0	6
Quebec	28	31	20	37	37	36	19	17	21	9	8	10	7	7	13
Sherbrooke	10	26	16	52	32	47	16	19	9	13	13	22	10	10	6
Trois-Rivieres	--	12	15	--	56	41	--	15	21	--	9	12	--	9	12
St. Jean-sur-Richelieu	--	--	28	--	--	50	--	--	9	--	--	9	--	--	3
Montreal	23	21	12	33	31	29	23	26	23	13	12	18	9	10	18
Ottawa-Hull	54	55	42	27	26	25	13	12	18	5	5	7	1	2	7
Kingston	57	65	60	31	24	26	9	9	6	3	3	6	0	0	3
Belleville	--	--	53	--	--	31	--	--	16	--	--	0	--	--	0
Peterborough	61	57	44	26	35	39	9	4	13	4	4	0	0	0	4
Oshawa	73	69	61	23	20	25	2	10	6	2	0	6	0	0	2
Toronto	61	51	32	26	31	31	10	14	18	2	4	14	1	1	5
Hamilton	50	45	36	32	35	32	11	12	15	4	5	10	3	3	7
St. Cath./Niagara	41	51	39	40	41	45	18	8	13	1	0	4	0	0	0
Kitchener	48	52	44	47	43	41	5	5	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brantford	43	52	48	38	38	19	14	10	29	5	0	5	0	0	0
Guelph	65	71	52	25	19	38	10	10	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
London	47	44	35	38	47	46	10	8	15	6	1	3	0	0	1
Windsor	43	44	42	33	31	27	21	19	22	2	7	7	2	0	2
Sarnia/Clearwater	54	63	50	42	29	33	4	4	13	0	4	4	0	0	0
Barrie	--	--	38	--	--	54	--	--	8	--	--	0	--	--	0
North Bay	45	45	24	25	30	48	15	15	19	10	10	10	5	0	0
Sudbury	24	43	30	63	46	43	8	5	16	5	5	8	0	0	3
Sault Ste. Marie	39	41	14	48	41	64	4	14	9	9	5	9	0	0	5
Thunder Bay	53	53	45	37	40	32	10	3	16	0	3	7	0	0	0
Winnipeg	41	32	29	36	35	30	9	17	20	7	6	7	7	10	14
Regina	43	39	45	28	39	29	23	14	16	4	6	6	2	2	4
Saskatoon	18	33	40	59	42	30	11	17	14	9	6	8	2	2	8
Lethbridge	38	45	30	52	50	50	10	5	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
Calgary	39	36	30	43	41	35	15	16	25	3	7	8	1	1	3
Red Deer	--	38	25	--	38	44	--	13	19	--	13	6	--	0	6
Edmonton	39	33	26	41	36	29	16	22	32	3	8	8	1	3	6
Kelowna	20	54	33	76	35	56	0	12	11	4	0	0	0	0	0
Kamloops	32	41	36	50	41	48	9	18	8	9	0	8	0	0	0
Abbotsford	--	--	38	--	--	55	--	--	7	--	--	0	--	--	0
Matsqui	--	55	--	--	35	--	--	10	--	--	0	--	--	0	--
Vancouver	33	36	21	43	46	37	18	14	31	4	2	9	3	2	2
Victoria	42	60	57	42	32	35	14	6	6	0	2	2	2	0	0
Nanaimo	--	--	45	--	--	20	--	--	20	--	--	15	--	--	0
Prince George	39	44	55	52	48	36	4	4	5	4	4	5	0	0	0