What is Happening to my Neighbourhood?

The socio-spatial restructuring of Vancouver, Calgary, Toronto, and Montréal 1970 to 2015

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Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership, University of Toronto

Warren Gill Lecture, SFU, Vancouver, December 2017
Larry Bourne, UofT: please mention "my deep respect for Warren as a scholar, a teacher, and as an individual; his energy, wit and insightful barbs were an inspiration to many colleagues and friends, including me. It is fitting that they have named a lecture series after him."
How are neighbourhoods changing?

Trends | Processes | Consequences | Policy Interventions

Trends
Processes
Consequences
Policy Interventions
NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE RESEARCH PARTNERSHIP

Trends | Processes | Consequences | Policy Interventions

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Two key national income trends — the growing gap between the rich and the poor and the progressively smaller middle-income group — have major social implications at the neighbourhood level that we are only beginning to identify, understand, and explain.
A new socio-spatial order with stronger (more rigid) divisions, and greater inequality

Peter Marcuse & Ronald van Kempen, 2000
Processes explaining the Trends

Global / National Forces

- Globalization
- Neoliberalism
- Financialization
- Economic Inequality & Polarization

What about regional & local forces?
Processes: Cause? Solution?

Government / Governance

- Effective Anti-Discrimination
- Affordable Housing
- Income Support (Tax, Transfers)
- Labour Market

Activities / Outcomes in 4 Key Areas
What is happening?

Urban Restructuring

- Economic INEQUALITY
- Social & Ethno-cultural POLARIZATION
- Spatial SEGREGATION & DISADVANTAGE
MACRO CONTEXT

Income Inequality & Taxes

Canada & its comparator nations
The Gini coefficient takes values between 0 for a perfectly equal income distribution where every person has the same income, and 1 which refers to a situation of maximum inequality where all income goes to one person. OECD average = 0.30.
Total Tax Revenues as a Percentage of GDP, 1965–2015
Canada and Three Groups of Countries

Nordic countries includes Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Norway. Western European countries includes France, Belgium, Austria, Germany and Netherlands. Anglo-American countries includes United States, United Kingdom, Ireland, New Zealand and Australia. Group percentages are unweighted averages. Data for Australia not yet available for 2015.
Why worry about more rigid socio-spatial divisions and greater inequality?

“Inequality promotes strategies that are more self-interested, less affiliative, often highly antisocial, more stressful, and likely to give rise to higher levels of violence, poorer community relations, and worse health.”

Why does Income Inequality Matter?

Index of:
- Life expectancy
- Math & Literacy
- Infant mortality
- Homicides
- Imprisonment
- Teenage births
- Trust
- Obesity
- Mental illness – incl. drug & alcohol addiction
- Social mobility
Income Polarization Between Census Tracts
Four Metropolitan Areas in Canada, 1970–2015

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

Notes: Calculated from census tract average individual income from all sources, before-tax. Income 1970–2005 and 2015 is from the Census. Income for 2010 is Canada Revenue Agency T1FF taxfiler data.
Income Inequality Between Census Tracts
Four Metropolitan Areas in Canada, 1970–2015

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

Notes: Calculated from census tract average individual income from all sources, before-tax. Income 1970–2005 and 2015 is from the Census. Income for 2010 is Canada Revenue Agency T1FF taxfiler data.

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October 2017
Income Inequality Between Census Tracts
Five Metropolitan Areas, 1970–2015

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Neighbourhood Income & Population
Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area, 1970–2015

Census Tract Average Income compared to the Vancouver CMA Average

- High Income (more than 20% above)
- Middle Income (within 20%)
- Low Income (more than 20% below)

Individual income from all sources, before-tax. Census tract boundaries correspond to those that existed in each census year.

Average Individual Income
Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area, 1980

Census Tract Average
Individual Income compared to the
Vancouver CMA Average of $14,746

- Very High - 140% to 201%
  (14 CTs, 8% of the region)
- High - 120% to 140%
  (24 CTs, 13% of the region)
- Middle Income - 80% to 120%
  (119 CTs, 66% of the region)
- Low - 60% to 80%
  (21 CTs, 12% of the region)
- Very Low - 43% to 60%
  (3 CTs, 2% of the region)
- Not Available

Average individual income from all sources, before-taxes.

Census tract boundaries are for 1981.

Map data revised
November 2017
Source: Statistics Canada,
Census Profile Series, 1991

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Average Individual Income
Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area, 1990

Census Tract Average Individual Income compared to the Vancouver CMA Average of $26,159

- **Very High** - 140% to 226%
  (18 CTs, 6% of the region)
- **High** - 120% to 140%
  (32 CTs, 11% of the region)
- **Middle Income** - 80% to 120%
  (201 CTs, 67% of the region)
- **Low** - 60% to 80%
  (44 CTs, 15% of the region)
- **Very Low** - 38% to 60%
  (3 CTs, 1% of the region)
- **Not Available**

Average individual income from all sources, before-tax.
Census tract boundaries are for 1991

November 2017
Source: Statistics Canada, Census Profile Series, 1991
Average Individual Income
Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area, 2000

Census Tract Average Individual Income compared to the Vancouver CMA Average of $31,421

- **Very High**: 140% to 297% (31 CTs, 8% of the region)
- **High**: 120% to 140% (38 CTs, 10% of the region)
- **Middle Income**: 80% to 120% (225 CTs, 58% of the region)
- **Low**: 60% to 80% (87 CTs, 23% of the region)
- **Very Low**: 42% to 60% (4 CTs, 1% of the region)
- **Not Available**

Average individual income from all sources, before-tax.
Census tract boundaries are for 2001.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census Profile Series, 2001

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Average Individual Income
Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area, 2015

Census Tract Average Individual Income compared to the Vancouver CMA Average of $46,821

- Very High - 140% to 463% (46 CTs, 10% of the region)
- High - 120% to 140% (51 CTs, 11% of the region)
- Middle Income - 80% to 120% (236 CTs, 51% of the region)
- Low - 60% to 80% (125 CTs, 27% of the region)
- Very Low - 41% to 50% (7 CTs, 2% of the region)
- Not Available

Average individual income from all sources, before-tax.

Census tract boundaries are for 2016.

November 2017
Source: Statistics Canada, Census Profile Series, 2016
www.NeighbourhoodChange.ca

David Hulchanski, December 2017
Neighbourhood Income & Population
Calgary Census Metropolitan Area, 1970–2015

Census Tract Average Income compared to the Calgary CMA Average
- High Income (more than 20% above)
- Middle Income (within 20%)
- Low Income (more than 20% below)

Individual income from all sources, before-tax. Census tract boundaries correspond to those that existed in each census year.

Neighbourhood Income & Population
Montréal Census Metropolitan Area, 1970–2015

Census Tract Average Income compared to the Montréal CMA Average

- High Income (more than 20% above)
- Middle Income (within 20%)
- Low Income (more than 20% below)

Individual income from all sources, before-tax. Census tract boundaries correspond to those that existed in each census year.

Neighbourhood Income & Population
Toronto Census Metropolitan Area, 1970–2015

Census Tract Average Income compared to the Toronto CMA Average
- High Income (more than 20% above)
- Middle Income (within 20%)
- Low Income (more than 20% below)

Individual income from all sources, before-tax. Census tract boundaries correspond to those that existed in each census year.

Neighbourhood Income & Population
City of Toronto, 1970–2015

Census Tract Average Income compared to the Toronto CMA Average

- High Income (more than 20% above)
- Middle Income (within 20%)
- Low Income (more than 20% below)

Individual income from all sources, before-tax. Census tract boundaries correspond to those that existed in each census year.

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

Census Tract Average Income compared to the Toronto CMA Average
- High Income (more than 20% above)
- Middle Income (within 20%)
- Low Income (more than 20% below)

The "905 region" here includes Peel and York and parts of Halton, Durham, Dufferin and Simcoe regions.

Individual income from all sources, before-tax. Census tract boundaries correspond to those that existed in each census year.

Average Individual Income, Metro Toronto, 1980

Census Tract Average Individual Income compared to the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area Average of $14,384

- Very High - 140% to 403% (38 CTS, 9% of the City)
- High - 120% to 140% (28 CTS, 7% of the City)
- Middle Income - 80% to 120% (236 CTS, 56% of the City)
- Low - 60% to 80% (116 CTS, 27% of the City)
- Very Low - 42% to 60% (5 CTS, 1% of the City)
- Not Available

Metro Toronto in 1981 was a regional municipality which included Scarborough, North York, Etobicoke, York, East York and City of Toronto. This is not to be confused with the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) which is the larger region that also includes municipalities in the "905 region" adjacent to Metro Toronto.


Notes: (1) Census tract and municipal boundaries are for 1981.
(2) Average individual income is for persons 15 and over and includes income from all sources before tax.

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Average Individual Income, Metro Toronto, 1990

Metro Toronto in 1991 was a regional municipality which included Scarborough, North York, Etobicoke, York, East York and City of Toronto. This is not to be confused with the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) which is the larger region that also includes municipalities in the "905 region" adjacent to Metro Toronto.

Census Tract Average Individual Income compared to the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area Average of $28,817

- Very High - 140% to 297% (53 CTs, 11% of the City)
- High - 120% to 140% (34 CTs, 7% of the City)
- Middle Income - 80% to 120% (236 CTs, 50% of the City)
- Low - 60% to 80% (141 CTs, 30% of the City)
- Very Low - 44% to 60% (9 CTs, 2% of the City)
- Not Available

Source: Statistics Canada, Census Profile Series, 1991
Notes: (1) Census tract and municipal boundaries are for 1991
(2) Average individual income is for persons 15 and over and includes income from all sources before tax.
Average Individual Income, City of Toronto, 2000

Census Tract Average Individual Income compared to the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area Average of $35,618

- Very High - 140% to 701% (72 CTs, 14% of the City)
- High - 120% to 140% (23 CTs, 4% of the City)
- Middle Income - 80% to 120% (167 CTs, 32% of the City)
- Low - 60% to 80% (212 CTs, 41% of the City)
- Very Low - 38% to 60% (46 CTs, 9% of the City)
- Not Available

Source: Statistics Canada, Census Profile Series, 2001
Notes: (1) Census tract and municipal boundaries are for 2001.
(2) Average individual income is for persons 15 and over and includes income from all sources, before-tax.

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April 2015
Average Individual Income, City of Toronto, 2015

Census Tract Average Individual Income compared to the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area Average of $50,479

Very High - 140% to 831% (94 CTs, 17% of the City)
High - 120% to 140% (32 CTs, 6% of the City)
Middle Income - 80% to 120% (165 CTs, 29% of the City)
Low - 60% to 80% (190 CTs, 33% of the City)
Very Low - 37% to 60% (88 CTs, 15% of the City)
Not Available

Source: Statistics Canada, Census Profile Series, 2016

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Average Individual Income, Toronto Census Metropolitan Area, 2015

Census Tract Average Individual Income compared to the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area Average of $50,479

- Very High - 140% to 831% (139 CTs, 12% of the region)
- High - 120% to 140% (81 CTs, 7% of the City)
- Middle Income - 80% to 120% (483 CTs, 42% of the region)
- Low - 60% to 80% (335 CTs, 29% of the City)
- Very Low - 37% to 60% (107 CTs, 9% of the region)
- Not Available

Notes: (1) Census tract and municipal boundaries are for 2016.
(2) Average Individual Income includes income from all sources, before-tax.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census Profile Series, 2016

October 2017

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Middle Income Neighbourhoods
Five Metropolitan Areas, 1970–2015

Point Change in Share of Census Tracts
- Montréal (-7% since 1970; 0% since 2000)
- Toronto (-22% since 1970; -5% since 2000)
- Calgary (-25% since 1970; -7% since 2000)
- Vancouver (-21% since 1970; -8% since 2000)
- Chicago (-22% since 1970; -2% since 2000)

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


Natalie P. Voorhees Center, University of Illinois at Chicago and University of Toronto November 2017
Middle Income Neighbourhoods
Vancouver CMA, Five Municipalities, 1970–2015

Middle income neighbourhoods are those census tracts which had an average individual income within 20% above or below the Vancouver census metropolitan area (CMA) average income.

In 2015, the Vancouver CMA average individual income before-tax was $46,821.

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

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Point Change in Middle Income Share
- City of Vancouver (-25% since 1970; +13% since 2000)
- Burnaby (-37% since 1970; -19% since 2000)
- Richmond (-56% since 1970; -21% since 2000)
- Surrey (-63% since 1970; -24% since 2000)
- North Vancouver (-11% since 1970; -12% since 2000)
- Vancouver CMA (-21% since 1970; -8% since 2000)
What can be done?

Policy options

- Economic INEQUALITY
- Socio-spatial POLARIZATION / EXCLUSION
- Spatial SEGREGATION & DISADVANTAGE
Cause? Solution?

Government / Governance

Effective Anti-Discrimination
Affordable Housing
Income Support (Tax, Transfers)
Labour Market

Activities / Outcomes in 4 Key Areas
Why Have Poorer Neighbourhoods Stagnated Economically while the Richer Have Flourished?: Neighbourhood Income Inequality in Canadian Cities

Wen-Hao Chen, John Myles and Garnett Picot

[Paper first received, July 2010; in final form, November 2010]

Abstract

Higher-income neighbourhoods in Canada’s eight largest cities flourished economically during the past quarter-century, while lower-income communities stagnated. This paper identifies some of the underlying processes that led to this outcome. Increasing family income inequality drove much of the rise in neighbourhood inequality. Increased spatial economic segregation, the increasing tendency of ‘like to live nearby like’, also played a role. It is shown that these changes originated in the labour market. Changes in investment, pension income and government transfers played a very minor role. Yet it was not unemployment that differentiated the richer from poorer neighbourhoods. Rather, it was the type of job found, particularly the annual earnings generated. The end result has been little improvement in economic resources in poor neighbourhoods during a period of substantial economic growth, and a rise in neighbourhood income inequality.

“... it was not unemployment that differentiated the richer from poorer neighbourhoods. Rather, it was the type of job found, particularly the annual earnings generated.”
Manufacturing Job Share in City of Toronto, 1987–2015

1987: 20.1% share; 267,000 jobs
2015: 9.1% share; 130,000 jobs

Statistics Canada Labour force survey estimates (LFS) by North American Industry Classification System (NAICS), annual.
1,200 rental high-rise buildings in Toronto
Built from 1950s to early 1980s
Most are in clusters of 5 or more
280,000 apartments
Half of Toronto’s rental housing
Few community services
Aging buildings
Often overcrowded
Energy inefficient

SOLUTION
Tower Neighbourhood Renewal

www.towerrenewal.ca
era.on.ca/blogs/towerrenewal
www.cugr.ca
Policy Options
for the Divided City

• LABOUR MARKET
• HOUSING
• INCOME
• ANTI-DISCRIMINATION

1. Inclusionary zoning
2. Rental housing rehabilitation
3. Eliminate vacancy decontrol
4. Maintain existing rental buildings
5. “Tower Renewal” initiative
Policy Options  continued

6. Second suite incentive program
7. Encourage rooming houses, SROs, supportive housing
8. Reduce parking requirements & related reg. reforms
9. Prov. share of land transfer tax to municipalities
10. Energy program for low-income households
11. Support small independent neighbourhood businesses
12. Active social / community development planning
13. ____________________________
14. ____________________________
Research Required

• The analysis of power in and over cities

• How power is exercised by the drivers that possess power

• How the impacts of the exercise of power over cities can be better guided

Peter Marcuse (2016)
"For the Repoliticization of Global City Research."

City & Community, 15(2), 116.
Urban Governance: Justice Denied

A just city demands
“over and over, that all
development be, at some level,
in the service of every one.”

Mark Kingwell (2008)
For further information
www.NeighbourhoodChange.ca

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

Funding: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada