

**MOBILITY AND HEALTH
IN BEASLEY NEIGHBORHOOD
HAMILTON, ONTARIO**

By

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A Thesis

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Abstract

While immigration and immigrant health have received widespread attention in the social science and health literature, the phenomenon of non-migrant mobility – changing residence within a neighborhood or city – is less well-studied. This research examines interview findings in the context of available socioeconomic data to generate hypotheses about the relationship between mobility and health in the Hamilton neighborhood of Beasley. Since the period of Hamilton’s industrial expansion in the late 1800s, Beasley neighborhood has served as a landing point for new immigrants to Canada. While immigration remains a source of Beasley’s high mobility rates, non-migrant mobility (within census tract) accounts for a significant proportion of mobility within Beasley. The socioeconomic circumstances surrounding immigrant and non-migrant moves are dissimilar. Immigrants to Canada are motivated by “pull” factors such as economic and educational opportunity, and increased access to health services for their families. Non-migrant movers are “pushed” to move by economic instability and a lack of affordable, quality housing. In addition, the health effects of mobility differ for immigrant and non-migrant movers. While existing studies suggest that immigrant health improves upon arrival (Hyman 2001), the health of non-migrant movers may be compromised by their mobility status. The thesis generates hypotheses for the study of urban mobility and concludes with methodological suggestions for future research.

Acknowledgements

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Just prior to the completion of this thesis, the Hamilton Skateboard Association hosted the 10th Anniversary Beasley Skateboarding Competition. In support of youth initiatives in Beasley neighborhood, this research project provided the Hamilton Skateboard Association with \$40 worth of bottled water for the July event.

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Chapter I

Introduction

Anthropological studies of human migration have traditionally focused on the rural-to-urban migration that accompanies the explosive growth of cities in the developing world. More recently, anthropologists have explored the phenomena of international migration, diasporic communities, and ethnic enclaves within the larger societies of North America and Europe. Building on earlier typological and adaptationist models, the discipline has developed a sophisticated literature on cultural mediation and identity construction within the local and transnational networks of migrants.

Despite the recognition within urban anthropology of a role for mobility in the life of the city, the majority of migration anthropology tends to focus on the arrival and subsequent mobility of international migrants. There is little evidence in the anthropological literature of concern for the mobility experiences of non-immigrant movers.

This observation may be an artefact of the methodological challenge of incorporating movers into ethnographic and epidemiologic studies. Absence from one of a series of data sets often results in the exclusion of movers' values from a study's results. Difficulty tracking movers, whose residences and telephone numbers change, limits their availability for contact or follow-up by the researcher. As a result, unless mobility is explicitly made a factor in study design and sampling, as it is in many immigrant studies, movers' perspectives are excluded from anthropological research.

The lack of attention to non-immigrant movers is less apparent in other disciplines. The fields of demography, economics, education, and geography are beginning to track the impact of population mobility on such diverse areas as population structure, income, employment, educational achievement, and housing values.

The research on which this thesis is based arose in conjunction with the Deconstructing Determinants of Health at the Local Level research project (Eyles *et al.* 1999) in the summer of 2000. City planners, health analysts, agency managers and social service providers in the Canadian city of Hamilton were canvassed to elicit the range of health-related concerns across the city. Mobility was a consistent theme in informants' descriptions of Hamilton's core neighborhoods. In particular, informants made reference to Beasley neighborhood, a historic sixty-block area in the heart of Hamilton, as an area where both immigration and non-immigrant mobility occur at high rates.

This research distinguishes immigrant (international) migration from non-immigrant migration, termed non-migrant mobility here. The research has three objectives:

- (1) To describe the context of population mobility in Beasley neighborhood. This thesis describes two significant forms of population mobility in Beasley neighborhood: immigration and non-migrant mobility. Further, it argues that the mobility experiences of immigrant and non-migrant movers are dissimilar, and that these mobility experiences affect individual health in different ways.
- (2) To hypothesize the relationship between mobility and health in Beasley residents.
- (3) To provide direction for future investigations into mobility and urban migration in Canada, and in Beasley specifically.

This study addresses the above objectives and provides direction for future research on urban mobility. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the historical development of Beasley as a neighborhood within the City of Hamilton. A brief demographic, geographic, and socioeconomic profile of Beasley illustrates the social, economic, and ethnic diversity in this downtown neighborhood.

Chapter 3 reviews the anthropological literature on human migration. Early studies of nomadic and pastoral peoples were characterized by functionalist and evolutionary explanations of migratory behaviour. Though anthropologists now recognize the limitations of typological classifications of migratory patterns, typologies persist as a method of categorizing the broad spectrum of migration behaviour observable. Historical-structural and transnational analyses complement local approaches that focus on identity, gender, kinship and ethnicity as crucial factors in the migratory experiences of individuals and groups.

Chapter 4 describes the quantitative and qualitative methods employed in this research. Interview data and the results of the community consultation are supported by 1996 Census of Canada findings, Hamilton-Wentworth District School Board data, and health service utilization records. The limitations of the current study are explored in detail, as are the strengths and weaknesses of the available data.

The results are presented in Chapter 5. Beasley neighborhood is an important settlement location for new immigrants to Canada. While many of Beasley's movers are immigrants, qualitative and quantitative evidence suggests that the experience of non-migrant movers differs significantly from that of immigrants. Immigrants to Canada are

motivated by the “pull” factors of economic and educational opportunity, and improved health and social services for their families. Non-migrant movers are motivated by the “push” factors of income insufficiency, unemployment, and poor housing quality.

Analysis of health service utilization data suggests that Beasley residents experience respiratory illness and accidental injury at higher rates than city residents overall. Interview findings suggest that immigrant and non-migrant movers exhibit a qualitative difference in access to health and social service resources. Further, it appears that while immigrants’ health may improve upon arrival (Hyman 2001), non-migrant movers’ health may be challenged by inconsistencies in health and social service provision which are caused by their mobility status.

Chapter 6 places the research findings in the context of the existing literature on immigration and urban mobility in the North American and European contexts. Concentration of immigration in urban core areas is a phenomenon widely reported in North America and Europe. While existing studies address poverty, education, employment and health in immigrants, little is known about the mobility experiences of non-migrant movers. Still less is known about the relationship between internal mobility and health.

Suggestions for future research are an important component of this study. The thesis concludes in Chapter 7 with a discussion of the implications for future research on non-migrant mobility. The lack of theoretical consensus that characterizes migration studies offers opportunities for researchers to fill the gap with creative approaches. The use of a biocultural paradigm, merging measures of biological well-being with perspectives from political economy, presents a challenge for research in this area.

Chapter II

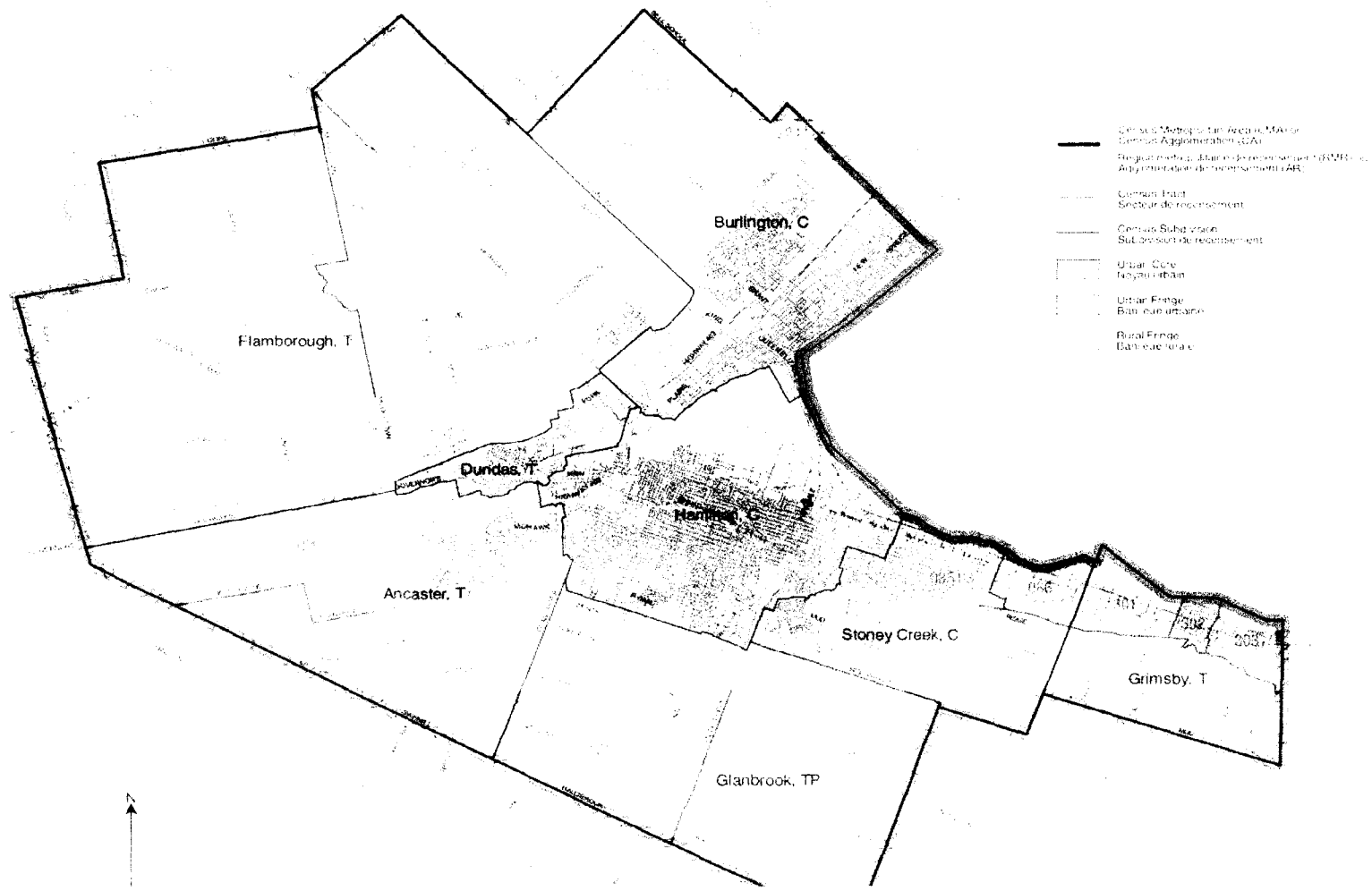
Beasley Neighborhood: An Overview

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a survey of the neighborhood of Beasley. A brief historical sketch of the area traces Beasley's development within the larger community of Hamilton-Wentworth. The chapter includes descriptions of the physical environment as well as a brief demographic and socioeconomic profile of Beasley residents. The information presented in this chapter is drawn from a number of sources: observations made by myself and others on walks through the neighborhood with local consultants (Appendix I); interviews with local informants and community consultants (Appendix II; Appendix III); existing community profiles (Hamilton Community Care Access Centre 1999a; Hamilton Community Care Access Centre 1999b) made available through the support of community partners in the Deconstructing the Determinants of Health at the Local Level research project (Eyles *et al.* 1999); historical sources (Evans 1970; Weaver 1982); and data from the 1996 Census of Canada (Statistics Canada 1999). The triangulation of interview data with census data and existing published sources is an attempt to control for subjective bias in the observations made by myself, local informants and community consultants. This chapter gives the reader a general impression of the neighborhood under study.

Where Census of Canada figures are cited, the terms "City of Hamilton", "city", and "Hamilton" will be used to refer to the census tracts contained in the city proper. The City of Hamilton includes the area bounded by Lake Ontario and by the former

municipalities of Stoney Creek to the east, Glanbrook to the south, Ancaster and Dundas to the west, and Burlington to the north (Map 2.1). In 1996, the population of the City of Hamilton is 322 352 (Statistics Canada 1999). Following municipal amalgamation in 2000, a new regional level of government manages the municipal affairs of Hamilton, Stoney Creek, Glanbrook, Ancaster, Dundas, Grimsby and Flamborough. The terms “Region of Hamilton-Wentworth”, “region”, and “Hamilton-Wentworth” will be used to refer to the census tracts contained in this large, regional authority. In 1996, the population of Hamilton-Wentworth was 467 799.



Map 2.1: City of Hamilton (shaded) and Region of Hamilton-Wentworth (grey border) (Statistics Canada 1999)

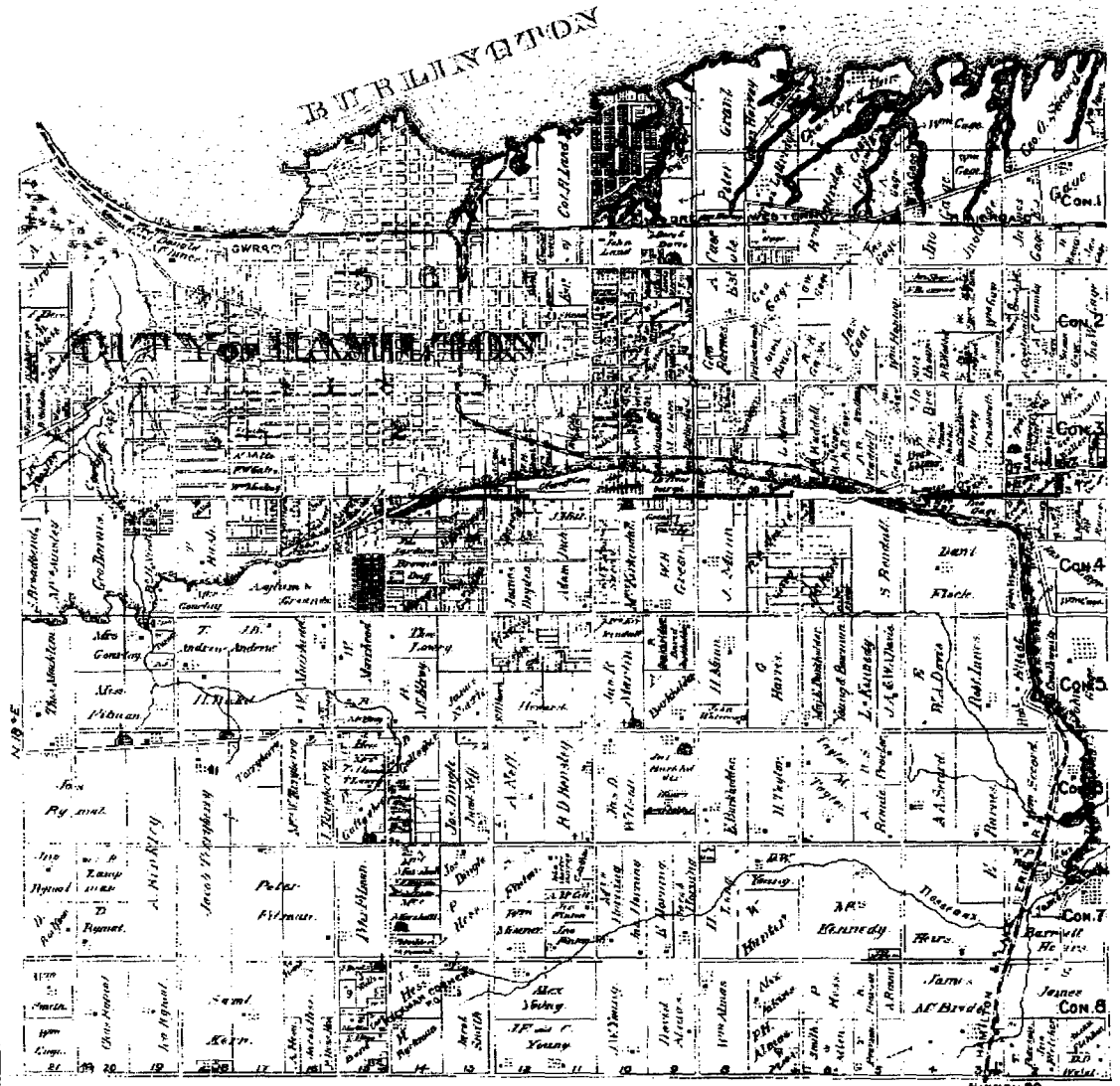
2.2 The History of the City of Hamilton and Beasley Neighborhood

As early as 1616, the writings of French missionaries record European trade with indigenous peoples at the Western edge of Lake Ontario. These writings estimate an aboriginal population of 40 000 occupying the “Head of the Lake” region. Weakened by disease in the 1630s, this group faced pressure from an expansionist Iroquois confederacy south of Lake Ontario. By 1650, much of the population had retreated up the Grand River and its tributaries. By 1700 it appears that the Head of the Lake region was occupied by aboriginal peoples on an intermittent, seasonal basis only (Evans 1970; Weaver 1982).

In the 1800s European settlers to the region capitalized on the geographical proximity of the sheltered Burlington Bay and the Grand’s fast-flowing streams. Milling, logging, and commercial industries spurred speculation in land and development by individuals such as Richard Beasley, James Durand, James Crooks and George Hamilton (Weaver 1982).

Established in 1816, the original town of Hamilton occupied the land now known as Beasley neighborhood (Map 2.2). Much of the original town plot is now called by the name honouring Richard Beasley, a land speculator and the original owner of the land on which Dundurn Castle now stands. The City’s incorporation was drastically shaped by the events of the War of 1812-1814. The American attack on Fort George in May of 1813 forced British Brigadier-General John Vincent to abandon the Niagara frontier garrisons and retreat to the Queenston Heights on the escarpment overlooking Burlington Bay. Richard Beasley’s house became Vincent’s military headquarters (Weaver 1982).

BARTON, County of Wentworth. BAY



- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. T. Lawry | 11. Jas. McKeown. | 21. Robt. Barring. | 31. Mrs. Gilchrist. | 41. A. Harper. |
| 2. J. Powell | 12. H. Young. | 22. M. Bull. | 32. Geo. Shagrir. | 42. F. Ber. |
| 3. Chapman | 13. H. McKe. | 23. Mrs. Howard's He. | 33. P. A. May. | 43. W. Anderson. |
| 4. M. O'Connell. | 14. C. Duncan. | 24. Chas. Street. | 34. Jas. Oliver. | 44. C. Magan. |
| 5. Jas. Jardine. | 15. Henry McKer. | 25. Jas. Murray. | 35. M. J. Duffy. | 45. A. Harper. |
| 6. A. H. Freeman. | 16. S. Williams. | 26. Ben. Bensley. | 36. H. J. Anderson. | 46. T. Lawry. |
| 7. Geo. Seddon. | 17. Jas. Neff. | 27. T. Duncan. | 37. H. J. Anderson. | 47. F. A. Bull. |
| 8. J. H. Taylor. | 18. A. Neff. | 28. Jas. Taylor. | 38. Wm. R. Jus. Gage. | 48. F. W. Dayfoot. |
| 9. Parsonage. | 19. T. Kendall. | 29. Wm. Walter, Jr. | 39. Wm. R. Jus. Gage. | 49. Jas. Proctor. |
| 10. H. Wells. | 20. C. Case. | 30. J. Flewilton. | 40. M. Bruce. | 50. T. Murphy. |
| | | | | 51. Thos. Beasley. |

Map 2.2: City of Hamilton (yellow) and Surrounding Land Ownership Historical (Page and Smith 1875)

In the winter of 1813, Captain James Durand, a company commander for the British forces at Queenstown, became critical of the conduct of the war. Poorly-provisioned soldiers camped in Durand's Barton Township fields, burned his fences for firewood and commandeered supplies from local farmers. Durand's vocal criticisms of British army policy and discipline forced his removal from command. In 1815 he sold his Barton Township farm to George Hamilton and fled to Eastern Ontario (Weaver 1982).

Within a year of the purchase, Hamilton and his neighbour to the north, Nathaniel Hughson, petitioned the Crown for the construction of a courthouse and jail on the Barton property. The Town of Hamilton was established in 1816, and between 1816 and 1830 land sales flourished. In 1833, the Town of Hamilton was officially incorporated and elected its first City Council and Board of Police (Evans 1970; Weaver 1982).

The Beasley family monument can be viewed behind the parish hall at Christ Church Cathedral on James Street North. A historic reminder of the city's early days, Christ Church Cathedral is a beautiful and historic edifice. Its lot in the centre of Beasley neighborhood was donated by Nathaniel Hughson in 1835. The imposing church structure was one of many designed to advertise Hamilton as a "community of substance" (Weaver 1982: 64). Until the early 20th century a wide stream at the rear of the church property flowed into the harbour, allowing parishioners to arrive at the church by boat (Weaver 1982).

Proximity to rail and water transportation made Beasley a centre for manufacturing development throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. A few of these industrial buildings remain, such as those on Mary and James Streets. Much of Beasley's

housing stock is duplex and row housing built to serve the needs of a densely populated manufacturing area (City of Hamilton, Social and Public Health Services Department 2001).

Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, Hamilton's industrial economy was closely tied to immigration. The production of iron, steel, textiles, and manufactured goods (stoves, tools, farm implements, industrial machinery) was fueled by burgeoning Canadian and international markets for both raw and processed materials. Immigration provided both labourer and consumer for the industrial boom. Factory expansions brought thousands of workers to Hamilton. In 1900, immigration from the United Kingdom supplied two-thirds of immigrants. After 1910, significant waves of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe began to shift the ethnic make-up of Hamilton's population structure. "The single male labourer, typical of this sojourning stage of immigration, was highly mobile and laboured long hours" (Weaver 1982: 93).

Between 1896 and 1945 the land use patterns of Hamilton's central core were firmly wedded to manufacturing. Industries, working class neighborhoods, and commercial districts dominated the area. The city's housing stock nearly tripled between 1901 and 1921, with the bulk of building permits issued for sites in the downtown core. While there was some attempt at revitalization, there was little of the growth-related high-rise development that characterized the skylines of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. The environmental effects of industry (noise, fumes, rail traffic, factory size) deterred wealthy and upper-middle class Hamiltonians from living close to the core (Evans 1970; Weaver 1982).

A 1937 housing study, prepared by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, documented conditions in a twenty-block neighborhood north of Main St. One in ten of the houses was occupied by an owner; the overwhelming majority were rented. Low-cost apartments were located in converted houses, three-storey tenements, and rooms above stores. Eighty percent of toilet facilities were deemed unsanitary. Seventy-eight percent of apartments lacked central heating. One-third were infested with vermin. Two-thirds of families received government relief. Though no doubt altered by renovation and time, much of the housing described in the 1937 report still stands today in Beasley and Landsdale neighborhoods (Figure 2.1) (Weaver 1982: 145).

The period between the World Wars saw an increase in apartment construction and the beginning of the massive suburban development that would characterize post-war urban development in North America. Land speculators eyeing post-war building booms purchased suburban parcels of land, driving core real estate values downward. Suburban construction in the late 1940s, coupled with the construction of a new Dofasco plant in 1949, reinforced the deterioration of central city property values (Weaver 1982).

As in many North American cities, the mid-20th century brought urban revitalization projects to Hamilton's core neighborhoods. Some of Beasley's industrial architecture was replaced with concrete and cinder block architecture reflecting the modernizing influence of contemporary urban development schemes. Many of the existing high rise apartments and public service buildings in Beasley, built in the 1960s and 1970s, reflect efforts by city planners to cope with a shift in the core away from manufacturing and toward a service and retail economy (Figure 2.2). While these efforts and their resultant aesthetics have been criticized (City of Hamilton, Social and Public

Health Services Department 2001: 9), they are the products of local and large-scale political and economic forces and are a shared feature of urban geographies across Canada.



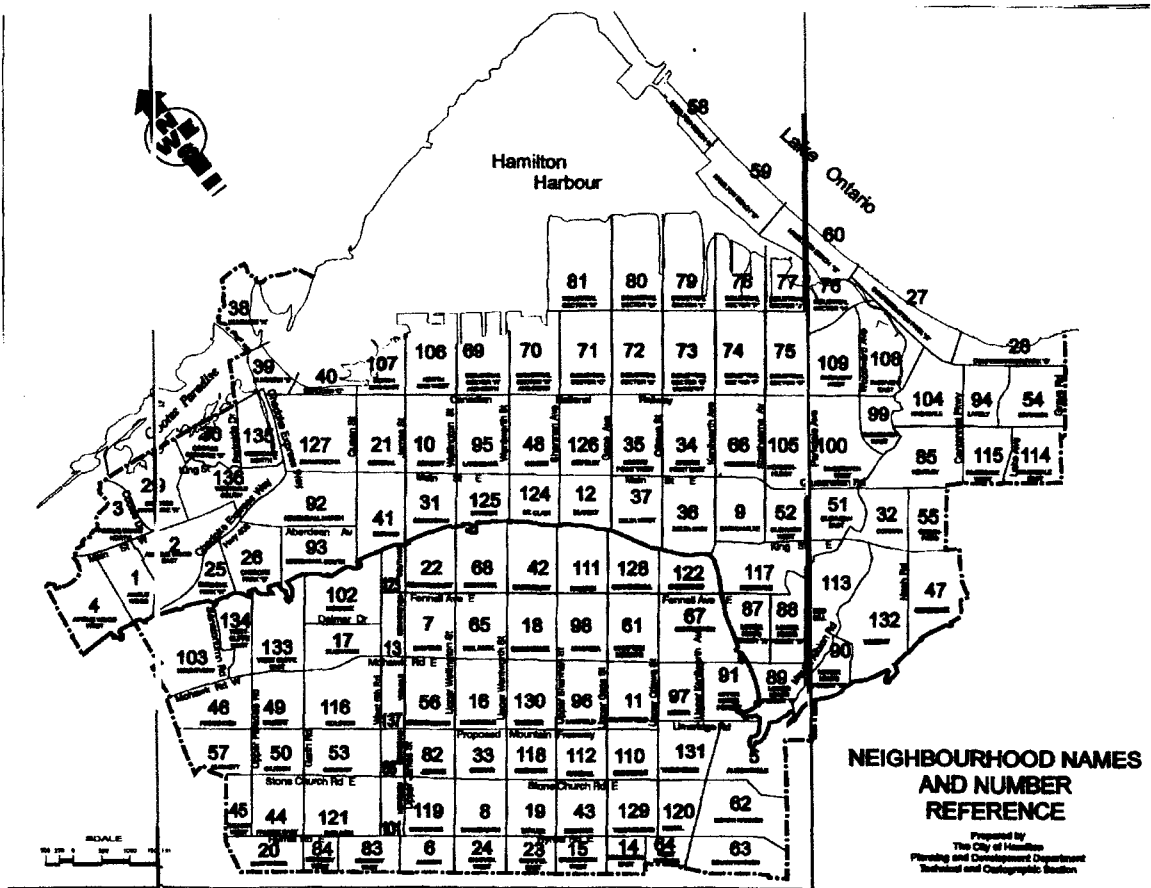
Figure 2.1 : Historic Row Housing on Catherine St.



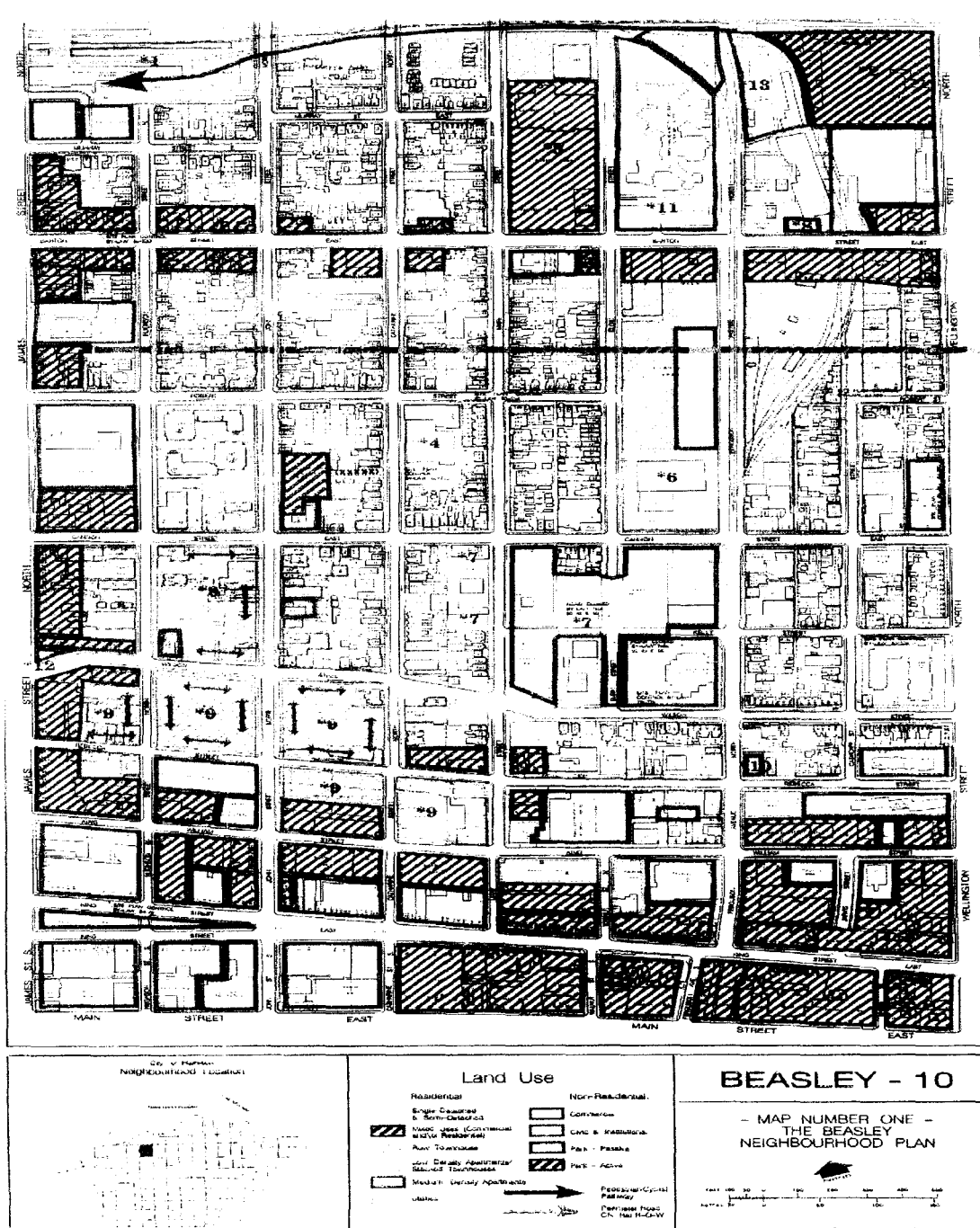
Figure 2.2 : Parking Lots and Apartment Buildings in Beasley Neighborhood

2.3 The Physical Environment of Beasley

The City of Hamilton defines Beasley neighborhood (Map 2.3) as the area bounded on the north by the Canadian National Railway freight yards (south of Strachan St.); on the east by Wellington St. North, on the south by Main St. East; and on the west by James St. North (Map 2.4). Figures from the 1996 Census of Canada indicate that Beasley is among the most densely populated of Hamilton's neighborhoods, with its 5335 residents spread evenly across its two census tracts, an area covering 1.1 square km. Among the populous census tracts that comprise the downtown core, Beasley's population density (5033/km²) is slightly lower than that of Corktown (5117/km²), Stinson (6857/km²), and Landsdale (8398/km²). The Crown Point neighborhood in the city's north east has a population density of 5146 persons/km². The only other census division approaching these densities is the tiny southwest Kirkendall census tract, with its 2120 residents living in a population density of 6235/km². These dense aggregations of people contrast sharply with densities in suburban communities on Hamilton Mountain (eg. 1514 persons/km² in the Mountain study neighborhood) or in the City of Hamilton (2621 persons/km²) (Statistics Canada 1999).



Map 2.3: City of Hamilton Neighborhoods; Beasley Neighborhood is Shaded
(City of Hamilton, Planning and Development Department 1998)



Map 2.4: Beasley Neighborhood Land Use

(City of Hamilton, Planning and Development Department 1998)

In its residential areas, Beasley's population density is extremely high. While the northwest corner of the neighborhood contains several blocks of single family dwellings, housing is dominated by large multi-family rental units, subsidized housing complexes, and apartments. Beasley's lower overall population density vis-à-vis other downtown neighborhoods is likely due to the large land area covered by parking lots, municipal services, industrial workplaces, and retail outlets that serve the downtown core. The Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Detention Centre occupies two large blocks in the north east corner of Beasley. The Hamilton-Wentworth Police Station, James St. Armouries, Central Fire Station, and Provincial Court offices, also occupy substantial blocks of land (Figure 2.2).

Located in the centre of the neighborhood, Beasley Park (Figures 2.3 and 2.4) occupies nearly half a city block. A brightly-painted and well-maintained play structure and skateboard half-pipe stand directly adjacent to the busy intersection at Wilson and Mary Streets. Steel fencing at the play structure's edge is low in height with many gaps. The Beasley Community Policing Centre (Figure 2.5) occupies a building in the centre of the park, providing a measure of security for children attending nearby Dr. J. Edgar Davey Elementary School. The centre operates a school snack program and after-school activities for children attending Dr. J. Edgar Davey Elementary School (Figures 2.6 and 2.7).



Figure 2.3: Beasley Park.
Dr. J. Edgar Davey Elementary School is visible on the left; the Beasley Community Policing Centre can be seen on the right.



Figure 2.4: Beasley Park Playground Structure and Skateboard Park



Figure 2.5: Beasley Community Policing Centre

To the left is the Ontario Hydro Transformer Station which serves much of Hamilton's downtown.



Figure 2.6: Dr. J. Edgar Davey Elementary School



Figure 2.7: Playground Structure at Dr. J. Edgar Davey Elementary School

To the south of Beasley Park, Wilson St. forms a physical boundary for residents, especially children. Loud, rapid traffic flows mark this busy, one-way street that flows toward the downtown core. Beasley Park is not fenced on the Wilson St. side. Rental advertisements and burned-out windows are visible in one strip of Wilson St. housing that a community consultant describes as frequented by drug users. Wellington St. is also busy, with loud, rapid traffic flows and few crosswalks. There are two large apartment complexes at 50 and 125 Wellington St.; community consultants report that these buildings are a focus of concern for health and social service providers (Appendix I).

Much of Beasley's industrial sector is located immediately north of Dr. J. Edgar Davey Elementary School. Across the street from the playground, an automotive paint shop uses aerosolized benzene-based materials, reports one community consultant. Adjacent to the paint shop is a dry cleaning business. Though neither owner is a resident of Beasley, both are cognizant of the impact of their businesses on the local community. Consultants report that the paint shop owner donates generously to the school, and the dry cleaning operator uses "green" materials where possible. A paper fibre product company down the street uses "green containers" and provides "safe storage" for its waste products (Appendix I).

On Beasley Park's western edge, a large brick building (Figure 2.8) appears to house an extensive textile operation. Bolts of cloth are visible through the upper windows. Windows left open suggest a lack of air conditioning. Observers report that employees appear to be young, female immigrants with brief job tenure (Appendix I).

A former Volkswagen dealership on a corner of the business district sits unoccupied. Consultants describe this land, the site of an old railway siding, as heavily

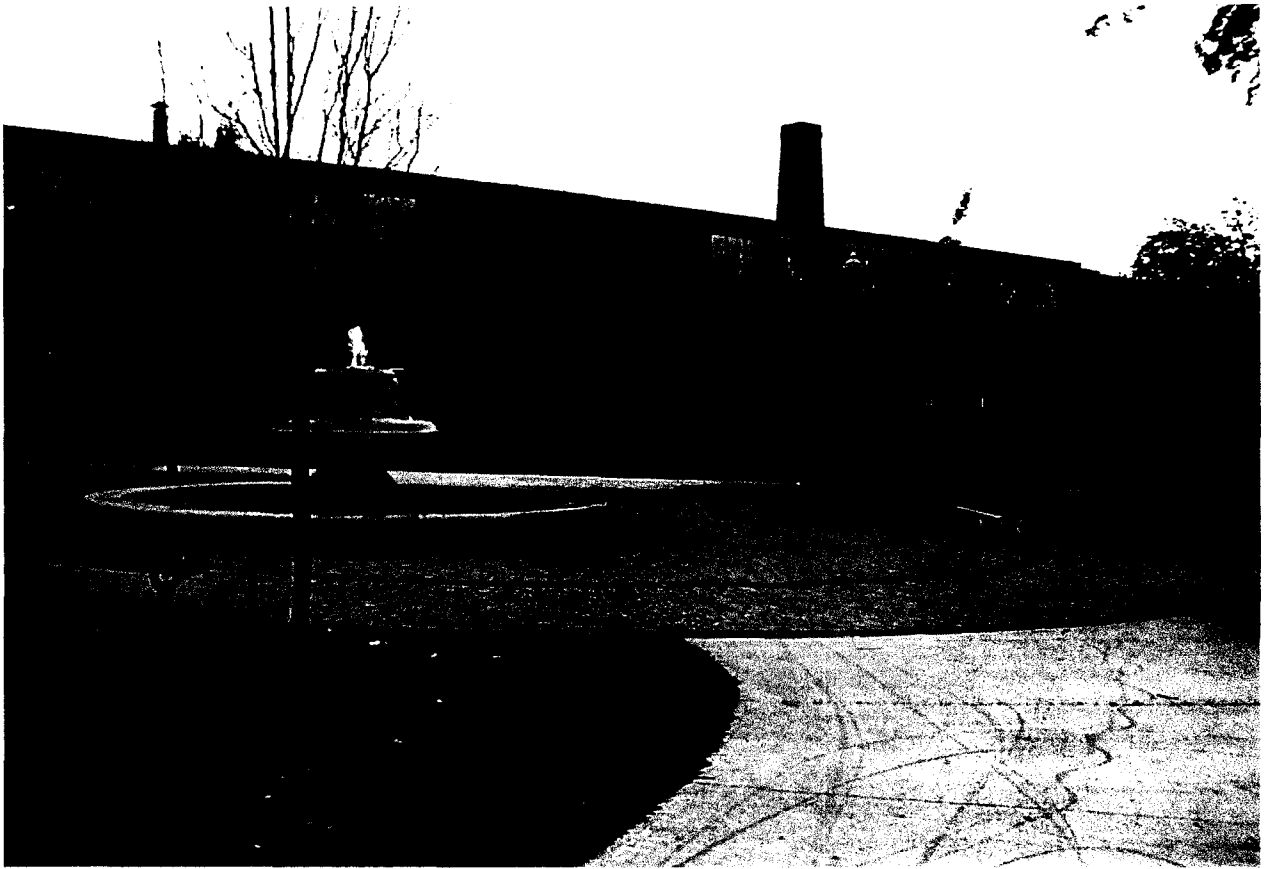


Figure 2.8: Textile Factory Adjacent to Beasley Park

polluted. It cannot be sold, and the owners cannot obtain city permission for use of the land in its present state (Appendix II).

Near the northern boundary of the neighborhood, the Barton St. retail sector contains a Giant Tiger, a Food Basics, a Beer Store, a sporting goods outlet, numerous small restaurants and pubs. At the corner of Barton and Wellington Sts. sits the historic Wellington Tavern. Described by consultants as a formerly quiet establishment, the tavern is an increasing focus of community concern, with neighbours reporting numerous security problems requiring police intervention (Appendix I; Appendix II).

Although there are two large grocery stores in the area, consultants report that most residents purchase daily staples at local variety/convenience stores. A quick browse through Wellington and Wilson St. convenience stores reveals a range of staple products (bread, rice, flour, canned and imported vegetables). Across from the row houses of Wilson St., shops and restaurants occupy well-maintained buildings. Professional law and medical practices occupy several older homes in the area (Appendix I).

2.4 A Demographic and Socioeconomic Profile of Beasley Residents

The 1996 Census of Canada lists Beasley's total population at 5335 residents (Statistics Canada 1999). This population is spread over two census tracts, CT 049 and CT 063 (Map 2.5). These two census tracts exhibit significant differences in demographic characteristics. To avoid the assumption of homogeneity across the neighbourhood, and



**Map 2.5: Beasley (inset) and City of Hamilton Census Tracts
(Statistics Canada 1999)**

to facilitate comparisons between local areas within Beasley, these census tracts will be described separately. Meant to provide a general description of the area under study, this profile is a cursory examination of demographic and socioeconomic conditions in Beasley neighborhood (Table 2.1). Immigration, ethnicity, income, education, and family structure will be examined in greater detail in chapter 4.

Table 2.1: Summary of 1996 Socioeconomic Indicators for Beasley Census Tracts and the City of Hamilton

	CT 049	CT 063	City of Hamilton
Population	2233	3098	624360
Immigrant Population (%)	29	43	27
Ethnocultural Minority (%)	32	25	11
Mean Income	\$ 12 936	\$ 13 962	\$ 27 556
Unemployment (%)	21.6	24.6	8.1
Occupied Dwellings Rented (%)	90	67	35
Unattached Individuals (%)	24.0	16.3	13.4
Lone Parent Families (%)	37.9	27.6	14.3

Beasley neighborhood is a multi-ethnic community with a large proportion of newcomer immigrants. While 27% of Hamilton's population are immigrants to Canada, figures for CT 049 and CT 063 report immigrant proportions of 29% and 43% respectively. Clearly CT 063, the northern Beasley census tract, is an important location for the settlement of immigrants. Only 46% of residents of CT 063 report a mother tongue of English, compared with 63% of residents of CT 049 and 79% of residents of Hamilton as a whole (Statistics Canada 1999).

While only 29% of its residents are immigrants, there is great ethnic diversity in CT 049, Beasley's southern census tract. Thirty-two percent of the residents of CT 049 describe themselves as members of a visible ethno-cultural minority. In contrast, 25% of CT 063 residents and 11% of City of Hamilton residents describe themselves as visible minority members (Statistics Canada 1999).

Males report average annual incomes of \$14 944 in CT 049 and \$15 818 in CT 063. Females report average annual incomes of \$10 770 in CT 049 and \$11 769 in CT 063. Across the City of Hamilton, individuals report average incomes of \$23 473, with mean male incomes of \$34 691 and mean female incomes of \$20 506 (Statistics Canada 1999). Overall, average annual income figures present evidence of poverty in a substantial proportion of Beasley residents, particularly women. As well, they attest to a degree of income inequality across the City of Hamilton as a whole. While Beasley residents earn lower incomes, the degree of income disparity across the sexes is less acute in Beasley than it is citywide. However, income equality for men and women in Beasley

may have less to do with employment pay equity than with equitable government income assistance programs accessed by a large number of residents.

Ninety percent of occupied dwellings in CT 049 and 67% in CT 063 are rented, many of them units in high-density apartment buildings (Figure 2.9). In contrast, only 35% of occupied dwellings in the City of Hamilton as a whole are rented. Much of the housing in Beasley neighborhood was constructed prior to 1946. Concerns with housing quality, fire safety, absentee landlords and rental costs dominate discussions of housing in Beasley neighborhood.



Figure 2.9: Apartment Buildings Visible from Wellington St.

Many Beasley residents are members of families led by female lone parents. In CT 049 33% of residents are members of female-led lone-parent families, compared with 25% in CT 063 and 12% in the city as a whole. Beasley residents are more likely to be “unattached” and less likely to be married than are residents of the City of Hamilton (Statistics Canada 1999). It appears that family structure in Beasley neighborhood differs from the profile of family structure across the city.

Health service utilization records indicate that Beasley residents have higher hospital admission rates, more emergency room visits, more accidental injuries and more poisonings than residents of the city as a whole. Home care and community based services are accessed by Beasley residents at higher rates than citywide, and the average number of services required per individual is higher in Beasley than elsewhere (Hamilton Community Care Access Centre 1999a; Hamilton Community Care Access Centre 1999b).

2.5 Conclusion

In general, Beasley is an area of concentrated diversity. Retail, public, and institutional services share geographic space with two of Hamilton’s most densely populated residential census tracts. Beasley’s population is among the most ethnically and linguistically diverse in the Region. A substantial number of residents live in economic poverty. Housing affordability and quality are concerns among residents and service providers. A significant proportion of Hamilton’s lone parent families lives in Beasley, as does a higher-than-average proportion of unattached individuals.

There is, then, a complex array of factors at work in the experience of Beasley residents. Community consultants and key informants consistently list immigration and mobility as significant issues in the downtown core. This thesis explores the demographic, social, and economic context of immigration and internal mobility as they relate to health in Beasley neighborhood.

Chapter III

Review of Literature

3.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the theoretical and methodological approaches used by anthropologists to study human migration. The current focus on rural-to-urban and international migration is as much a result of anthropology's history as a discipline as of transnational economic and social forces observed today.

In 1885, statistician and sociologist E. G. Ravenstein published *The Laws of Migration*, a survey of European immigration in the nineteenth century (Bogin 2001). Livi's 1896 study of Italian migrants and Ammon's 1899 study of rural-to-urban migrants in Germany were precursors to Boas' groundbreaking studies of the descendants of immigrants to the United States published between 1911 and 1940 (Bogin 2001). While Boas' work established the role of environmental context in shaping the health outcomes of in-migrants, it would be decades before anthropologists focused their energies on revealing the processes that shape the migration experience in both sending and receiving societies.

3.2 Functionalist and Typological Approaches to the Study of Human Migration

In 1930, Margaret Mead made note of the fact that in the Papua, New Guinea village where she was conducting fieldwork 52% of men between the ages of fifteen and forty-five were away for extended periods working as migrant labourers (Mead 1930: 119). Despite this fact, "Mead's ethnographic descriptions of life in New Guinea at this

time are largely portraits of discrete and timeless cultures unaffected by the outside world” (Brettell 2000: 97). Representations of cultures as homogeneous, adaptive, and discretely bounded units are characteristic of the functionalist paradigm that shaped anthropological inquiry until the late 1950s and early 1960s. Malkki (1995) describes the period as suffused with a “sedentarist bias” (Malkki 1995: 208) which territorialized culture, ignoring cultural phenomena that occurred beyond the boundaries of an externally-imposed geographic space.

By the mid-20th century, the sheer scope of rural-to-urban migration in areas traditionally used for ethnographic fieldwork – Africa, Oceania, and increasingly Latin America and the Caribbean – forced a recognition within anthropology of the cultural import of human migration (Brettell 2000). During this period, typological classifications of migratory practices arose. Rooted in the discipline’s earliest attempts to organize knowledge, these classifications endure in anthropological research. Gonzalez (1961) sorts Caribbean migrant labourers into five categories: seasonal, temporary, recurrent, continuous, and permanent. In Africa, DuToit (1975) classifies migrant workers as weekly commuters, seasonal movers, circular movers, temporary sojourners, or permanently displaced people. In Asia, McGee (1975) uses a similar system to identify the degree to which migrants are committed to making their moves permanent.

If typologies serve to catalogue the motivations for migration, they also serve to illustrate the immigration policies and social conditions of receiving societies and their relationship to the migrant experience. In post-World War II Germany, the concept of *gastarbeiter* (guest worker) identified a particular approach to migrant labour (Mandel 1989). Undocumented migrant worker and illegal alien are categories with particular

historical and socioeconomic significance in the United States (Chavez 1988). While such labels are useful in describing the context of human migration, anthropologists recognize that: “typologies generally offer a static and homogeneous picture of a process that is flexible over the life course of an individual migrant or the domestic cycle of a household, varied within a population, and subject to change over time as larger contextual conditions change” (Brettell 2000: 102).

3.3 Modernization and Dependency Theories and Historical-Structural Approaches to Migration Studies

In the mid-20th century, anthropological studies of migration were located within the framework of modernization theory, which juxtaposed sending from receiving areas, and the push factors of out-migration from the pull-factors of in-migration (Brettell 2000). Kearney (1986) suggests that this bipolar framework arose out of Robert Redfield’s folk-urban continuum, a model that opposes traditional and modern lifeways. Mitchell (1969) describes how the pull factor of wage labour offers migrants more opportunities than subsistence farming. The distribution of wages through bride price, dowry, and remittances returns capital to rural areas, restoring the equilibrium characteristic of the modernization system.

Like typologies, push-pull analyses serve to illustrate the context of migration events. Critics of modernization theory argue that linear equilibrium models fail to describe the complexity of conditions surrounding in- and out-migration. For example, Massey *et al.* (1994) describe the cyclical impoverishment of rural communities by the location of foreign aid in urban development projects. Urban development becomes

dependent on rural-to-urban migration to supply labourers and consumers and justify continuing foreign investment. While some capital returns to villages in the form of dowry and remittances, the majority is spent on the urban lifestyle now available to migrants.

Dependency theorist André Gunder-Frank and world systems theorist Immanuel Wallerstein catalogued the inequities between labour-exporting developing countries and labour-importing developed countries. These critics of modernization theory recognized that rather than fostering equilibrium between rural and urban, developing and developed areas, international development structures “create inequality and raise awareness about the larger society and hence enhance a sense of relative deprivation;...the net economic value of migration accrues to the city and not the countryside, to the core and not the periphery” (Brettell 2000: 103).

Informed by Marxist thought, the historical-structuralist approach to migration anthropology draws on the work of Gunder-Frank and Wallerstein to illustrate transnational migration events in the light of historical and social processes:

The anthropology of migrant labour...has become the anthropology of a world social order within which people struggle to make lives for themselves, sometimes helped, but much more often hindered, by the results of international flows of capital and the activities of states over which they have no control.” (Eades 1987: 13)

“From a transnational perspective, migrants are no longer “uprooted,” but rather move freely back and forth across international borders and between different cultures and social systems” (Brettell 2000: 104). Chavez’ (1988) work on Mexican migrants to the U.S. describes both the transition from outsider to insider in American society and the process by which the larger society incorporates migrants as members of its community. In a study of immigrants in Italy, Cole (1997) analyzes institutional and structural forms

of racism and class intolerance that affect the reception of migrants. The identity, kinship, and ethnicity of migrants are examined within a broad field of analysis which incorporates both sending and receiving societies, and the geopolitical structures which impinge on local actors.

One critique of the historical-structural approach is its distance from the environmental and biological experiences of migrants. A political ecology approach builds on both historical structuralism and human ecology “to determine the dynamic interaction and potential contradictions among social, political, and economic processes; human health, nutrition, and demography; and the use and abuse of natural resources (DeWalt 1998: 295). DeWalt (1998) uses a political ecology framework to explore the phenomenon of rural-to-urban migration in Honduras, where the flow of people is accompanied by the flow of deforestation, land degradation, poverty, and poor nutrition. Its use of both biological and social spheres of inquiry links political ecology with evolutionary analyses of human migration.

3.4 Evolutionary Models: Selective, Disruptive, and Adaptive Migration

Biological studies of migration track the geographic distribution of people through geographic space and through time. Circulation migration (cyclical movement of small populations) is high among nomadic, pastoral, and hunter-gatherer populations (Gage 2000). This pattern declined prehistorically with the development of horticulture and intensive agriculture. Typological systems characterize much biological migration anthropology, perhaps obscuring the complexity of migration experience that is difficult to assess using archaeological and osteologic material.

Rural-to-rural migration may be a phenomenon as old as community settlement itself, as a method of practicing kin exogamy (Gage 2000). Studies of gene flow and genetic drift map the clinal distribution of genetic markers within and between population groups. Neel *et al.* (1978) trace genetic change in lowland South American aboriginal populations following kin migration, population expansion and fusion events. Bianchi *et al.* (1997; in O'Rourke 2000) locate genetic links in North American and Siberian aboriginal populations that support a founding Y-lineage in Asia. While such work advances understandings of specific genetic processes, its applicability to the lives of existing aboriginal peoples has been thrown into question by critics. Biogeneticists continue to adhere to the functionalist paradigm of Mead and Redfield: "these studies remain classics of the study of genetic variation in small, relatively isolated populations" (O'Rourke 2000: 113). The assumption of even relative isolation is difficult to support.

In the subdiscipline of biological anthropology, a number of studies focus on the age and gender distribution of migrants. Existing studies document an age bias favouring young, unmarried individuals at the beginning of their reproductive careers, and a gender bias toward women migrants (Gage 2000; Bogin 2001). In a study of 5000 Korean women ages 20-49 years, Lee and Farber (1984) hypothesized that fertility decline in rural women migrating to the city can be explained by the effects of selective, disruptive, and adaptive forces operating on migrants. It was proposed that selective forces acted when certain socioeconomic conditions motivated women to migrate and decrease fertility; results showed no consistencies in socioeconomic status for movers or stayers, or for high-fertility and low-fertility groups. The disruption hypothesis suggested that migration interfered economically, psychologically, or logistically with fertility goals for

a time; the authors found no evidence for disruption, as fertility did not rebound in the years post-migration (Lee and Farber 1984).

Lee and Farber's adaptation hypothesis proved the most effective explanatory model for migrant women's decline in fertility. Migrants living in cities had significantly lower fertility than rural Korean women. "In this case adaptation was interpreted as a shift from agricultural to wage-earning labour, greater labour-force participation for women, and a revision of fertility goals as greater knowledge and experience in the city was obtained" (Bogin 2001: 218).

The work of Lee and Farber (1984) draws on evolutionary models to interpret social phenomena. Fertility is as much a function of social experience as of biological fact. A study of the effects of migration on fertility or health requires a conceptual framework that can incorporate variables from either domain of inquiry.

3.5 Migration and the Determinants of Health Approach

The Determinants of Health literature advances the "mutually informing power of epidemiological and anthropological perspectives" (Corin 1994: 94). Quantitative measures of health and well-being are complemented by contextual studies of cultural experience, social support, education, workplace and lifestyle opportunity as well as the larger geopolitical forces that influence health outcomes. An early example is Marmot *et al.*'s (1975) study of varying coronary artery disease (CAD) in Japanese-born people living in Japan, Hawaii, and California. Factors contributing to increased risk of CAD in Californian residents (diet, occupation, social interaction) were all strongly and inversely

related to exposure to “traditional” Japanese culture during childhood and to extensive Japanese social support networks after migration.

The effects of assimilation and acculturation on health appear to vary according to factors specific to the group or location under study. Kunitz and Levy’s (1986) study of Navajo seniors suggests that for Navajo women, hypertension is closely associated with increased education, English language fluency, and residence off reservation. Conversely for Navajo men, residence off reservation is associated with a lower prevalence of hypertension. The authors suggest that the protective effects of social networks and cultural exchange among Navajo women are challenged by a move off residence, while migration may alleviate stressors or lifestyle factors that contribute to male hypertension (Kunitz and Levy 1986).

A detailed examination of the health of Samoan migrants to California reveals that for those with low incomes, high levels of kin involvement are associated with high incidence of hypertension (Corin 1994). For Samoan immigrants with high incomes, the situation is reversed: high levels of kin involvement are associated with low incidence of hypertension. Involvement in Samoan kinship activities confers a protective effect on immigrants who can afford the financial responsibilities incumbent on them. For those who cannot, kinship activities become a burden with negative health effects.

On a global scale, the health and migration literature illustrates the vast inequalities in health between refugees, displaced persons, migrant labourers, and voluntary migrants exercising their right to move across national boundaries. Todaro (in Gage 2000) argues that migration may be motivated more by the perception of being better off elsewhere than by knowledge based on factual data. Nonetheless, there is

evidence that migrants flourish in a broad range of challenging social and environmental circumstances. Bogin argues that the health of the majority of rural-urban migrants improves on arrival: “their mortality is lower, their children grow taller, and their fertility is closer to optimal than for rural sedentes; these indicators show that by evolutionary, developmental, and biosocial criteria, people usually adapt successfully to life in the city” (Bogin 2001:202).

3.6 Urban Anthropology and Current Migration Theory

In their review of the Latin American migration literature, Butterworth and Chance (1981: 103) conclude that “most migrants adapt more or less successfully and without trauma to city life, [but] we have as yet no satisfactory theoretical model that can explain this adaptation and its variations.” In 1999, the U.S. National Centre for Health Statistics made the following statement:

In general, research relating to immigrants and their health has not attended to the methodological issues...most notably, the definition of an immigrant,...changes in health or access to health care concurrent with changes in immigration status,...or random samples of individuals. (Bogin 2001: 225-227)

The existing state of anthropological migration theory is a hodge-podge of approaches drawn from the four sub-disciplines of anthropology. An emerging field, urban anthropology offers an eclectic approach to examining the experiences of different groups within the geographic space of a city.

Urban anthropologists have examined the phenomenon of ethnic enclaving and its role in the adaptive strategies of immigrants. Ui’s (1991) study of a Cambodian refugee community in Stockton, California describes the growth of female leadership in an ethnic enclave. Expansion of service programs for Cambodians has resulted in employment

positions disproportionately filled by women, thereby increasing women's opportunities to influence local experience. This enclaving study draws on feminist, historical-structuralist, and transnational theoretical principles to examine identity construction and power in a migrant community.

If there is a lack of theoretical structure in research on international migration, there is a corresponding dearth of theory on which to draw for a study of non-migrant or internal mobility. Jacobs (1993) argues for a qualitative approach to urban anthropology that merges representational, discursive, semiotic, and historical-structuralist paradigms in a creative approach to understanding both "micro-scale street studies and bold, eclectic city commentaries" (Jacobs 1993: 827). Brettell (2000) argues that the current state of anthropological migration theory, while originating from a variety of theoretical orientations, is implicitly, if not explicitly, theoretical: "if a theory is defined as an explanation of a class of events, usually with an empirical referent, providing insight into how and what is going on...then much of this ethnographic work makes a significant and sometimes unique contribution to our theoretical conversations across the disciplines" (Brettell 2000: 119).

3.7 Conclusion

This thesis draws on approaches from urban anthropology and the determinants of health model. Quantitative and qualitative methods are merged in an exploration of the context of immigration and mobility in the Hamilton neighborhood of Beasley. Informants' impressions of residents' mobility experiences are compared with existing indicators of socioeconomic and health status. The indicators selected (income,

employment, housing, and family structure) reflect the themes that arise in informants' descriptions of Beasley's movers. The resulting picture of Beasley mobility is then triangulated with existing literature from the fields of urban geography, economics, education, and health. This eclectic approach is not atypical of existing anthropological migration studies:

Migrants can be differentiated by sex, class, ethnicity, the nature of their labour force participation, their reasons for migrating, the stage of the life cycle at which they move, the form of the migration (internal, international, temporary, and so on), and the nature and impact of global economic and political policies that affect population movement. A consideration of all these factors, from a comparative perspective, offers the best understanding of the process of migration and of migrant culture. (Brettell 2000)

Chapter IV

Methods

4.1 Introduction

Following the course of a number of recent neighborhood-level studies of environment and health (Macintyre 1998; Malmström *et al.* 1999; Sooman and McIntyre 1995), this research employs a mixed-method approach. “If we accept there is no universal right way to see the world our methods should explore rather than deny the diversity” (Baum 1995: 466). In this study, a qualitative exploration of urban mobility involves ethnographic techniques such as interviews, community profiling, and community observation. Qualitative findings are assessed in relation to quantitative evidence drawn from existing sources, most significantly the 1996 Census of Canada.

4.2 Qualitative Data

The use of qualitative data in this study serves two important purposes: (1) it addresses the challenge of using quantitative data of varying quality derived from a number of sources; and (2) it allows the researcher to delve beneath the level of the census tract to explore the heterogeneity of mobility experience in Beasley neighborhood.

This research uses data from a series of neighborhood consultations (Appendix I; Appendix V) and telephone interviews (N=28) conducted in July-August 2000 for a related research project (Appendix II). A further 6 semi-structured interviews were conducted in 2001 with Beasley educators and service providers (Appendix III).

This research makes use of the Beasley Neighborhood Profile, a collaborative project between the Beasley Community, PHACT (Public Health and Community Together), the Social and Public Health Services Department, and PHRED (Public Health Research, Education and Development). Assembled by a team of Beasley residents, service providers, and health researchers, this document provides historical and present-day context to the experience of life in Beasley neighborhood. Further contextual information is provided by neighborhood observation, windshield survey, and photography conducted during the course of this research. In particular, a walk through Beasley neighborhood with a local informant provides an invaluable glimpse of day-to-day life in Beasley neighborhood (Appendix I).

4.3 Quantitative Data

Quantitative measures of demographic and socioeconomic indicators are derived from aggregate analysis of 1996 Census of Canada¹ data for the census tracts within the boundaries of Beasley neighborhood. The indicators used in this study (mobility, income, employment, housing, education, and family structure) were selected as they arose in the interview and community consultation phases of the qualitative data collection.

Socioeconomic indicators such as income, employment, housing and education are well-documented determinants of health (Evans and Stoddart 1994).

In addition to Census of Canada data, quantitative measures of housing, education and health are drawn from a number of published and non-published sources. A survey

¹ At this writing, 2001 Census of Canada data are not yet available.

of available housing was conducted on 19 September 2001. The researcher answered realty and rental advertisements posted on Catherine and Mary Streets, gathering listed sale and rental prices for six housing units (Appendix IV). This survey is a snapshot of housing availability in the neighborhood, it does not cover the entire range of housing available to residents. It is designed to support census and interview data on housing availability, affordability, and condition.

Mobility figures in schools are drawn from the Compensatory Education Policy of the Hamilton-Wentworth District School Board (HWDSB 2000). Again, these figures are drawn from 1996 Census of Canada data, and may be outdated when describing the mobility experience of students in 2000-2001.

Health service utilization figures are drawn from Hamilton Community Care Access Centre (CCAC) records, which are based on 1997/98 Hospital Admission Rates per 1000 residents (Hamilton CCAC 1999b).

4.4 Limitations

The use of Census of Canada data presents a number of challenges to the interpretation of results. As a unit of analysis, the census tract affords the researcher numerous types of data and adequate numbers to predict rates and averages (Brooks-Gunn *et al.* 1997). Data drawn from the 1996 Census¹ may not reflect the current (2002) experience of Beasley residents, a fact noted by several interviewees and telephone survey respondents. However interview findings suggest that mobility is a persistent issue

for Beasley residents, service providers, and city planners. The use of 1996 data establishes a baseline of comparison with 2001 data as it becomes available.

Census of Canada one- and five-year mobility rates are based on one or more changes of residence within the calendar year or years prior to census. Single and multiple changes of residence are recorded in a single category. Respondents to the long census questionnaire provide detail on only one move for each mobility category. As a result, information on frequent movers (who change residence more than once during the calendar year or years prior to census) and the geographic location of all former residences is not collected (Statistics Canada 1999). Census mobility data may greatly under-report one- and five-year mobility rates in populations. As immigration and interprovincial migration are long-distance moves requiring logistical planning and financial resources, it is likely that census under-reporting of mobility is greatest for non-migrant, internal migrant, and intraprovincial migrant moves.

Written response and processing errors challenge the validity of census data, as do sampling errors present in the long form data (the long Census questionnaire distributed to 20% of households in a census tract). Values for indicators used in this research are drawn from the long form sample data. Statistics Canada publishes sampling error estimates for the long form data that range from 20-30% for population size equivalent to Beasley's (Statistics Canada 2001).

The use of CCAC community profiles poses a number of limitations. Hospital admission rates are not adjusted for the age and sex distribution of the population, and emergency room visits record only patients seen at Hamilton hospitals. In addition to these challenges, the CCAC data describes populations within boundaries larger than

those of Beasley, making census tract and neighborhood level comparisons problematic. However, the CCAC boundaries enclose contiguous streets with economic, social and housing issues arguably similar to those in the Beasley census tracts. Like the available census data, the CCAC profiles' 1997/98 origin places them at some distance from current conditions, but close enough to the 1996 Census of Canada data used here to permit comparison.

The lack of interviews with Beasley residents is a key limitation of this research. Perspectives on immigrant and non-migrant mobility are obtained from key informants who were selected on the basis of their working relationships with the City of Hamilton and/or Beasley neighborhood. Where statements made pertain to the downtown core or the city as a whole, interview findings have been presented in general terms of relevance to Beasley. Where interviewees make specific reference to Beasley residents, their statements are presented as such. The range of perspectives among key informants results in emphasis on the statements of a particular few, whose remarks pertain to Beasley neighborhood specifically.

The small number of interviews with local key informants (N=6) hampers the validity of the present findings. In addition, the research is largely guided by the statements of interviewees and community consultants. While this fact places great value on the knowledge and experience of the study's informants, there may be other avenues of inquiry that describe the context of mobility in Beasley that are not considered here. Ethnicity, social environment, and psychological response may also contribute to the mobility experience of residents (Hertzman *et al.* 1994).

While this research consults secondary sources rather than movers and stayers themselves, these sources are not without value. From a broad perspective, city officials, urban planners, school board officials, agency managers and social service providers are highly knowledgeable about population health issues in each of Hamilton's neighborhoods. Local educators, school staff, and social service providers have unique perspectives on the concerns of students and their families.

The use of semi-structured interviews (Appendix III) results in a broad range of interview results, as informants are given some leeway in the direction of the discussion. While the range of subjects discussed limits the replicability of results between interviews, the semi-structured approach permits the subject to explore the topic with great freedom, allowing for the free association of ideas and concepts (Carey 1993).

Without consulting Beasley's movers and stayers themselves, this research can accomplish a limited set of objectives: (1) it can describe the context of population mobility in Beasley neighborhood; (2) it can hypothesize the relationship between mobility and health in Beasley residents; and (3) it can provide direction for future investigations into mobility and urban migration in Canada, and in Beasley specifically.

4.5 Conclusion

"The standard model for migration research starts with the collection of social data and then tries to correlate these with biological outcomes" (Bogin 2001: 227). In a sense, the current study builds on this standard model by incorporating local perspectives. While biological outcomes are not measured directly, known determinants of health, such as education, income and social support, are examined in some detail.

Taken together, the various quantitative and qualitative methods used here describe a picture of mobility in an urban neighborhood. The approach builds on the complementarity of methodological approaches that address each other's weaknesses and build on each other's strengths. "Neither qualitative nor quantitative information can stand alone if our aim is to come somewhere close to understanding the richness of the communities we live in and how we might make them healthier" (Baum 1995: 467).

Chapter V

Results

5.1 Introduction

The results of this research reveal the broad range of factors affecting the mobility experience of Beasley residents. While Beasley's proportion of immigrant movers is among the highest in the City of Hamilton, the concerns of many residents and service providers focus on Beasley's non-migrant movers. According to community informants, income, employment, and housing issues motivate the majority of non-migrant mobility decisions in the neighborhood. This finding is associated with the observation that, compared with the City of Hamilton as a whole, Beasley neighborhood has high proportions of unattached individuals and families led by lone parents. Occurring in the context of low household income, high unemployment, and a lack of supportive housing, Beasley's high non-migrant mobility levels have negative effects on children's educational achievement and on the health of neighborhood residents.

5.2 Immigrant and Non-Migrant Mobility in Beasley

Informants and community consultants emphasize mobility as a key factor influencing the experience of Beasley residents. Their observations of mobility in Beasley and other urban core communities reflect two trends: (1) that of immigration and concentrated ethnic diversity within Beasley neighborhood; and (2) that of a disproportionate number of local moves within the census tracts which comprise Beasley neighborhood.

Immigration and refugee issues were cited as significant concerns in the Hamilton-Wentworth Region by 16 of 28 respondents to the 2000 telephone survey. The following issues were raised with respect to the needs of immigration and settlement: access to information about employment, health, and housing opportunities; translation and language services; the need for culturally sensitive front-line health and social service providers; and community-based services that minimize the need for transportation. There is a perception among Hamilton workers in settlement and immigration that city planning authorities prioritize the needs of “mainstream”, non-immigrant communities over those of Hamilton’s substantial immigrant population.

In face-to-face interviews, a number of respondents describe ethnic diversity as a capacity in Beasley neighborhood. While one informant acknowledges there is limited space available in the English as a Second Language (ESL) program at Dr. J. Edgar Davey Elementary School, he describes the effect of immigration on Beasley’s school as “largely good”. The school welcome, exit and washroom signs are labeled in English, Polish, Italian, Greek, Chinese and Hindi. The informant suggests that the children of ethnic minority parents show “great respect” for the school facility, grounds, teachers and staff and that immigrant children approach school “more seriously” than other children and are often “better students”. He compares this observation with his own experiences as a child immigrant to Hamilton, developing mathematical and language skills which surpassed those of his non-immigrant peers.

Describing mobility rates at Dr. J. Edgar Davey Elementary School, another informant suggests that Vietnamese immigrant families are among the most active and conscientious contributors to the school environment. He asserts that service cutbacks to

ESL have compromised the school's ability to support Beasley's diverse population: "Vietnamese, Albanian, Hungarian, Roma parents line up for ESL services since the board reduced the number of ESL teachers from 3 to 1.5."

Beasley continues to be a settlement location for international immigrants. The health and social service needs of a large immigrant population are a priority for city and neighborhood planners. However, it is interesting that, during this research, Beasley's immigration and ethnic diversity were described in largely positive terms. Newcomers to Canada are described as bringing the capacities of family, community and stability to the highly mobile neighborhood of Beasley.

A former educator at Dr. J. Edgar Davey Elementary School directs his concerns about mobility away from immigrant families. He says that immigrant families tend to remain in one residence during their time in the neighborhood. Extending over a period of five years on average, this duration of residence stands in contrast to the mobility of non-immigrant families in the neighborhood. "There are very few stable families at Davey. 'Whites' move the most. Kids move from one school to the next, often returning over time. Families move many times in the course of one year."

A resident of nearby Corktown neighborhood describes mobility in the downtown core: "the population is in transition...movers come here looking for affordable rent until they get jobs, get on their feet, and then they move on." There is a growing sense among informants that both immigrant and non-migrant mobility are accelerating. Census of Canada figures from 1996 may not accurately represent the rates of immigrant or non-migrant mobility experienced by Beasley residents.

The 1996 Census of Canada records mobility rates in Beasley neighborhood which exceed those in the City of Hamilton as a whole. Five-year mobility (change of residence at least once during the five calendar years prior to census) and one-year mobility (change of residence at least once during the calendar year prior to census) rates in CT 049 and CT 063 substantially exceed those of the city overall (Statistics Canada 1999).

Both immigrant (moves into Beasley from outside of Canada) and non-migrant (moves within Beasley neighborhood census tracts) contribute to Beasley's disproportionately high mobility. Non-migrant one-year movers (who change residence at least once in the calendar year prior to census but remain within the bounds of the census tract) and five-year movers (who change residence at least once in the five calendar years prior to census but remain within the bounds of the census tract) account for much higher proportions of the populations of CT 049 and CT 063 compared with the City of Hamilton as a whole. Immigrant one-year movers (whose move in the calendar year prior to census originates outside of Canada) and five-year movers (whose move in the five calendar years prior to census originates outside of Canada) make up 3.2% and 17.4% of the populations of Beasley's census tracts, compared with 0.7% and 2.7% in the City as a whole (Tables 5.1 and 5.2).

The phenomena of immigration and non-migrant mobility exhibit dissimilar trends over time. Immigration rates have risen steadily in both Beasley census tracts, from roughly 20% to 30% between 1986 and 1996. While non-migrant mobility is high, rates remain relatively stable over time. For example, in CT 049 the proportion of non-migrant 5-year movers was 36% in 1986, 32% in 1991, and 37% in 1996 (Statistics

Canada 1999). Evidence from historical sources suggests that non-migrant mobility is a phenomenon that has characterized Hamilton's lower city neighborhoods since the 1930s (Evans 1970; Weaver 1982).

With greater proportions of immigrants than the city as a whole, Beasley's census tracts exhibit population characteristics that reflect a pattern of immigration and ethnic diversity. Figure 5.1 illustrates contrasts between Beasley neighborhood and the City of Hamilton in terms of immigration, citizenship, and language.

It is interesting that, compared to the City of Hamilton as a whole, a greater proportion of Beasley residents are recent immigrants to Canada. The overall proportions of immigrants (recent or otherwise) in CT 049 and the city are comparable, with CT 063 having the highest percentage of immigrant residents. This would suggest that while newcomers to Canada arrive in CT 049, they do not remain in the neighborhood in as great a numbers as their counterparts in CT 063.

Alternatively, it is possible that part of the population of CT 063 is made up of immigrants who arrived some time ago. This possibility is supported by the census data on mother tongue (Table 5.3), which suggests that there are substantial enclaves of Italian- and Portuguese-speaking immigrants in CT 063. These residents may be involved in assisting new immigrants with temporary accommodation or support during the early months or years of an international move.

Table 5.1: 1996 One-Year Mobility Rates for Beasley Census Tracts and the City of Hamilton

1-Year Mobility	CT 049	CT 063	City of Hamilton
Non-Movers	66.7%	70.4%	86.4%
Movers :	33.6%	29.6%	13.6%
Non-migrant movers	22.5%	20.4%	8.3%
Intraprovincial Migrants	7.4%	3.6%	4.2%
Interprovincial Migrants	0.5%	1.0%	0.4%
Immigrants	3.2%	4.6%	0.7%

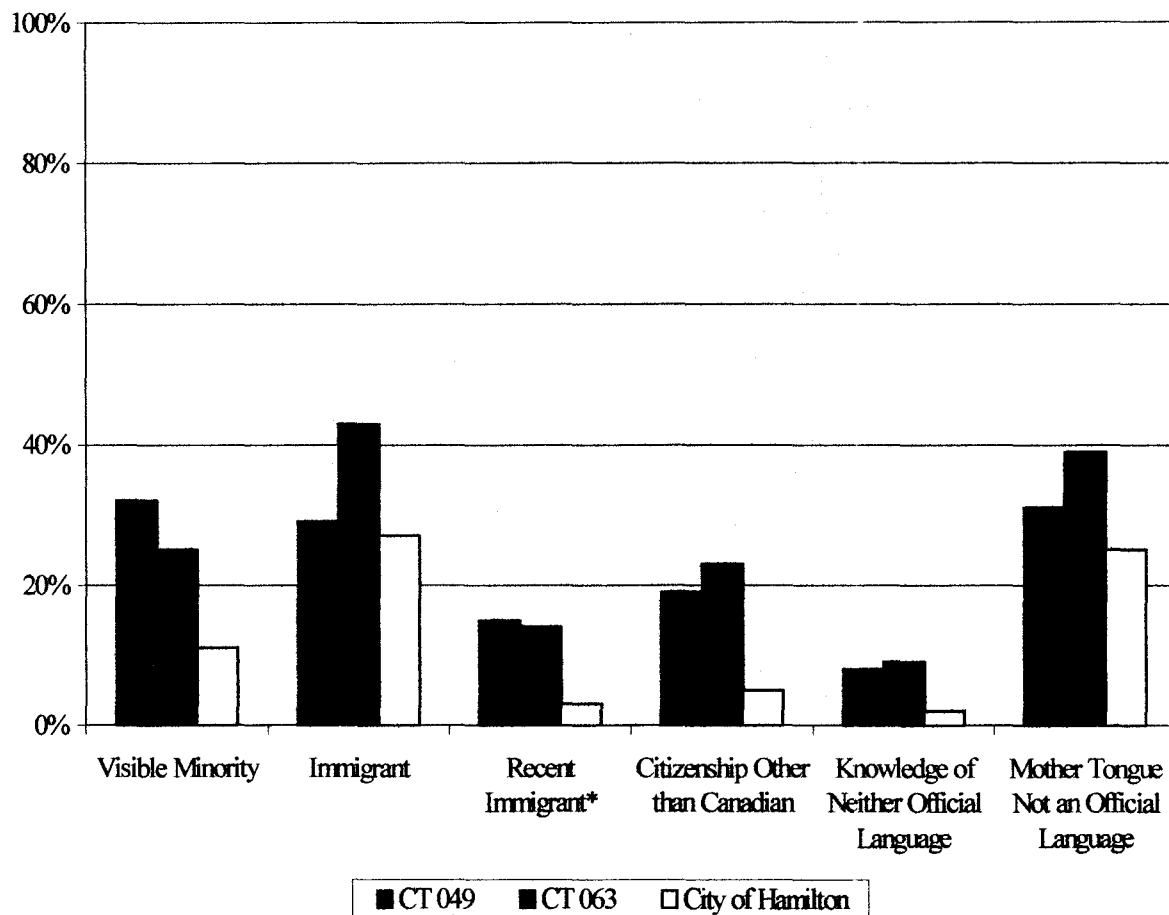
(Rates are expressed as percentage of total population aged 1 year or older.)

Table 5.2: 1996 Five-Year Mobility Rates for Beasley Census Tracts and the City of Hamilton

5-Year Mobility	CT 049	CT 063	City of Hamilton
Non-Movers	33.7%	41.2%	60.2%
Movers :	66.3%	58.7%	39.8%
Non-migrant movers	37.3%	32.5%	23.1%
Intraprovincial Migrants	10.5%	10.6%	12.7%
Interprovincial Migrants	1.1%	2.2%	1.3%
Immigrants	17.4%	13.4%	2.7%

(Rates are expressed as percentage of total population aged 5 years or older.)

Figure 5.1: 1996 Selected Data on Minority Status, Immigration, and Language for Beasley Census Tracts and the City of Hamilton



*Moved to Canada between 1991 and 1996

Table 5.3: 1996 Residents of Beasley Census Tracts and the City of Hamilton by Mother Tongue (%)

	CT 049	CT 063	City of Hamilton
English	63.4	45.8	79.1
Italian	0.5	9.5	3.8
Polish	2.1	1.2	1.8
French	1.6	1.4	1.5
German	1.0	0	1.5
Portuguese	1.0	15.3	1.3
Croatian	0	0	1.0
Other	30.1	26.5	10.0

5.3 The Income of Beasley Residents

Issues of income and poverty loom large in discussions with community informants, city planners, and social service providers. Eleven of 28 respondents to the 2000 telephone survey list economic poverty as a significant concern for many Hamilton residents. In the downtown core in particular, informants consistently link individual and community capacity with adequate income. Describing the challenges faced by many of her clients, the director of a local food sharing organization states that “poverty is the common thread that runs through the lives of many people in the downtown core.” She asserts that for many residents, income levels are insufficient to meet the basic needs of

food, shelter, and security. This informant suggests that economic poverty is the root cause of the homelessness, near-homelessness, and child hunger she encounters daily in her work.

A local educator describes the situation in Beasley neighborhood specifically, citing a mismatch between earning power and cost of living: “I’m not saying income is low, or rents are high necessarily...rent may not be high but people can’t afford to pay it.” According to this informant, mobility at Dr. J. Edgar Davey Elementary School is associated closely with the income levels of neighborhood parents: “the kids that move in and out on a monthly basis have parents whose incomes don’t meet their expenses.”

An outreach worker at a local aboriginal wellness centre concurs: “poverty drives people to move.” Perceptions of the economic poverty of some Beasley residents are supported by census data on low employment in the neighborhood’s census tracts.

Income estimates from the 1996 Census of Canada confirm that significant proportions of Beasley residents experience economic poverty. Figures 5.2 and 5.3 show individual and household income levels. Mean male and female individual income levels in Beasley are less than half of mean income levels for the City of Hamilton, although the Beasley data have large standard error measures. Mean household income levels follow a similar trend. Larger standard error measures in the Beasley data illustrate a broader range of income diversity in Beasley census tracts compared with the City as a whole. Female employment income levels fall far short of male employment income levels in all jurisdictions.

Of the total income reported by City of Hamilton residents in the 1996 Census, 76% of funds were received in the form of employment income. Comparable figures for

CT 049 and CT 063 indicate that for Beasley residents roughly half of total funds are received in the form of employment income. Table 5.4 illustrates the composition of reported income in Beasley census tracts.

On average, Beasley residents report far greater levels of income from government transfer programs than do residents of the City of Hamilton as a whole. However, this difference is not distributed evenly across the census tracts that make up Beasley neighborhood. Residents of CT 049, Beasley's southern neighborhood, report lower income from employment and higher income from government transfers than do residents of the more populous, less mobile CT 063 (Statistics Canada 1999).

Figure 5.2: 1996 Mean Male and Female Employment Income Levels for Beasley Census Tracts and the City of Hamilton

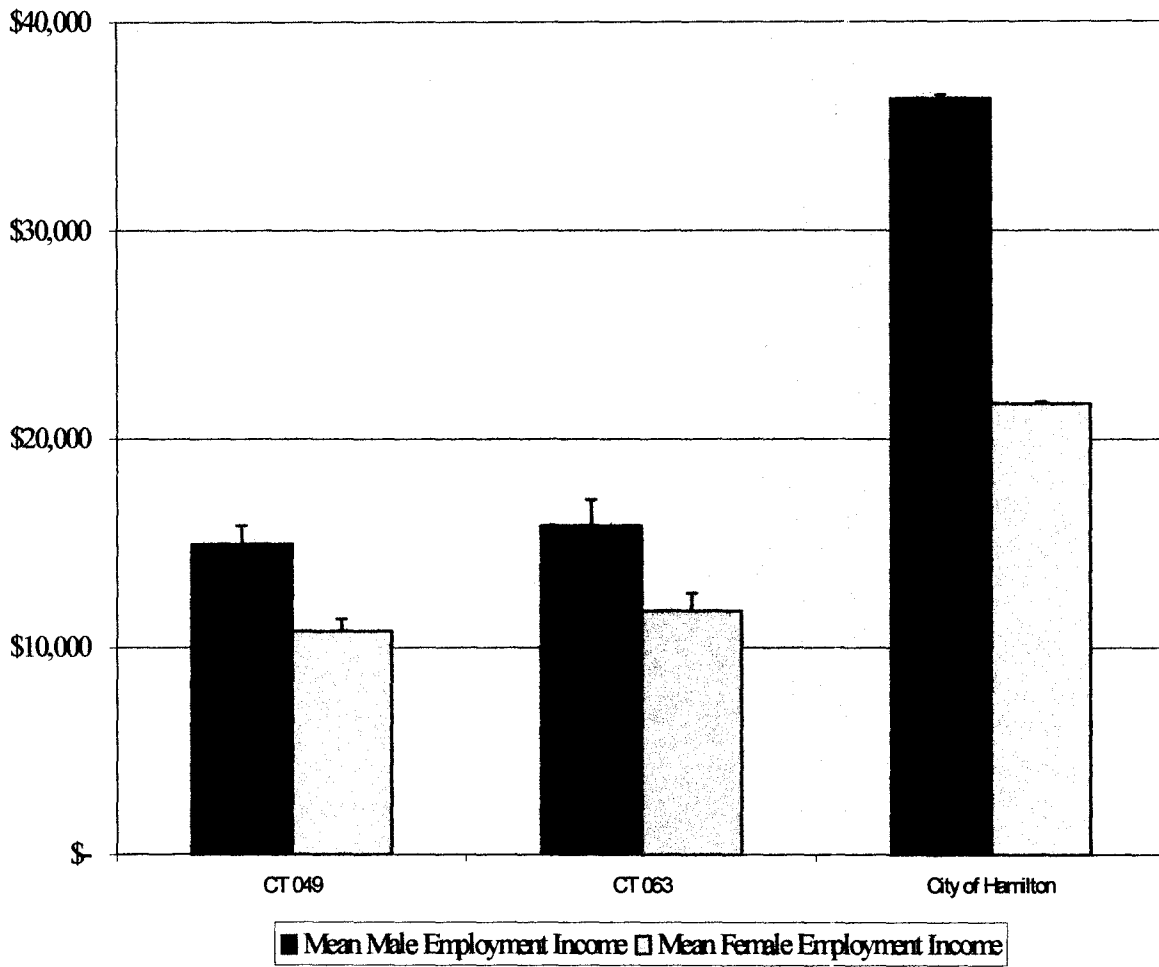


Figure 5.3: 1996 Mean Household Income Levels for Beasley Census Tracts and the City of Hamilton

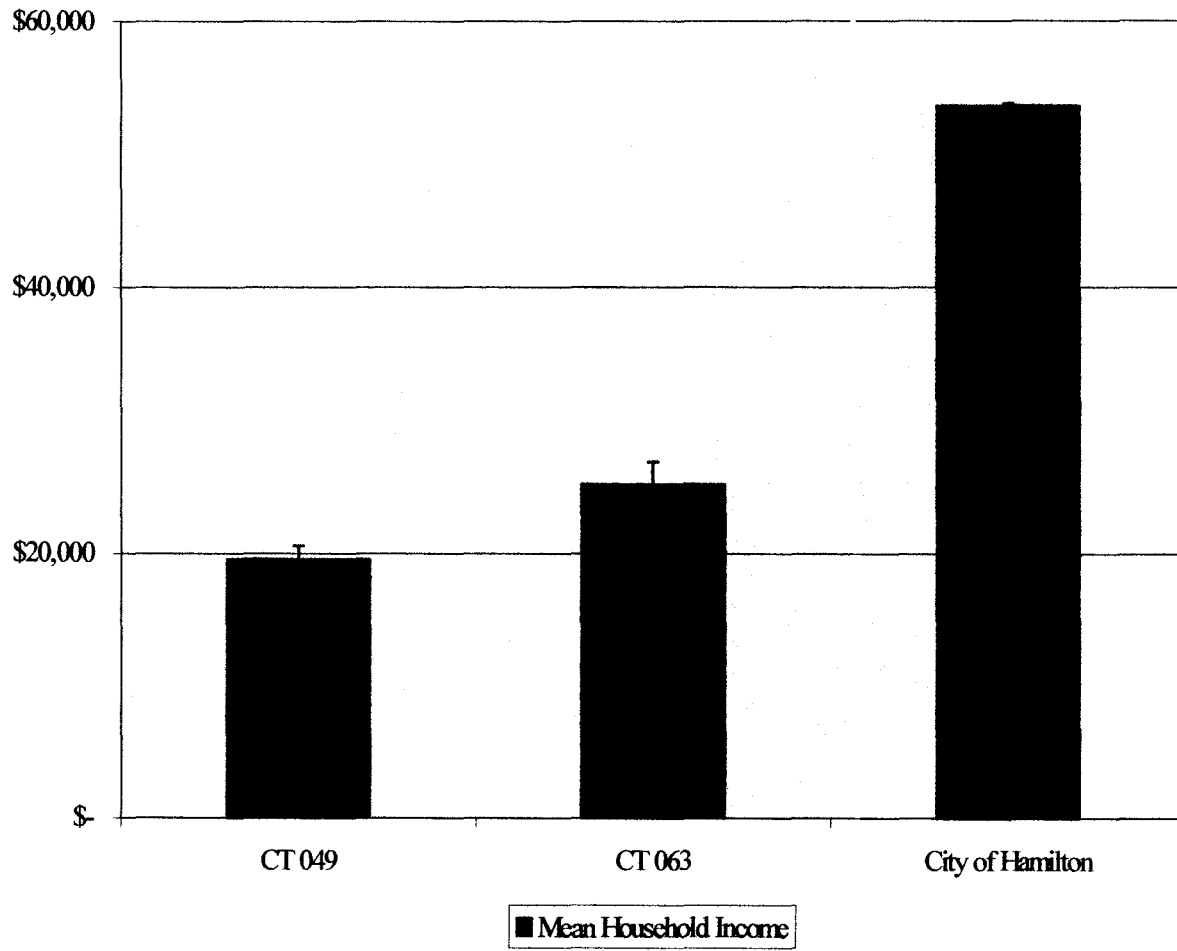


Table 5.4: 1996 Composition of Total Income for Beasley Census Tracts and the City of Hamilton

	CT 049	CT 063	City of Hamilton
Employment Income	49.4%	58.7%	75.5%
Government Transfer	48.1%	30.1%	13.0%
Other	2.6%	11.2%	11.5%

5.4 Employment in Beasley

Community informants cite unemployment as a primary concern for Hamilton. Citywide, unemployment rates have remained relatively unchanged in the period 1986-1996. A comparison of unemployment figures from Census of Canada data charts the disproportionate escalation of unemployment rates in CT 049 and CT 063 vis-à-vis the city as a whole (Figure 5.4).

Speaking of issues affecting residents in Hamilton's downtown core, a local health analyst describes a perceptible shift in the employment opportunities of city residents. The skilled industrial workforce which has characterized Hamilton's populace for decades (Weaver 1982) is facing a decline in manufacturing employment. Figure 5.6

illustrates changes in the proportions of Beasley residents employed in manufacturing industries between 1986 and 1991.

Health analysts and city planners cite a need for supportive education and counseling programs to meet the employment needs of the growing information and service sectors of Hamilton's economy.

Figure 5.4: 1986-1996 Unemployment Rates for Beasley Census Tracts and the City of Hamilton

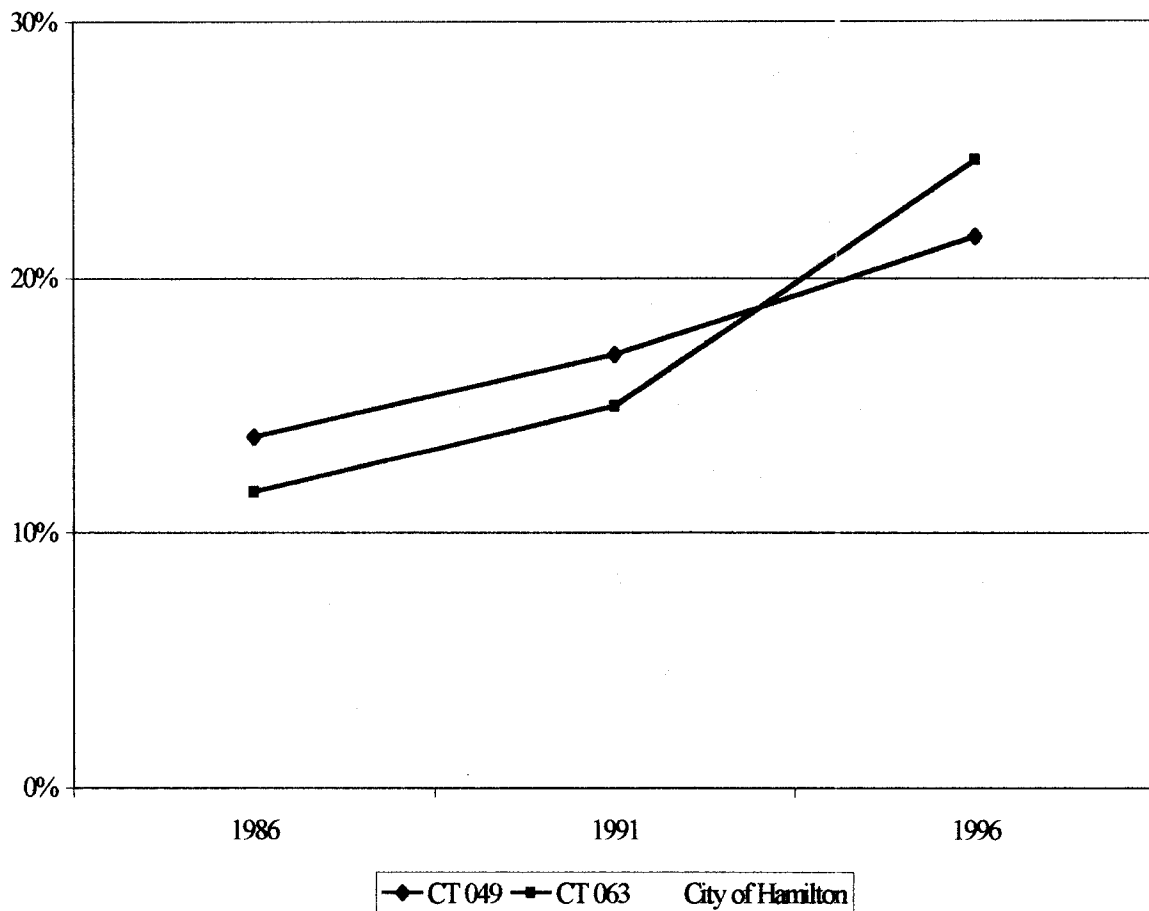
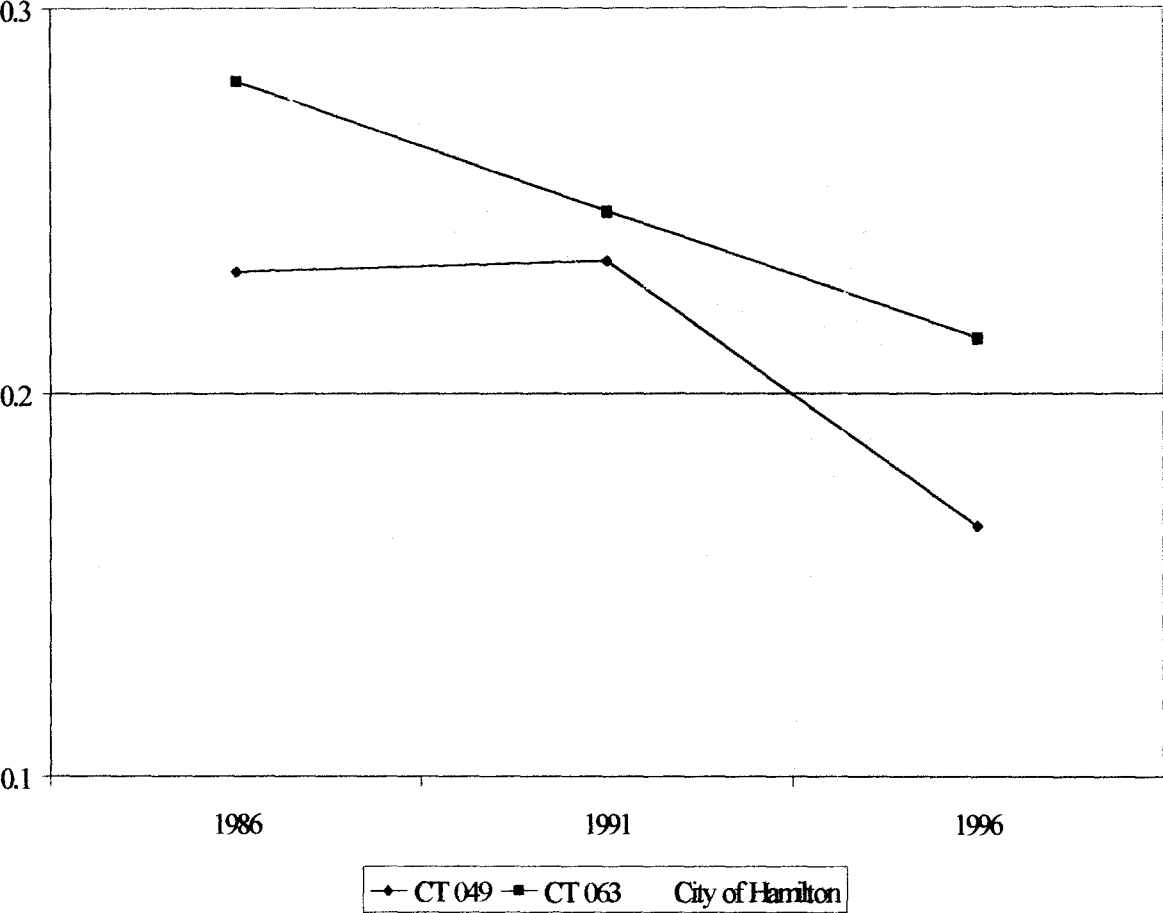


Figure 5.5: 1986-1996 Manufacturing Employment for Beasley Census Tracts and the City of Hamilton



5.5 Housing in Beasley

The income and employment levels of Beasley residents challenge their access to affordable, well-maintained housing. Informants’ perceptions of accelerating housing costs in Beasley neighborhood - “poorly maintained, multi-family rental units can cost

\$750 per month and many are dumps, unfit for human habitation” – are supported by census and housing survey data. 1996 figures for average monthly rents are \$468 in CT 049, \$495 in CT 063, and \$623 citywide (Statistics Canada 1999). A 2001 survey of available housing records rents in the range of \$650-\$750 for 1- and 2-bedroom units in CT 063. Rental rates support one informant’s observation that the majority of Beasley’s non-migrant movers are motivated by a mismatch between income and expenses.

In CT 049, Beasley’s southern and highly-mobile census tract, 10% of occupied private dwellings are owned. This figure contrasts with those for CT 063, at 34%, and the City of Hamilton as a whole, at 65%. Fully 90% of total dwellings in CT 049 are rented, a figure that reflects a host of housing-related factors, such as the location of rental units above and between retail spaces, ownership by local and absentee landlords, and the location of high-density apartment buildings. Interestingly, average dwelling value in CT 049 is \$127 976, much higher than the average dwelling value in CT 063 (\$97 722). This probably reflects the older housing stock found in CT 063, with 46% of its occupied dwellings constructed prior to 1946. Only 27% of dwellings in CT 049 and 19% of dwellings in the city as a whole were constructed prior to 1946. Average dwelling value in the City of Hamilton is \$166 889 (Statistics Canada 1999).

A 2001 survey of available housing in CT 063 found real estate prices consistent with the 1996 census data on dwelling values. Asking prices for available single-family and duplex houses on Catherine and Mary Streets ranged from \$69 900 to \$119 900 (Appendix IV).

With the exception of one supportive housing initiative in CT 063, recent new housing construction in Beasley neighborhood has been limited. Beasley’s older housing

stock is a source of concern for Hamilton fire safety officials. A fire safety officer interviewed in 2001 attributes high fire loss estimates in Beasley to the age and poor repair of many buildings. The officer asserts that absentee and non-resident landlords maximize profitability by installing multiple rental units of questionable safety. It is the observation of local firefighters that many of these “illegal conversions have few life safety features such as smoke and carbon monoxide detectors.”

In addition to concerns with housing conditions, the fire safety officer describes incidents in which the cultural practices of recent immigrants pose fire-related risks. Newcomers unused to North American cooking and home heating practices may endanger themselves and others with flames or fuel vapors in enclosed living spaces. Fire safety education initiatives may be hampered by barriers of language and culture. Housing is an issue relevant to discussions of both immigrant and non-migrant mobility in Beasley.

5.6 Family Structure in Beasley

Both qualitative and quantitative evidence point to a relationship between mobility, income, and family structure in Beasley. Community informants describe Hamilton’s downtown core population as characterized by high numbers of single individuals supported by employment insurance, welfare, disability pensions, and other forms of government transfer income. One community informant describes the local population as having two components: the “stable” component is made up of “mainly middle-aged homeowners”; the “transitional” or “migrant” component is made up largely

of “single men, many of them elderly, and young people on welfare or some other form of government transfer payment.”

To a large extent, qualitative methods evoke descriptions of family structure that break down neatly into immigrant and non-migrant categories. A local educator describes the immigrant families at Dr. J. Edgar Davey Elementary School as “supportive” and “stable,” in contrast to the highly mobile non-migrant families whose children contribute to the school’s high mobility rate. “Whites’ move the most”, states a local educator. Asked if frequent, local moves are cushioned by proximity to family and social ties in the community, the informant responds that this is not the case: “you would think so, but families are not retaining those supportive ties.” It appears that many of Beasley’s young families face challenging economic and social circumstances.

Compared with the City of Hamilton as a whole, CT 049 and CT 063 have larger numbers of lone parent families. While both Beasley census tracts have proportions of lone parent families much higher than the city as a whole, the numbers for CT 049 are particularly high (Statistics Canada 1999). More than twice as many male-led lone parent families live in CT 049 (5.9% of families) than in CT 063 (2.6%) or the city as a whole (2.2%). Female-led lone parent families comprise nearly 33% of families in CT 049 and 25.2% of families in CT 063, compared with only 12.1% of families in the City of Hamilton. Coupled with the data on unemployment and average household income in Beasley, these figures form a picture of challenging economic and social circumstances for many of Beasley’s families.

Another striking characteristic of Beasley neighborhood’s family structure is its high proportion of unattached residents. Unattached individuals (those living without

spousal partnerships, parents, or children) constitute 24% and 16% of the populations of CT 049 and CT 063 respectively. This compares with a citywide rate of 9% of residents who are unattached. Census figures support informants' perceptions that Hamilton's core neighborhoods attract individuals and families whose economic poverty requires them to seek the rental housing and social services which are concentrated in the downtown core.

5.7 Education in Beasley Neighborhood

Informants consistently express concern with the high student mobility observed at Dr. J. Edgar Davey, Beasley's elementary school. A former educator at the school asserts that "among schools in the downtown core, Davey's high mobility is typical...people tend to keep moving in the same area. Kids move from one core school to the next, often returning over time." He describes the challenges for school administrators: "in June we predict enrollment...on the first day of school in September, approximately 50% of the June predicted enrollment shows up." A school custodian describes the enrollment process:

We open the school two weeks early. For a few days the gym is full of people. We set up tables, provide forms, bring chairs and pour coffee for the families waiting to register.... In September it takes me a week to move desks from classroom to classroom to get the right numbers for the kids that come.

A high degree of mobility is clearly disruptive to the smooth provision of educational services at Dr. J. Edgar Davey Elementary School.

Informants describe the negative effects of high mobility on students. An employee of the HWDSB links poor student performance at Dr. J. Edgar Davey (based on Ontario Education Quality and Accountability Office [EQAO] reading, writing and

mathematics test scores of grades 3 and 6 students) with “instability at home”. A former educator at the school describes the chain of problems arising from frequent student moves:

It takes a while for a school’s administration to figure out where the problems lie, to activate public health nursing and social work services, for example. With a sudden move, those services fall apart. There is a period of time after a move where those services don’t overlap. If the school has accessed the services of a consultant whose jurisdiction is board-wide, we can follow a student. If we have made use of in-school resources, we cannot follow a student to a new destination. And we have little or no notice of the majority of moves.

The majority of informants’ concerns about the negative effects of school mobility are directed at the high non-migrant mobility observed in Beasley neighborhood. “Whites’ move the most. Kids move from one school to the next, often returning over time. Families move many times in the course of one year.”

Perceptions of high student mobility are supported by data collected by the Hamilton-Wentworth District School Board. In its Compensatory Education Policy, the school board combines census data on mobility, parental educational attainment, and incidence of low income to establish eligibility for additional funding to meet the special requirements of high-needs schools. Of 106 elementary schools in the Region of Hamilton-Wentworth, Dr. J. Edgar Davey ranks as the highest needs school based on a formula which weights mobility, educational attainment, and income in a 1:1:4 ratio respectively (HWDSB 2000).

In the 1998-1999 school year, 115 (30%) of the school’s 383 enrollment positions were filled by mobile students. A school board official estimates that, on average, those 115 mobile enrollment positions are filled by no less than 5 students each in a given

school year. This average of 5 moves per mobile enrollment position, in 30% of enrollment positions, gives the school a “150% mobility rate”, in the parlance of local school board officials, trustees, and educators. Dr. J. Edgar Davey Elementary School is not unique in its level of student mobility. Other downtown elementary and secondary schools have mobility rates that exceed that of Dr. J. Edgar Davey. The unique combination of high mobility with low levels of parental educational attainment and low household income in Beasley’s census tracts result in Dr. J. Edgar Davey Elementary’s high needs designation within the board (HWDSB 2000).

5.8 The Health of Beasley Residents

Interviewees and local informants describe a concentration of health and social services in Beasley neighborhood. Large medical practices operate out of the Wilson St. Medical Centre (Figure 5.6) and the North Hamilton Community Medical Centre. The Hamilton Urban Core Health Centre (Figure 5.7), on Rebecca St., provides a full range of primary care health services “with special emphasis on the ‘hard to serve’ population” such as street youth, gangs, mentally ill and homeless people (City of Hamilton, Social and Public Health Services Department 2001: 22). Under contract to the Hamilton Community Care Access Centre, the Victorian Order of Nurses, visiting homemakers, and St. Elizabeth’s Nurses work in the area. The Canadian Mental Health Association is located in the centre of Beasley neighborhood, and operates a psychiatric outreach program on Wellington St. Family Services of Hamilton-Wentworth, Amity Goodwill Services, Wesley Urban Ministries, the John Howard Society, the Good Shepherd Centre,



Figure 5.6: Wilson St. Medical Centre

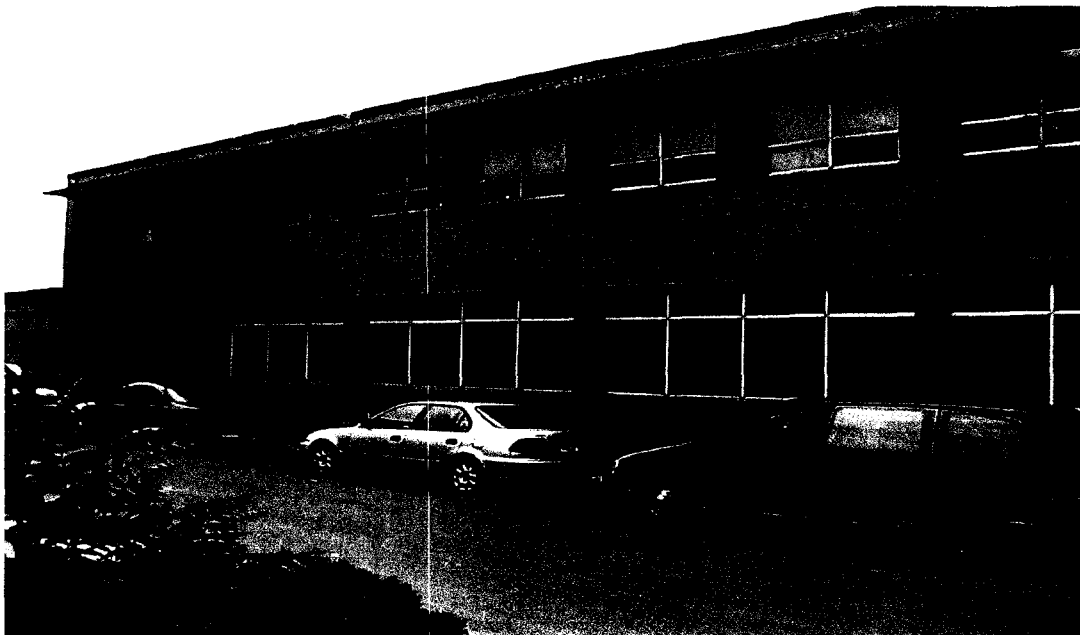


Figure 5.7: Hamilton Urban Core Community Health Centre

and Settlement and Immigration Services operate offices in Beasley. The Regional Social and Public Health Services Department and Wesley Urban Ministries jointly operate a Street Health Centre and a mobile needle exchange program.

St. Joseph's Health Centre, the Henderson Hospital, and Hamilton General Hospital are readily accessible to Beasley neighborhood residents. First Place Medical Centre, which operates medical, nursing, pharmaceutical, laboratory and chiropractic services, is immediately adjacent to Beasley's southern border. The First Place building is home to the Hamilton Program for Schizophrenia, and a residential complex houses some participants of this program.

While a response to the acute health and social service needs of a number of urban core residents, this concentration of service in and around Beasley neighborhood is seen as a deficit by some informants. Citing slow economic development and high mobility in Beasley, a community outreach worker describes local services as a negative aspect of the neighborhood:

People that live here see the agencies as part of the problem. This guy is a pediatrician. His office is right across the street from the (elementary) school. See...the licence plate on his car says 'Ritalin'. A few years ago, he began operating a provincial pedophile assessment unit from his office across from the school. Now we've got all these guys coming down here, you know, parents sitting with their kids in the waiting room with these guys, right across from the school.

Respondents suggest that local developers may be slow to invest in a community where numerous health and social service agencies are visible reminders of significant local challenges to the health and welfare of residents.

The available health service utilization data suggests that Beasley residents use local health services in greater numbers than do residents citywide. Hospital, community

and home based services, which are concentrated in the downtown core, are accessed by Beasley residents at higher rates than elsewhere in the city.

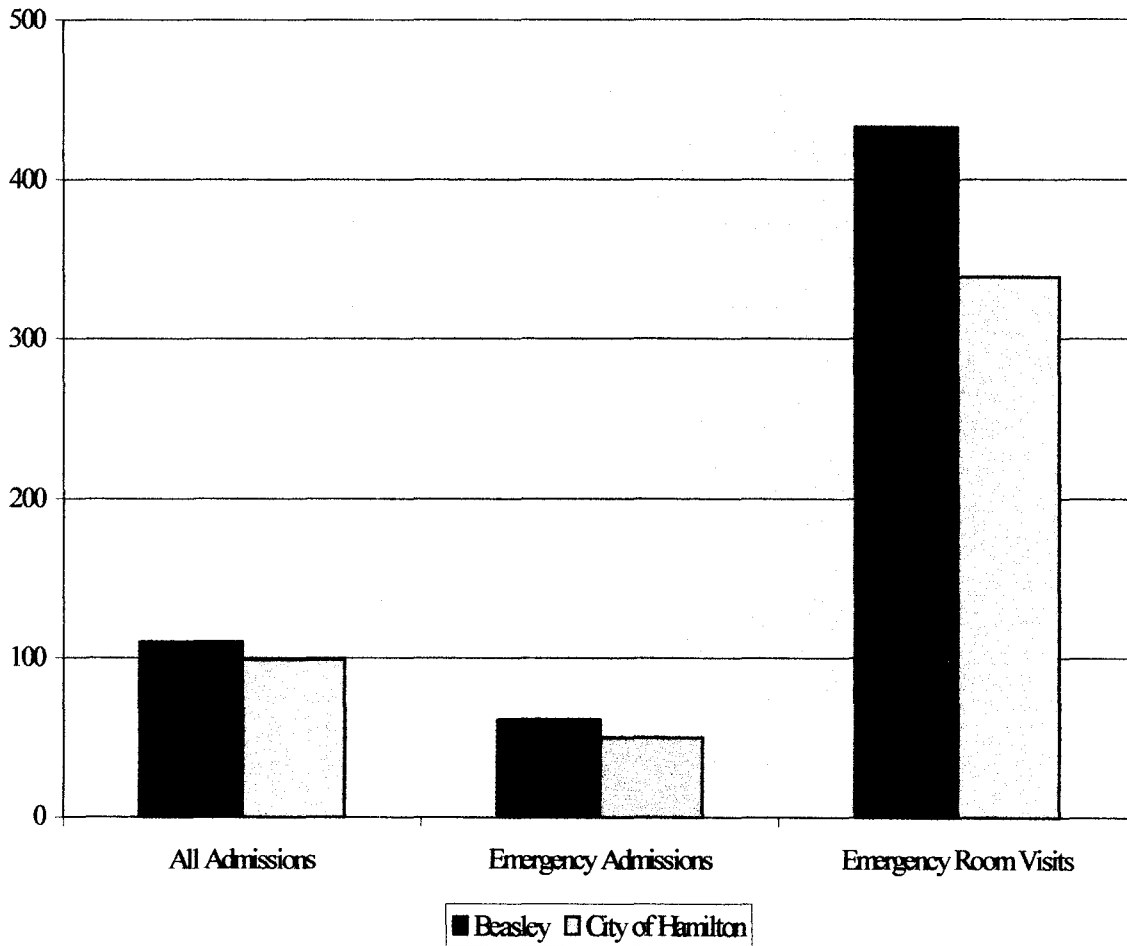
Rates of hospital admission, emergency room admission, and emergency room visits are higher in Beasley than in the city as a whole (Figure 5.8). Community consultants suggest that high hospital admission rates may be a result of the lack of stable family medical service in the downtown core. Despite concerted efforts at providing quality health care for core residents, frequent turnover of health professionals may force some residents to rely on emergency services to meet their family medical needs.

Rates of admission for mental illness, heart failure, stroke and diabetes are higher in Beasley than in the city as a whole. For some of the so-called diseases of affluence, this trend is reversed. Rates of admission for malignancies and coronary heart disease are lower in Beasley than in the city as a whole (Hamilton CCAC 1999b).

The difference between specific-cause admission rates for Beasley and Hamilton is greatest for two categories of illness: (1) injuries and poisonings; and (2) respiratory ailments, including pneumonia, influenza, and chronic obstructive lung disease (Hamilton CCAC 1999b). Informants report concerns with social and environmental conditions that increase the potential for injury and respiratory illness (Galloway *et al.* 2000).

The July 1990 edition of *Infowatch*, a Hamilton community newsletter, cites Beasley as a neighborhood where pedestrian injuries among children ages 5-9 years are high (greater than 15 injuries per 1000 children) (Health Priorities Analysis Unit, McMaster Faculty of Health Sciences 1990: 4). A former educator in the area suggests that low income and employment levels force parents to leave children alone for parts of

Figure 5.8: 1997/1998 All-Cause Hospital Admission Rates Per 1000 Residents for Beasley Neighborhood*



* not adjusted for the age and sex distributions of the populations

the day. "Lack of parental supervision is a grave concern in the area surrounding Davey school. Some of our kids are the most at-risk group of children in Hamilton, in terms of

personal security and crime.” A community consultant from the city’s Public Works and Traffic Division cites traffic speed and congestion as health risks for residents of the downtown core. An informant at the Beasley Community Policing Centre expresses concern for the personal security of local residents:

Panhandling, prostitution, drugs, theft...they are all common here. People act out of desperation.

Poverty makes people desperate.

High rates of accidental injury and poisoning may be directly related to the lack of personal security described by community informants.

Environmental conditions in the downtown core may be linked to high rates of respiratory illness. A local service provider is concerned with the proximity of numerous industrial operations to the playground of Dr. J. Edgar Davey Elementary School, including a dry cleaning facility and an automotive paint shop. Aboriginal health service providers suggest that allergies are a growing problem for many downtown residents. City health analysts cite air quality and industrial waste as paramount concerns in Hamilton’s downtown core:

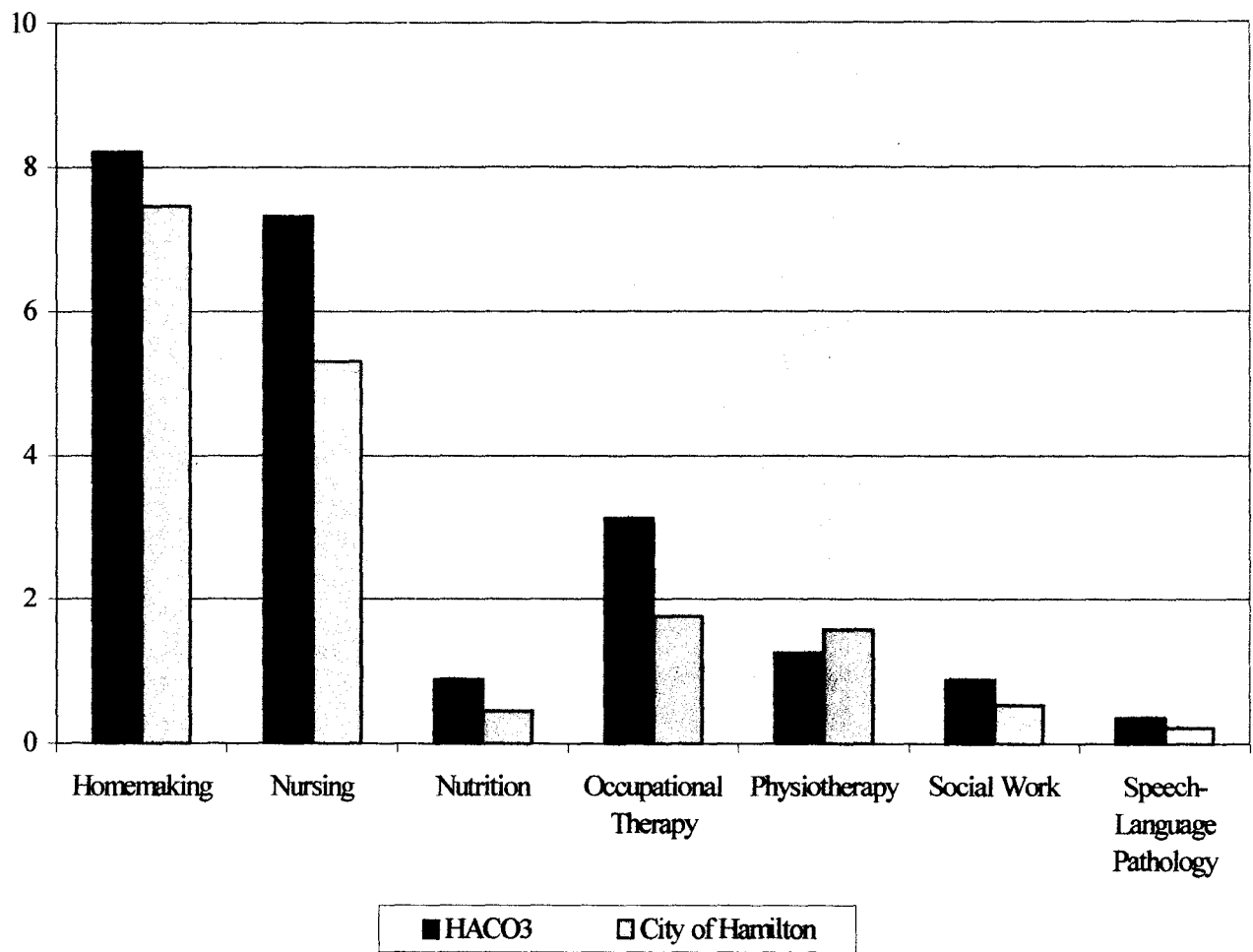
There are several large brown fields in the north and north-east lower city... Brown fields are abandoned industrial sites whose owners have gone into receivership. Clean-up and disposal of toxic wastes and materials requires money, and no one is willing to pay for those services.

It would appear that environmental and socioeconomic conditions may place Beasley residents at higher risk for illness and hospital admission than residents of the city as a whole.

Residents of HACO3, the CCAC service area which includes Beasley, access community services at higher rates than the residents of Hamilton as a whole (Figure 5.9).

The average number of service types per client in Beasley is 1.91, compared with 1.37 for the city as a whole.

Figure 5.9: 1997/1998 CCAC Clients Per 1000 Residents By Type of Service for HACO3 and the City of Hamilton



The standardized mortality ratio (SMR) in HACO3 is 1.80. This means that between 1985 and 1994 Beasley residents experienced 80% more deaths than the Ontario population as a whole after accounting for the age and sex distributions of the populations (Hamilton CCAC 1999b). Beasley's SMR is second only to that of the adjacent community of Corktown, whose SMR of 1.90 is the highest of all Hamilton communities served by the CCAC (Hamilton CCAC 1999a). Clearly there are significant health risks associated with residence in Hamilton's core neighborhoods.

5.9 Conclusion

The results of this research describe the context and effects of high mobility in Beasley neighborhood. Beasley's core location and abundance of dense, low-rental housing secure its role as a landing point for new immigrants. While much of Beasley's residential mobility is attributable to incoming immigrants, qualitative evidence suggests that Beasley's non-migrant movers disproportionately bear the burden of economic poverty, unemployment, poor housing quality and educational disruption. While supportive, the quantitative data sources used in this study cannot confirm this finding. Minimally, it can be stated that Beasley residents, whether movers or stayers, are disproportionately represented among Hamilton's poor.

Qualitative findings suggest that immigrant and non-migrant movers exhibit a significant difference in health outcomes relative to personal security and social support. Again, the quantitative sources used in this study cannot link health service utilization rates in Beasley to non-migrant movers. Minimally, it can be stated that Beasley residents

access hospital, emergency, and home care services at higher rates than their city counterparts.

It is apparent that mobility is a significant factor that affects the determinants of health in Beasley neighborhood. Low income levels coupled with challenging conditions in housing, family, educational environments may create mobility experiences that may threaten the health and well-being of Beasley residents. It is also possible that mobility is a health risk in and of itself. The following chapter is a discussion of these findings in the context of the existing research on immigration and non-migrant mobility.

Chapter VI

Discussion

6.1 Introduction

Research on mobility typically distinguishes “internal” from “international” mobility. Movements over great geographic distances or physical boundaries pose economic, social, and cultural challenges for movers, not the least of which is separation from social and physical structures of support in their place of origin. However, Wolf (1982) argues that it is a mistake to assume that immigrant movers alone undergo momentous cultural change. “What is significant for the migrant is the position he is placed in, in relation to other groups, on arrival. That placement determines which of his prior resources he can apply and which new ones he must acquire “ (Wolf 1982: 362). Haines (1988) and Benson (1990) advocate an anthropology of migration that focuses on the way local socioeconomic context shapes the migration experiences of households and individuals.

This thesis examines the socioeconomic context and health implications of high mobility in Beasley neighborhood. In this chapter, the results of the present study are compared with existing research on mobility and migration status, income, employment, housing, family structure and education. The discussion draws on literature from anthropology, sociology, economics, education and geography. Though there are few studies of urban mobility that measure health directly, this review examines the known implications of high mobility on the health of individuals, households and communities such as Beasley neighborhood.

6.2 The Mobility Experiences of Immigrants

Beasley's high recent immigrant population is characteristic of core neighborhoods in cities described by population geographers as the "Toronto fringe": Mississauga, Oshawa, Hamilton, and Kitchener-Waterloo (Moore and Rosenberg 1995: 700). According to the 1996 Census of Canada, 73% of recent immigrants (arrived between 1991 and 1996) reside in the metropolitan areas of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. The overwhelming majority of these (42%) live in Toronto and its fringe cities. Moore and Rosenberg (1995) trace the urban concentration of immigration as it occurred over a century of shifting economic conditions:

At the turn of the (20th) century, policies...led to the recruitment of immigrants to the Prairie region to farm. A steady reorientation toward the manufacturing and service sectors, particularly after World War II, meant that employment opportunities in our major cities grew in importance, with a major focus on cities in central Canada...Immigrants tended to focus on the sites of these new economic opportunities and increasingly headed for the cities rather than the countryside. (Moore and Rosenberg 1995: 700)

Its proximity to manufacturing and service employment explain Beasley's role as a settlement location for immigrants through the early and middle parts of 20th century. But its persistence as a settlement location through recent declines in manufacturing employment is puzzling. Benson's (1990) study of Southeast Asian immigrants to U.S. cities suggests that the "enclaving" effect of kin and non-kin relationships within immigrant communities furnishes significant amounts of practical and psychological support for newcomers. High proportions of both recent and non-recent immigrants,

particularly in Beasley's CT 063, may be evidence of enclaving effect in certain ethnocultural communities.

Immigrant poverty in Canada is a well-documented phenomenon, with immigrant poverty rates topping non-immigrant poverty rates in every major Canadian city (Hajnal 2001). Using low-income cutoffs as a definition of poverty (56% of gross income spent on basic necessities), Kazemipur and Halli (2001) report immigrant and non-immigrant poverty rates of 18% and 14% respectively for Hamilton residents in 1991. Controlling for all other socioeconomic variables, immigration alone increases the likelihood of being poor by 10%. Despite this phenomenon, immigrant and non-immigrant poverty rates for some ethnic groups are remarkably similar and significantly above the Canadian average rate of 16%. Kazemipur and Halli (2001) suggest that there is an "ethnicization" of poverty in Canada that mirrors the "racialization" of poverty observed in large U.S. cities. Bourne and Rose (2001) observe that the concentration of immigration and ethnic diversity in metropolitan areas, and in the inner city specifically, has led to deepening economic contrasts between core and suburban residents of Canadian cities.

High rates of immigration have characterized Beasley for a century. Despite the capacities described by local informants, poverty is likely a reality among international immigrants to Beasley. The resources required for ESL, income support, and health and social services to migrants are spread across a large number of recent immigrants whose risk of poverty is high.

Low rates of home ownership in Beasley neighborhood are typical of those in core areas of North American cities. A U. S. Bureau of the Census report on urban mobility cites average home ownership rates of less than 10% in core neighborhoods.

New immigrants tend to be renters, rather than home-owners (United States Bureau of the Census 1994). In fact, Beasley's attraction for new immigrants to Canada may be linked with the condition and cost of neighborhood housing. Ley and Hiebert (2001) and O'Neal (1999) describe discriminatory housing prices in Canadian cities which target immigrant renters with few housing options. Beasley may remain a destination for landed immigrants precisely because former immigrants leave its poorly-maintained, high density housing as soon as they are financially able to do so.

The dichotomy described by Beasley informants, between "stable" immigrant families and "unstable", highly mobile non-immigrant families, is supported to some extent by the literature on family structure. In their review of social change in Canada, Bourne and Rose (2001) document shifts in household structure between 1960 and 1998:

Canadian families have...changed dramatically over this period. The traditional multi-family household and extended family living together under one roof have almost disappeared, except among certain immigrant and ethnocultural groups and in Aboriginal communities. (Bourne and Rose 2001: 108)

However, the cost of maintaining close extended family and community relationships can be high. In her ethnography of Vietnamese and Laotian households in a southwestern Kansas, Benson (1990) asserts that supportive, extended family relationships among immigrants can be both a capacity and a deficit. The social, emotional and practical benefits of family relationships may also burden immigrants with heavy interpersonal and financial responsibilities, an issue not revealed by this thesis. A deeper examination of immigrant mobility in Beasley could explore the range of extended family responsibilities among immigrants to Beasley, including sponsorships, adoptions and remittances.

While Beasley's elementary school mobility is described in terms of non-migrant movers, there is evidence that high student mobility is a concern among both immigrant and non-migrant populations. Benson (1990) records high school mobility rates among Vietnamese and Laotian immigrants to Kansas, as parents follow employment opportunities from city to city. Cahan *et al.* (2001) describes the negative effects of immigration on children's educational achievement:

...across all subject areas tested and all grade levels combined, students who immigrated between the ages of 8 and 11 were quicker in achieving (both English proficiency and content area achievement) than those who immigrated at a younger (5-7) or older (12-15) age. According to this study, therefore, immigration age 8-11 is optimal. (Cahan *et al.* 2001)

Others suggest that the link between mobility and education in Canada is challenged by structural problems that constrain opportunities for immigrant students. According to Kazemipur and Halli (2001), there are ethnic and immigration biases in the effect of education on poverty in Canada. While education reduces the chances of poverty for both immigrant and non-immigrant Canadians, it benefits non-immigrants disproportionately. It is possible that Beasley informants' focus on non-migrant student mobility reveals an under-emphasis of the challenges faced by immigrant students at Dr. J. E. Davey Elementary School.

Despite the literature on the economic and educational challenges faced by new immigrants, research suggests that international immigrants are "pulled" to Canada by opportunities for improvement in economic, education, and health circumstances (Bogin 2001). The findings of the current study support a "pull" hypothesis for immigrant mobility.

6.3 The Health of Immigrants

Data from the 1994-1995 Canadian National Population Health Survey indicates that immigrant movers are more likely to report poor health than non-immigrants, but less likely to report unmet needs for health care. This difference decreases after five years of residence in Canada, presenting the possibility that recent immigrants access supportive health and social services at higher rates than non-recent immigrants or permanent Canadian residents (Dunn and Dyck 2000).

Beasley's high health service utilization rates may be attributable to immigrant movers accessing the system to address their health care needs. In fact, Beasley's status as a place of temporary settlement for newcomers to Canada may be responsible for the consolidation of health and social services in the neighborhood. Described by some informants as a detriment to neighborhood quality, the existence of these services may provide opportunities for non-immigrant residents to access services less available to non-immigrant residents in other Hamilton communities.

In her review of research on the health of Canadian immigrants, Hyman (2001: v) reports that "most of the literature reviewed suggests that Canadian immigrants, particularly recent arrivals, enjoy many health advantages over long-term immigrants and the native-born population in terms of their overall health status and the prevalence of certain chronic diseases such as cancer and heart disease." However, Hyman disputes the claim that immigrants utilize health services at higher rates than non-immigrants. Across the literature, similar patterns of health service utilization are observed in immigrant and non-immigrant Canadians, including an under-utilization of existing preventive and mental health resources.

Findings of poor self-reported health among immigrants (Dunn and Dyck 2000) support the hypothesis that immigrants are likely to have lower levels of social support than non-immigrants, due to linguistic and cultural barriers and distance from family and friends. This decrease in social capital is correlated with lower self-reported health. These findings run counter to assertions that the health of recent immigrants is bolstered by the “enclaving effect” of supportive family and extra-familial relationships within linguistic and cultural groups. Enclaving may occur, but it may not provide enough support to meet the physical and emotional health needs of immigrant movers.

In a study of health service utilization by Fijian immigrants to the lower mainland area of British Columbia, Elliott and Gillie (1998) report the mixed health effects of the physical and sociocultural environments. While the harsh climate, relative to Fiji, imposes physical challenges on new immigrants, the ability to access health care and social services alleviates some of the burden of coping with environmental challenges. Informants’ emphasis on the significance of non-migrant mobility in Beasley may arise from a perception that the health needs of immigrant movers, while significant, are being addressed by local services.

Informants concerns over the environmental health risks of residence in Hamilton’s urban core are framed in terms of risk for injury from accident or pollution. In a critique of Canadian immigration patterns as population policy, Ley and Hiebert (2001) attribute rising urban rates of traffic congestion, housing shortage, and air pollution to the concentration of immigrant communities within large Canadian cities:

...the concentrated nature of population growth is associated with declining environmental conditions in land, water, and urban air pollution. While environmental quality has not been a part of the immigration discussion in Canada, in Australia environmental deterioration accompanying growth, particularly in Sydney, has sparked an environmental argument for heavily reduced immigration, leading some groups (including the Green Party) to suggest a zero net immigration policy. (Ley and Hiebert 2001: 121)

While Canadian population growth is largely fueled by immigration, it is in response to a huge demand for skilled workers that cannot be met by Canada's declining fertility rates:

Government [immigration] policy has responded to changes in the demand for labour, in social attitudes, and in conditions abroad... These pressures are likely to increase in future decades as the effects of the decline in fertility ripple through the age pyramid, and in response to emigration to the United States. (Bourne and Rose 2001: 109)

Linking immigration with urban congestion and pollution ignores the environmental health responsibilities of industry, developers, and urban planners. Problems with air quality and brown fields in Beasley neighborhood are not a result of Canadian immigration policy.

6.4 The Mobility Experiences of Non-Migrant Movers

The results of interview and community consultation suggest that non-migrant mobility is a persistent and accelerating concern for Beasley residents. Informants' perceptions of rising non-migrant mobility may represent significant changes from the last available census data, collected in 1996. Or it is possible that informants' perceptions arise from an increasing visibility of the problems associated with high non-migrant mobility. Whatever the reason, mobility consistently arises in discussions of Hamilton's

core neighborhoods. Given this emphasis, one is surprised by the limited available research on urban mobility.

In contrast to the large body of literature on international migration, there are few studies of non-migrant mobility. Data from the Migration and Housing Choice Survey of Scotland suggests that the majority of Scottish movers relocate within the boundaries of suburban jurisdictions. Most moves are short (less than 100km) and motivated by choice of housing type or quality, the wish to own, and proximity to employment and services. Moving frequency, distance, and motivation do not vary significantly across the life cycle, except for the obvious factor of proximity to children's schooling during young adulthood. For the study years 1991-1996, reported reasons for staying and moving are consistent across the life cycle, reflecting concern with housing and neighborhood environment (Forster 2001).

Boyle (1998) describes high non-migrant mobility in residents of British council housing. Brimblecombe *et al.* (1999) report high rates of mobility in a mortality sample from the British Household Panel Study (1991-1996). While the sample includes national (within the United Kingdom) and regional movers (within census metropolitan area), the majority of migratory moves are between local areas (within census tract). Though the Brimblecombe *et al.* (1999) mortality sample contains a disproportionately high number of elderly movers, social and economic deprivations among the elderly may lead to high local mobility. There may be parallels between elderly British movers and economically challenged movers in Beasley neighborhood.

Studies of income diversity suggest that poverty concentration in American cities is linked to non-migrant mobility. Using geographically coded data from the Panel Study

of Income Dynamics (1968-1990), Quillian (1999) tracks mobility and income across three decades of urban development in the U.S. He suggests that the concentration of low income residents in high poverty neighborhoods is the result of “neighborhood change”. Rather than reflecting a fall in income among neighborhood residents, high rates of poverty in an area reflect the movement of people into and out of local housing. Previously non-poor neighborhoods lose non-poor residents to out-migration and experience an influx of low-income residents as housing values fall and rental spaces become available. The phenomenon of “neighborhood change” describes how inner city neighborhoods have “disproportionately borne the brunt of increasing poverty rates” (Quillian 1999: 28) in North American cities. Galster and Zobel (1998), Popkin and Cunningham (1999), and Turner *et al.* (2000) have documented geographic clustering of low income families in U.S. urban cores. It is plausible to suggest that similar “neighborhood change” has taken place in Beasley.

High rates of non-migrant mobility may reflect an influx of low income individuals and families whose economic horizons are limited. Studies of mobility in low-income women suggest that movers are motivated by “push” and “pull” factors that propel movers away from situations of poverty and distress and toward economic opportunity. Williams (1997) describes female movers leaving aboriginal reserve communities for urban neighborhoods in Canada. Although movers cite educational and economic opportunities as factors “pulling” them toward cities, the majority of motivation is attributed to “push” factors within home communities, such as poverty, lack of opportunity, and crime. Similar conditions in Beasley neighborhood may “push” many residents to move.

In a study of single Canadian mothers, Rischall (1999) asserts that women are “pulled” to move by opportunities for economic advancement that are intrinsic to the process of moving itself. “If one accounts for the possibility that migration provides single mothers with a fresh start, then one finds that single mothers improve their earnings by moving...an average of 10% (Rischall 1999: 18). Coupled with the data on low female income and female-led lone parent families in Beasley, high rates of non-migrant mobility may reflect efforts by female residents to better their economic prospects with a “fresh start.”

It has been proposed that non-migrant mobility may be necessary in a post-manufacturing economy, as a means of matching labour to the shifting needs of information-based industry (Byrne 1995; Pribesh and Downey 1999). In the post-Fordist model proposed by Byrne (1995), income and employment opportunity motivate mobility in a flexible, highly-skilled workforce. Some research on movers and stayers appears to support this model of “pull” motivated mobility.

Lucas (1971) and Brown (1978) describe the exodus of laid-off workers and their families from resource-based single industry towns in the 1970s. Wilkinson and Robinson (1997) track former mine workers from Elliott Lake, Ontario. Despite the existence of social amenities, strong social attachments, and the value of mutually supportive relationships in the community of origin, employment opportunity remains the primary motivator for mobility (Robinson and Wilkinson 1997; Wilkinson and Robinson 1997).

However, a number of studies contradict Byrne’s (1995) post-Fordist model of mobility. Turner *et al.* (2000) report resistance to long-distance mobility in participants of

the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's Section 8 Program. Despite the opportunity provided by portability of benefits under the Program, the majority of participants stay within five miles of their initial place of residence, with 25% leasing in place and 33% moving less than 2½ miles (Turner *et al.* 2000). Reasons for staying or relocating close by include proximity to services, access to public transportation, and low property values, which impel landlords to take advantage of the Section 8 Program. In fact, resistance to long-distance relocation has proved the bane of large, government-sponsored efforts at poverty deconcentration in the U.S. (Galster and Zobel 1998).

A similar resistance to long-distance mobility in south-east England has prompted economists to argue that "the management of publicly owned [council] housing discourages the mobility of tenants over long distances...[and] costs the nation approximately £7500 million per annum" (Boyle 1998:855). The conservative government-sponsored council housing 'right-to-buy' sell-off of the 1980s was motivated specifically by concerns that the availability of council housing in economically depressed regions prevented migration to areas of England with chronic labour shortages, such as the industrial south-east.

Beasley's high unemployment vis-à-vis the City of Hamilton is another symptom of poverty concentration in the city's core. While the city's unemployment rate has remained near eight percent since 1986, unemployment has risen dramatically in both CT 049 and CT 063 (Figure 4.5). The decline in manufacturing employment for Beasley residents is more difficult to interpret. As Byrne (1995) and local informants suggest, the manufacturing sector of the economy may be giving way to the growing influence of information and service industries. The decline in Beasley's manufacturing employment

is mirrored by a decline in manufacturing employment citywide (Figure 4.6). It would appear that Hamilton's steady unemployment rates are buoyed by non-manufacturing jobs that are, for the most part, not held by Beasley residents.

Qualitative evidence suggests a lack of housing satisfaction among a number of Beasley residents. Issues of housing quality, location and affordability are key to informants' descriptions of high non-migrant mobility in Beasley. Low rates of home ownership in Beasley neighborhood are typical of those in core areas of North American cities. A U. S. Bureau of the Census report on urban mobility cites average home ownership rates of less than 10% in core neighborhoods. As Non-migrant movers tend to be renters, rather than home-owners (United States Bureau of the Census 1994).

In November 1999, the Honourable Alfonso Gagliano, Minister responsible for the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation authorized the devolution of responsibility for social housing to the Province of Ontario (Government of Ontario 1999a). That same month, the Honourable Tony Clement, provincial Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing, transferred responsibility for social housing to Ontario's municipalities, while maintaining control of capital housing stock and the "right of refusal" for expenditure of existing social housing capital reserves (Government of Ontario 1999b). A lack of recent investment in supportive housing in Beasley may be representative of conservative government withdrawal from social housing responsibilities observed elsewhere (Boyle 1998).

In a study of two Vancouver neighborhoods, Dunn and Hayes (2000) measure residents' satisfaction with housing and neighborhood characteristics and reported health status. While there is no relationship between housing characteristics, housing costs, and

any of the health outcome variables, measures of the extent to which people's dwellings reflect their identity suggest that housing is very important. Respondents who report satisfaction with the quality and location of their homes, regardless of actual housing condition or location, are more likely to report better health status, health satisfaction, and mental health. The relationship between neighborhood satisfaction and health is weaker, suggesting that neighborhood satisfaction is less important than housing satisfaction in influencing reported health (Dunn and Hayes 2000).

High rates of unattached individuals and lone parents in Beasley reflect national trends. Between 1960 and 1998, living arrangements changed profoundly as societal views on partnerships, divorce, and the role of women in Canadian society changed dramatically. The incidence of non-family households rose from 9% in 1960 to 25% in 1998. Bourne and Rose (2001) suggest that much of this increase is due to a greater propensity of the young and the elderly to live alone. Beasley's high proportion of unattached individuals reflects this trend.

The incidence of lone parent families rose sharply in Canada between 1960 and 1980. Changes in provincial divorce laws followed (or perhaps led to) widespread social acceptance of parents rearing children alone (Bourne and Rose 2001). While Beasley's high number of lone parent families reflects the national trend, its rates of male- and female-led lone parent families far exceed those of the Hamilton as a whole. This disturbing observation reflects Rischall's (1999) argument that lone parent families, and female-led lone families in particular, are over-represented among Canada's urban poor. Rischall's "fresh start hypothesis", discussed earlier, suggests that mobility may be an attempt by these families to reverse their worsening economic fortunes.

The effect of mobility on educational outcome appears to be mediated by two factors: social capital, and parental educational attainment. Social capital has been defined by Kawachi *et al.* (1997: 1491) as the features of social organization, such as trust, reciprocity and civic participation, that facilitate cooperation among individuals for mutual benefit.

The U.S. National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) of 1988, and its 1992 follow-up, include demographic, social, and educational data on 24 000 eighth-grade students (Pribesh and Downey 1999). School-only, residence-only, and combined school and residence moves are associated with declines in social capital. The 1992 measure of social capital, using the 1988 measure as control, is a significant predictor of students' math test scores. Using multiple regression analysis, family characteristics and social capital explain about 95% of the negative effect of school moves on educational outcomes. Students whose social capital measures remain high despite moving have significantly higher test scores than those whose social capital measures decline with moving. The authors acknowledge that, like the present study, their study considers only individual-level variables. It may be argued that students benefit by moving to neighborhoods with high levels of integration and social cohesion. However, it appears that for some children, access to social capital is a reliable predictor of the impact of mobility on education (Pribesh and Downey 1999).

In the 1987 University of Michigan Panel Study of Income Dynamics, Haveman *et al.* (1991) report that mobility, parental education, family stress, and family economic circumstances are jointly significant negative predictors of children's educational attainment. Disrupting a child's (aged less than 7 years) or adolescent's (aged 12-15

years) physical location has a strong, negative and significant effect on educational achievement and attainment (Haveman *et al.* 1991). Smith-Maddox (1999) reports a positive correlation between parental educational attainment and the educational performance of mobile children. Rischall (1999) documents significantly higher earnings in mobile single mothers with higher educational attainment than in those with lower educational attainment. Pribesh and Downey (1999) report that parental educational attainment has a significant positive effect on the educational performance of both movers and stayers, although this effect appears to be mediated by the influence of social capital. Children of low-income and low-education level parents continue to exhibit strong educational performance after a move if their social capital measures remain high. Conversely, children of highly educated parents experience a sharp decline in test scores if their moves are accompanied by a decrease in social capital. It is clear from the literature that investment in education has long-term societal implications that are as yet poorly understood.

The results of the present study support a “push” theory of economic motivation for Beasley’s non-migrant movers. Interview and community consultation results suggest that movers are motivated by income insecurity, high rents, and poor housing conditions, rather than by the “pull” factors of employment or educational opportunity. Qualitative findings of educational disruption and difficulty tracking students suggest that high non-migrant mobility has a negative effect on children’s education.

6.5 The Health of Non-Migrant Movers

In the only existing study which directly compares mobility and health, Brimblecombe *et al.* (1999) plot geographical variations in age- and sex-standardized mortality rates from the 1991-1996 British Household Panel Survey. Rather than using standard measures of mortality risk, such as age, ethnicity, education, income, and housing tenure, the authors hypothesize that some of the difference in mortality risk between geographic areas may be the results of different groups of migrants carrying different mortality risks with them when they move to different parts of the U.K. Results indicate that nearly 100% of mortality risk in an area can be explained by selective migration. For example, the return of migrants to their district of birth results in a decrease in the SMR of previously high mortality rate districts and an increase in the SMR of previously low mortality rate districts. Individuals born in Scotland, with its low income, high unemployment and high SMR, actually lower the regional SMR when they return after retirement. Individuals born in the industrial southeast, with high average incomes, low unemployment and low SMR, bring greater mortality risk with them when they return to their home districts after retirement:

Migration is both part of the life course and moves people with different chances due to their differing experiences of life to different places disproportionately....In addition, migration itself has an effect on health and this varies according to the circumstances surrounding that migration including the place being migrated from and to. (Brimblecombe *et al.* 1999: 6-7).

These findings are part of an emerging debate over whether it is the characteristics of people or places that explains geographical inequalities in health (Macintyre *et al.* 1998; Sooman and Macintyre 1995).

Much of the existing literature on mobility supports the findings of the present research. High non-migrant mobility is common in North American and British cities. The majority of short-distance moves are motivated by concerns with economic, employment and housing opportunity. Most non-migrant movers are renters, and many of them suffer from the educational and health effects of the decrease in social capital which accompanies a move.

In the case of Beasley neighborhood, it appears that the health of non-migrant movers is challenged by inconsistencies in health and social service provision which are aggravated by mobility status. Qualitative evidence suggests non-migrant movers suffer disproportionately from poverty, unemployment, poor housing, and lack of consistent social support. Given that these are known determinants of health (Evans and Stoddart 1994), and that according to informants all are disrupted by frequent moves in the downtown core, non-migrant mobility is a risk factor in and of itself for poor health.

6.6 Conclusion

Analysis of research findings reveals that the experience of non-migrant movers differs significantly from that of immigrants. Immigrants to Canada who arrive in Beasley are motivated by the “pull” factors of economic and educational opportunity, and improved health and social services for their families. Beasley’s non-migrant movers are motivated by the “push” factors of income insufficiency, unemployment, and poor housing quality. Where the health of immigrants improves upon arrival and is supported by local services, the education and health of non-migrant movers is jeopardized by poverty, and by the challenges to service access which accompany a move.

Where the present findings emphasize the negative educational and health effects of non-migrant mobility, there is abundant evidence in the literature of similar challenges for immigrant movers. The perception of immigration as a capacity in Beasley neighborhood leads to interesting speculation about this difference. Are Beasley informants under-emphasizing the challenges faced by newcomers to Canada? Or are there formal or informal structures in place in Beasley neighborhood, possibly related to its historic role as a settlement location for newcomers to Canada, which bolster the health and educational experiences of Beasley's immigrant population? Further investigation is required to explore the differences between the present and existing studies.

Immigration and ethnic diversity are not the only capacities described by Beasley informants. There has been considerable local investment in Beasley by Hamilton youth. In 1992, Beasley skateboarders successfully lobbied for the construction of the city's first concrete boarding facility (Figure 5.1). Spray-painted murals, commissioned by local volunteers and completed by Beasley teens, were mounted on the fence separating Beasley Park from a large transformer station. Early community reaction was somewhat mixed, with residents expressing concerns about "graffiti" and the congregation of youth in the neighborhood park. Since that time, local artists and competitive skateboarders have brought national recognition to Beasley (Burchell: personal communication). In July 2002, the newly-organized Hamilton Skateboard Association will host the 10th Anniversary Beasley Skateboarding Competition. The Beasley event is the oldest community competition in Canada, and features local as well as national talent. Hamilton boarding, cycling and art shops are sponsoring the 2-day event. A highlight will be the

production of a new set of painted murals to replace the original art surrounding the park.

Organizers see the event as a way to reinvest in the neighborhood where they grew up:

We all learned to board there... I have a construction company now, so I can supply the wood and labour to put up the art. My buddy, he has a boarding shop in Hess Village, so he's doing some demonstrations and giving out prizes...It's a way to give something back, make sure there's stuff for the little guys to do. We don't live there anymore, but we all boarded there as kids and its great to go back and see a new group of guys coming on. (Anonymous interviewees, Beasley Park, 28 June 2002)

It is interesting that organizers consistently share the following opinions: (1) time spent in Beasley during childhood was pleasant; and (2) donating their time and skills to Beasley's current children is important.



Figure 6.1: Skateboard Park, Beasley Park

Chapter VII

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The objectives of this research were threefold: (1) to describe the context of population mobility in Beasley neighborhood; (2) to hypothesize the relationship between mobility and health in Beasley residents; and (3) To provide direction for future investigations into mobility and urban migration in Canada, and in Beasley specifically. This research describes two significant forms of population mobility in Beasley neighborhood: immigration and non-migrant mobility. Further, it argues that the mobility experiences of immigrant and non-migrant movers are dissimilar, and that these mobility experiences affect individual health in different ways. Buffered by a range of health and social service resources, the health of new immigrants to Beasley may improve significantly on arrival (Hyman 2001). This initial improvement appears to last the duration of immigrants' residence in Beasley neighborhood, usually a period of less than five years. In contrast, the health of non-migrant movers is negatively affected by high mobility, low income, unemployment, and a lack of affordable quality housing.

In using community consultation data from the Local Determinants of Health Project (Eyles *et al.* 1999), supported by additional interviews, and existing sources of data on socioeconomic conditions in Beasley, this research has generated a number of hypotheses about mobility and health:

- (1) Immigrants to Beasley are motivated by “pull” forces such as improvements in economic, education, and health prospects.

- (2) The ethnic enclaving phenomenon provides a significant form of support for some immigrants to Beasley.
- (3) Some of Beasley's long-term "stayers" are Italian and Portuguese immigrant families who moved to Beasley in the first half of the 20th century.
- (4) Non-migrant movers are motivated in their short-distance moves by "push" forces such as economic instability, unemployment, poor housing conditions, and a lack of income and social housing support.
- (5) As suggested by the education data, Beasley's most mobile individuals and families may change residences as often as five or six times per year.
- (6) Due to the economic and social challenges facing single income families, Beasley's high number of lone parent families may be disproportionately represented among frequent movers.
- (7) The health of immigrants to Beasley improves on arrival. As well, immigrants reportedly access culturally-appropriate supportive health and social services in their language of choice.
- (8) The health of Beasley's non-migrant movers is related to their frequency of mobility, socioeconomic circumstance, and the maintenance of consistent supportive relationships with health and social service providers, extended family, and social networks of support.

These hypotheses exemplify the diverse opportunities for research on urban mobility.

While immigrant health has received widespread attention as a focus of anthropological and other research, non-migrant mobility has not. The following section contains a number of suggestions for future research on this issue.

7.2 Future Research on Urban Mobility

Beasley's consistently high immigration rates have rightly made the neighborhood a focus for municipal efforts to support newcomers to Canada. However conversations with local informants, educators, and service providers give one the sense that the need for support of the non-immigrant community is acute. A major conclusion of this research is that Beasley and other core communities would benefit from a fuller exploration of non-migrant mobility.

Interviews with Beasley residents, of all ages, would provide the opportunity for a deeper analysis of population mobility. Long-term residents of the area could describe the historical context behind their choice to remain in Beasley. Shorter-term residents could provide detailed descriptions of the economic, employment, and housing conditions that motivate their mobility decisions.

It would be interesting to develop a longitudinal study to track Beasley residents, both immigrant and non-immigrant, and their mobility choices over a decade. Informants suggest that Beasley and other core neighborhoods serve as "way-stations" or temporary places of residence as individuals and families weather periods of economic or social instability in their lives. A longitudinal study of mobility decisions, designed to maintain contact with subjects through a series of moves, could explore this possibility.

Examination of other Hamilton neighborhood data would reveal an exodus of Beasley's immigrant and non-migrant movers who have achieved a degree of economic security that allows them to live elsewhere.

Similarly, comparative studies of Beasley residents would investigate the differences in socioeconomic and health indicators between immigrants and non-immigrants, movers and stayers, long-term residents and short-term residents of the neighborhood.

The use of a biocultural framework for the anthropological study of non-migrant mobility would provide theoretical structure while permitting the exploration of a broad range of variables. Measures of biological wellness, such as disease prevalence, self-reported stress, mental health status, and disease risk, in a small mobile population, could be examined within the larger social and political context that affects the expression of health and well-being.

For research on non-migrant mobility to be effective, we need to incorporate creative approaches to establishing and maintaining contact into the study design. Subject recruitment can occur in coffee shops, schools, parks and other public spaces, rather than by telephone or mail. Honoraria would encourage participation by families whose time and energies are significantly challenged. Networks of contacts, such as a subject's extended family or friends, could provide information on moves, destinations, and contact information throughout the course of the study.

The present analysis suggests high non-migrant mobility has a negative effect on residents' health and well-being. Research shows that for children in particular, the cost of high mobility is visible in terms of low academic scores (Pribesh and Downey 1999). The Hamilton-Wentworth District School Board's emphasis on mobility as a risk factor for schools is evidence of growing interest in mobility in the field of education. Further

research must address the close relationship between mobility and other known determinants of health, such as income, employment, and social support.

The present research does not address the problem of homelessness in Beasley neighborhood. If health is influenced by housing and other factors which are perceived to be within the boundaries of personal space, there is some cause for concern among individuals with little control over issues of personal space and property. In a study of Montreal's community mental health system, Knowles (2000) describes the "post-asylum geographies" of de-institutionalized, mentally ill adults, who roam the malls and coffee shops of the urban core. In the harsh Montreal winter, researchers discover the city has no indoor public spaces. "The city is comprised of commercial space which is privately owned and rented to retailers;...this is a city built for consumption " (Knowles 2000: 219). If the circumstances of one's health preclude connection to private space through tenancy or home ownership, the implications for individual and community health are grave. For the mentally ill and homeless, mobility necessitates intimate contact with the physical environment in ways that affect urban neighborhoods profoundly. The health and mobility status of the Beasley homeless population cannot be assessed through census data. A closer examination of mobility and homelessness would require one-on-one interviews, with honoraria, perhaps conducted in the evening hours when this population is more accessible.

7.3 Conclusion

That anthropologists have been interested in rural-to-urban and international migration is not surprising. More often than not, these phenomena describe situations

where people experience the cultural tensions of large-scale geopolitical forces and local identity construction.

I would suggest that the mobility of urban core residents offers a similar range of interest for the field of anthropology. This research has only touched upon the broad range of societal and economic factors which affect the economic, employment, education and health experiences of Beasley residents.

There are a number of possibilities for historical-structural and transnational analysis of urban mobility. Free North American trade policies have removed manufacturing jobs in Canadian and U.S. cities. In the last decade, lack of commitment to minimum income commitments by provincial and federal finance ministries has severely curtailed the range of economic options open to many. The devolution of a number of social services to municipalities, and the simultaneous creation of regional municipalities, has resulted in major changes in urban service delivery. The privatization of a number of health and social services has changed the pattern of their delivery in urban centres.

In return, the discipline of anthropology offers analyses capable of articulating the diverse experience of urban movers and stayers. Ethnographic and biocultural studies of urban migration can describe the broad range of mobility experience and its concomitant health effects.

Appendix I

Beasley Neighborhood Consultation 2000

Methods

In July and August of 2000, the Beasley neighborhood consultation formed part of the exploratory phase of the Deconstructing the Determinants of Health at the Local Level research project. Local consultants were identified through their participation in community capacity-building programs operated through the Hamilton-Wentworth Social and Public Health Services Division. Data was collected through site visits, photography, field notes, and tape-recorded interviews. Using NUD*IST 4 software, findings were analyzed in the context of supporting data from regional health authorities.

Results

The results of the Beasley neighborhood consultation were documented in Galloway *et al.* (2000) and presented to researchers and community partners at the close of the exploratory phase of the larger research project. Full notes are available from the author.

Appendix II

Community Consultation 2000

Methods

In July and August of 2000, the Hamilton Community Consultation was conducted as part of the Deconstructing the Determinants of Health at the Local Level research project. Thirty individuals were selected as community informants representing the population health components identified by researchers and community partners. In keeping with the project's objective of enhancing understanding of the range of determinants of health, informants were selected from both broad, regional and local agency perspectives.

Of the 30 individuals contacted, 22 completed the survey, by telephone, email, or in person. The following questions were asked:

- (1) What would you say are the most significant issues or concerns in the Hamilton-Wentworth region?
- (2) How would you say those issues or concerns relate to health?
- (3) Are there specific neighborhoods or areas you would recommend looking at in order to understand the diversity of issues and concerns in the Hamilton-Wentworth region?
- (4) Are there other individuals who you think could assist us in this exploratory phase?

Responses to question (4) identified a further 12 individuals as informants. Seven were contacted and completed the survey, giving a total of 29 respondents. The responses to questions (1) through (3) were analyzed as nominal data sets using modal frequencies and NUD*IST 4 software.

Results

The results of the Community Consultation were documented in Galloway *et al.* (2000) and presented to researchers and community partners at the close of the exploratory phase of the larger research project. Full notes are available from the author.

Appendix III

Key Informant Interviews 2001

In the autumn of 2001, six semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted with Beasley educators and service providers. Interviewees were selected for their role as education and health service providers. The following is a general guide to questions used in the interviews:

- (1) What is your experience living or working in Beasley neighborhood?
- (2) Can you describe the area of Beasley for me? What are some of its strengths? What are some of its challenges?
- (3) Who lives here in Beasley neighborhood?
- (4) Do residents generally rent or own their homes?
- (5) Do residents generally work in the neighborhood or elsewhere?
- (6) What are some of the reasons for people moving frequently in and around this area?
- (7) How might moving affect the health of people living here?

Interviewees authorized the anonymous use of their comments for this research through signed consent forms under the ethics approval of the Deconstructing the Determinants of Health at the Local Level research project.

Appendix IV

Survey of Available Housing

On 19 September 2001, the researcher conducted an informal survey of the housing available in the northeast portion of Beasley neighborhood. The author responded to real estate and rental advertisements in a four-block portion of Catherine and Mary Streets, gathering listed sale and rental prices for six housing units. The results of this survey are listed here:

For sale:

3 bedroom single	\$119 900
5 bedroom semi, probably duplexed earlier; 2 baths, basement	\$69 900
3 bedroom single	\$79 900

For rent:

2 bedroom semi	\$750/month plus utilities
1 bedroom apartment	\$650/month plus utilities
1 bedroom non-smoking apartment	\$750/month inclusive

Appendix V

Corktown Neighborhood Consultation

Methods

In July and August of 2000, the Corktown neighborhood consultation formed part of the exploratory phase of the Deconstructing the Determinants of Health at the Local Level research project. Local consultants were identified through their participation in community capacity-building programs operated through the Hamilton-Wentworth Social and Public Health Services Division. Data was collected through site visits, photography, field notes, and tape-recorded interviews. Using NUD*IST 4 software, findings were analyzed in the context of supporting data from regional health authorities.

Results

The results of the Corktown neighborhood consultation were documented in Galloway *et al.* (2000) and presented to researchers and community partners at the close of the exploratory phase of the larger research project. Full notes are available from the author.

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