

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY AND CHANGING SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF
TORONTO, 1901-1911

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY AND THE CHANGING SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF
TORONTO, 1901-1911

By

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

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MASTER OF ARTS (2010)
(Geography)

McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Residential Mobility and the Changing Social Geography of Toronto,
1901-1911

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SUPERVISOR: Professor Michael Mercier

NUMBER OF PAGES: x, 129

ABSTRACT

The changing social-cultural and economic character of neighbourhoods is a result of individual decisions, such as households changing their place of residence. This thesis documents and analyzes the effect of such residential mobility on the changing social geography of cities, through a case-study approach; Toronto between 1901 and 1911. More specifically, this thesis investigates the social characteristics that affected mobility behaviour, and the role that residential mobility played in the changing social geography, and suburbanization, of early 20th Century Toronto.

Residential mobility behaviour was determined through the compilation of representative samples from two urban neighbourhoods in 1901 and two suburban neighbourhoods in 1911. The primary sources of data were the Census of Canada (1901 and 1911) and annual city directories, which were used to assess mobility in the intermediate years. Individual-level data for the head of each sampled household were collected from the four neighbourhoods, and assessed for differences in mobility behaviour with respect to social-cultural and economic factors.

Differences in the residential mobility behaviours of households were evaluated based on the distance of moves and the level of mobility (frequency of moves). In general, in the two urban neighbourhoods continental European immigrants (specifically those of Jewish ancestry) moved locally and were highly mobile, while residents of British ancestry (both native-born and immigrant) moved over longer distances and less frequently. Additionally, in the two suburban neighbourhoods recent immigrants commonly originated from the central city and exhibited low mobility, and native-born

and established immigrants generally originated from either the outer city areas or other suburbs and were more highly mobile.

Overall, it was found that the observed mobility patterns for the urban and suburban neighbourhoods were directly affected by certain social-cultural and economic characteristics. Furthermore, the role of residential mobility, as a key component of the suburbanization of early 20th Century Toronto, was clearly evident.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the many people who have, over the past couple of years, helped me complete this thesis.

First and foremost I would like to extend my thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Michael Mercier. Having worked with him on my thesis for the completion of my Honours B.A., it was due to his enthusiasm and encouragement that I decided to take on the completion of a Master of Arts degree. I deeply appreciate his unwavering support, guidance, and patience (especially when it came to editing) over the past several years. I could not have asked for a better advisor. I would also like to thank Dr. Richard Harris for his involvement and his willingness to discuss my ideas in the critical early stages of this thesis, as well as the financial support he provided in the hiring of research assistants. Additionally I would like to thank the other members of the examination committee Dr. Robert Wilton and Dr. Michael Waddington for their comments, suggestions, insightful questions, for taking the time to read this thesis.

My thanks go out to Dr. Walter Peace for his continued interest in my work and daily wishes of support when it seemed like the end would never come. Also, to the office staff in the School of Geography and Earth Sciences, thank you for the daily chats and putting up with my constant photocopying. Your support is greatly appreciated.

Undergraduate research assistants, Mallory Williams and Sarah Henderson were involved in certain data collection and research portions of this thesis, and I would like to thank them for their hard work. Additionally, my sincerest thanks go out to Patty Meyer

who was extensively involved in the editing process, and taught me about the wonders of formatting.

This degree was jointly funded by the Ontario Graduate Scholarship (OGS), and teaching assistantships through the Department of Geography and Earth Sciences at McMaster University.

I would like to extend my thanks to my graduate colleagues, especially office mates Darryl Pierce, Josh Evans, and Roberto Melfi, for sharing my triumphs and frustrations over the past couple of years. I would not have been able to complete this thesis if it were not for the fun we had in the office talking football and building gingerbread baseball stadiums.

Finally, I would like to extend a huge thank you to my family and friends. Their enduring interest in my graduate school experience, and support for the completion of this thesis is greatly appreciated. A special thanks to Daniel for helping me with the final push of editing when all I wanted to do was play video games.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1	Introduction.....	1
1.1	Introduction.....	1
1.2	Theoretical Frameworks	3
1.3	Significance of Research.....	5
1.4	Thesis Outline	6
Chapter 2	Literature Review.....	8
2.1	Introduction: Theoretical Frameworks	8
2.2	Canadian Population Growth and Immigration	8
2.3	The Creation of Neighbourhoods: The Ethnic Enclave and Ghetto	12
2.4	Social and Economic Changes to the City in the Industrial Era: Suburbanization 20	
2.5	Residential Mobility.....	27
2.6	Conclusion	35
Chapter 3	Methodology	37
3.1	Introduction.....	37
3.2	Neighbourhood Selection.....	37
3.3	City Neighbourhood Profiles	40
3.3.1	The Ward	40
3.3.2	Cabbagetown.....	41
3.4	Suburban Neighbourhood Profiles.....	42
3.4.1	West Toronto	42
3.4.2	East Toronto Suburb	44
3.5	Data Collection	45
3.5.1	Census of Canada, 1901.....	46
3.5.2	Census of Canada, 1911.....	46
3.5.3	Data Collection using the 1901 and 1911 Censuses	47
3.5.4	The City Directories.....	48
3.5.5	Data Collection using the City Directories	49
3.6	Data Analysis	52
3.6.1	Chi Square Analysis.....	53
3.7	Record-Linkage Challenges and Sources of Error.....	54
Chapter 4	Analysis of City Neighbourhoods.....	58
4.1	Central City: The Ward.....	58
4.1.1	Neighbourhood Profile: 1901 Census Population Sample.....	58
4.1.2	Residential Mobility.....	63
4.1.3	Stayers and Movers.....	63
4.1.4	Move Distance	66
4.1.5	Level of Mobility (Number of Moves)	71
4.2	Outer City: Cabbagetown	74
4.2.1	Neighbourhood Profile: 1901 Census Population Sample.....	74
4.2.2	Residential Mobility.....	78
4.2.3	Stayers and Movers	78

4.2.4	Move Distance	80
4.2.5	Level of Mobility (Number of Moves)	84
4.3	Conclusion	87
Chapter 5	Analysis of Suburban Neighbourhoods	88
5.1	Suburban: West Toronto	88
5.1.1	Neighbourhood Profile: 1911 Census Population Sample.....	88
5.1.2	Residential Mobility.....	92
5.1.3	Direct Immigrants, Stayers, and Movers	92
5.1.4	Move Distance	95
5.1.5	Level of Mobility (Number of Moves)	99
5.2	Suburban: East Toronto	102
5.2.1	Neighbourhood Profile: 1911 Census Population Sample.....	102
5.2.2	Residential Mobility.....	104
5.2.3	Direct Immigrants, Stayers, and Movers	105
5.2.4	Move Distance	107
5.2.5	Level of Mobility (Number of Moves)	109
5.3	Conclusion	112
Chapter 6	Discussion and Conclusion	113
6.1	Discussion of Main Findings: City Neighbourhoods	113
6.2	Discussion of Main Findings: Suburban Neighbourhoods	116
6.3	Discussion of Residential Mobility and Early 20 th Century Toronto	120
6.4	Conclusion: Future Research	122
Chapter 7	References	125

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1: Location of Study Neighbourhoods in Toronto	39
Figure 3.2: The Ward Neighbourhood.....	41
Figure 3.3: Cabbagetown Neighbourhood.....	42
Figure 3.4: West Toronto Neighbourhood.....	44
Figure 3.5: East Toronto Neighbourhood	45
Figure 3.6: Data Collection Method for City Neighbourhoods	50
Figure 3.7: Data Collection Method for Suburban Neighbourhoods.....	52
Figure 4.1: Places of Birth, the Ward, 1901	59
Figure 4.2: Ethnic Composition, the Ward, 1901	60
Figure 4.3: Occupations, the Ward 1901	61
Figure 4.4: Borders of City Areas.....	68
Figure 4.5: Places of Birth, Cabbagetown, 1901	75
Figure 4.6: Ethnic Composition, Cabbagetown, 1901	76
Figure 4.7: Occupations, Cabbagetown, 1901	77
Figure 5.1: Year of Immigration, West Toronto, 1911	89
Figure 5.2: Ethnic Composition, West Toronto, 1911	90
Figure 5.3: Occupations, West Toronto, 1911	91
Figure 5.4: Places of Birth, East Toronto 1911	103
Figure 5.5: Occupations, East Toronto 1911	104

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Census Variables Recorded	48
Table 3.2: Tracing Success by Study Neighbourhood.....	55
Table 4.1: Median Annual Income, the Ward, 1901.....	62
Table 4.2: Ethnicity of Stayers and Movers in the Ward, 1901.....	64
Table 4.3: Occupations of Stayers and Movers in the Ward, 1901	65
Table 4.4: Ethnicity and Move Distance, the Ward, 1901.....	69
Table 4.5: Occupations and Move Distance, the Ward, 1901	70
Table 4.6: Immigrant Status and Level of Mobility, the Ward, 1901.....	71
Table 4.7: Ethnicity and Level of Mobility, the Ward, 1901.....	73
Table 4.8: Occupations and Level of Mobility, the Ward, 1901	74
Table 4.9: Age of Stayers and Movers, Cabbagetown, 1901.....	79
Table 4.10: Ethnicity of Stayers and Movers, Cabbagetown, 1901.....	80
Table 4.11: Ethnicity and Move Distance, Cabbagetown, 1901.....	82
Table 4.12: Annual Income and Move Distance, Cabbagetown, 1901	83
Table 4.13: Ethnicity and Level of Mobility, Cabbagetown, 1901	85
Table 4.14: Occupations and Level of Mobility, Cabbagetown, 1901	86
Table 5.1: Median Annual Income, West Toronto, 1911	91
Table 5.2: Ethnicity of Direct Immigrants, Stayers, and Movers, West Toronto 1911	93
Table 5.3: Occupations of Direct Immigrants, Stayers, and Movers, West Toronto 1911	95
Table 5.4: Year of Immigration and Move Distance, West Toronto 1911	96
Table 5.5: Occupations and Move Distance, West Toronto 1911	99
Table 5.6: Occupations and Level of Mobility, West Toronto 1911	100
Table 5.7: Annual Income and Level of Mobility, West Toronto 1911	101
Table 5.8: Ethnicity of Direct Immigrants, Stayers, and Movers, East Toronto 1911 ...	106
Table 5.9: Immigrant Status and Move Distance, East Toronto, 1911.....	108
Table 5.10: Ethnicity and Move Distance, East Toronto 1911.....	109
Table 5.11: Year of Immigration and Level of Mobility, East Toronto, 1911	110
Table 5.12: Ethnicity and Level of Mobility, East Toronto 1911.....	111
Table 5.13: Annual Income and Level of Mobility, East Toronto 1911.....	112

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Today, the city of Toronto is the largest city in Canada, but its growth did not happen overnight. Up until the mid 19th Century, Toronto was little more than a small Great Lakes commercial port town, with a large resource hinterland as its economic base (Careless 1984, Gentlicore 1993). The industrial revolution reached Canada in the mid to late 19th Century and brought with it an era of expanding trade, surging immigration, rapid western settlement, and enlarged resource frontiers for Canadian cities (Careless 1984). During this time the city of Toronto experienced remarkable economic and population growth, specifically between 1900 and the First World War (Careless 1984, Harris and Lewis 2001). Retail and wholesale trade flourished, new railway connections were established, and Toronto began to challenge Montreal as the financial centre of Canada (Careless 1984). The city's population nearly doubled in the first decade of the 20th Century, surging from 218,000 in 1901 to 409,000 in 1911 (Careless 1984, Harris and Luymes 1990, Ward 2001). Toronto's incredible growth was primarily due to the fact that during this time period the largest influx of immigrants in its history arrived to call the city home.

The economic development and remarkable population growth that Toronto experienced in the first decade of the 20th Century triggered the changing social geography of neighbourhoods, in both the city proper and suburbs, through extensive residential mobility. The movement of households from one residence to another,

whether this movement was to a nearby or distant home, had the effect of changing the social composition of neighbourhoods. Certain neighbourhoods were characterized by higher levels of this mobility which thus promoted their increased growth. Other neighbourhoods experienced lower levels of mobility, which then created enclaves that helped preserve the lifestyle and culture of those that lived there (Moore and Rosenberg 1993). In all, residential mobility had the effect of changing the social geography of the city.

The goal of this thesis is to understand the changing social geography of Toronto in the first decade of the 20th Century. This objective will be accomplished by investigating two essential research questions:

1. What social characteristics affected the distance and level of residential mobility of neighbourhood populations?
2. What role did residential mobility play in the suburbanization of Toronto?

In order to answer these research questions, research was conducted from two opposing perspectives: a destination, and an origin. More specifically, the mobility behaviour, and corresponding *destinations*, of households in two city neighbourhoods (the Ward and Cabbagetown) were assessed by tracing the households forward in time (i.e. from 1901 to 1911). Conversely the mobility behaviour, and *origin*, of suburban households (for West and East Toronto) were assessed by tracing them backwards in time (i.e. from 1911 to 1901). It was important to study both the destination and origin of residents because it allowed for an assessment of where 1901 city residents moved to, and where 1911 suburban residents originated. In other words, this analytical approach

allowed for an understanding of both how city neighbourhoods changed through residential mobility, and secondly, how suburban neighbourhoods developed.

1.2 *Theoretical Frameworks*

The social geography of Toronto in the early 20th Century was comprised of complex relationships between various social, economic, and spatial factors. As a result, four main theoretical frameworks are used to analyze and make sense of the data. The frameworks are based upon previous research that reflects various dominant schools of thought.

First, immigration was the dominant demographic force by which early 20th Century North American cities, such as Toronto grew. The arrival of large numbers of immigrants into the city between 1901 and 1911 was made possible by changing immigration policy. In the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, Canadian immigration policy underwent significant restructuring, which resulted in the diversification of the countries of origin from which immigrants could enter Canada (Ward 2001, Dench 2007, Whitaker 1991, Cook 1996). As a result, the profile of immigrants that arrived in Toronto between 1895 and 1910 was vastly different from those who arrived earlier. As such, the social geography of the city was, in the early 20th Century, undergoing dramatic change.

The second framework addresses the formation of ethnic ghettos and enclaves. A characteristic of the inner city, ethnic ghettos were neighbourhoods where members of specific ethnic groups (often recent immigrants) were segregated through mechanisms of discrimination by the dominant populations (Ward 1971, Zunz 1985, Hiebert 1993).

Toronto's the Ward neighbourhood, located in the centre of the city, was a classic example of such a place; an area dominated by recent immigrants who could ill afford to live anywhere else. Similarly, ethnic enclaves were also tightly-knit communities of homogeneous ethnic groups however; these areas were occupied by established immigrants, and were therefore deeply rooted in the social fabric of a city (Knox and Pinch 2006, Kessner 1977). To the east of Toronto's central city core lay the neighbourhood known as Cabbagetown due to its large, and long-established, Irish population.

Third, suburbanization was an important dimension of the growth of cities in the early 20th Century. Suburban development in Toronto was an integral part of its social geography: "...to ignore Toronto's suburbs, even in 1901, would be to ignore a distinctive and important element of the urban whole" (Harris and Luymes 1990:244). While researchers have largely assumed that suburbs at this time were the domain of non-immigrant native-born, wealthy populations, few have had the data to support such claims (Piva 1979, Harris 1996). West Toronto, an industrial suburb to the north-west of the city limits, and East Toronto, a residential suburb to the east of the Don Valley River, were classic cases of these diverse suburban areas.

Immigration, ethnic ghetto formation, and suburbanization are linked in theory to a fourth theoretical framework: residential mobility (Thernstrom 1976, Pooley 1979). Researchers have argued that early 20th Century suburban development specifically was enabled by two forces; first, a direct influx of immigrants to the suburbs, and second, the migration of city residents to suburban locales (residential mobility) (Harris 1996).

Common mobility theory assumes that as population growth occurs, residents who are not rooted to specific neighbourhoods, such as classic ethnic enclaves and ghettos, move outward to suburban areas creating space in the central-city for newly arriving immigrants (Harris 1996, Harris and Moore 1980, Moore and Rosenberg 1993, Ward 2001, Knox and Pinch 2006). In addition to the connection between residential mobility and suburbanization is the link between mobility and an ever changing social geography of the city. As households moved from one house to another, slowly but surely, neighbourhoods also began to change.

1.3 Significance of Research

The analysis and results of this thesis are important to the fields of urban historical and social geography. The role that mobility played in the suburbanization of Toronto (or indeed any city) in the early 20th Century has never been documented due to a lack of available individual-level data, and the time-consuming nature of the labour intensive process of record linkage. The recently released 1911 manuscript Census of Canada, along with the already available 1901 Census, contains the necessary back-bone of individual-level data to track residents and provide concrete evidence to explore theories of residential mobility and suburbanization in their broader social context. Using these data, supplemented with evidence from other sources such as city directories, the results of this project fill an important gap in existing mobility and suburban research. Additionally, this research helps one to gain a greater understanding of the current social geography of Toronto by providing new insights into how the present city evolved.

1.4 *Thesis Outline*

This thesis is organized into six chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter Two provides an overview of the existing literature pertaining to the theoretical frameworks discussed above. The chapter also outlines the scarcity of previous residential mobility research, and discusses the quality and reliability of the resources upon which this type of research is often based.

Chapter Three includes a discussion of the history of the four study neighbourhoods (the Ward, Cabbagetown, West Toronto, and East Toronto) chosen for this study, as well as the justification for their use. Additionally, a detailed description of the data sources and methods used to study the social geography of Toronto between 1901 and 1911 is provided. Finally, the challenges associated with the data collection process, and the methodology, are outlined.

In Chapters Four and Five the analyses of the residential mobility of residents in the four study neighbourhoods are presented. As stated above, the data collected for this thesis is analyzed from two different perspectives: a destination, and an origin. Chapter Four analyzes the mobility of residents in the two city neighbourhoods (the Ward and Cabbagetown) from a ‘destination’ perspective. Chapter Five discusses the findings of the mobility of the suburban residents in West Toronto and East Toronto from an ‘origin’ perspective.

The discussion of these results within theoretical and historical contexts is presented in Chapter Six. This chapter focuses on the key factors that affected the mobility behaviour of neighbourhood groups, and how the observed mobility patterns

worked to both support and challenge existing theoretical frameworks of immigration, neighbourhood development and change, suburbanization, and residential mobility. Suggestions for future research on the linkages between residential mobility and the social geography of early 20th Century Toronto are also outlined in this final chapter.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 *Introduction: Theoretical Frameworks*

This chapter reviews the four main issues, and associated literatures upon which the analysis of this thesis is based. The chapter is organized into four sections, each detailing one of the four theoretical frameworks. In the first section, the nature of, and changes in immigration to both Canada and Toronto in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries is documented. The second section examines the process through which immigrant neighbourhoods are created, maintained and altered. In the third section, a discussion of how residential mobility and fundamental social and economic changes created an altogether different city in the Industrial era, one that includes diverse suburban neighbourhoods, is presented. Finally, the fourth section seeks to understand the mechanisms through which people move about a city during the course of their life. Each theoretical framework provides a way of understanding the changes to the social geography of the city as it relates to the data and analysis presented in the following chapters.

2.2 *Canadian Population Growth and Immigration*

Throughout Canada's history, immigration has played a central role in the nation's population growth. Many factors have influenced the rate of immigration into Canada such as the general economic conditions within Canada, social, economic or political oppression in immigrant homelands, and changes to domestic immigration

policy. It was Canada's evolving immigration policy since confederation; however, that most profoundly affected its demographic composition in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. This section reviews the origins, and numbers, of immigrants arriving in Canada in the late 19th Century and the early 20th Century, and outlines Canada's changing immigration policy over this period, as these changes had a profound influence on the demographic composition of Toronto's population in the period of study.

In the late 19th Century Canada experienced a boom in immigration. Between 1880 and 1900 nearly one million immigrants entered Canada, and by 1901 the country was home to 5,371,315 people (Cook 1996, Gentilcore 1993). During this period Canada's population was overwhelmingly British in its ethnic origin as Great Britain was the largest, and traditional, source of immigrants to Canada (Cook 1996). The "foreign" presence in Canada by 1901 (immigrants from Continental Europe and elsewhere) was comparatively small with only 278,788 immigrants originating from outside of the British Isles out of a total immigrant population of 684,671 (Dench 2007).

From 1901 to 1911 the balance of immigrant origins began to shift; immigrants from Continental Europe and Russia increased in number and proportion (Careless 1984). Immigration increased in the first decade of the 20th Century, and by 1911 the Canadian population had reached 7.2 million (Ward 1971, Dench 2007). Many of these new immigrants settled in urban areas in eastern Canada (Ward 2001). By 1910 approximately half of Canada's population lived in cities, the majority of which were immigrants (Statistics Canada 2005). The main reason for this was that cities offered various employment opportunities for unskilled/semi-skilled labourers, and many

immigrants arrived only with limited employment skills (Ward 1971). Toronto was no exception to these general patterns.

In 1891, three-quarters of the Canadian population lived in Ontario and Quebec because they were the most economically developed provinces in the country and home to the two largest manufacturing centres: Toronto and Montreal (Gentilcore 1993). Immigrants arriving in the province of Ontario from the middle to the end of the 19th Century were mostly of British descent, with only small proportions of other north-western European immigrants mixed in. Between 1901 and 1911, however, there was a significant increase in both the number and proportion of immigrants entering Ontario from central and eastern Europe and Russia (Careless 1984, Gentilcore 1993).

Within the province of Ontario specifically, Toronto's population tripled between 1871 and 1900 (Careless 1984). The composition of Toronto's population during this time reflected the general immigration patterns of both Ontario, and Canada. The population composition of Toronto in 1891 was as follows: the majority of people, approximately 100,000, were Canadian-born, and about half as many people, 48,800, were immigrants (Careless 1984). Of the nearly fifty thousand immigrants almost half (47%) came from England, with additional proportions coming from Ireland (27%), Scotland (13%), and the United States (10%). Of the remainder, were small numbers of immigrants from Germany, Italy, Russia, and other Continental European countries. As such, Toronto drew most of its workforce from Anglo-Canadians, English, Scots, and Irish as did most industrializing North American cities at the time (Careless 1984). The

overwhelming presence of a British majority in Toronto is evident in the analysis of this thesis.

Between 1901 and 1911 the growth of Toronto's population accelerated. The population grew more than 70% in this decade alone (Gentilcore 1993). The main determinant of this growth was immigration from Britain (mainly England). However, the importance of other source nations increased in this decade as well (Careless 1984). By 1911 there were more than 30,000 non-British immigrants in the city of Toronto (Careless 1984). The Jewish population of Toronto, for example, was six times greater in 1911 than in 1901 (Careless 1984). This growing 'foreign' presence was reflected through the relative decline of Toronto's Anglo majority from 92% in 1901 to 86% in 1911 (Careless 1984). While the change was slight in this decade, it was representative of a larger nation-wide change.

Overall, from 1896 to 1915, the number of British immigrants that entered Canada increased 183% (Belanger 2007). At the same time, there was a 219% increase in the number of Jewish, Russian, Italian and German immigrants that entered Canada (Belanger 2007). This change in the ethnic structure of immigrants arriving in Canada is evident in the thesis data collected for the city of Toronto between 1901 and 1911. This subtle, but important change in the balance of immigrant source countries was due to a number of factors, the most important of which was a purposeful change in Canada's immigration policy.

In the late 19th Century Canada's primary goal was to settle its rural western provinces, and so the government sought rural immigrants from wherever they could find

them. Since Britain was already heavily industrialized, the pool of rural migrants there had already been much depleted and so Canada broadened its immigrant net and advertised opportunities to people in previously untapped European markets such as eastern and southern Europe (Knowles 1993, Cook, 1996, Whitaker 1991). While this did generate many new immigrants to Canada, many of them were not rural-folk and nor did they move to Canada's western provinces. Instead, many of these new immigrants settled in Canada's central and eastern cities (Belanger 2007, Knowles 1993). Furthermore, once immigrants settled in these cities they often re-established and expanded upon the patterns of life in their home countries by grouping together in ethnic neighbourhoods (Ward 2001).

2.3 *The Creation of Neighbourhoods: The Ethnic Enclave and Ghetto*

Immigrants have long contributed to the form and function of North American cities. In fact, it can be argued that "no great North American city can be understood without being studied as a city of immigrants, of newcomers, and their children, [and] as a destination of myriad group and individual migration projects" (Harney 1990:231). Immigrants often travelled from their homelands to North American cities with the hope of a better life. Historically, however, it was rare for immigrant populations to be welcomed into an existing city's social networks and infrastructure. Instead immigrants were subject to varying degrees of discrimination, much of which has influenced the social structure of present day cities.

Broadly speaking, segregation refers to situations where members of a minority population are not distributed uniformly across residential space in relation to the rest of

the population (Knox and Pinch 2006). In other words, the spatial distribution of the minority group and the population at large (referred to as the charter population) differ. The overall degree of segregation in a city can vary significantly from one minority group to another depending on the degree of assimilation (Knox and Pinch 2006). Assimilation is the process whereby the minority group adopts the practices of the charter population and eventually becomes part of this population.

Historically, newcomers to cities were segregated from the larger host population (either voluntarily or involuntarily), and as a result existed in residential clusters also known as ‘enclaves’ or ‘ghettos’. Enclaves are relatively homogeneous immigrant ethnic neighbourhoods whereby the immigrant population voluntarily segregates itself from the host population (Knox and Pinch 2006). For example, Corktown or Cabbagetown in the city of Toronto have historically been seen as ethnic enclaves for Irish immigrants.

Where involuntary segregation through cultural discrimination is more dominant the residential clusters are generally termed (ethnic) ghettos (i.e. Little Italy and Chinatown in cities such as Chicago and New York) (Knox and Pinch 2006). Classic examples of an ethnic enclave and an immigrant ghetto are apparent in this thesis through two of the study neighbourhoods. The Ward, historically, was known as Toronto’s immigrant receiving area, and was home to a rather sizeable Jewish immigrant ghetto (Ward 1971). Cabbagetown, on the other hand, was a clearly defined Irish immigrant ethnic enclave in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries (Goheen 1970).

Immigrant residential enclaves offer mutual support, cultural preservation, spatial and employment security, and help for newcomers to adjust to their new social

environment (Kessner 1977, Harney 1990). The neighbourhood serves as a cultural haven, providing support for members of the group in the form of formal minority institutions and businesses, and informal friendship and kinship ties (Knox and Pinch 2006). Historically the existence of ethnic institutions, such as churches and community centres, within the territorial cluster was one of the most important factors for providing support to fellow group members (Ward 1971). For many urban newcomers, preserving and promoting their distinctive cultural heritage while resisting assimilation was imperative to individual and group survival (Knox and Pinch 2006). Residential clustering then, helped to achieve this goal through not only the operation of ethnic businesses, but also through the effects of residential proximity to social institutions such as marriage (Knox and Pinch 2006). Religious observance was the primary cultural tradition that immigrant groups congregated to preserve, and in fact many immigrant groups, such as Russian Jews in Chicago, built their residential areas around their respective religious church, synagogue or shrine (Cressey 1975, Warner 1972).

Minority immigrant groups were often perceived by the host society to be socially undesirable (Knox and Pinch 2006). As a result many immigrant groups found themselves spatially isolated in cities through a variety of mechanisms of which they had little or no control over (Knox and Pinch 2006:172). The isolation, or involuntary segregation, of an immigrant minority group can occur, for example, through discrimination in the housing market and the general economy.

Discrimination in the housing market limits minority groups to small areas within the city, trapping them in privately rented accommodation that allows landlords to charge

inflated rents while providing little security of tenure (Knox and Pinch 2006). Immigrant groups can also be discriminated against economically and are often treated as the scapegoats for the shortcomings of the economic system. Host societies see the concentration of minority groups at the lower end of the occupational structure as the fundamental factor in their localization of poor housing in the inner city. The invasion of immigrant groups into the inner city historically resulted in an outflow of the charter population (Knox and Pinch 2006). Many examples of this process can be seen in North American cities. One such example was the ‘white flight’ phenomenon in American cities, such as Chicago and New York, where the host population fled from areas being overtaken by African-American or Jewish immigrants (Cressey 1975).

Discrimination and involuntary segregation of immigrant groups whether through the housing market or economically, is rooted in how the dominant society of the city views immigrants and their residential areas. Immigrant enclave or ghetto neighbourhoods are often seen as a barrier to the eventual assimilation of newcomers into the charter society (Ward 1971). In his early 20th Century model of the city the renowned urbanist Ernest Burgess (1996:94) describes the zone encircling the central business district as a “zone of deterioration” within which were found the “slums” and “bad lands” with their regions of poverty, degradation and disease, and their underworlds of crime and vice. Generally dominated by immigrant minority groups, these deteriorating areas were filled with numerous rooming house districts, the so-called “purgatory of lost souls” (Burgess 1996:94). This view of the inner city immigrant neighbourhood reflects the general attitude of the host society towards immigrant

residential areas within most cities. The term ‘ghetto’ or ‘slum’ was applied by the host societies to concentrations of poverty-stricken immigrants living in congested and segregated areas (Ward 1971). Problems of lawlessness and crime (especially organized crime) in the city were seen by the larger community to be rooted in the slums (Schlesinger 1993).

The host society’s attitude toward the presence of immigrant neighbourhoods/foreign quarters can be summed up most effectively by the following excerpt from a Toronto missionary pamphlet known as *The Mission Outlook* in 1910:

“Every large city on this continent has its fourfold problem of the slum, the saloons, the foreign colonies and the districts of vice. The foreign colony may not be properly called a slum, but it represents a community that is about to become an important factor in our social life and will become a menace in our civilization unless it learns to assimilate the moral and religious ideals and the standards of citizenship” (Harney 1990:228).

Immigrant quarters thus symbolize both material and social failure in the early 20th Century city. Such areas were identified with high rates of infant mortality, crime, prostitution, drunkenness and other symptoms of social ills (Ward 1971).

Equally important as *why* immigrants congregate is *where* they have congregated historically and what types of living conditions they were subject to, specifically in the early 20th Century. As industrialization took hold during the 19th Century, new patterns of residential location emerged. The wealthy, at one time, preferred locations close to the centre of the city, but as the city centre became the site of industrial production and new

forms of urban transportation emerged, the upper and middle classes took flight to less centralized locations on the urban periphery. As a result, the inner city houses that once belonged to wealthy people were sub-divided to provide housing for new immigrants near to growing centres of employment (Ward 1971). Immigrant groups also resided in tenements or apartment structures, as well as make-shift shanties crammed into the back lots of existing buildings. Such cramped, and often unsanitary, 'shanty-town' immigrant districts were often referred to as 'slums'.

Most new immigrants entering North American cities in the early 20th Century settled in the inner city on the edge of the central business district since it provided the largest and most diverse source of unskilled labour/employment (Ward 1971). In New York, Irish immigrants who found employment in the warehouses and terminal facilities, German immigrants who worked in sewing machine and consumer trades, and Jewish immigrants who developed employment in many branches of the merchandising and clothing industry are a few examples (Ward 1971). Similar patterns of ethnic employment occurred in other cities including Toronto. In Toronto Jewish immigrants dominated the garment industry and were commonly employed as tailors and cutters, while other Eastern European immigrants worked as labourers in the construction industry, and most Asian immigrants were self employed owners of laundries or restaurants (Hiebert 1995).

Living conditions in the early 20th Century were the worst for the least prosperous classes which were typically, but not exclusively, immigrants. Living quarters in immigrant residential districts were often the most congested which led to higher rates of

illness and death from infectious diseases (Ward 1971). Over-crowding was endemic and buildings were generally poorly ventilated with little or no access to fresh air (Ward 1971). Poor water quality and waste build-up were common due to a lack of sewage and street cleaning systems (Ward 1971). Any waste collection systems or sewer systems that were put in place by municipalities in the late 19th Century had failed to keep up with population growth essentially leaving them useless (Schlesinger 1993). Additionally, immigrant housing was frequently found in close proximity with unsanitary businesses such as slaughter houses, breweries, and municipal horse stables, which further influenced local living conditions (Ward 1971).

Most immigrant families resided in the converted former dwellings of the wealthy. Though many immigrants lived in the poorest conditions in crowded inner city areas, not all immigrant groups were subjected to the worst of these conditions. Often the quality of an immigrant residential district depended on the internal cohesion and organization of the immigrant group, rather than solely external, municipal factors (Day 1999, Schlesinger 1993). To generalize however, immigrant housing was far below average overall in terms of quality of life in the entirety of a city.

A comprehensive example of an immigrant group that created an immigrant ghetto through cultural discrimination in early 20th Century North America is that of Jewish immigrants. In the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, the concentration of employment opportunities for immigrants in the central business district encouraged a disproportionate concentration of new arrivals in the centre of the city (Ward 1971). “By 1900 recent immigrants of diverse ethnic origins occupied extensive sections of the inner

city, while many established immigrants sought new accommodations in the inner suburbs” (Ward 1971:121). Jewish residential areas, like those of other groups in many cities, were a result of congregation where initial residential clustering in the inner-city formed the base for subsequent residential clustering (Knox and Pinch 2006).

Persecution, marginality and alienation from the dominant charter population (largely Christian) in their home countries in Europe made Jewish residential clusters close knit communities (Kessner 1977). Therefore when Jews emigrated they possessed an ethnic consciousness and inter-relationship that created prosperous enclaves in cities such as New York, Toronto, Montreal, Chicago etc. (Kessner 1977).

From 1879 to 1920 Jewish immigrants “located in the largest cities, where economic opportunities were the most abundant because they had a strong cultural imperative toward education, and because their culture seemed so compatible with individualistic capitalism, Jewish immigrants rapidly took their places in the middle and upper levels of the class structure” (Warner 1972:177). Jewish immigrant groups were thus the most socially mobile in terms of occupation out of all the ‘foreign’ (non-British) immigrant groups in the early 20th Century city. The higher quality of life that this social mobility brought to Jewish immigrants was consistent in almost all cities they inhabited and is reflected in their living conditions. Lower infant mortality rates among the Jewish community reflected better general health and living conditions that were associated with increasing social class, made possible through the higher social mobility of Jewish families (Mercier 2003). The Jewish enclave is of particular importance in this thesis as the Jewish community in Toronto in the first decade of the 20th Century possessed social

characteristics, and exhibited residential mobility behaviour, that set it apart from other ethnic groups in the city at the time.

2.4 *Social and Economic Changes to the City in the Industrial Era: Suburbanization*

Suburbs are not a creation of the late 20th Century. In fact, suburbs date back to much earlier cities (Jackson 1985). “The suburb, as a residential place, as the site of scattered dwellings and businesses outside city walls, is as old as civilization and an important part of the ancient, medieval, and early modern urban traditions” (Jackson 1985:13). What is relatively new, however, is the systematic process of suburbanization. This process involves the planned and coordinated growth of large areas on the edge of cities and is characterized by the daily commutes of its residents to jobs in the city centre (Jackson 1985). This latter understanding of suburban growth dates back to the early 19th Century and first emerged in Great Britain and the United States in the early industrial era (Jackson 1985). This section explores the factors that were critical to the fundamental urban transition we understand as suburbanization. Furthermore, this section will also demonstrate the diversity of suburban areas which existed in the past; this point stands in marked opposition to the prevailing school of thought about suburban life as espoused by classic urban theorists such as Ernest Burgess and others of the Chicago school of urban sociology who viewed suburbs as largely homogeneous retreats from urban congestion for the wealthy classes.

The pre-Industrial city, or even early Industrial city, is often regarded as a “walking city.” Cities were so named because at the time the easiest, cheapest and most

common method of getting around the city was by foot. The walking city of the 19th Century was relatively heterogeneous, with people of greatly differing income and social status often living side by side in inner city residential districts (Conzen 2001).

Generally, the “walking city” was characterized by a clearly defined boundary between the city and the countryside, small lots and narrow streets, a mix of economic functions (typically in the form of independent craftsmen’s workshops), and a tendency for the most fashionable and respectable addresses to be located close to the centre of the city (Jackson 1985). If the spread of a city began to exceed the distance a person might walk in about an hour from home to work, the shops and offices of the metropolis would have fallen out of easy daily communication with each other resulting in the destruction of a single, unified communication network (Warner 1978).

Beginning in the early 19th Century and continuing until today many large European and North American cities underwent a dramatic spatial transformation which resulted in a change from this “walking city” to a distinctly “modern city”. New transportation and railroad technologies such as the mid 19th Century horse car and the late 19th Century street car, along with new building technologies, the decentralization of manufacturing and industry, and changing social values, all contributed to this transition that “...would turn cities “inside out” and inaugurate a new pattern of suburban affluence and central despair” (Jackson 1985:20). Together these changes contributed to the transitions in urban form, but it is imperative to examine each of these features in isolation in order to fully understand their contributions to this process.

New forms of transportation technology allowed greater proportions of the population to live further from their places of work. This was because new technology made transportation less expensive (Conzen 2001). This was primarily accomplished through the invention of the electric streetcar. More efficient than its predecessor the horse drawn omnibus, the electric streetcar moved twice as fast and carried three times the number of passengers (Conzen 2001, Warner 1978). Additionally, at the city centre where traffic was heavy the electric car was cheaper to operate per passenger mile than the horse-drawn omnibus (Warner 1978). The cumulative effect of new transportation technologies was that they made sprawling suburban areas more accessible to greater numbers of people and thus allowed for the development of fringe areas. As a result cities could, for the first time, expand beyond the size of the traditional walking city.

As cities grew in both population and spatial extent throughout the 19th Century, new techniques of residential and commercial construction also emerged (Harris 1996). Speculators and builders took advantage of the ease with which lots could be traded and purchased to create a construction boom in Toronto at the turn of the 20th Century. Much of the new construction in Toronto during this time was for private housing in outlying middle and lower class suburbs across the city's suburban frontier from West Toronto to the Eastern Beaches, and North beyond St. Clair Avenue (Careless 1984). New building materials such as brick and masonry rapidly replaced older materials such as wood (Careless 1984). The application of new building techniques such as the use of steel frames for commercial and industrial buildings, as well as the invention of the elevator also had effects upon the built form of the city through vertical growth in the central core.

As residents moved outward from the city centre to newly developed areas in the periphery, dwellings in the areas that were left behind were either demolished to make room for commercial development or were adopted by newly arrived immigrants and converted to multi-family residences (Conzen 2001, Ward 1971).

Some of the suburbanization that is the focus here was driven by industrial decentralization. The fringes of North American cities have always contained some manufacturing, but a trend toward decentralization gained momentum near the end of the 19th Century (Harris and Lewis 2001). It was the early decentralization of jobs that allowed many workers to settle beyond city limits, primarily in industrial suburbs (Harris and Lewis 2001). The decentralization of employment, already underway by 1900, included many types of commercial and manufacturing activities such as offices, stores and factories which encouraged the large scale suburbanization of workers and in some cases even immigrants (Harris and Lewis 2001). By 1900, one third of all manufacturing jobs in U.S. metropolitan centres were located beyond the city limits (Harris and Lewis 2001). Office decentralization was the most common form of decentralization in the manufacturing sector and when facilities moved their production to the suburbs, many took their staff with them (Harris and Lewis 2001). The decentralization of manufacturing created a different kind of suburb; an industrial suburb, which repelled the affluent and attracted workers (Harris 1996).

Though the implementation of new transportation technologies such as street cars, expanding building stock and utilities, and the decentralization of industry all played major roles in suburbanization, they were not the only prerequisites for urban extension;

new cultural values also played a major role. With the style and capital to utilize private carriages and public omnibuses, affluent households of the late 19th Century city transformed the small villages at the fringe of cities into fashionable places of residence (Jackson 1985). This emergence of new social patterns was brought about as affluent, native born, white citizens sought to escape the municipal corruption, pollution, congestion, and ethnic tension of the city (Harris 1996). Although these wealthy house owners were hardly typical, they did set a well publicized example of stylish suburban living that even the middle class aspired to and attempted to follow (Jackson 1985). As a result, the ideal middle class suburban neighbourhood became characterized as a district of owner occupied, detached homes with easy access to transit lines to the central business district, yet free from the corruption and social vices of the central city such as the saloon, and the brothel (Teaford 1993). Overall, whether of the upper or middle class, the early 20th Century suburbanite "...sought a pastoral retreat which was paved, electrified, and serviced by trained professionals. He dreamed of a private garden spot, but never far removed from the camaraderie enjoyed in the city" (Schwartz 1976:493).

By the turn of the 20th Century a "new city" segregated by diversified class and economic functions, encompassing an area triple the territory of the old "walking city" had emerged as the centre of urban society (Jackson 1985). Scholars have, for decades, suggested that suburban districts were homogeneous enclaves of the middle class while the inner-city was a melting pot of diversity. This enduring model of suburban homogeneity (originally put forth by Burgess) assumes that jobs were concentrated near the city centre, except for a few large factories at the fringe (Lewis 2001). It supposes

that jobs and low wages kept immigrant workers in central city areas and only wealthy families could afford the new homes that were built in the suburbs (Harris and Lewis 2001). Furthermore, this model is based on the assumption that at the time only middle class families could afford to commute from new suburban homes to the employment core. Thus, "...the bias of educated contemporaries has persisted among scholars, who have created an image of North American suburbs of the early 20th Century as products of speculative builders and as residences of affluent, white, native groups" (Harris 1991:319). Recent revisions to this prevailing dichotomy, however, have highlighted a much more diverse suburban residential environment due to the existence of a substantial immigrant working class settlement at the urban fringe (Harris and Lewis 2001). This contemporary view of the urban fringe which points to increasingly diverse suburban neighbourhoods is a central theme in the analysis of this thesis.

Toronto's suburbs in the early 20th Century are an example of this diversity as they "cannot be neatly grouped into 'affluent and residential' or 'poor and industrial'" (Harris 1996:48). The analysis of the thesis data is evidence of this. The growth of population in the city from 1901-1911, along with the decentralization of industry led to an evolution and diversification of the suburbs. Prosperous suburbs in Toronto were certainly populated by native-born Americans and Canadians, however by no means were the suburbs exclusively the domain of the native born (Harris and Lewis 2001). The immigrant character of many Canadian suburbs, including those of Toronto, played a major role in establishing their suburban social and economic character. This was, however, significantly less visible in Canadian suburbs due to the fact that so many

settlers were British immigrants and therefore not dissimilar to the rest of the population (Harris and Lewis 2001). Nevertheless contemporaries agree that some suburbs were immigrant reception areas and almost as significant as their inner-city counterparts (Harris 1991).

Contrary to the traditional school of thought which assumes that immigrants only entered the social and economic fabric of cities through the immigrant reception areas of the inner core, most of the British immigrants, that arrived after approximately 1897 moved with little noticeable disruption into fringe areas of the city (Careless 1984, Harris 1996). The presence of immigrants in these residential suburban areas as opposed to exclusively 'native born' citizens was due to the fact that British immigrants came from a highly urbanized and industrialized homeland and could be easily assimilated into suburban society (Careless 1984).

Just because immigrants settled away from the city centre did not necessarily mean that they were socially or residentially integrated in to the charter population. In fact, the ethnic composition of working class fringe areas varied a good deal. The descendents of Catholic, Jewish and Protestant immigrants, for example, usually settled different sections of the inner suburban areas located between the outer edges of the pedestrian city of 1850 and the outer limit of the cross-town [street-car] lines of 1900 (Ward 1971). In these areas, just as in the inner city, ethnic enclaves existed, but were less prevalent (Ward 1971). Therefore, the ethnic and racial composition of the suburbs in the early 20th Century was almost equally as complex as that of inner city

neighbourhoods where many working class residential neighbourhoods had a distinctive ethnic identity (Harris and Lewis 2001, Teaford 1993).

“Residential suburbs have not singularly led the way outward from a previously concentrated city, but have always been joined at the hip by industry locating at the urban fringe” (Walker and Lewis 2001:3). As a result, immigrants and the working class also concentrated in industrial suburbs as opposed to residential suburbs (Harris and Lewis 2001). The decentralization of industry out of the inner city was prevalent in the first decade of the 20th Century and as a result large one-floor factories were built in what became known as “industrial suburbs”. The industrial facilities in these suburban neighbourhoods could be built to cater to new forms of production such as the assembly line and therefore required a large employment base (Harris 1991, Harris 1996). Workers needed to be close to their place of work due to the costs of transportation, and thus often followed their place of employment to the urban periphery (Lewis 2001:20). As companies created more and more jobs in the suburbs and transportation improved it became easier for blue-collar workers to move out of the central city (Harris 1996). For example, in Toronto when Kodak moved its facility to a fringe location many of its workers followed their job to the same area (Harris and Lewis 2001). Therefore the suburban complexity of the 20th Century was also the result of the emergence and consolidation of blue-collar industrial suburbs (Harris 1996).

2.5 *Residential Mobility*

For most individuals changing residence represents an ongoing adjustment to evolving needs and desires related to housing, employment, and access to amenities

(Moore and Rosenberg 1993). Residential mobility is defined as any change in one's usual place of residence regardless of distance between moves (Moore and Rosenberg 1993). Residential mobility is the dominant mechanism through which neighbourhoods are created and altered. The level of residential mobility in a neighbourhood is the driving force in the difference between an area of stability that is perfect for the creation of ethnic enclaves and ghettos, and an area of rapid expansion and growth, such as the suburbs of the early 20th Century. This section describes the historical attributes of relatively local-scale residential mobility (i.e. within a city), and documents the theoretical understandings of the residential mobility process.

Migration can be broken down into two major forms: 'long distance migration' (i.e. international) and 'local mobility' (Harris and Moore 1980:23). 'Long distance migration' refers to mobility that involves crossing country, state, or provincial boundaries, while 'local mobility' or 'intra-urban mobility' refers to mobility within a city or regional boundaries. It is this more local form of mobility that is the focus of this thesis. Residential mobility is a key ingredient of change for places because by moving from place to place within a metropolitan area, households change the nature of their neighbourhoods (Goodman 1978, Long 1988). Intra-urban moves make up the bulk of all residential mobility. They are typically short in distance and can best be explained by variations in income, ethnicity/race, and previous housing tenure (Knox and Pinch 2006). The impact of residential mobility on the size and composition of a neighbourhood's population is an important determinant of a city's economic and social well being

(Goodman 1978). In fact given a sufficient amount of neighbourhood mobility, the residential structure of an entire city can be substantively altered.

According to the conventional theory of residential mobility, households become dissatisfied with current conditions, seek out alternative residential locations in a systematic fashion, and select a location which best suits their short-term or long-run goals (Moore and Rosenberg 1993). The patterns of arrivals and departures that result from this type of conventional mobility generate changes in the social, economic, and political character of areas. Therefore, in this context, immobility is just as important as mobility. "The relation between redistribution and mobility is a function not just of those who move but also of those who stay" (Moore and Rosenberg 1993:126). This difference in the social characteristics of stayers and movers is central to the analysis of this thesis. While certain types of neighbourhoods require higher levels of mobility in order to maintain their character, other neighbourhoods thrive in situations of lowered mobility creating enclaves that preserve the lifestyle and culture of those that live there (Moore and Rosenberg 1993).

Decisions related to residential mobility have traditionally placed emphasis on weighing the perceived long-term benefits of new locational opportunities against the short-term costs of moving (Moore and Rosenberg 1993). According to this decision-making process older individuals would be much less likely to change residence since their costs of moving would be higher indicating both longer-term investments in the current location, and lower benefits if they were to move since the expected time at a new location for benefits to accrue would be shorter (Moore and Rosenberg 1993). Aside

from the special case of the elderly, for many households residential mobility to successive locations represents a progress toward specific housing goals thus “...a move to a larger apartment may be made as a rational but temporary adjustment on the way to a more permanent housing solution in the future” (Moore and Rosenberg 1993:123).

Different types of households are differently mobile and some have a greater tendency to move while others never move at all (Knox and Pinch 2006). The basic dichotomy of “movers” and “stayers” has been found to be most particularly related to two specific characteristics of households: tenure and social segregation (Harris and Moore 1980; Knox and Pinch 2006). Often the choice between owning and renting a place of residence is the difference between a permanent or mobile household in the future (Mulder 2006, Moore and Rosenberg 1993, Harris and Moore 1980. Similarly, social segregation in terms of employment and socio-economic status has the ability to influence the mobility behaviour of a household (Harris 1996, Goodman 1987, Harris and Moore 1980).

Aside from tenure and social segregation, a household’s mobility may also be affected by local social capital. Local social capital refers to a household’s social ties with people living nearby (Kan 2005). Greater social capital may deter residential mobility because the resources stemming from such social ties are “location specific and will be less valuable if a household moves” (Kan 2005:436). In other words, years of relationships built up with neighbours and the community as a whole are lost when a family moves to a new location. As a result, “...the incentive to accumulate local social capital hinges on one’s plan or tendency to move in the future” (Kan 2005:437). Local

social capital is directly related to the duration of residence, whereby the longer a household remains in a dwelling, the stronger its social ties with the community, and therefore the less likely it is to move (Knox and Pinch 2006). This theory of local social capital is useful in explaining some of the mobility patterns observed in this thesis.

Considerations such as the ones discussed above suggest that any study that seeks to establish generalizations regarding residential mobility might more usefully do so through the context of a theory of urbanization and/or suburbanization, or of the development of the structure of a specific industrial city (Harris and Moore 1980:24). Local mobility within urban areas has received much less attention in Canada than in many other countries, partly because of the scarcity of suitable data for analysis (Moore and Rosenberg 1993). “Although it is widely accepted that the shaping and reshaping of urban social areas is a product of the movement of households from one residence to another, the relationships between residential structure and patterns of residential mobility are only imperfectly understood” (Knox and Pinch 2006:250).

There are many contradicting opinions and criticisms among mobility theories. For instance, in a typical empirical model of household mobility, a household’s socio-economic characteristics are used to explain its residential decision-making process (Kan 2005:437). Zunz (1985) agrees with this view and suggests that mobility is reflected through wealth and that home ownership is not a true indicator of mobility. Thernstrom (1976), on the other hand, views socio-economic characteristics as unreliable measures of mobility because there is an absence of a “single uniform yardstick” by which such social mobility may be measured. In addition, the existing literature has merely assumed, rather

than demonstrated, that mobility is a significant subject of inquiry (Harris and Moore 1980). In the same vein, little attention has been given to the broader social context in which social mobility occurs (Harris and Moore 1980). As a result, there has been little accountability for differences in movement responses between urban areas as well as difficulty in evaluating the broader social significance of mobility (Harris and Moore 1980).

With specific regards to mobility research on urban areas of the past, there has been a major problem in terms of a lack of a comprehensive data source (Pooley 1979). According to Pooley (1979), the analysis of residential mobility requires a time-series of directly comparable population listings, such as census records, directories, rate books and/or electoral rolls. The observations and comments of Pooley (1979) are directly related to this thesis since the sources of data used are decennial censuses and annual city directories. As a result, much of the determination of successful tracing rates, and residential mobility analysis was based on the information presented below.

The census gives a more or less total enumeration of the population. While it is useful with regards to the amount of detailed information it relays about all the individuals in every household of an urban area, the census only yields information for every 10 year period. Additionally, it is only through massive searches that the new places of residence of those who moved can be traced (Pooley 1979). For people who moved frequently in the 19th and early 20th Centuries, “decadal rates tend to be low and uninformative and it is impossible to trace intermediary moves made between census dates at which a migrant is identified” (Pooley 1979:259).

City directories (as well as rate books, and to some degree, electoral rolls) provide annual listings of citizens and help to fill in data gaps between censuses (Pooley 1979). In the 19th Century, however, directories were severely biased towards businesses and middle class households with many working class areas being totally excluded (Pooley 1979). City directories also contain “limited information, particularly when dealing with subjects who have common names and occupations, which may mean that many possible links [in a mobility study] must be discarded because of uncertainty over identification” (Pooley 1979:260). Where occupation has changed as well as residence, positive identification becomes even more difficult without additional information (Pooley 1979). Each source thus has its limitations and none is directly comparable with any other making it difficult to compile any synthesis of information on population mobility (Pooley 1979). As a result demographic models will inevitably be based on incomplete evidence.

Record linkage in mobility studies may be accomplished by either moving forward in time (most commonly attempted) or by tracing persons backward. Tracing backward has the advantage that none of the original sample is lost through mortality (Pooley 1979). “Most published studies of residential mobility have been based on North American cities and have concentrated on decadal persistence (census data) within an urban area” (Pooley 1979:260). Further studies on the variations in the distance and direction of moves and the social and economic differentials which affected residential mobility are necessary, and would be of more relevance than simple decadal persistence (Pooley 1979).

While record linkage through the use of census data and city directories includes a certain margin or error, it has been used effectively in mobility studies. In a study on residential mobility in mid-Victorian Liverpool, Pooley (1979) used censuses and city directories to develop rates of mobility over a 20 year period. From a sample of 2446 households, a total of 985 moves within Liverpool were traced each of which could be related to some social, economic or demographic characteristic of the household (Pooley 1979). Overall, out of 985 moves, 27.8% were traced through at least one move in a subsequent city directory, 17.9% persisted a full decade at the same address, and 54.3% of the original sample were classified as 'lost' due to mortality, movement out of the city, or an inability to trace them in the city directories (Pooley 1979). The results of the study generated 4 hypotheses about mobility. The first is that rates of mobility were high in the 19th Century in all sectors of society. Second, most intra-urban mobility occurred over short distances and was confined to specific areas in the city. Third, characteristics such as age, life-cycle stage, birthplace, socioeconomic status, and housing tenure were important factors on mobility, and finally the spatial study of mobility rates could identify areas of stability and change within the city which could be related to other aspects of urban structure (Pooley 1979). However, Pooley (1979) does note that due to the large proportion of the sample that was 'lost' in the tracing process, the extent to which a study can be used to make inferences about mobility depends on successfully tracing a sample of individuals large enough to be representative of the original sample.

Overall, residential mobility is a major mechanism through which neighbourhood dynamics are driven (Kan 2005, Pooley 1979). It has little or no significance in its own

right but derives its significance from the particular historical and locational contexts within which it occurs (Harris and Moore 1980). Residential mobility is determined largely by the changing contexts within which mobility decisions are made such as the development of an increasingly complex social division of labour, by changes in the character and scale of the separation of home and work, and by historical developments in the ways in which housing is produced and marketed (Harris and Moore 1980:26). The need is for longer term studies covering a number of years. “Changes in patterns and types of movement may then be interpreted within the context of broader shifts in the creation, accumulation and distribution of wealth and the development of housing markets and policy” (Harris and Moore 1980:28).

We are interested in residential mobility because it is through mobility that immigrant and ethnic and suburban neighbourhoods develop and change. Of relevance here is whether there are determinants in mobility behaviour between recent and established immigrants and native-born, and between different ethnic and occupational groups.

2.6 *Conclusion*

Overall, there are four over arching theoretical frameworks that form the basis for the analysis in this thesis. Population growth and immigration in Canadian cities, such as Toronto, in the late 19th Century and early 20th Century led to a diversification of city populations. In turn, upon arrival in their destination cities, these immigrants congregated together to form ethnic “enclave” or “ghetto” neighbourhoods for cultural preservation and mutual support. Those who did not remain in these ethnic

neighbourhoods moved elsewhere within the city and its suburbs. The theories and processes of residential mobility are defined by various factors; each affecting the distance that a household moved, the level of mobility of a household, or whether a household moves at all. Each of the theoretical frameworks summarized above provide valuable support of the observed patterns found within the data of this thesis and are discussed in relation to the data in later analysis and discussion chapters.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 *Introduction*

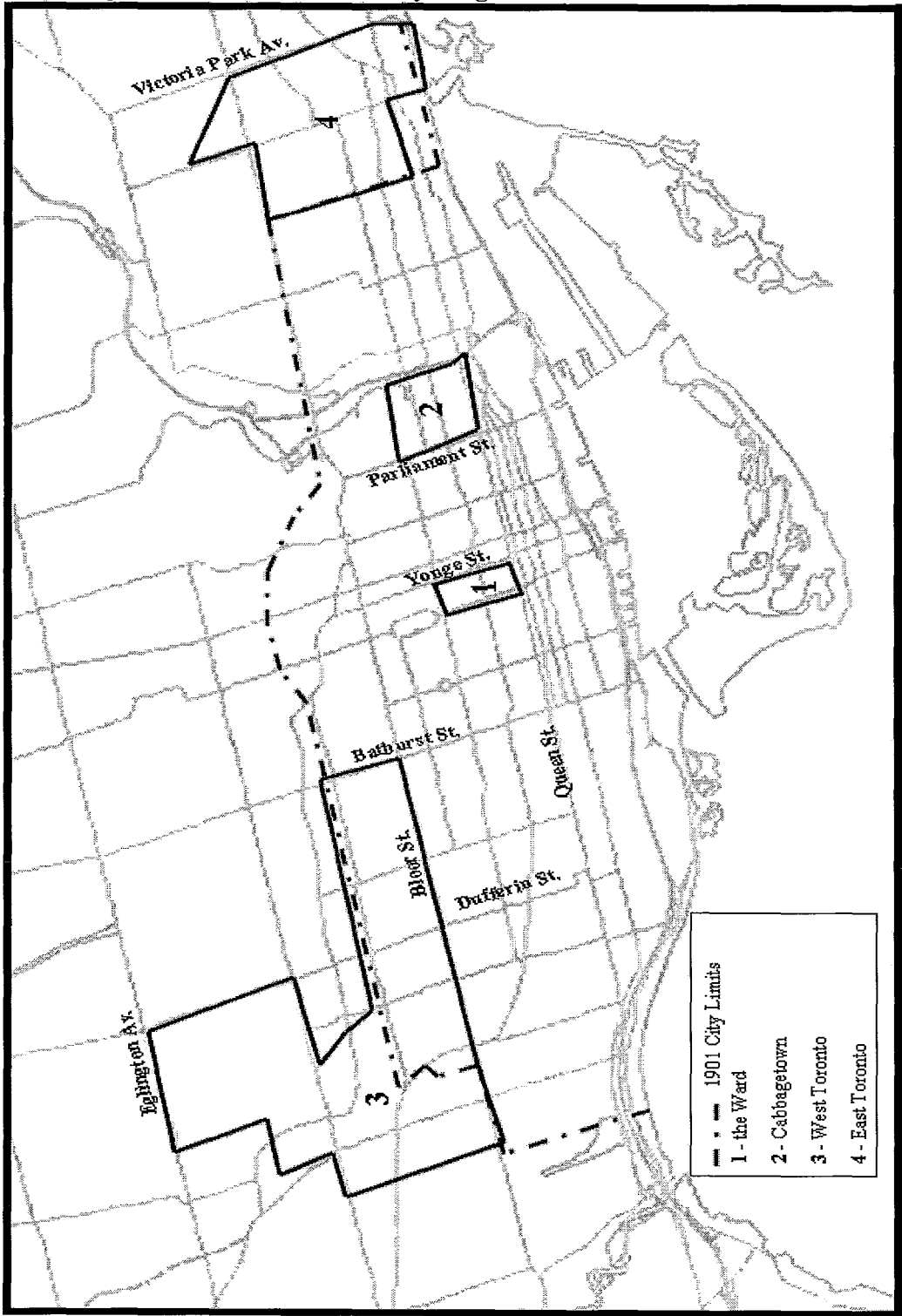
The purpose of this study was to trace the location, distance, and rate of residential mobility of sampled households between 1901 and 1911. This process involved tracing households to a destination (from the central city), and from an origin (to the suburbs). Other dimensions of mobility that were examined included the nature of residents of the city who did not move over the ten year study period, as well as suburban residents who immigrated directly into the suburbs. This chapter briefly outlines the neighbourhoods chosen for study, including the rationale for using them, as well as providing an overview of the process of data collection including a critical assessment of data. Finally, this chapter concludes with a description of the key analytical methodology: record linkage.

3.2 *Neighbourhood Selection*

The social and mobility characteristics of two central city and two suburban neighbourhoods in Toronto, were examined in this study (Figure 3.1). The four neighbourhoods were selected based on their differing residential settlement histories. The general boundaries of the four neighbourhoods were determined from historical sources, and previous studies of early 20th Century Toronto (Mercier 2003, Harris 1996, Ward 1971). Having established the general boundaries for the neighbourhoods it was necessary to define, more precisely, the boundaries of the neighbourhoods using Census

sub-districts (essentially an equivalent to the modern Census tract). Unfortunately, no map of Canadian Census sub-districts exists, and so one was created by the author. The process of producing this map involved the recording of all street addresses in the city and then plotting them on a base map. Once all addresses were plotted on the map it was possible to delineate the boundaries of each Census sub-district in the city. Finally, based on this map, the relevant sub-districts (i.e. those that were located in the correct area of the city) were selected for each neighbourhood. In all, the Ward was comprised of 18 Census sub-districts, while Cabbagetown, and the West Toronto and East Toronto suburbs comprised 18, 26, and 8 sub-districts respectively.

Figure 3.1: Location of Study Neighbourhoods in Toronto



Source: (City of Toronto Engineers 1902)

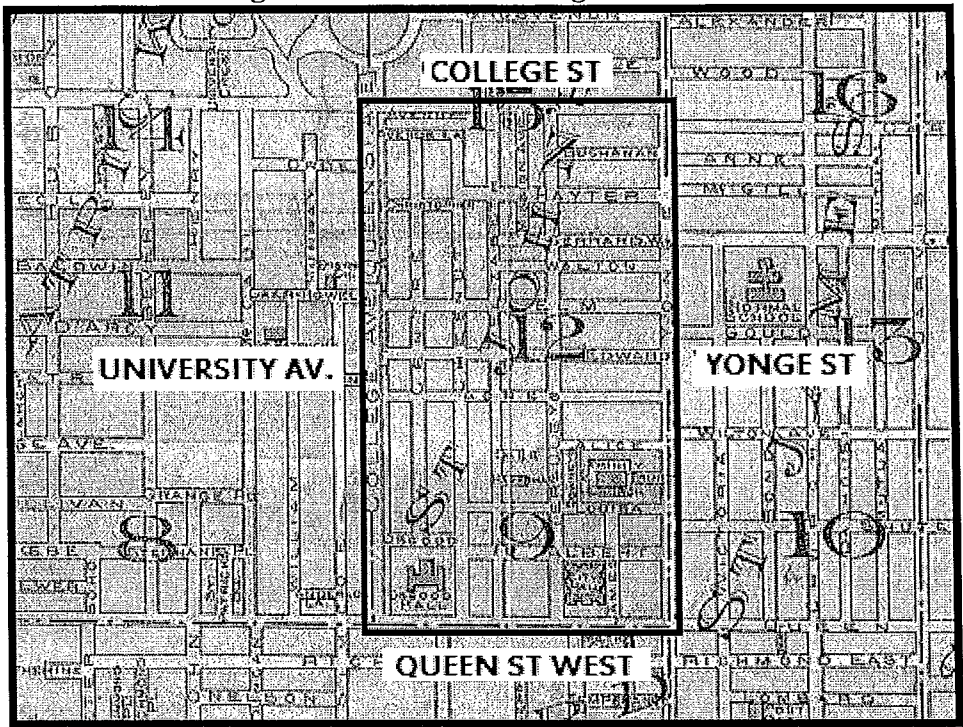
3.3 *City Neighbourhood Profiles*

3.3.1 The Ward

The general geographical boundaries of the Ward in 1901 were delineated based on Hiebert (1993) and Mercier (2003), and are defined as Queen Street West to the south, College Street to the north, University Avenue to the west and Yonge Street to the east (Figure 3.2). This neighbourhood was located right in the centre of the city and was found to the north and west of the main commercial core of the city at the time.

Immigrant receiving areas are residential districts usually found in the urban core of a city, where immigrant residents dominate due to the extremely low cost of housing and the desire by residents to be close to employment opportunities (Ward, 1971). Minority ethnic groups were usually concentrated in these residential districts, where living conditions were extremely crowded and unsanitary (Ward, 1971). These areas were often called ‘slums’. The Ward was Toronto’s immigrant receiving area and ‘slum’ in the early 20th Century (Ward, 1971). It experienced a high population turnover characteristic of immigrant receiving neighbourhoods, and had crowded and unsanitary conditions characteristic of most slums. The Ward was chosen for inclusion as one of the four neighbourhoods because of its status as an immigrant receiving area and slum, but more importantly because the social composition of the population was expected to be more diverse than anywhere else.

Figure 3.2: The Ward Neighbourhood



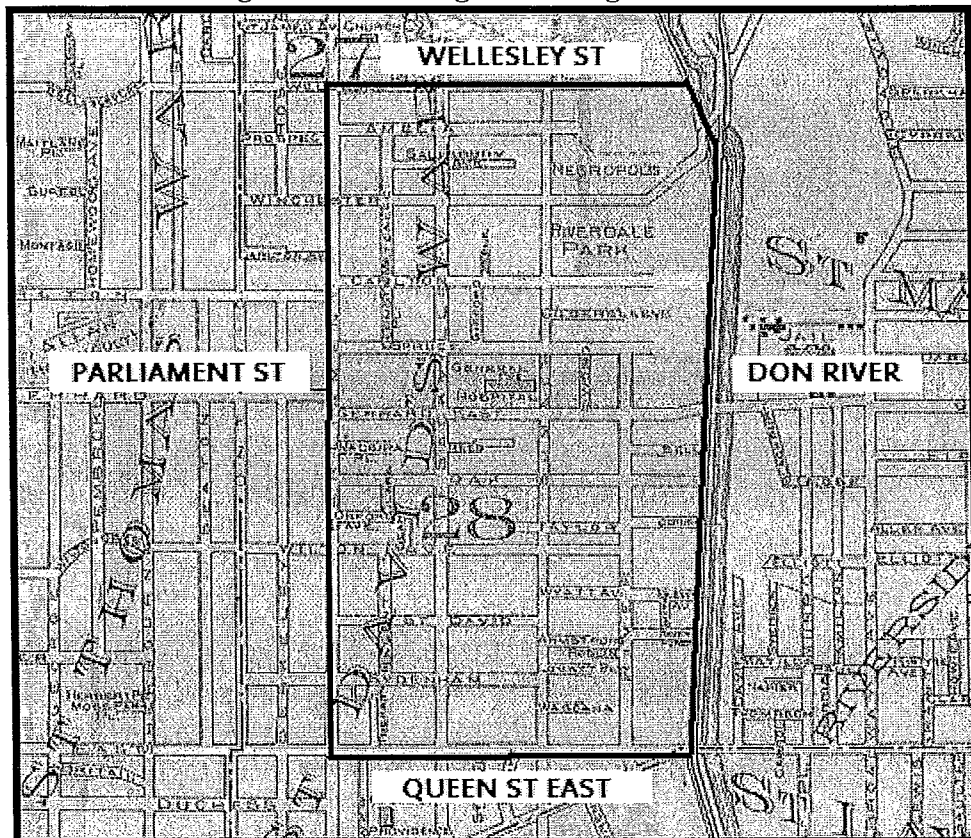
(Source: Toronto Fire Insurance Plan, 1899)

3.3.2 Cabbagetown

The geographical boundaries for Cabbagetown used in this study are Wellesley Street to the north, Queen Street East to the south, Parliament Street to the west and the Don River to the east (Mercier, 2003, Rust D’Eye, 1984; Figure 3.3). Located east of the city’s commercial core, Cabbagetown was regarded as an outer city neighbourhood because it was neither in the central core nor anywhere close to the suburbs. Similar to the Ward, Cabbagetown had crowded and poor quality housing conditions (Rust D’Eye, 1984). Unlike the Ward, however, Cabbagetown was not an immigrant receiving area; rather it was an established Irish immigrant neighbourhood (Goheen 1970). In contrast to the large immigrant population and a high population turnover of the Ward,

Cabbagetown residents tended to maintain permanent residence in the densely populated neighbourhood. This relative stability of the neighbourhood was the primary factor in its inclusion in this study.

Figure 3.3: Cabbagetown Neighbourhood



(Source: Toronto Fire Insurance Plan, 1899)

3.4 Suburban Neighbourhood Profiles

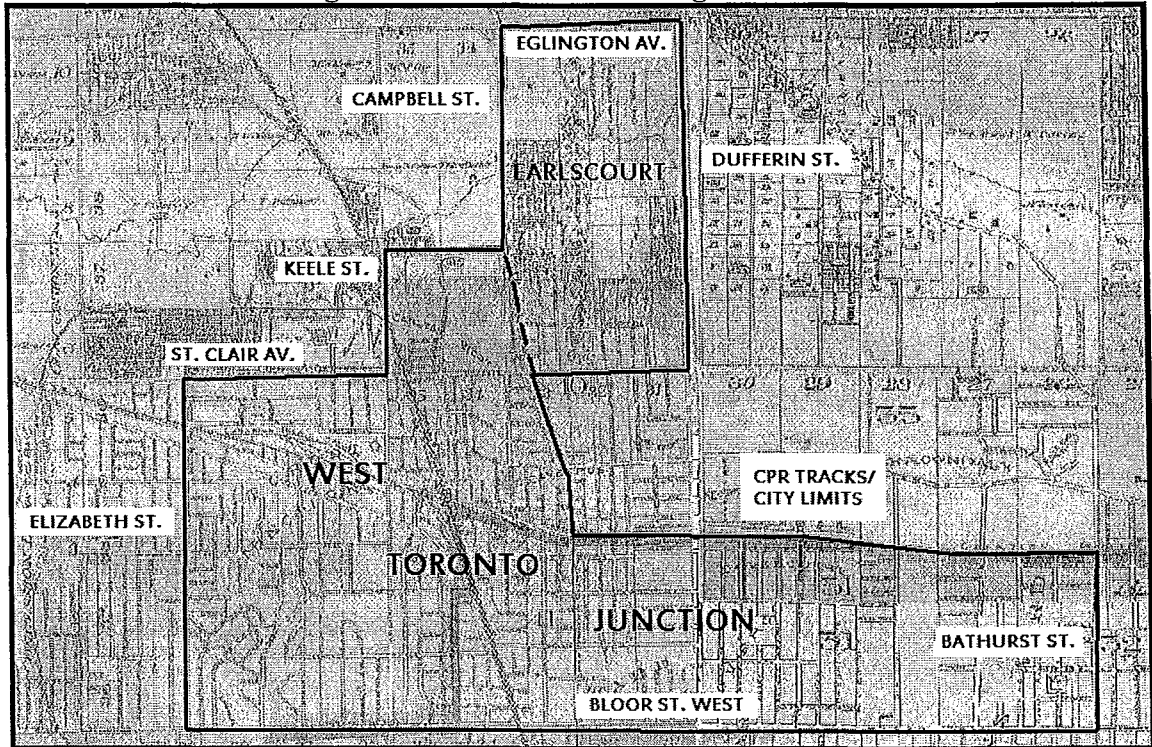
3.4.1 West Toronto

West Toronto was a suburban amalgamation of two areas; the West Toronto Junction (“The Junction”) and Earls court (Figure 3.4). The geographical boundaries of the West Toronto Junction are Bloor Street West to the south, Bathurst Street to the East, the CPR tracks/city limits, Keele Street and St. Clair Avenue to the north, and Elizabeth

street to the West (Mercier 2003, Harris 1996). The geographical boundaries of Earls court are Eglington Avenue to the north, Dufferin Street to the east, St. Clair Avenue to the south, and Campbell Street to the west (Harris, 1996). This somewhat complex boundary resulted from the selection and amalgamation (by the author) of the two suburban residential areas. Neither neighbourhood was large enough on their own to warrant investigation, but together these areas comprised the north-western suburban extent of the city.

The Junction was one of Toronto's first industrial suburbs, and was located on the northwestern fringe of the city (Harris, 1996). Industrial suburbs were formed when industries began to decentralize from the city centre to the urban fringe. Often by necessity, the working class followed these factories to the suburbs in order to live close to where they worked (Harris, 1996). Earls court, in contrast was a working class, residential suburb, located north of the Junction. Combined, these two neighbourhoods encompassed much of the western and northern fringe areas of Toronto in 1901 and 1911.

Figure 3.4: West Toronto Neighbourhood



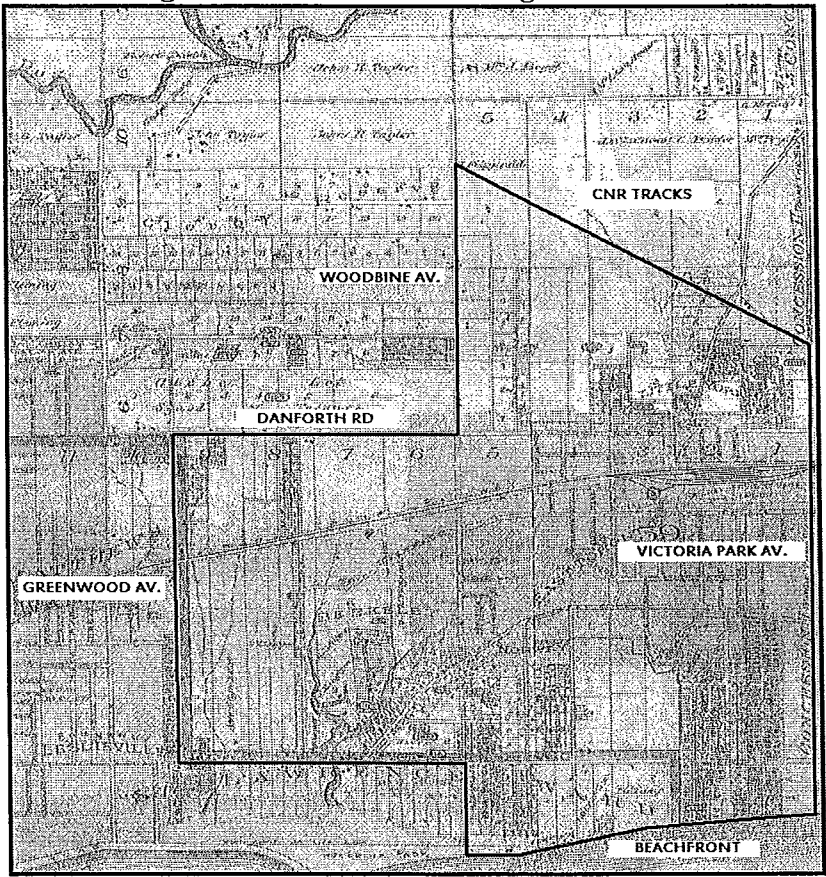
(Source: Toronto Fire Insurance Plan, 1899)

3.4.2 East Toronto Suburb

In 1901, East Toronto was an emerging suburban development located east of the Don River. The suburb included portions of Toronto such as Berkeley, Norway, East Toronto and the St. Lawrence Ward (or Beaches) (Figure 3.5). Throughout the 19th Century this suburban region saw very little development and was mostly used as a summer getaway destination, especially the Beaches neighbourhood (Gage and Whiteson, 1982). With the advent of the Queen Street Trolley in the 1880s, the East Toronto suburban area became more readily accessible to the downtown core and as a result, permanent, year round settlement developed in the beginning of the 20th Century (Gage and Whiteson, 1982). It was because of the very recent development of this

suburban community, that it was selected for study. It was expected that examination of this neighbourhood would provide insights into the suburban development process.

Figure 3.5: East Toronto Neighbourhood



(Source: Toronto Fire Insurance Plan, 1899)

3.5 Data Collection

Two primary data sources were used for this research; the Canadian Census (1901 and 1911), and annual city directories (1900-1912) for the city of Toronto. The Censuses provided a detailed and comprehensive picture of the population at the beginning and end of the ten year study period, while the city directories provided a means to track residential mobility on an annual basis in between these two Census points.

3.5.1 Census of Canada, 1901

The 1901 Census is comprised of two schedules. Schedule One provides social characteristics for each household (i.e. number of people in the dwelling, age, ethnicity, religion, year of immigration, occupation etc.), while Schedule Two provides address information for each property. The social characteristics contained in Schedule One provides valuable socio-demographic and economic information about each individual, as well as social network information such as the size of the family and the number of people in a family unit contributing to the household economy. The 1901 Census was used to sample the two inner city neighbourhoods: the Ward and Cabbagetown.

The Census is organized into a series of large geographical districts that each covers specific areas of the city. For example, in Toronto there were three large districts in 1901: Toronto Centre (#116), Toronto East (#117) and Toronto West (#118). Each district is further sub-divided into many smaller enumeration areas that parallel modern day Census tracts. It was these smaller Census sub-districts that were used to precisely define the boundaries of each neighbourhood. The neighbourhood population was subsequently sampled from these sub-districts.

3.5.2 Census of Canada, 1911

The 1911 Census, unlike the 1901 Census, was not organized into two separate schedules; all of the individual, family, and dwelling information was recorded together. Like the 1901 Census, in 1911 the Census was organized into large districts and then sub-divided into smaller enumeration areas. These smaller spatial units were used to define the two suburban neighbourhoods (West and East Toronto suburbs). Socio-demographic

and economic information collected from the 1911 Census was essentially the same as that collected from the 1901 Census. Social data, such as ethnicity, religion, and place of birth, as well as economic data, such as occupation and annual income, were collected for each head of household.

3.5.3 Data Collection using the 1901 and 1911 Censuses

Once the boundaries for each neighbourhood were determined from the Census sub-district map which was developed using the city street addresses, it was also possible to develop a sampling framework for each neighbourhood. Within each of the sub-districts encompassed by the boundaries of each neighbourhood the population was sampled using a sampling rate of 6.67%. The sample collected was a stratified random sample, meaning that every 15th household was sampled. Information was recorded for the head of household as well as any male children or children-in-law 15 years of age or older. Data was collected for all male children/children-in-law over 15 years of age to ensure that if the head of household died during the tracing process, the household might still be traceable. Often, it was customary for the eldest male child to take over the responsibility as head of household when the patriarchal figure died.

The variables that were recorded for each dwelling sampled are outlined in Table

3.1.

Table 3.1: Census Variables Recorded

Variable Type	Variable
Socio-demographic	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sex• Relationship to the head of household• Marital status (married, widowed, divorced, single)• Year of birth• Birthplace• Parental status (two parents, single female/male parent)• Ethnicity• Religion• Literacy (ability to read and/or write)• Number of persons in dwelling• Number of persons in immediate and extended family• Number of boarders/lodgers• Number of domestic employees• Number of children under 15 years of age and under 5 years of age
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Occupation• Employment status (employer, employee, self employed)• Annual income
Tracing	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Last and first name• Address number and street name• Age• Year of immigration

A total of 1003 households were sampled from the four neighbourhoods: 181 from the Ward (sampled only from the 1901 Census), 211 from Cabbagetown (sampled only from the 1901 Census), 390 from the West Toronto suburb (sampled only from the 1911 Census), and 221 from the East Toronto suburb (sampled only from the 1911 Census).

3.5.4 The City Directories

The Toronto city directories are annual listings of the households of Toronto and surrounding suburbs. The city directories are divided into three indexes: a “suburban index”, a “geographical (street name) index”, and a “surname index”. The suburban index is an alphabetical listing of the residents living in suburban areas located outside

the city limits. The geographical index is the listing of the name (and occupation) of residents living within the city limits, and is organized by street name and address. The surname index is a reverse look-up dataset that records residents living within the city limits alphabetically by surname. This surname index provides the address and occupation for each head of household. In each index only information for the person identified as the head of household is recorded.

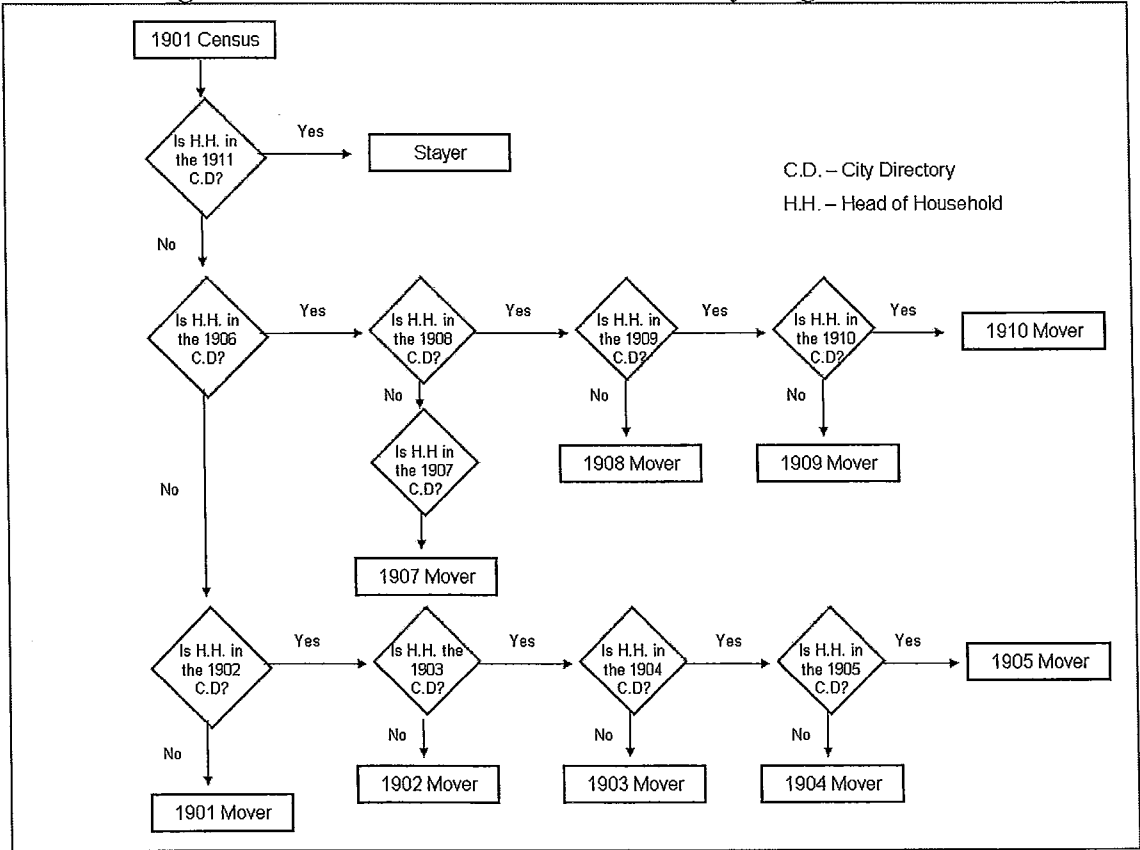
3.5.5 Data Collection using the City Directories

The population of the city neighbourhoods of the Ward and Cabbagetown, whose samples were collected from the 1901 Census, were tracked forward in time from 1901 to 1911. First, it was necessary to distinguish those who exhibited mobility throughout the ten year period from those who were permanent residents (those residents who maintained the same address from 1901 to 1911). To do this, each resident's address in the 1901 Census sample for the Ward and Cabbagetown was looked up in the 1911 city directory. If the address in the 1911 city directory matched the 1901 Census sample then it was assumed that the resident maintained the same address from 1901 to 1911. These households were labeled as "stayers". The 1901 sample households that did not maintain the same residence in the 1911 city directory were labeled as "movers" because they changed address at least once in the ten-year period.

From the sample of "movers", each head of household's name and address was compared to the intermediate annual city directories to pinpoint the likely year of first movement for each household (Figure 3.6). For example, if the resident's name was listed at the same address in both the 1901 and 1906 city directories then the resident

moved sometime after 1906. If the resident’s name was not listed at the same address in both the 1901 and 1906 directories, then the resident moved sometime prior to 1906. The addresses and names of those residents who moved prior to 1906 were compared with preceding directories such as 1902, 1903, 1904, etc. to determine when residents moved from their 1901 address. The same basic approach was used for households that moved after 1906. Using this method, the year of first movement was discovered for every “mover” for the inner city samples in 1901. Once the year of first movement for each resident was uncovered each subsequent move for each family was determined.

Figure 3.6: Data Collection Method for City Neighbourhoods



For a successful trace to be made, the resident’s last name, first name and occupation in the city directory had to match that of the resident in the 1901 Census

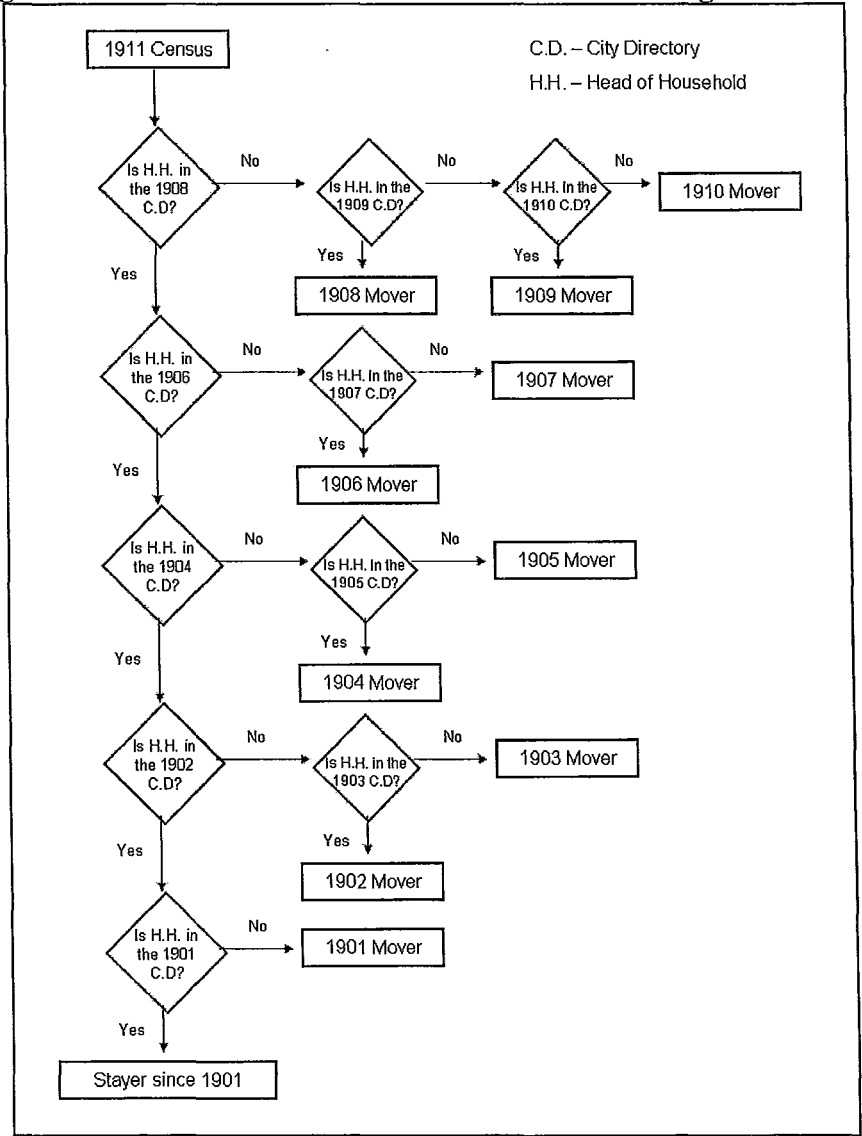
sample. If the occupation was similar, or identical, the match was considered successful. For example, if a resident was listed as a “driver” one year and a “carriage driver” the following year, the match was still considered successful. Those who were not matched successfully were labeled as “lost” and were omitted from the final traced sample. Using the previous tracing criteria and annual surname indexes from 1902 to 1911, residents were traced throughout the years after their year of first movement.

Tracing of West Toronto and East Toronto was conducted in a slightly different manner because they were traced backward in time from 1911 to 1901. Since it was likely that some 1911 suburban residents originated from the central city and also other suburbs, it was necessary to use the suburban indexes in each of the directory years, as well as the traditional geographical and surname indexes. As a result, tracing of the residents in the suburban neighbourhoods was a lengthier process.

Beginning with the 1908 geographical index directory, each resident was searched at the address that they were recorded as living at in the 1911 Census sample (Figure 3.7). Residents that were not found at the same address in 1908 were searched via the 1908 surname and suburban directory indexes. The same process was repeated using the 1906, 1904, and 1902 city directories. After addresses were obtained for the residents in all, or most of these years, the geographical, surname and suburban index directories for the intermediary years were used to fill in the blanks. In the suburban 1911 Census samples there were instances where residents were recent immigrants who arrived in the city sometime after 1901. These households were traced annually using the method described above back to their year of immigration to the city. All the constraints and criteria

applied to successful traces for the central city neighbourhood samples were also applied when tracing the suburban neighbourhood samples.

Figure 3.7: Data Collection Method for Suburban Neighbourhoods



3.6 Data Analysis

Once all of the data was collected, successful traces were determined and analyzed using the socio-demographic and economic data collected from the 1901 and

1911 Censuses for the four neighbourhoods. Patterns and relationships were examined between the likelihood of staying or moving, the frequency of moving, the distance moved, and various measures of the socio-demographic and economic character of the population. While the data analysis discusses a wide range of social-demographic and economic characteristics in relation to residential mobility, the issue of housing tenure and its effect on the frequency and distance of moves was not addressed. This was primarily because housing tenure information was not available in the 1901 and 1911 Censuses but rather in City Toronto Tax Assessment documents. The labour-intensive data collection process of tenure information for the sampled households from these Tax Assessment documents was beyond the scope of this project. Housing tenure, however, is included in existing residential mobility research as a key determinant of mobility, and therefore should be included as variable of analysis in any future research.

3.6.1 Chi Square Analysis

Chi square analysis was used to determine the statistical reliability of the findings. The chi square statistic represents a 'goodness of fit' test for categorical data. The test measures the level of association between the observed data distribution and an expected distribution (McGrew and Monroe 1993). In chi square analysis the observed frequency distribution of one or more variables are compared with an expected distribution. The expected distribution of a variable is determined by the relative proportions of each variable outcome in the general population. For example, it is expected that a subset of the successfully traced sample will exhibit the same relative proportions for any variable as in evidence for the entire traced sample. Chi square statistics determine whether there

is a statistically significant difference between the observed and expected distributions (McGrew and Monroe 1993). If the calculated chi square statistic is less than a pre-determined ‘chi critical’ value then there is no statistically significant difference between the observed and expected frequency distributions. If the calculated chi square value is greater than the ‘chi critical’ value then the observed distribution is statistically different from the expected one. One important limitation of the chi square analysis is that it cannot handle extremely small frequency distributions as effectively as larger ones. As a result, some adjustments were required for certain analyses in order to insure the frequencies for each attribute were sufficiently large. In most cases this adjustment necessitated grouping of ‘like’ attributes such as English ethnicity with Scottish, etc.

3.7 *Record-Linkage Challenges and Sources of Error*

Due to the nature of the data collection process it was expected that not all or even most of the households would be traced successfully. A trace was considered successful if an address was found for a household in all of the years from 1901 to 1911, or if an address was missing in only one year. Households for which addresses could not be found for two or three years from 1901 to 1911 were considered to be only partially traced and were not used in the analysis for this study. Any households that did not have addresses for more than three years in the ten year period were incomplete traces (or lost), and were also omitted from the analysis. Table 3.2 outlines the number of households that were lost, partially traced, and successfully traced in each of the study neighbourhoods.

Table 3.2: Tracing Success by Study Neighbourhood

Study Neighbourhoods		Total Sampled Households	Lost Households	Partial Traces	Successful Traces	% Successful Traces
Central & Outer City	Ward	181	60	63	58	32.0
	Cabbagetown	211	95	26	90	42.6
Suburbs	West Toronto	392	225	67	100	25.5
	East Toronto	221	122	44	55	24.9
Central & Outer City and Suburbs	All	1005	502	200	304	30.2

Approximately one-quarter to one-third of the populations of each neighbourhood were successfully traced. This success rate is consistent with mobility research as exemplified by Pooley (1979) in his study of mid-Victorian Liverpool for which he also used Censuses and city directories as key data sources. In his study, from a sample of 2446 households in Liverpool, a total of 985 moving households (40%) were successfully traced (Pooley 1979). It should be noted that the criteria for a successful trace in Pooley's study was different from that used here. For the purposes of this study successful traces were those households traced for nine or ten years over the ten year period. In Pooley's study, households were considered successfully traced if they were tracked for at least one move (year) in a subsequent city directory over a ten year period. Due to this difference in interpretation of successfully traced households, it is logical that the success rates for these two studies are different.

A couple of factors can be identified to suggest why so many households are lost, or only partially traced over this period. One such factor relates to the family life cycle. Life cycle factors generally refer to cases where the loss of a household through the tracing process is due to factors unrelated to the quality of the data or challenges of the tracing method. One such factor is the death of the head of household. Data was

collected for the head of household at each address, as well as any sons/sons-in-law over 15 years of age in order to try to continue to trace the household in the event of the death of the household head. If, however, there were no sons/sons-in-laws over the age of 15 in the family, or no children at all, once the head of household died there was virtually no way to trace the household. This was primarily an issue when tracing the households of the central city neighbourhoods forward in time from 1901 to 1911. Another life cycle factor that caused households to be lost was if households being traced forward in time moved to places outside of Toronto and its suburbs; or if households being traced backward in time came from places outside of the Toronto area.

Throughout the data collection process a number of sources of error may have impacted the ability to successfully trace some households. First, there is some intrinsic error in the 1901 and 1911 Censuses, and also in the city directories. In the early 20th Century, these data sources were obtained by individuals who travelled door-to-door recording information by hand. As a result, information may have been recorded incorrectly, or incompletely.

Record-linkage challenges were also common in the city directories. Often multiple instances of the same name were listed where individuals had a different occupation than that of the person being traced. It was virtually impossible to identify which individual was the one being sought. It is possible and in fact common that a household head switched occupations within the ten year period; however, as there is no way to determine this from a list of multiple possibilities, all such households were dropped from the traced sample.

Another potential challenge in the city directories is the inconsistent spelling of names. Sometimes the surname of an individual listed at a location over multiple years was spelled differently each year in the city directory. If the occupation of the individual was the same in each year, it was assumed to be the same individual although the surname spelling differed.

Additionally, there are instances where in one year a resident was recorded as living next door to the home they were living at in the previous year. While it is possible that this type of move occurred from time to time, it is more likely that the resident remained at the same location, and the street numbers were changed as the city experienced rapid growth. Nevertheless, as there was no way to confirm this hypothesis, any address change, even next door, was considered a move albeit a very local one in this study.

Despite the challenges listed above, and the limitations presented by the comparatively low successful trace rate, it is believed that the data are representative of the general population, and as such the results of the analyses presented in the following chapters are valid and meaningful.

Chapter 4 Analysis of City Neighbourhoods

This chapter discusses the results and analysis of the two city neighbourhoods; the Ward and Cabbagetown. These two neighbourhoods were analyzed using the 1901 Census sample data, and neighbourhood households were traced forward in time (1901 to 1911) to determine how often, and where families moved, and the social and economic characteristics that affected these aggregate mobility patterns.

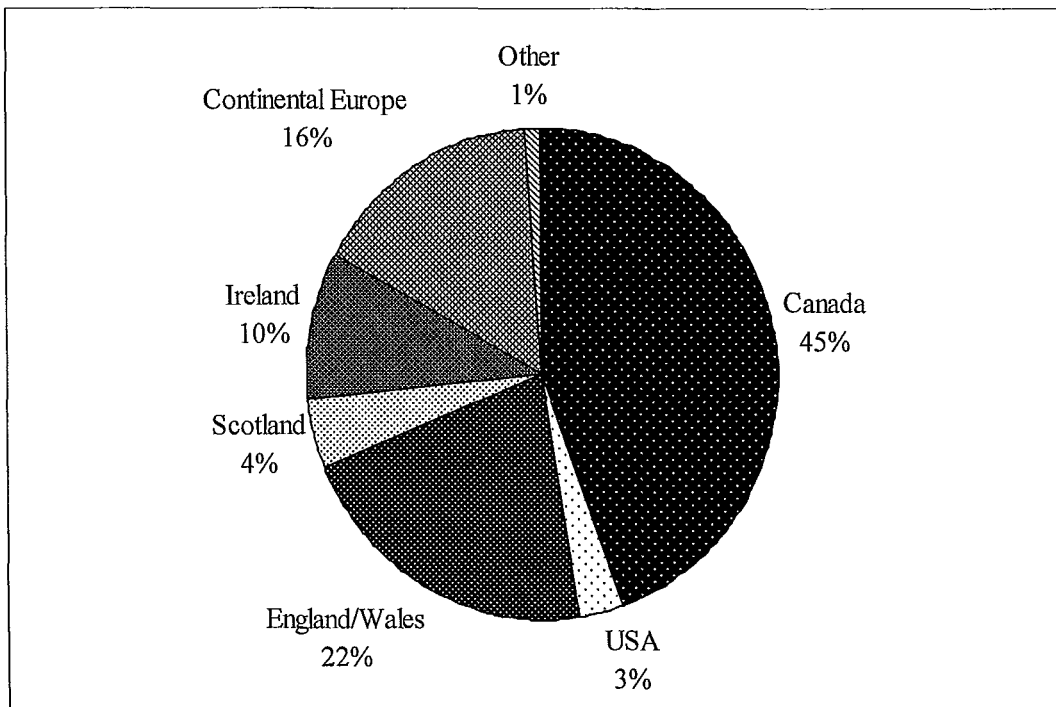
4.1 *Central City: The Ward*

4.1.1 Neighbourhood Profile: 1901 Census Population Sample

One out of every 15 households (6.67%) from the 1901 Census was sampled for each of the sub-districts within the boundaries of the Ward. This produced a neighbourhood sample of 181 households. Census data collected for the population sample indicated that the social composition of the Ward in 1901 was relatively diverse as compared to the city as a whole. The neighbourhood was home to a British and Protestant majority, who were mostly engaged in blue-collar occupations and earned middle class incomes. Approximately half of the population was born within North America, while 40% were immigrants from the British Isles. However, the Ward contained a sizeable non-British population as well. Of the non-British population, the majority were European immigrant Jews (Figure 4.1).¹

¹ The European Jewish ethnic group is a consolidation of peoples who are listed in the Census as being of Austrian/Russian/Polish and Jewish ethnicity.

Figure 4.1: Places of Birth, the Ward, 1901

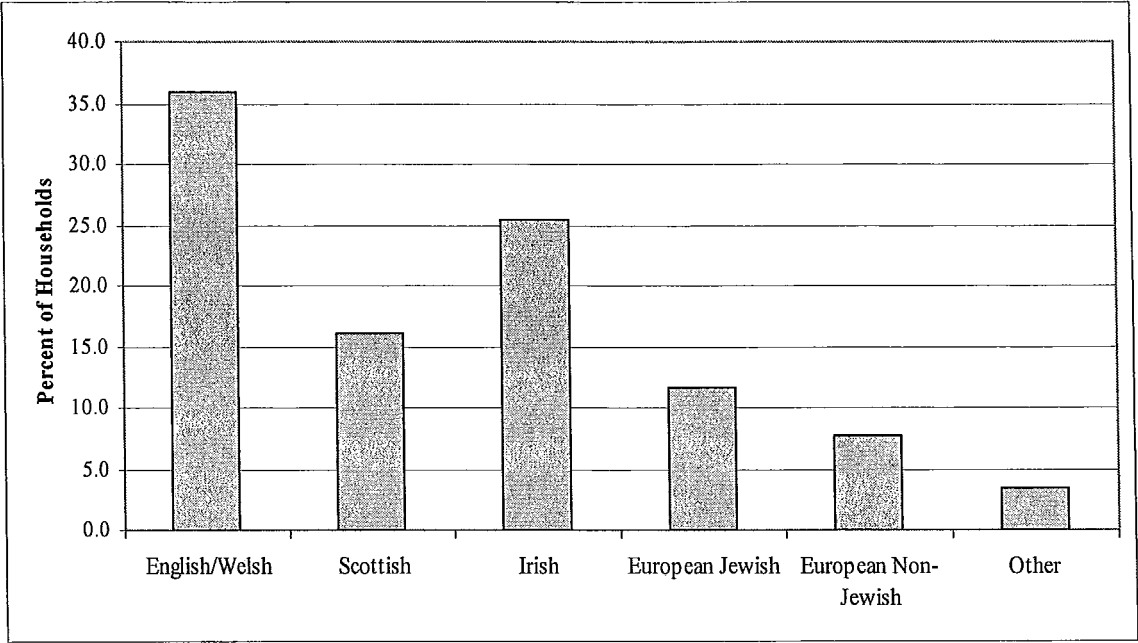


Approximately three-quarters of the sampled population of the Ward was of English, Irish, or Scottish ancestry. Substantially smaller but still significant populations of Jewish (Russian and Austrian), and non-Jewish (Italian, French, German, Austrian, and Swedish) Europeans also lived in this inner-city neighbourhood (Figure 4.2).

Although the European Jewish population was comparatively small, it is significant because the Jewish population was otherwise non-existent in the rest of Toronto at the time (Ward 1971, Hiebert 1995). The religious denominations of heads of households in the Ward were closely related to their ethnic backgrounds. The majority (60%) of the population in the Ward was Protestant (Presbyterian (19%), Methodist (16%), and Anglican (25%)) while the remaining population was Roman Catholic (15%) or belonged to another faith (25%).

Much of the immigrant population that lived in the Ward in 1901 immigrated to Canada between 1872 and 1891. Although the volume of immigrants to the Ward declined after 1891, the source of immigrants changed noticeably; the proportion of non-British immigrants entering the Ward increased. As a result of the changing source of immigrants, the social mix of the Ward population was becoming more diverse towards the beginning of the 20th Century than any other Toronto neighbourhood.

Figure 4.2: Ethnic Composition, the Ward, 1901

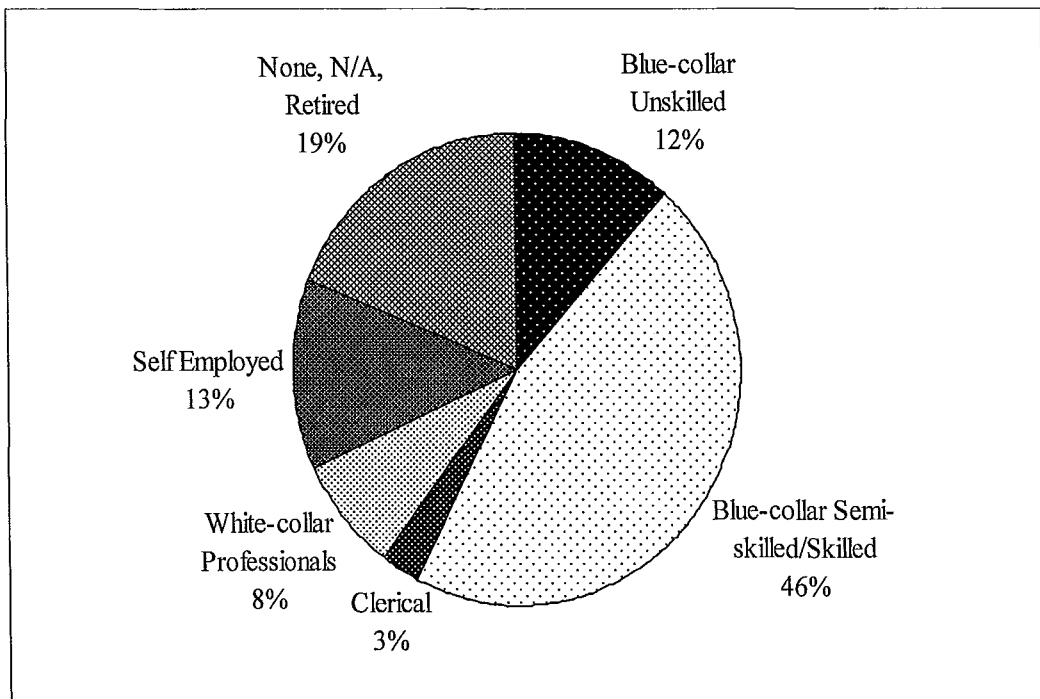


Socio-economically, the Ward in 1901 was largely a blue-collar working class neighbourhood where over half of the population were employed as either unskilled or semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar labourers (Figure 4.3).² Thirteen percent of the

² Classification of forms of labour into these categories was based on Harris (1996) and Mercier (2003). Unskilled blue-collar workers consisted of bottle dealers, caretakers, labourers, paperhangers, brick layers, cabmen, drivers, horse groomers, packers, porters, stewards, boxmen, checkers, shippers, ink dealers, housekeepers etc. Semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar workers consisted of bakers, blacksmiths, brass finishers, carpenters, cigar makers, finishers, furriers, laundrymen, mechanics, operators, painters, plasterers, plumbers, pressers, printers, shoemakers, steel workers, tailors, tinsmiths, waiters, dressmakers, barbers, cooks, moulders, machinists, draftsmen, foremen, writers, etc.

population was self employed and involved in a merchant or entrepreneurial trade³, and white-collar professionals made up a small minority (8%) within the Ward.⁴ About one in five households did not report their occupation⁵, or were listed as retired; the majority belonging in the latter classification. Of those that reported an occupation then, seventy-one percent of households were employed in blue-collar occupations, making the Ward a solidly working class neighbourhood.

Figure 4.3: Occupations, the Ward 1901



In addition to not reporting an occupation, Census respondents were not required to report an annual income (Baskerville 2007). As a result, assessment of socio-

³ Self employed consisted of vendors, peddlers, boarding house keepers, grocers, butchers, restaurateurs, salesmen, store keepers, teamsters etc.

⁴ White-collar professionals consisted of real estate agents, opticians, teachers, rabbis, nurses, preachers, clergymen, accountants, physicians etc.

⁵ The omitted data was expected as respondents in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries were not required to divulge occupation or income in the Census (Baskerville 2007).

economic standing based on income is suspect at best. In the Ward nearly two-fifths of household heads did not report an annual income. Without an alternative, however, it is necessary to rely on this imperfect information. Data collected, but not yet published by Mercier indicates that the median annual income in all of Toronto in 1901 was \$500.⁶ Of those that reported an annual income, the median annual income for the Ward was \$450; a value somewhat lower than the city-wide median. The median annual income for unskilled and semi skilled/skilled blue-collar workers in the Ward was \$392 and \$500 respectively (Table 4.1). This evidence indicates that the Ward was, clearly, a working class neighbourhood.

Table 4.1: Median Annual Income, the Ward, 1901

Occupational Classes	Median Income (\$)
Blue-collar Unskilled	\$392
Blue-collar Semi Skilled/Skilled	\$500
Clerical	\$520
White-collar Professionals	\$1,100
Self Employed	\$450
All Occupations	\$450

In sum, the social and economic data collected from the 1901 Census for the population sample for the Ward indicates that the residents of this neighbourhood were more ethnically diverse than other neighbourhoods in the city, though the population was still largely British and Protestant. Household heads primarily worked blue-collar jobs and earned below average wages. Many families in the neighbourhood were immigrants; the most recent arrivals originating from Continental Europe, rather than the British Isles.

⁶ The author graciously acknowledges the use of this data.

4.1.2 Residential Mobility

A total of 181 households from the Ward were sampled from the 1901 Census. Of these, 58 were successfully traced over the entire period from 1901 to 1911. This yielded a 32% success rate. Households that were successfully traced from the beginning to the end of the decade were classified according to their residential mobility status; either stayers or movers. Stayers were defined as those households that maintained the same place of residence (address number and street name) from 1901 to 1911. Movers, on the other hand, were households that made at least one move over the ten year period. Out of the 58 successfully traced households in the Ward, 21% (12 households) were classified as stayers, and 79% (46 households) were movers.

4.1.3 Stayers and Movers

In general, the sample of successfully traced households was culturally and economically similar to the wider neighbourhood population. The sample was largely British and Protestant, was mostly native-born residents, and those that were immigrants mostly came from the British Isles. Furthermore, household heads in the traced sample were largely employed in semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar occupations and earned below average annual incomes. Stayers of course were inherently part of the wider neighbourhood population, and therefore had characteristics that were common to the broader population. Movers, while also broadly similar to the neighbourhood population as a whole, differed from the stayers in terms of ethnicity, age, and occupation.

Native-borns and immigrants made up approximately equal proportions of both the stayer and mover populations. There was a distinct difference, however, in the

ethnicity of the two subsets of the sample. Stayers were exclusively British (English, Irish and Scottish) (Table 4.2). The mover population was socially similar to the stayers in that they were comprised of a significant British population, however, the movers differed in the presence of a small but important Continental European population. Of the 58 successfully traced households, 10 were Continental Europeans, and all of these were movers.

Table 4.2: Ethnicity of Stayers and Movers in the Ward, 1901

	No. of English	No. of Scottish	No. of Irish Catholic	No. of Irish Protestant	No. of European Jewish	No. of European Non-Jewish	No. of Other	Total
Population Sample	65	29	15	31	17	18	6	181
Traced Sample	23	8	6	11	5	5	0	58
	No. of English (%)	No. of Scottish (%)	No. of Irish Catholic (%)	No. of Irish Protestant (%)	No. of European Jewish (%)	No. of European Non-Jewish (%)	No. of Other (%)	Total (%)
Stayers	4 (17)	3 (38)	3 (50)	2 (18)	--	--	--	12 (21)
Movers	19 (83)	5 (62)	3 (50)	9 (82)	5 (100)	5 (100)	--	46 (79)
Total	23	8	6	11	5	5	--	58

NOTE: The values expressed in parentheses are percentages of each column total in the traced sample.

The majority of stayer household heads, (92%) ranged from mid-life (40 to 60 years of age) to senior ages (older than 60 years), with a median age of 50. This differed from the somewhat younger mover population, whose median age was 41. This finding is consistent with mobility theory that suggests that those who are older are more likely to maintain a permanent residence as they are likely to own their own homes, and have acquired social capital (personal and professional relationships) with their neighbours (Moore and Rosenberg 1993; Kan 2005).

The stayers were employed equally in professional white-collar occupations and semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar occupations (Table 4.3). The central city may have tied

blue-collar workers to one place as it offered a constant turnover of unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled employment opportunities (Ward 1971, Hiebert 1995, Careless 1984). Additionally, white-collar professionals may have had incentive to remain at one location, because the economic benefits that their occupation provided made it possible for them to own their own home (Mulder 2006, Knox and Pinch 2006). The data supports this hypothesis as 80% of the Ward's white-collar professionals were stayers. Both unskilled and semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar workers, as well as the self employed, however were more likely to be movers than stayers. Statistical analysis confirms that households with heads who worked as white-collar professionals were more likely to be stayers than households with heads that worked in other occupational classes.⁷

Table 4.3: Occupations of Stayers and Movers in the Ward, 1901

	No. of White-Collar	No. of Blue-Collar Unskilled	No. of Blue-Collar Semi-Skilled/Skilled	No. of Clerical	No. of Self Employed	No. of Not Listed	Total
Population Sample	14	21	83	5	24	34	181
Traced Sample	5	3	31	1	8	10	58
	No. of White-Collar (%)	No. of Blue-Collar Unskilled (%)	No. of Blue-Collar Semi-Skilled/Skilled (%)	No. of Clerical (%)	No. of Self Employed (%)	No. of Not Listed (%)	Total (%)
Stayers	4 (80)	--	4 (13)	--	1 (13)	3 (30)	12 (21)
Movers	1 (20)	3 (100)	27 (87)	1 (100)	7 (87)	7 (70)	46 (79)
Total	5	3	31	1	8	10	58

Note: The values expressed in parentheses are percentages of each column total from the traced sample.

Overall, the data indicates that the stayer population was socially similar to the general population in the Ward in 1901. This population was primarily British and Protestant, and engaged in white-collar or semi-skilled/skilled blue collar employment. Stayers, however, differed from movers in terms of ethnicity, age, and occupation. It was

⁷ The chi square value comparing the distribution of stayers and movers according to occupational class was calculated to be 13.73. This value was higher than the chi critical value of 9.48. Therefore, the alternate hypothesis (significant difference between the observed and expected distributions) was accepted.

therefore necessary to explore the mobility characteristics of movers based on these three characteristics.

4.1.4 Move Distance

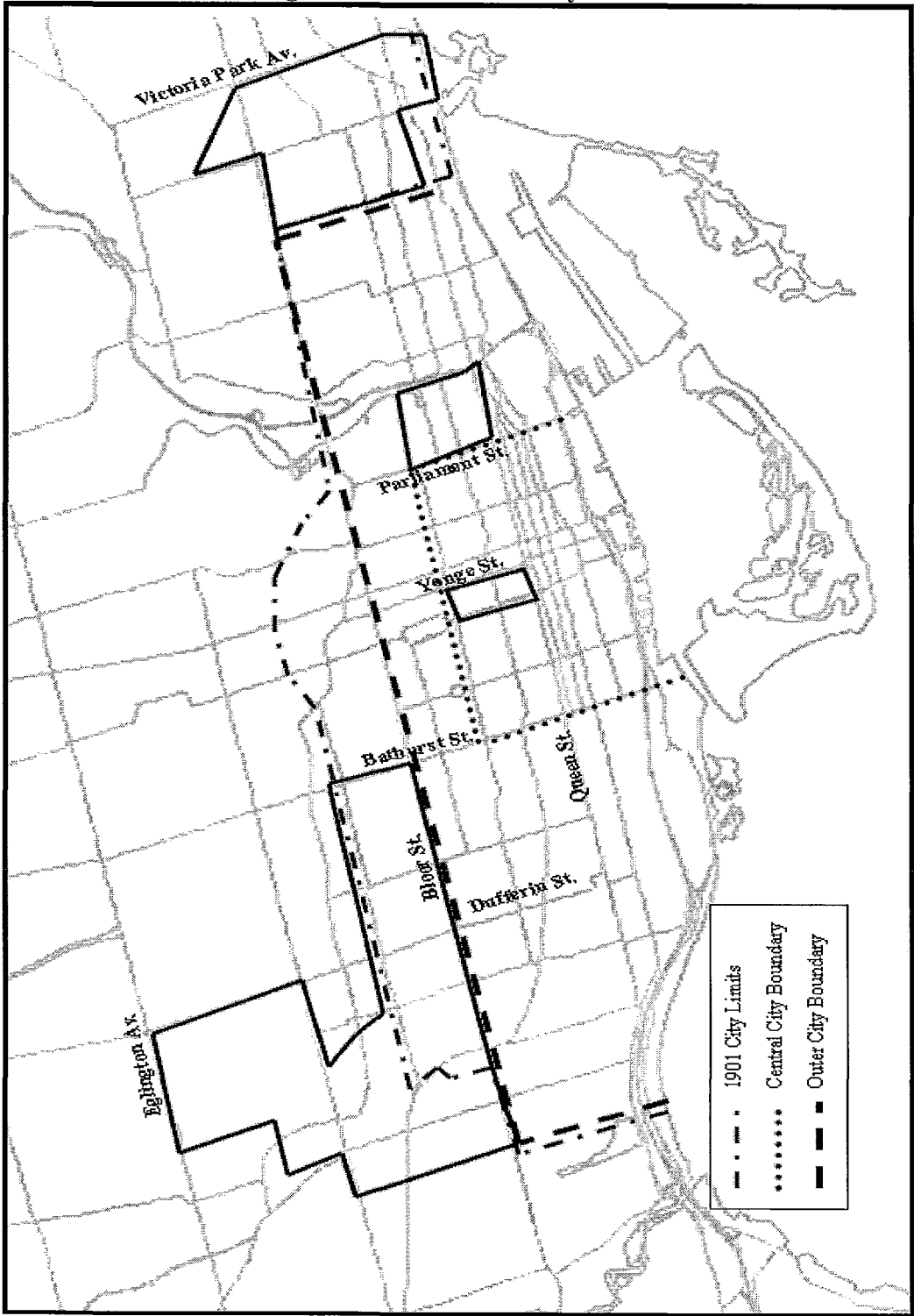
Movers were analyzed in terms of the distance moved, and the level of mobility (number of moves). The distance of a move was classified as either local (within the central city), medium (from the central city to the outer city), or distant (from the central city to the suburbs). The boundary between the central city and the outer city was determined based on historic interpretations of the city (Ward 1971, Harris 1991, Mercier 2003). The central city was identified as the area north of the lake, south of College Street, east of Bathurst Street, and west of Parliament Street (Figure 4.4). The area between the central city and the 1901 city limits (as identified by the 1901 Census of Canada) on the west and east extents of the city and Bloor Street to the north was classified as the outer city, and locations beyond the outer city were classified as suburban locations. It was determined that ethnicity and occupation influenced the move distance of the mover population in the Ward in 1901, as outlined below.

The majority of movers in the Ward in 1901 were local movers; they moved exclusively within the central city. These local movers were primarily Jewish and non-Jewish immigrants from Continental Europe and Russia. Most of the household heads were engaged in semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar employment with low to middle range incomes. In contrast, medium and distant movers were primarily British immigrants. This finding contradicts the prevailing view that Canadian suburbs in the early 20th Century were exclusively a place for native-born citizens who were pushed out of the

central city by newly arriving immigrants (Ward 1971, Harris 1996, Walker and Lewis 2001). Statistical analysis of the mobility of Ward movers by ethnicity (grouped into British and Continental European) indicated that the British were more likely to move further from the Ward than the Continental Europeans.⁸

⁸ The chi square value for the distribution of movers according to move distance and ethnicity was 17.3. This value was higher than the chi critical value of 5.99. Therefore, the alternate hypothesis (significant difference between the observed and expected distributions) was accepted. It should be noted, however, that the values of two cells in the analysis were below the general rule requiring minimum cell values.

Figure 4.4: Borders of City Areas



Source: (City of Toronto Engineers 1902)

British movers (native-born and immigrant) largely moved out of the Ward to either the outer city or the suburbs (Table 4.4). Conversely, Continental European (Jewish and non-Jewish) movers moved locally. The majority of Jewish movers within the Ward in 1901 moved exclusively within the central city. This was expected as the central city was home to ethnic enclaves of non-British immigrants in the early 20th Century. Specifically, the Ward was home to a large Jewish enclave, which supports the observed mobility (Ward 1971, Hiebert 1995).

Table 4.4: Ethnicity and Move Distance, the Ward, 1901
Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Move Distance	No. of English	No. of Scottish	No. of Irish Catholic	No. of Irish Protestant	No. of European Jewish	No. of European Non-Jewish	Total
Local (within Central City)	1 (5% / 12.5%)	1 (20% / 12.5%)	--	--	4 (80% / 50%)	2 (40% / 25%)	8
Medium (Central City to Outer City)	12 (63% / 40%)	3 (60% / 10%)	3 (100% / 10%)	8 (89% / 27%)	1 (20% / 3%)	3 (60% / 10%)	30
Distant (Central City to Suburbs)	6 (32% / 75%)	1 (20% / 12.5%)	--	1 (11% / 12.5%)	--	--	8
Total	19	5	3	9	5	5	46

The distribution of occupational classes among movers suggests that most local movers were semi-skilled or skilled blue-collar workers. Approximately two-thirds (62%) of movers who remained somewhere within the central city were involved in semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar employment (Table 4.5). At the time, the central city boasted the greatest opportunities for employment for newly arriving immigrants, many of whom sought employment that utilized their skill set (Ward 1971, Ward 2001, Teaford 1993). Consequently, many blue-collar families who did move likely preferred to remain within

the central core, especially if they needed to find supplementary employment for seasonal or part time work.

Blue-collar workers also made up the majority of the population that moved to both the outer city and the suburbs (Table 4.5). The proportion of the traced population that moved from the central city to the suburbs contained only one white-collar family. The suburbs are traditionally thought of as home to the elite, and as a result, one would assume suburban movers would have been largely white-collar professionals. The data, however, contradicts this theory.

Table 4.5: Occupations and Move Distance, the Ward, 1901
Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Move Distance	No. of White-collar	No. of Blue-collar Unskilled	No. of Blue-Collar Semi-Skilled/Skilled	No. of Clerical	No. of Self-Employed	No. of Not Listed	Total
Local (Within Central City)	--	--	5 (19% / 62%)	--	2 (29% / 25%)	1 (14% / 13%)	8
Medium (From Central City to Outer City)	--	3 (100% / 10%)	17 (63% / 57%)	1 (100% / 3%)	4 (57% / 13%)	5 (71% / 17%)	30
Distant (From Central City to Suburbs)	1 (100% / 12.5%)	--	5 (19% / 62.5%)	--	1 (14% / 12.5%)	1 (14% / 12.5%)	8
Total	1	3	27	1	7	7	46

Overall, the move distance of households in the Ward was primarily affected by ethnicity and occupation. Local movers (those that moved within the central city) were primarily Jewish and non-Jewish Continental Europeans, while movers to the outer city and the suburbs were largely British. Most local movers were employed as semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar workers, and residents who moved to suburban regions were also typically employed in blue-collar trades, but there was a greater diversity of movers (in terms of occupational class) than we are generally led to believe.

4.1.5 **Level of Mobility (Number of Moves)**

The level of mobility of households was determined by the number of moves a household made between 1901 and 1911. Households that only moved once were classified as having low mobility, while households that moved twice or more were classified as having moderate to high mobility, respectively. Patterns were found in the level of mobility of households with regard to immigrant status, ethnicity, age, and occupation.

Overall, the majority of movers in the Ward in 1901 displayed low or moderate levels of mobility. Low mobility movers were most often native-born, while more highly mobile households were immigrants (Table 4.6). Sixty percent of the moderate and high mobility households were immigrants. Additionally, over half of households that exhibited low mobility were native-born.

Table 4.6: Immigrant Status and Level of Mobility, the Ward, 1901
Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Levels of Mobility	No. of Immigrants	No. of Native-born	Total
Low (1 Move)	8 (32% / 42%)	11 (52% / 58%)	19
Moderate (2 Moves)	11 (44% / 65%)	6 (29% / 35%)	17
High (3 Moves or more)	6 (24% / 60%)	4 (19% / 40%)	10
Total	25	21	46

Regarding ethnicity, the European Jewish households were proportionally the most mobile and accounted for one-third of the high mobility movers (Table 4.7). When coupled with the non-Jewish, Continental Europeans accounted for half of the highly mobile population. British households, on the other hand, were the least mobile. Fully

half of the one time movers were British, and this proportion decreased as the level of mobility increased. Chi square analysis confirms that Continental European households were more likely to exhibit higher mobility levels than British households.⁹

An example of a highly mobile Continental European household was that headed by Joseph Wolfish, an Austrian Jew who immigrated to Toronto in 1895. In 1901, at the age of 27 Wolfish was a self-employed peddler who lived with his wife and one child in the Ward. Between 1901 and 1911, Wolfish and his family moved four times, always exclusively within the Ward. Wolfish then, is a classic example of a central city Jewish family; they moved many times, but always within the central city presumably to maintain ties with their community, increase their employment opportunities, and to try to improve their household situation.

Conversely, an example of a British household that exhibited low mobility was that of W.G Clarke. Clarke immigrated from England in 1887. In 1901, at the age of 33, Clarke was married with no children, worked as a brass finisher, and was a resident of the Ward. He and his wife remained at their central city home for 9 years, and then moved to a suburb in east Toronto in 1910. Similarly, Joseph Tanner, a 37 year old native-born resident of English ancestry was employed as a general labourer in 1901. Tanner was also married with no children, and was a resident of the Ward until 1909, when he and his wife moved to the outer city of Toronto.

⁹ The chi square value for the distribution of the mover population by level of mobility and ethnicity (grouped into British and Continental European) was 7.54. This value was higher than the chi critical value of 5.99. Therefore the alternate hypothesis (significant difference between the observed and expected distributions) was accepted.

Table 4.7: Ethnicity and Level of Mobility, the Ward, 1901
Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Levels of Mobility	No. of English	No. of Scottish	No. of Irish Catholic	No. of Irish Protestant	No. of European Jewish	No. of European Non-Jewish	Total
Low (1 Move)	10 (53% / 53%)	3 (60% / 16%)	1 (33% / 5%)	3 (33% / 16%)	--	2 (40% / 10%)	19
Moderate (2 Moves)	7 (37% / 41%)	1 (20% / 6%)	1 (33% / 6%)	5 (56% / 29%)	2 (40% / 12%)	1 (20% / 6%)	17
High (3 Moves or more)	2 (11% / 20%)	1 (20% / 10%)	1 (33% / 10%)	1 (11% / 10%)	3 (60% / 30%)	2 (40% / 20%)	10
Total	19	5	3	9	5	5	46

The level of mobility of a household was also dependent on the age of the head of household. Younger household heads were far more mobile than households with middle aged or older household heads. The examples previously illustrated of the young Wolfish and the older Clarke and Tanner illustrate this point well. Household heads in their 20s and 30s made up 50% more of the high mobility population of movers than the low mobility population. Younger individuals and families typically do not own their home, and thus have less economic and social capital invested to keep them in one place (Kan 2005, Knox and Pinch 2006).

The occupation of the head of household was also associated with the level of residential mobility. Overall, blue-collar workers (unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled) were more likely to exhibit moderate mobility, than high mobility (Table 4.8). Only one white-collar professional in the sample moved and they moved only once (to the suburbs). This was expected as white-collar professionals and most semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar workers likely had stable employment, giving them less incentive to move than transient blue-collar and self-employed workers (Kan 2005, Knox and Pinch 2006, Pooley 1979).

Table 4.8: Occupations and Level of Mobility, the Ward, 1901

Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Level of Mobility	No. of White-collar	No. of Blue-collar Unskilled	No. of Blue-collar Semi-Skilled/Skilled	No. of Clerical	No. of Self-Employed	No. of Not Listed	Total
Low (1 Move)	1 (100% / 5%)	2 (67% / 10%)	12 (44% / 65%)	1 (100% / 5%)	1 (14% / 5%)	2 (29% / 10%)	19
Moderate (2 Moves)	--	1 (33% / 6%)	10 (37% / 58%)	--	3 (43% / 18%)	3 (43% / 18%)	17
High (3 Moves or more)	--	--	5 (19% / 50%)	--	3 (43% / 30%)	2 (29% / 20%)	10
Total	1	3	27	1	7	7	46

In general, the level of mobility of households in the Ward was influenced by ethnicity, age, and occupation. British Protestant residents who were older in age, and engaged in semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar or white-collar occupations exhibited low mobility. On the other hand, young Jewish and non-Jewish Continental European immigrants employed in semi-skilled/skilled and self-employed trades were most likely to move frequently.

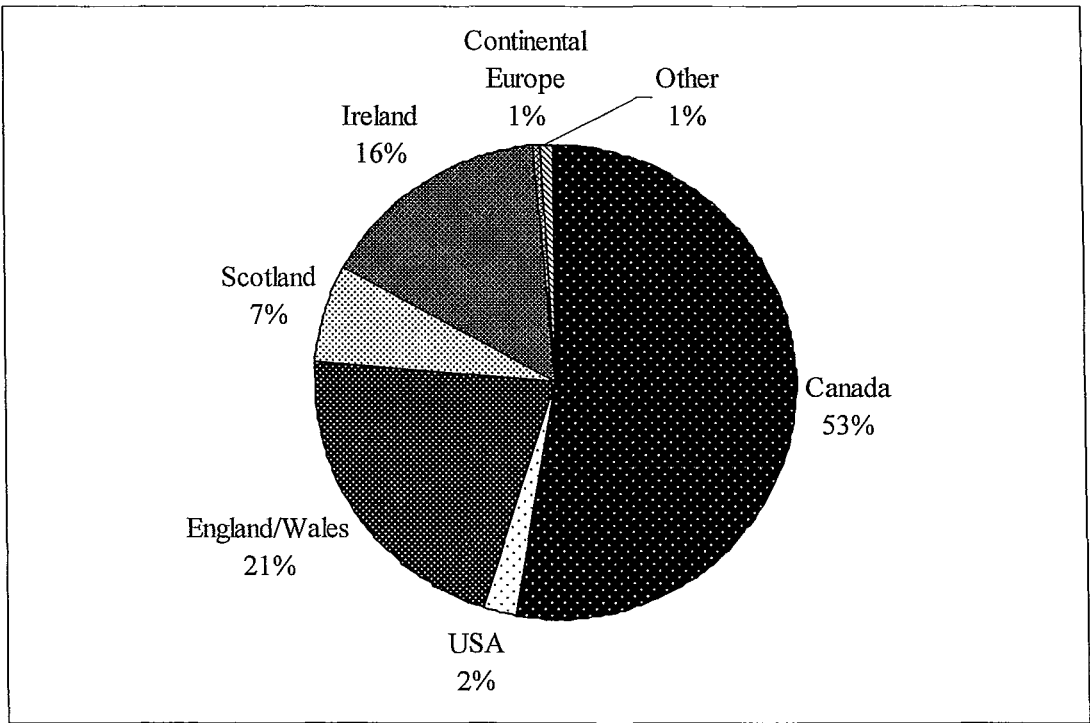
4.2 *Outer City: Cabbagetown*

4.2.1 Neighbourhood Profile: 1901 Census Population Sample

The sub-districts of Cabbagetown in the 1901 Census were sampled at the same rate (6.67%) as the Ward, and this yielded a neighbourhood sample of 211 households. In 1901, Cabbagetown was an established Irish immigrant neighbourhood in the outer ring of the city. Cabbagetown was home to a relatively homogeneous population of mostly British (English and Irish) and Protestant residents. Semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar employment was dominant in the neighbourhood and most households earned below average incomes.

Just over half of the Cabbagetown population was native-born (born in Canada) and the other half of the population (approximately 47%) were immigrants. The immigrant population was almost exclusively from the British Isles, the majority having immigrated from England (Figure 4.5). A significant number of Irish immigrants and native-born Canadians of Irish ancestry lived in the neighbourhood. In fact, it was because of the larger than average population of Irish in the neighbourhood that Cabbagetown earned its name (Rust D’Eye 1984).

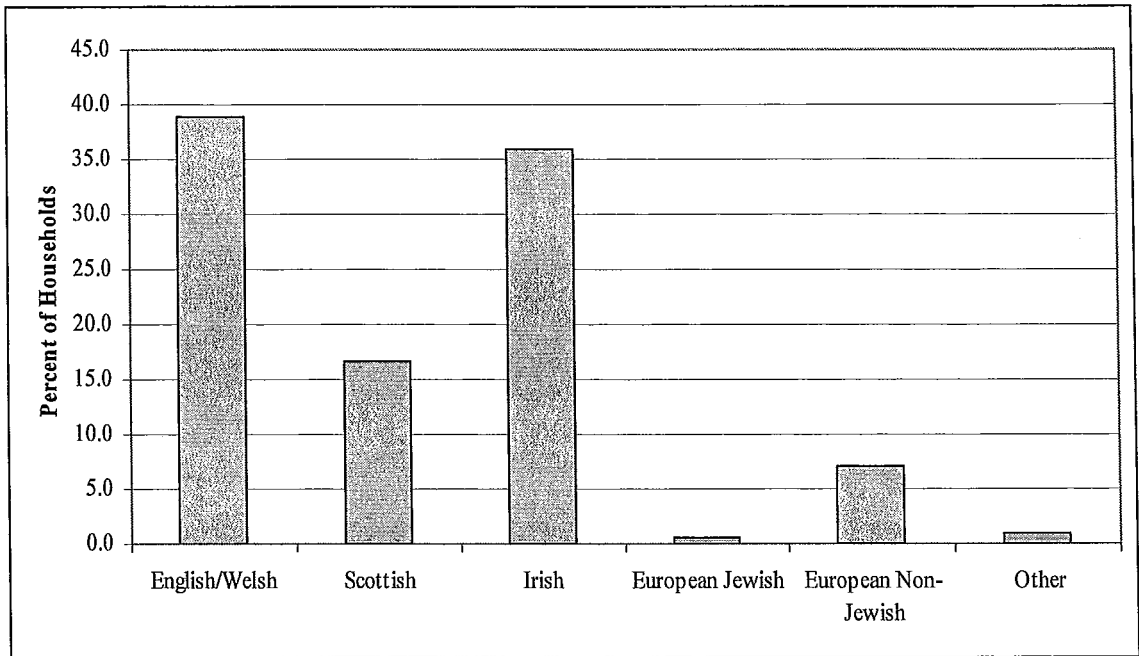
Figure 4.5: Places of Birth, Cabbagetown, 1901



Like the Ward, the majority of the population in Cabbagetown (over 90%) was, broadly speaking, British. Of the British population most were English or Irish (Figure 4.6). These findings support those of Goheen (1970) who documented the emergence of Cabbagetown in the 19th Century as a largely Irish neighbourhood. The majority of the

neighbourhood belonged to one of the major Protestant churches, although nearly one-fifth of families (17%) were Catholic. This Catholic minority was entirely Irish.

Figure 4.6: Ethnic Composition, Cabbagetown, 1901



Cabbagetown, like the Ward, was a blue-collar, working class neighbourhood. Half of the population worked semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar jobs, and an additional 17% worked in unskilled blue-collar employment (Figure 4.7).¹⁰ Cabbagetown was also host to small, but equal proportions of self employed workers and white-collar professionals.¹¹

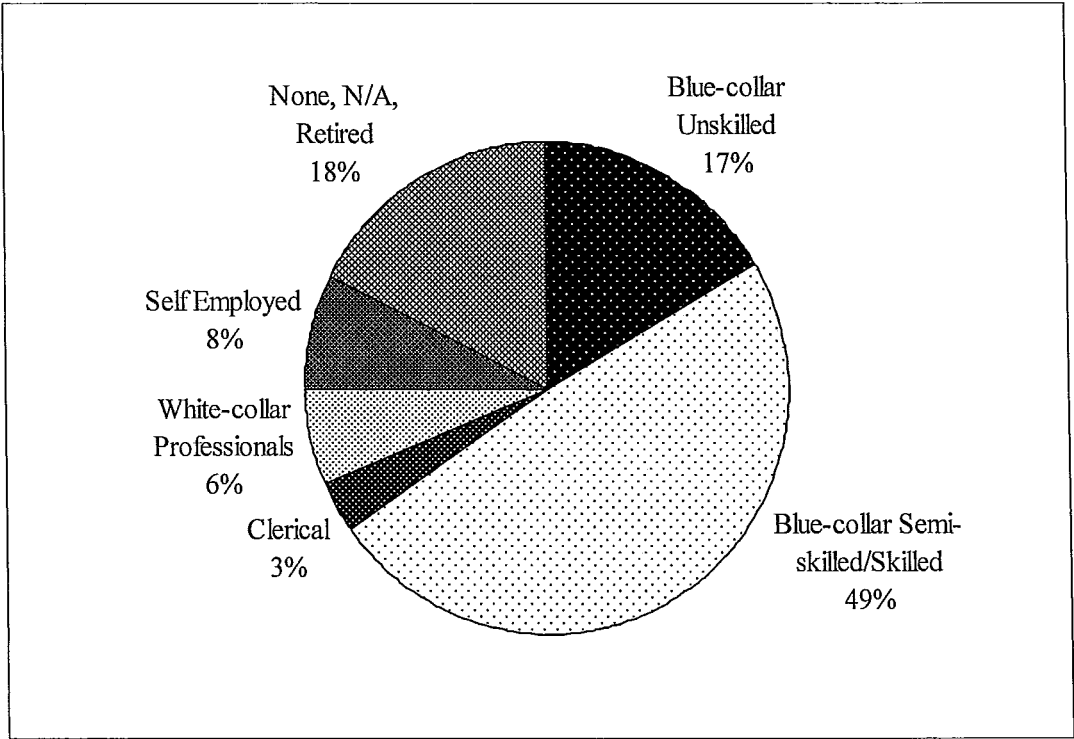
The median annual income for the entire Cabbagetown sample was \$448. This median annual income was lower than the median annual income of \$500 for the city as a whole. The median annual income of unskilled blue-collar workers and semi-

¹⁰ For a listing of occupations that fall under the category of semi-skilled/skilled blue collar employment and unskilled blue collar employment see Footnote 3.

¹¹ For a listing of occupations that fall under the categories of self employed and white-collar professionals see Footnotes 4 and 5 respectively.

skilled/skilled blue-collar workers in Cabbagetown in 1901 was \$370 and \$500 respectively. All of the above patterns indicate that the majority of the population of Cabbagetown earned middle range incomes that were similar to those of the central city neighbourhood of the Ward.

Figure 4.7: Occupations, Cabbagetown, 1901



Overall, the data indicates that in 1901 Cabbagetown was a dominantly British neighbourhood that was, relative to other neighbourhoods in the city, disproportionately Irish. Whether native-born or immigrants, the great majority of the population was British and Protestant, aside from a sizeable Irish Catholic minority. The population earned middle range incomes, and was primarily engaged in both unskilled and semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar labour.

4.2.2 Residential Mobility

Of the 211 Cabbagetown households sampled in the 1901 Census, 91 were successfully traced over the 1901 to 1911 period (43% success rate). This traced sample consists of stayers (residents who remained at the same address from 1901 to 1911), and movers (residents who did not remain at the same address throughout the ten year period). Of the 91 successfully traced households, approximately one-third (30%) were stayers and two-thirds (70%) were movers.

4.2.3 Stayers and Movers

Overall, the traced sample possessed similar characteristics to that of the wider neighbourhood sample. Both populations consisted of immigrants from the British Isles, and native-borns of British descent. Most immigrants in the traced sample arrived in Canada before 1891, reinforcing that Cabbagetown was an established, rather than recent, immigrant neighbourhood. Additionally, most residents whether stayers or movers belonged to one of the major Protestant faiths. Finally, the majority of the traced sample was engaged in semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar employment. Despite these similarities to the wider neighbourhood population, within the traced population itself stayers and movers were different from each other in terms of the age and ethnicity of heads of households.

In terms of age, almost three-quarters of stayers ranged from middle aged (40 to 60 years of age) to senior (older than 60 years) with the median age being 49 (Table 4.9). This differed from movers, the majority of whom (67%) were younger with a median age of 41. This finding supports further residential mobility theories which suggest that older

residents are more likely to maintain a permanent residence than those who are younger, because they have more invested in their current location (financial capital and social ties) (Moore and Rosenberg 1993; Kan 2005).

Table 4.9: Age of Stayers and Movers, Cabbagetown, 1901

Age	20-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81 or older	Total
Population Sample	30	67	52	36	17	7	2	211
Traced Sample	5	23	28	18	12	3	1	90
Age	20-30 (%)	31-40 (%)	41-50 (%)	51-60 (%)	61-70 (%)	71-80 (%)	81 or older (%)	Total (%)
Stayers	1 (20)	6 (26)	7 (25)	7 (39)	4 (33)	1 (33)	1 (100)	27 (30)
Movers	4 (80)	17 (74)	21 (75)	11 (61)	8 (67)	2 (67)	--	63 (70)
Total	5	23	28	18	12	3	1	90

Note: The values in parentheses are percentages of each column total from the traced sample.

Whether immigrant or native-born, the dominant ethnicity of the stayer and mover populations in Cabbagetown was British (Table 4.10). However, differences that existed between the stayer and mover populations in terms of ethnicity related to the relative proportions of Irish and European non-Jewish populations. Virtually all Irish Protestants were movers rather than stayers, while the Irish Catholics were split almost fifty-fifty between stayers and movers. Perhaps this was because Irish Protestants were more similar to the British and Protestant host population found throughout the rest of the city, and could therefore move among them with greater relative ease. Conversely, Irish Catholics may have had more reason to group together to form an ethnic enclave within Cabbagetown. Additionally, the small European non-Jewish population were exclusively

movers reinforcing the notion that Cabbagetown was increasingly becoming an Irish Catholic enclave. Chi square analyses confirm these observations.¹²

Table 4.10: Ethnicity of Stayers and Movers, Cabbagetown, 1901

	No. of English	No. of Scottish	No. of Irish Catholic	No. of Irish Protestant	No. of European Jewish	No. of European Non-Jewish	No. of Other	Total
Population Sample	82	35	26	50	1	15	2	211
Traced Sample	43	15	15	10	0	5	2	90
	No. of English (%)	No. of Scottish (%)	No. of Irish Catholic (%)	No. of Irish Protestant (%)	No. of European Jewish (%)	No. of European Non-Jewish (%)	No. of Other (%)	Total (%)
Stayers	12 (28)	6 (40)	8 (53)	1 (10)	--	--	--	27 (30)
Movers	31 (72)	9 (60)	7 (47)	9 (90)	--	5 (100)	2 (100)	63 (70)
Total	43	15	15	10	--	5	2	90

Note: The values in parentheses are percentages of each column total from the traced sample.

In summary, the traced population as a whole was economically and socially similar to the rest of the Cabbagetown population. Both populations were mainly British (native-borns and immigrants) and Protestant and earned middle range incomes working blue-collar jobs. Within the traced population, stayers and movers differed from each other in terms of their age and ethnic profiles; therefore, it is important to investigate other characteristics that may have affected the mobility of the mover population.

4.2.4 Move Distance

The mover population in Cabbagetown, like the Ward, was analyzed in terms of two categories: move distance and level of mobility. Move distance reflects how far a resident moved in the ten year period. Cabbagetown was an outer city neighbourhood in 1901, and as such its movers could move locally within the outer city, or make longer

¹² The chi square value comparing the distribution of stayers and movers according to ethnicity was calculated to be 3.97. This value was higher than the chi critical value of 3.84. Therefore, the alternate hypothesis (significant difference between the observed and expected distributions) was accepted.

distance moves back into the central city or out to the suburbs. The boundaries that were used to delineate the central city from the outer city, and the outer city from the suburbs were the same as those used for the Ward (north of the lake, south of College Street, East of Bathurst Street, and West of Parliament Street was the central city, between the central city boundaries and the city limits to the west and east, and Bloor Street to the north was the outer city, and any area beyond the outer city was the suburbs).

The majority (72%) of the movers in Cabbagetown moved within the outer city, including within Cabbagetown itself. One such example is William Swan. Swan resided at 378 Wilton Avenue in Cabbagetown in 1901 and then moved to 37 Metcalfe Street (also in Cabbagetown) in 1903 and remained there until the end of the decade. Of the remainder of Cabbagetown movers, approximately one in seven (14%) moved into the central city, while an additional 14% moved out to the suburbs.

The major pattern among movers in terms of move distance was that the population that moved from Cabbagetown to the suburbs was largely native-born. This fits closely with traditional schools of thought about city growth: native-born residents get pushed out of the outer city into the suburbs as the outer city is increasingly settled by relatively established immigrants (Ward 1971, Harris 1996, Walker and Lewis 2001). In contrast, most of the movers that moved to the central city were immigrants. Possible reasons for a household to move into the central city from a neighbourhood like Cabbagetown were the availability of unskilled blue-collar employment opportunities and comparatively inexpensive living conditions (Ward 1971).

Ethnicity ties closely with immigrant status because all of the native-born movers were of British descent. The majority of English residents moved locally within the outer city, including within Cabbagetown itself. Among immigrant movers, however, there was a small, but significant minority population of Continental Europeans. This small non-Jewish European population moved exclusively within the outer city of Toronto (Table 4.11).

Looking specifically at the small, but strengthening Irish population for a moment, it was found that Irish Catholics moved equally within the outer city, and into the central city (Table 4.11). The majority of Irish Protestants, on the other hand, moved within the outer city and the suburbs but none moved to the central city. An example of an Irish Protestant who moved to a suburban area of Toronto was a man by the name of Hugh Dunfield. In 1901 Dunfield resided at 12 Spruce Street in Cabbagetown. At this time he was married, had 2 children under the age of 15, and worked as a letter carrier. Dunfield and his family remained in Cabbagetown for eight years and then, in 1908, they moved to 52 Lynwood Avenue which is located in a suburb of Northern Toronto.

Table 4.11: Ethnicity and Move Distance, Cabbagetown, 1901
Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Move Distance	No. of English	No. of Scottish	No. of Irish Catholic	No. of Irish Protestant	No. of European Non-Jewish	No. of Other	Total
Outer City to Central City	5 (16% / 56%)	1 (11% / 11%)	3 (43% / 33%)	--	--	--	9
Within Outer City	24 (77% / 53%)	5 (56% / 11%)	3 (43% / 7%)	7 (78% / 16%)	5 (100% / 11%)	1 (50% / 2%)	45
Outer City to Suburbs	2 (7% / 22%)	3 (33% / 34%)	1 (14% / 11%)	2 (22% / 22%)	--	1 (50% / 11%)	9
Total	31	9	7	9	5	2	63

Though the distributions of annual incomes between stayers, movers, and the larger neighbourhood population of Cabbagetown in 1901 were similar, it was found that annual incomes helped explain some of the move distance patterns of the population. The dominant pattern was that almost half of the population that moved from Cabbagetown to the central city had a low annual income (less than \$500 per year; Table 4.12). Perhaps these income levels were not enough to support the standard of living in the outer city, and as a result, the households were forced to move into the central city where living expenses were lower, and employment opportunities more abundant (Ward 1971, Goheen 1970). The example of Colin Bennett is illustrative of this pattern. Bennett lived at 37 Orford Street in Cabbagetown in 1901 with his wife and one young child. Bennett worked in an unskilled occupation as a box maker and earned \$255 annually. This salary was well below the neighbourhood average of \$450 per year. After remaining at this location for 7 years, Bennett and his family moved into the central city.

Table 4.12: Annual Income and Move Distance, Cabbagetown, 1901
Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Move Distance	Annual Income (\$)						Total
	0-250	251-500	501-750	751-1000	1001 or greater	Not Listed	
Outer City to Central City	1 (20% / 11%)	3 (12% / 33%)	--	--	1 (33% / 11%)	4 (20% / 45%)	9
Within Outer City	4 (80% / 9%)	20 (80% / 44%)	5 (71% / 11%)	3 (100% / 7%)	1 (33% / 2%)	12 (60% / 27%)	45
Outer City to Suburbs	--	2 (8% / 22%)	2 (29% / 22%)	--	1 (33% / 11%)	4 (20% / 45%)	9
Total	5	25	7	3	3	20	63

In general, all move distances were dominated by British residents (native-born and immigrant), especially local movement within the outer city. Irish Catholic immigrants were more likely to move into the central city, while Scottish, Irish

Protestant, and English native-borns moved to suburban areas. Residents with low range incomes (below the neighbourhood average of \$500 annually) were the most likely to move back to the central city while higher income earners had enough economic capital to remain in the outer city or move to the suburbs.

4.2.5 Level of Mobility (Number of Moves)

The level of mobility of a household was determined by the number of moves made between 1901 and 1911. Households were classified as exhibiting low mobility, moderate mobility or high mobility depending on whether they moved once, twice, or more than two times respectively. The level of mobility of movers in Cabbagetown was influenced by immigrant status, ethnicity and annual income.

The majority of the mover population that lived in Cabbagetown in 1901 were one time movers or moderate movers (moved twice). One such household was that of Edward Kingsnorth, an English Protestant immigrant. In 1901, Kingsnorth resided in Cabbagetown at 349 Queen Street East with his wife and was employed as a shipper. Kingsnorth and his wife remained at 349 Queen Street East until 1910, and then in 1911 they made one move to 39 Sparkhall Avenue, also in the outer city.

Low mobility movers and moderate movers were split almost fifty-fifty between native-born and immigrants born in the British Isles. Movers that were born in Canada primarily exhibited low mobility. Only 13% of native-borns were highly mobile while 61% were one time movers.

The levels of mobility of different ethnic groups matched those of the different groups as defined by immigrant status. The vast majority of English movers exhibited

moderate and high mobility, and the English were dominant in both mobility categories (Table 4.13). Movers with an English ethnic background also made up the majority of one time movers accounting for 41% of this population.

Like with move distance, the Irish population differed in terms of level mobility. The majority of both Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants were one time movers, however, Irish Protestants made up a larger proportion of one time movers than did Irish Catholics. Minorities of both of these populations exhibited moderate and high mobility (Table 4.13).

Table 4.13: Ethnicity and Level of Mobility, Cabbagetown, 1901
Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Level of Mobility	No. of English	No. of Scottish	No. of Irish Catholic	No. of Irish Protestant	No. of European Non-Jewish	No. of Other	Total
Low (1 Move)	14 (45% / 41%)	4 (44% / 12%)	4 (57% / 12%)	6 (67% / 17%)	5 (100% / 15%)	1 (50% / 3%)	34
Moderate (2 Moves)	11 (36% / 65%)	3 (33% / 17%)	1 (14% / 6%)	1 (11% / 6%)	--	1 (50% / 6%)	17
High (3 Moves or more)	6 (19% / 50%)	2 (22% / 17%)	2 (29% / 17%)	2 (22% / 17%)	--	--	12
Total	31	9	7	9	5	2	63

The occupations of movers, though extremely similar in distribution to stayers and the larger neighbourhood population, provided additional information about level of mobility patterns. There were three clearly defined mobility patterns based on occupation. First, no white-collar professionals or clerical employees exhibited high mobility. Two-thirds of household heads engaged in white-collar employment and clerical employment respectively were one time movers (Table 4.14). Second, the majority of semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar workers exhibited low mobility. Among all low mobility movers, half (47%) were semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar workers. Of all

semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar workers that moved, two-thirds (64%) moved only one time.

Finally, the third mobility pattern based on occupation was that, unskilled blue-collar workers were equally likely to be one time movers or high mobility movers; approximately 36% of unskilled blue-collar workers exhibited low mobility and an additional 36% were highly mobile (Table 4.14). While unskilled workers accounted for only a small proportion of the low mobility population, they accounted for the majority of the highly mobile population. These patterns make some sense since one can assume that more stable, and presumably better paying, occupations would give a household less incentive to change location frequently, whereas increasingly unstable employment (i.e. unskilled blue-collar labour) would have the opposite effect (Knox and Pinch 2006, Goodman 1978, Teaford 1993).

Table 4.14: Occupations and Level of Mobility, Cabbagetown, 1901
Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Level of Mobility	No. of White-collar	No. of Blue-Collar Unskilled	No. of Blue-collar Semi-Skilled/Skilled	No. of Clerical	No. of Self Employed	No. of Not Listed	Total
Low (1 Move)	2 (67% / 6%)	5 (36% / 15%)	16 (64% / 47%)	2 (67% / 6%)	2 (33% / 6%)	7 (58% / 20%)	34
Moderate (2 Moves)	1 (33% / 6%)	4 (29% / 23%)	5 (20% / 29%)	1 (33% / 6%)	3 (50% / 18%)	3 (25% / 18%)	17
High (3 Moves or more)	--	5 (36% / 42%)	4 (16% / 33%)	--	1 (17% / 8%)	2 (17% / 17%)	12
Total	3	14	25	3	6	12	63

Overall, the level of mobility of movers in Cabbagetown in 1901 was primarily affected by immigrant status, ethnicity and occupation. Native-born British movers (specifically English and Irish Protestants) that were engaged in white-collar, semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar or clerical professions displayed low mobility. Continental

European immigrant populations also exhibited low mobility. Additionally, moderate or high mobility was characterized primarily by immigrant British populations engaged in unskilled or semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar employment.

4.3 *Conclusion*

This chapter has analyzed the social and residential mobility data of two urban neighbourhoods, one in the central city (the Ward) and one in the outer city (Cabbagetown); one was a diverse immigrant receiving area, and the other was an increasingly Irish enclave. The mobility patterns of these neighbourhoods can be characterized by two patterns. First, British native-born populations moved over longer distances and exhibited low levels of mobility, and second, British and non-British immigrant populations (specifically the Jewish population) moved locally and exhibited high levels of mobility. Further discussion of the main findings of this analysis is provided in Chapter Six, as we turn now to analyze the suburban neighbourhoods.

Chapter 5 Analysis of Suburban Neighbourhoods

This chapter discusses the results and analysis of the two suburban neighbourhoods of West Toronto and East Toronto respectively. The suburban neighbourhoods were analyzed through assessment of the 1911 Census sample data, and tracing households backward through time (1911 to 1901) to reveal where suburban residents originated, as well as the social and economic characteristics that affected their movement.

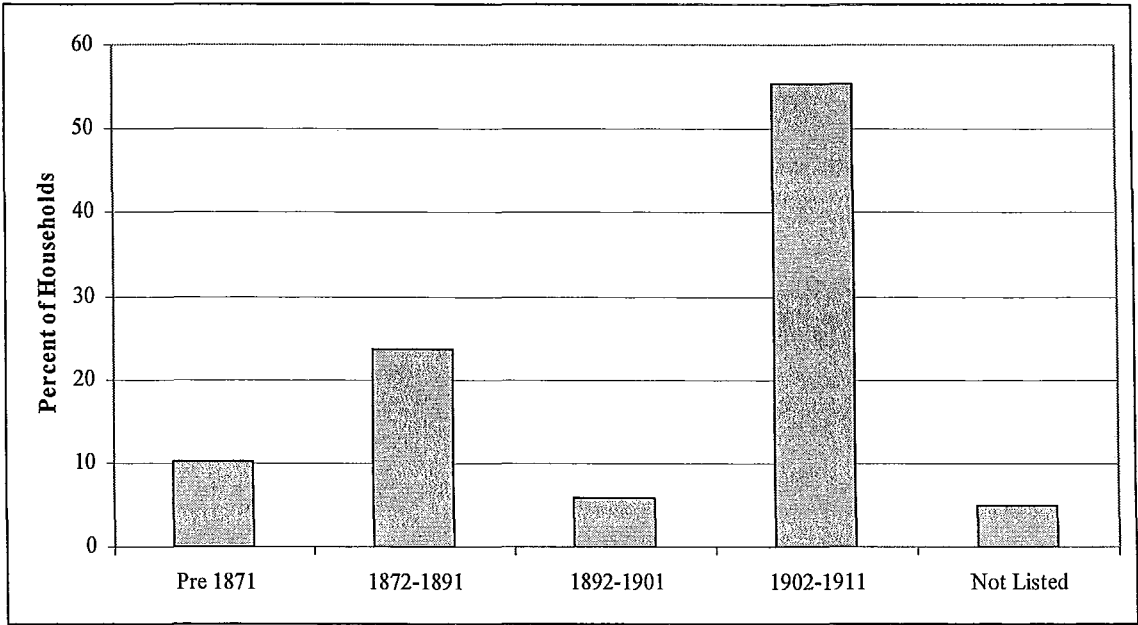
5.1 *Suburban: West Toronto*

5.1.1 Neighbourhood Profile: 1911 Census Population Sample

Using a sampling rate of 6.67% (1 out of every 15 households) the sub-districts of West Toronto were sampled from the 1911 Census, which yielded a total neighbourhood sample of 392 households. In 1911, West Toronto was a suburban region made up of two relatively established neighbourhoods: the industrial suburb of West Toronto Junction, and the working class residential suburb of Earlscourt. The majority of the population, like the rest of the city, was native-born British and Protestant, many of whom were engaged in semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar employment for middle to high range incomes. Just over half (53%) of the population was native-born and the remainder were immigrants primarily from the British Isles. A very small proportion of the immigrant population was from Continental Europe, however, this population was negligible compared to the proportion of British immigrants. The majority of the immigrant population in West Toronto immigrated to Toronto between 1902 and 1911 (Figure 5.1).

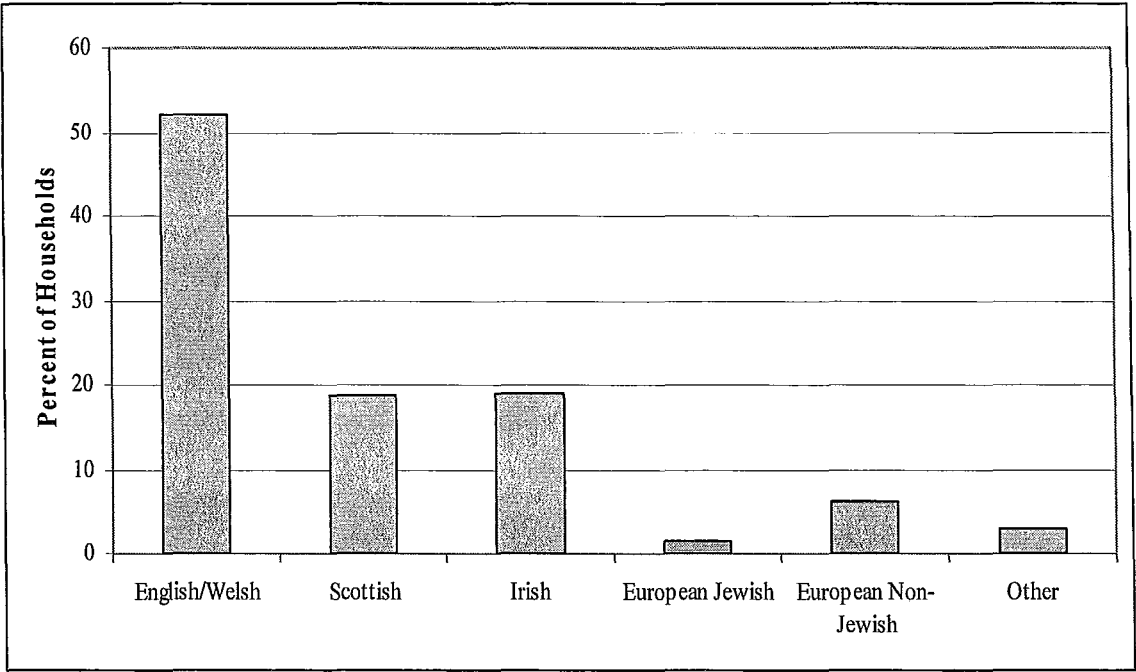
These recent immigrants accounted for 55% of the total immigrant population. Whether or not these immigrants settled first in the suburbs, this relatively high proportion of recent immigrants in a suburban neighbourhood is an important finding in itself. Urban commentators generally regard the suburbs of the early 20th Century as the domain of the native-born only (Harris 1991).

Figure 5.1: Year of Immigration, West Toronto, 1911



In terms of the dominant ethnic groups, approximately half of the population was English, and overall 90% of the population was British (Figure 5.2). Additionally, the greatest proportion of the population (87%) followed one of the major Protestant faiths, the most common being Methodist. A small Jewish population existed in the suburban area of West Toronto in 1911, which was unusual as the majority of the Jewish population in the city was concentrated in an enclave in the central city, mostly in the Ward.

Figure 5.2: Ethnic Composition, West Toronto, 1911



In 1911, the Junction was an industrial working class area and Earls court was a working class residential area (Harris 1996). Given the nature of these two areas it is logical that the majority of West Toronto’s population was involved in semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar employment (Figure 5.3).¹³ Some unskilled blue-collar work was also apparent in the neighbourhood as 17% of the population was employed in this sector.¹⁴ The median annual income in West Toronto was \$648, an amount that was well above the median annual income for the entire city at the time (\$546; Mercier 2003, Bertram and Percy 1979). The majority of the unskilled and semi-skilled blue collar workers earned median annual incomes (\$500 and \$720 respectively) (Table 5.1). These

¹³ Classification of forms of labour into these categories was based on Harris (1996) and Mercier (2003). Unskilled blue-collar workers consisted of bottle dealers, caretakers, labourers, paperhangers, brick layers, cabmen, drivers, horse groomers, packers, porters, stewards, boxmen, checkers, shippers, ink dealers, housekeepers etc.
¹⁴ Unskilled blue-collar workers consist of bottle dealers, caretakers, labourers, paperhangers, brick layers, cabmen, drivers, horse groomers, packers, porters, stewards, boxmen, checkers, shippers, ink dealers, housekeepers etc.

annual incomes were distinctly higher than those of the central city (even when inflation is taken into account).¹⁵

Figure 5.3: Occupations, West Toronto, 1911

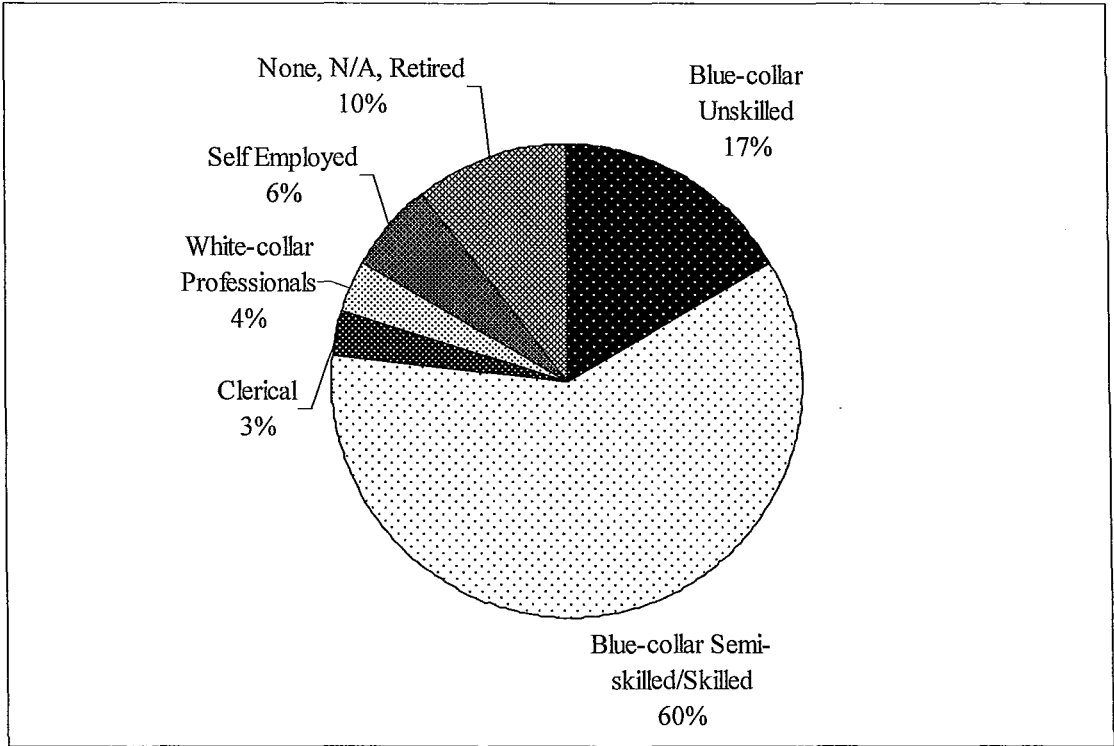


Table 5.1: Median Annual Income, West Toronto, 1911

Occupational Classes	Median Annual Income
Blue-collar unskilled	\$500
Blue-collar semi-skilled/skilled	\$720
Clerical	\$750
white-collar professionals	\$1,300
Self Employed	\$750
All Occupations	\$648

¹⁵ Between 1900 and 1913 real wages in Canada experienced an annual inflation rate of approximately 0.9% (Bertram & Percy, 1979). The compounded interest of 0.9% annually over a ten year period was calculated for the median annual incomes of the 1901 neighbourhood populations in order to adjust for inflation. For example, a median annual income of \$500 in the Ward in 1901, with compounded interest of 0.9% annually for 10 years (adjusted for inflation), was worth \$546.87 in 1911.

5.1.2 Residential Mobility

A total of 392 households in West Toronto were sampled from the 1911 Census, and from this sample 100 households were successfully traced backward annually from 1911 to 1901, yielding a 25% success rate. The analysis of residential mobility of West Toronto was based on this sample of 100 successfully traced households and was based on differences among direct immigrants, stayers, and movers. Stayers, those who maintained the same suburban residence from 1911 back to 1901, and direct immigrants, those who immigrated directly into West Toronto from overseas, only accounted for 7% and 6% of the traced sample respectively. The vast majority of the traced sample (87%) were movers from another part of the city.

5.1.3 Direct Immigrants, Stayers, and Movers

Addressing the mobility of expanding suburban populations necessitated the addition of a new category of mobility analysis. The central city has traditionally been the expected primary immigrant destination in the city, rather than the suburbs (Ward 2001, Careless 1984, Harris 1991). The data supports this expectation as only 6% of the sample immigrated directly from overseas into the West Toronto suburb.

Inherent bias exists with the direct immigrant population however. To be considered a direct immigrant, for the purposes expressed here, the year of immigration must fall between 1901 and 1911. It is possible that additional immigrants arrived prior to 1901; however, as the focus of this project is the first decade of the 20th Century, such households were categorized based on their 1901 address locations, and would have thus been categorized as either 'stayers' or 'movers from other suburbs'. Consequently, the

direct immigrant population reported here may in fact be somewhat lower than the actual number.

The social and economic characteristics of the direct immigrants in West Toronto, despite their limited number, corresponded closely with the larger neighbourhood population. The majority of direct immigrants were British; four of the six households immigrated from England, and two from Ireland (Table 5.2). All of the households followed one of the major Protestant faiths. As Protestants, the West Toronto Irish immigrant households were culturally similar to the wider British population and therefore would have blended easily into the suburban neighbourhood. In terms of occupation, direct immigrants were split equally between unskilled blue-collar workers and semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar workers and 67% of the household heads earned between \$500 and \$1000 annually.

Table 5.2: Ethnicity of Direct Immigrants, Stayers, and Movers, West Toronto 1911

	No. of English/Welsh	No. of Scottish	No. of Irish Catholic	No. of Irish Protestant	No. of European Jewish	No. of European Non-Jewish	No. of Other	Total
Population Sample	204	74	10	65	6	24	9	392
Traced Sample	43	18	2	25	1	8	3	100
	No. of English/Welsh (%)	No. of Scottish (%)	No. of Irish Catholic (%)	No. of Irish Protestant (%)	No. of European Jewish (%)	No. of European Non-Jewish (%)	No. of Other (%)	Total (%)
Direct Immigrants	4 (9)	--	--	2 (8)	--	--	--	6 (6)
Stayers	5 (12)	1 (6)	1 (50)	--	--	--	--	7 (7)
Movers	34 (79)	17 (94)	1 (50)	23 (92)	1 (100)	8 (100)	3 (100)	87 (87)
Total	43	18	2	25	1	8	3	100

Note: The values expressed in parentheses are percentages of each column total from the traced sample.

Harris (1996) and Evenden and Walker (1993) theorize that the direct immigrant populations in early 20th Century cities were mostly comprised of blue-collar workers who came primarily from an urbanized England/the British Isles. This origin would have

been economically and socially similar to Toronto at the time, therefore immigrants could assimilate into the host population with relative ease (Harris, 1996; Evenden and Walker 1993). Overall, the sample of direct immigrants fits with this theory, as they possessed social and economic traits that were similar to the West Toronto population as a whole.

In general, the entire traced sample population in West Toronto in 1911 was similar to the wider neighbourhood population. Both the neighbourhood sample and the successfully traced sample were predominantly British, Protestant, and engaged in blue-collar employment for middle range incomes. Within the traced population, however, there were distinct differences between stayers and movers in terms of ethnicity, immigrant status, and occupation.

In terms, of ethnicity, stayers in West Toronto were exclusively English, Scottish and Irish Catholic, while the movers included populations of both Irish Protestants and Continental Europeans that did not exist among the stayers (Table 5.2). Additionally, six of the seven households that had remained at the same residence in West Toronto since 1901 were immigrant households. In other words, these stayer households, while not direct immigrants per se, may in fact be regarded as such. This pattern contradicts the prevailing view that permanent residents of suburbs in the early 20th Century were primarily native-born (Harris 1996, Harris and Lewis 2001). Movers differed from stayers in terms of immigrant status in that the majority of this population was native-born. Lastly, stayer household heads were exclusively employed in blue-collar jobs (both unskilled and semi-skilled/skilled). The majority of mover household heads were also employed in these trades (Table 5.3). The difference, however, was that some of the

mover household heads were employed in white-collar or clerical professions, or were self employed.

Table 5.3: Occupations of Direct Immigrants, Stayers, and Movers, West Toronto 1911

	No. of White-Collar Professionals	No. of Blue-Collar Unskilled	No. of Blue-Collar Semi-Skilled/Skilled	No. of Clerical	No. of Self Employed	No. of Not Listed	Total
Population Sample	14	65	236	12	24	41	392
Traced Sample	6	14	56	5	8	11	100
	No. of White-Collar Professionals (%)	No. of Blue-Collar Unskilled (%)	No. of Blue-Collar Semi-Skilled/Skilled (%)	No. of Clerical (%)	No. of Self Employed (%)	No. of Not Listed (%)	Total (%)
Direct Immigrants	--	3 (21)	3 (5)	--	--	--	6 (6)
Stayers	--	2 (14)	4 (7)	--	--	1 (9)	7 (7)
Movers	6 (100)	1 (64)	49 (88)	5 (100)	8 (100)	10 (91)	87 (87)
Total	6	14	56	5	8	11	100

Note: The values expressed in parentheses are percentages of each column total from the traced sample.

In sum, the social and economic characteristics of the traced population were broadly similar to the overall West Toronto population. Even so, distinct differences existed between within the traced population in terms of stayers and movers. The two populations differed in terms of ethnicity, immigrant status, and occupation. This, coupled with the low numbers of stayers who remained in West Toronto over the decade, made it necessary to investigate the residential mobility characteristics of the mover population in greater depth.

5.1.4 Move Distance

Movers in West Toronto in 1911 originated from one of three possible areas: the central city, the outer city, and the suburbs (including within West Toronto itself). The most common origin was the outer city. A sizeable proportion of the population also

came from other suburbs. Together, almost 70% of the mover households originated in one of these two areas, supporting traditional schools of thought about city growth and movement (movement from the central city to the outer city and then to suburban regions; Conzen 2001, Ward 1971).

The year of immigration revealed two interesting patterns within the mover population. First, established immigrants (those that immigrated before 1892) in the West Toronto suburb in 1911 moved there from other suburbs. Second, the majority of recent immigrant movers (those that immigrated after 1901) originated from the central city (Table 5.4). Statistical analysis supported these findings by confirming the existence of a distinct difference in the mobility patterns of established immigrants versus recent immigrants.¹⁶ These patterns support both mobility theory and traditional views about the process of suburbanization. Specifically, it was typical for immigrants to settle first in the central city while more established immigrants resided outside central areas in the outer city or even suburbs (Conzen 2001, Ward 1981, Kessner 1977, Knox and Pinch 2006).

Table 5.4: Year of Immigration and Move Distance, West Toronto 1911
Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Move Distance	Pre 1871	1872-1891	1892-1901	1902-1911	Native-Born	Total
Moved from Suburbs	3 (33% / 10%)	4 (33% / 14%)	--	--	22 (38% / 76%)	29
Mover from Outer City	5 (56% / 13%)	8 (67% / 21%)	1 (50% / 3%)	3 (50% / 8%)	22 (38% / 56%)	39
Mover from Central City	1 (11% / 5%)	--	1 (50% / 5%)	3 (50% / 16%)	14 (24% / 74%)	19
Total	9	12	2	6	58	87

¹⁶ The chi square value for the distribution of the mover population by move distance and year of immigration was 7.85. This value was higher than the chi critical value of 5.99. Therefore, the alternate hypothesis (significant difference between the observed and expected distributions) was accepted.

Interestingly, the year of immigration data also points to some diversion from traditional schools of thought about residential mobility and city growth. The data indicates that the majority of immigrants that moved to West Toronto from the central city were recent immigrants. This population includes recent immigrants that moved from their central city location directly into the suburban area of West Toronto. Examples of such households were found among the movers that originated in the central city, two of which are highlighted here.

George Weir was 30 years young when he moved from Scotland to Toronto in 1907. He, along with his wife and child, lived at 140 Augusta Street, in the central city for two years. After the birth of a new baby, the family made a long move to 365 Westmoreland Avenue in the West Toronto suburb. They remained there for one year, after which they made two subsequent annual moves, both within the West Toronto suburb. Abe Levinsky also began his life in Toronto in the central city. Levinsky and his wife immigrated to Toronto from Russia in 1906, and settled in the central city at 92 McCaul Street. Young and ambitious, Levinsky became a carpenter's apprentice and remained in the central city's Jewish enclave for four years. After honing his skills as a cabinet maker, Levinsky and his wife left the central city and moved to 1 Bole Avenue in the West Toronto suburb in 1910, presumably to start a family and perhaps even to get a job at one of the many new factories emerging on the city's northwest periphery.

The movement of recent immigrants from the central city directly into the suburbs was unusual, and works against traditional theories of mobility and suburbanization. The reasoning for this is that most recent immigrants typically had low socio-economic status,

and therefore had to work their way to suburban locations in stages as they built economic capital. (i.e. households moved from the central city to the outer city, and then from the outer city to the suburbs; Ward 1971, Hiebert 1995, Goodman 1978).

The move distance of a household also depended on the occupation of the head of household. In general, semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar workers made up the majority of the West Toronto mover population. Household heads that were employed in semi-skilled/skilled blue collar jobs accounted for nearly half of the population of each distance category (Table 5.5). Looking more specifically at white-collar professions and unskilled blue-collar jobs for a moment, specific mobility patterns existed.

White-collar professions accounted for a relatively small proportion of the West Toronto mover population. However, those household heads that moved to West Toronto and that were employed as white-collar professionals, primarily moved there from other suburbs (including perhaps from elsewhere within the West Toronto suburb; Table 5.5). This is logical because white-collar professionals would have had a steady, high income, and were most likely to already be living in a suburban area (Harris and Lewis 2001, Jackson 1985, Moore and Rosenberg 1993). Unskilled blue-collar workers, on the other hand, showed the opposite pattern and moved to West Toronto straight from the central city.

Table 5.5: Occupations and Move Distance, West Toronto 1911

Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Move Distance	No. of White-Collar Professionals	No. of Blue-Collar Unskilled	No. of Blue-Collar Semi-Skilled /Skilled	No. of Clerical	No. of Self Employed	No. of Not Listed	Total
Moved from Suburbs	3 (50% / 10%)	3 (33% / 10%)	15 (33% / 52%)	2 (40% / 7%)	1 (9% / 3%)	5 (50% / 17%)	29
Moved from Outer City	2 (33% / 5%)	2 (22% / 5%)	23 (50% / 59%)	1 (20% / 3%)	6 (55% / 15%)	5 (50% / 13%)	39
Moved from Inner City	1 (17% / 5%)	4 (44% / 21%)	8 (17% / 42%)	2 (40% / 11%)	4 (36% / 21%)	--	19
Total	6	9	46	5	11	10	87

Overall movers in West Toronto exhibited specific patterns in terms of move distance. Movers were, for the most part, English, Protestant blue-collar workers that moved to West Toronto from the outer city. Additionally, the majority of the population in West Toronto in 1911 that originated from the other suburbs were established immigrants, while the majority of the population that originated from the central city were recent immigrants. Occupation affected the move distance of white-collar professionals, the majority of which moved to West Toronto from other suburbs, and unskilled blue-collar workers, the majority of which moved to West Toronto from the central city.

5.1.5 Level of Mobility (Number of Moves)

The criteria used to assess the level of mobility of the mover population in West Toronto in 1911 were the same as that used for the Ward and Cabbagetown. The level of mobility was represented by the number of moves a household made between 1901 and 1911. Households that moved only once exhibited low mobility, households that moved twice were moderately mobile, and households that moved more than twice were highly mobile. The mover population in West Toronto in 1911 was fairly equally spread across

all levels of mobility, however, slightly more households (42%) were highly mobile. The level of mobility of a household was primarily affected by the occupation and annual income of its household head.

In general, the more skilled the occupation of the head of household was, the higher the level of mobility that household exhibited. The majority of semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar household heads were highly mobile (Table 5.6). Similarly, approximately 67% of white-collar professionals also exhibited high mobility. The high mobility of semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar workers and white-collar professionals is unexpected because, according to mobility theory, these occupations were relatively economically stable, which typically encourages low levels of mobility (Pooley 1979, Moore and Rosenberg 1993, Goodman 1978). Household heads that were retired or did not have an occupation, on the other hand, exhibited low mobility. Additionally, one third of unskilled blue-collar workers were one time movers.

Table 5.6: Occupations and Level of Mobility, West Toronto 1911

Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Level of Mobility	No. of White-Collar Professionals	No. of Blue-Collar Unskilled	No. of Blue-Collar Semi-Skilled/Skilled	No. of Clerical	No. of Self Employed	No. of Not Listed	Total
Low (1 Move)	1 (17% / 4%)	3 (33% / 12%)	13 (27% / 52%)	2 (40% / 8%)	2 (25% / 8%)	4 (40% / 16%)	25
Moderate (2 Moves)	1 (17% / 4%)	2 (22% / 8%)	16 (33% / 67%)	1 (20% / 4%)	1 (13% / 4%)	3 (30% / 13%)	24
High (3 Moves or more)	4 (67% / 11%)	4 (44% / 11%)	20 (41% / 53%)	2 (40% / 13%)	5 (63% / 21%)	3 (30% / 8%)	38
Total	6	9	49	5	8	10	87

Annual income also had a subtle effect of the level of mobility of a household.

The general pattern was that households with low annual incomes exhibited lower levels of mobility than households with high annual incomes. Household heads that earned less

than \$500 annually were primarily one time movers, with a small proportion exhibiting moderate mobility (Table 5.7). Comparatively, the majority of households whose heads earned middle and high range incomes (generally greater than \$500 annually) were highly mobile (Table 5.7). The annual income range of \$751-\$1000 was an anomaly within the above pattern. Half of the population within this category exhibited low mobility, and only a minor proportion (17%) exhibited high mobility. Chi square analysis however, did not reflect the anomaly of households that earned \$751-\$1000 annually.¹⁷

Table 5.7: Annual Income and Level of Mobility, West Toronto 1911
Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Level of Mobility	Annual Income (\$)						Total
	0-250	251-500	501-750	751-1000	1001 or greater	Not Listed	
Low (1 Move)	--	5 (56% / 20%)	5 (24% / 20%)	9 (50% / 36%)	2 (15% / 8%)	4 (17% / 16%)	25
Moderate (2 Moves)	1 (100% / 4%)	3 (33% / 13%)	5 (24% / 21%)	6 (33% / 25%)	1 (8% / 4%)	8 (33% / 33%)	24
High (3 Moves or more)	--	2 (22% / 5%)	11 (52% / 29%)	3 (17% / 8%)	10 (77% / 26%)	12 (50% / 32%)	38
Total	1	10	21	18	13	24	87

Overall, the analysis of household head occupation and annual income revealed meaningful patterns associated with the level of mobility of mover households. Households within which the household head was employed in a semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar or white-collar occupation exhibited the highest levels of mobility. These residents earned middle to high range incomes specifically between \$501 and \$750 annually and greater than \$1000 annually. Conversely, households with unskilled blue-

¹⁷ The chi square value for the distribution of the mover population by level of mobility and annual income was 5.15. This value was lower than the chi critical value of 9.49. Therefore the null hypothesis (no significant difference between the observed and expected distributions) was accepted.

collar or unemployed/retired household heads were more likely to have lower mobility levels. Such households typically earned annual incomes lower than the city average.

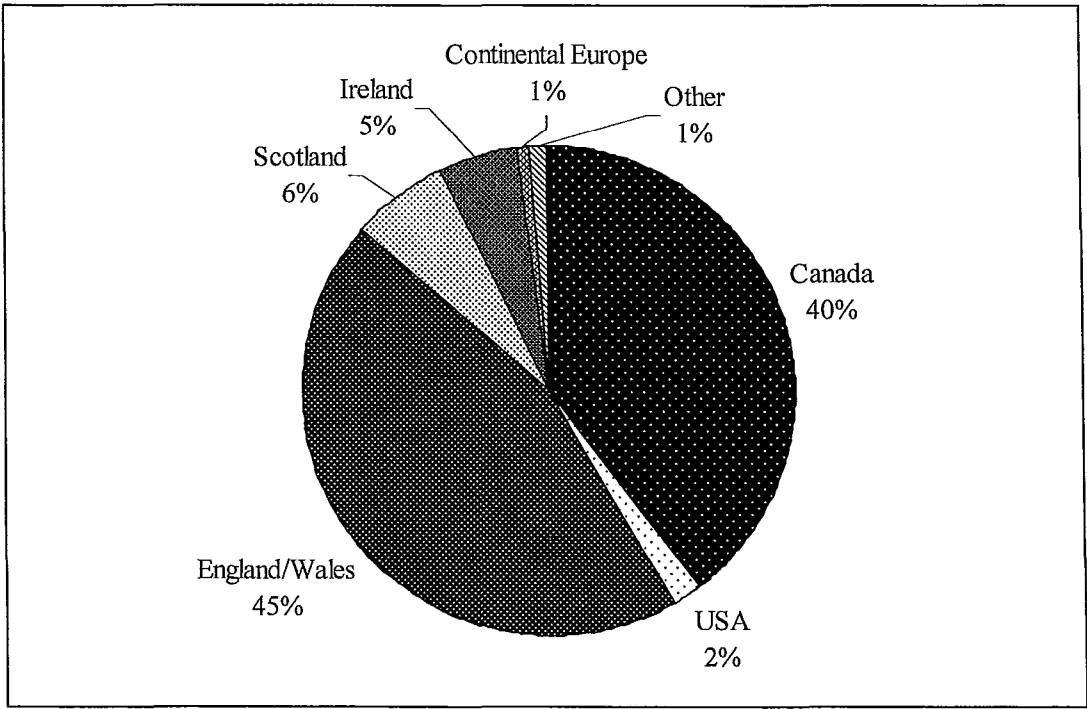
5.2 *Suburban: East Toronto*

5.2.1 Neighbourhood Profile: 1911 Census Population Sample

Using the same sampling rate as for the other three neighbourhoods, a total of 221 households were sampled from the 1911 Census for the East Toronto suburb. The East Toronto neighbourhood developed into a small residential suburban community at the beginning of the 20th Century. The neighbourhood was home to a British Protestant population, of primarily blue-collar workers with average or above average incomes.

Forty percent of the East Toronto population was born in Canada (native-born), but this community was also largely settled by British immigrants born in England (45%), Scotland (6%), and Ireland (5%; Figure 5.4). The majority of these were recent immigrants who moved to Canada between 1901 and 1911, a characteristic which is unusual as traditionally suburbs are thought of as the domain of the native-born and established immigrants (Lewis 2001). Following this pattern, Protestant religions (Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist) dominated the religious make-up of the neighbourhood. No residents sampled in East Toronto practiced Judaism, and only 3% were Catholic.

Figure 5.4: Places of Birth, East Toronto 1911

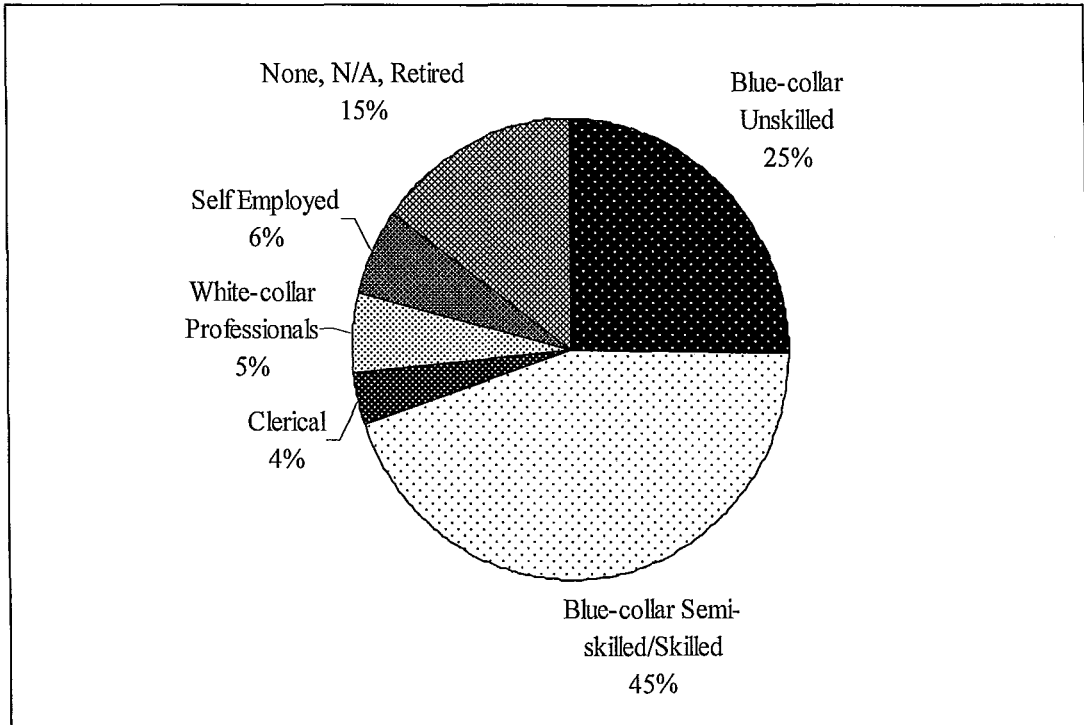


The workforce in the suburb of East Toronto in 1911 was primarily (69%) blue-collar workers (25% unskilled blue-collar workers, and 44% semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar workers; Figure 5.5). A small proportion of the population was employed in white-collar jobs (5%), or was self-employed (6%) and earned annual incomes above the neighbourhood median of \$600 annually. This neighbourhood median annual income level was distinctly higher than the median annual incomes for the Ward (\$450) and Cabbagetown (\$448) even when adjusted for inflation, making the East Toronto neighbourhood comparatively wealthy.¹⁸ The annual income of blue-collar workers fell within the middle to upper annual income ranges of the neighbourhood. These blue-collar annual incomes were distinctly higher than those of blue-collar workers in the

¹⁸ For an explanation of the inflation rate of Canadian incomes between 1901 and 1911 see Footnote 3.

central city neighbourhoods (adjusted for inflation), indicating suburban life required some threshold level of wealth.

Figure 5.5: Occupations, East Toronto 1911



Overall, the general population of the East Toronto suburb in 1911 was comprised primarily of recent English immigrants from the British Isles, and English native-born residents of Protestant faith. The heads of households were employed in blue-collar jobs (unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled), and earned a median annual income that was noticeably higher than blue-collar workers living in the central city of Toronto.

5.2.2 Residential Mobility

Assessment of residential mobility of East Toronto was based on the successful tracing of 55 households; these households were traced annually using city directories from 1911 to 1901. Successful tracing of 55 households (out of a possible 221) yielded a

success rate of approximately 25%, which was expected in this type of mobility research (Pooley 1979). The residential mobility of the traced households in the East Toronto suburb, like that of West Toronto, was subdivided into three categories: direct immigrants, stayers, and movers. Within the traced sample, the majority of the population (87%) were movers, with lesser populations of stayers (4%) and direct immigrants (9%).

5.2.3 Direct Immigrants, Stayers, and Movers

Similar to West Toronto, those who immigrated directly into East Toronto from overseas (direct immigrants) were separated from others when analyzing residential mobility. The presence of direct immigrants contradicts theories that immigrants only entered cities through inner city immigrant receiving areas (Ward 2001, Careless 1984, Harris 1991). The same bias present in the direct immigrant sample from the suburb of West Toronto was also present in the direct immigrant sample from East Toronto; namely that there is a likelihood that direct immigrants entered the suburban neighbourhood prior to 1901, however these households were most likely classified as originating in other suburbs based on their 1901 address. Consequently, East Toronto's direct immigrant population may be under-represented. Only five households, out a possible 55, were direct immigrants to East Toronto.

Harris (1996) and Evenden and Walker (1993) suggest that immigrants arriving in North America from England in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries were already familiar with urban ways of life, and skilled industrial labour and therefore could move directly into suburban regions. Because of their ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds,

these immigrants would have been similar to the larger host population of the city at the time. Households that immigrated directly into East Toronto between 1901 and 1911 closely resembled immigrants described by Harris (1996) and Evenden and Walker (1993). All of the direct immigrants in the East Toronto traced population were English and Protestant (Table 5.8), and they worked semi-skilled or skilled blue-collar jobs earning annual incomes of \$250 to \$750. This suggests that direct immigrants in East Toronto were socially and economically similar to the host neighbourhood population.

Table 5.8: Ethnicity of Direct Immigrants, Stayers, and Movers, East Toronto 1911

	No. of English/Welsh	No. of Scottish	No. of Irish Catholic	No. of Irish Protestant	No. of European Non-Jewish	No. of Other	Total
Population Sample	147	29	8	26	8	3	221
Traced Sample	33	8	5	8	1	0	55
	No. of English/Welsh (%)	No. of Scottish (%)	No. of Irish Catholic (%)	No. of Irish Protestant (%)	No. of European Non-Jewish (%)	No. of Other (%)	Total (%)
Direct Immigrants	5 (15)	--	--	--	--	--	5 (9)
Stayers	2 (6)	--	--	--	--	--	2 (4)
Movers	26 (79)	8 (100)	5 (100)	8 (100)	1 (100)	--	48 (87)
Total	33	8	5	8	1	--	55

Note: The values expressed in parentheses are percentages of each column total from the traced sample.

The population of “stayers” consisted of households that remained at the same suburban location when traced from 1911 to 1901. The mover population consisted of households that moved into the East Toronto suburb from other locations within the city between 1901 and 1911. Only two out of 55 traced households in East Toronto were stayers. This suggests that East Toronto was emerging as a residential suburb in 1911, and it was unlikely that many people lived in the neighbourhood in 1901. Overall, stayer

households, as well as the mover population, exhibited homogeneous social and economic characteristics.

The two stayer households were virtually identical to the local neighbourhood population at the time. One of the households was an immigrant household from the British Isles, and the other was a native-born household; however, both were of English descent and Protestant faith (Table 5.8). No occupations were listed for the two household heads, and the annual income was listed for only one, with the other household listed as retired. One of the stayers, Charles Watts, had an annual income of \$500; a yearly salary well below the neighbourhood median of \$600 per year. Based on the median incomes of the neighbourhood population, one can speculate that Mr. Watts was likely engaged in some sort of semiskilled/skilled blue-collar employment such as a printer or moulder.

The mover population exhibited identical characteristics to the two stayers, being predominantly British (Table 5.8), Protestant (native-born and immigrants), working in blue-collar jobs for middle to high range incomes. Though the two groups (stayers and movers) were very similar, the mobility behaviour of movers based on social and economic characteristics was investigated as they accounted for the largest proportion of the traced sample.

5.2.4 Move Distance

Excluding direct immigrants, those residents that moved into East Toronto prior to 1911 came from the central city, the outer city, or elsewhere in the suburbs. Close to 60% of the 55 households that moved to East Toronto between 1901 and 1911 came from

the outer city. The second most common origin of movers was other suburban regions, and, as outlined below, move distance was greatly influenced by immigrant status and ethnicity.

Immigrant status was an important factor in the migration of residents from various parts of the city into the suburb of East Toronto. Native-born (people born in Canada) movers were primarily from the outer city while the majority of immigrant populations were from the central city. Residents who moved to East Toronto from other suburbs were equally native-born and immigrants. Sixty-one percent of residents that moved from the outer city into East Toronto were born in Canada (Table 5.9). In contrast, 75% of residents that moved from the central city into East Toronto were immigrants that came exclusively from England. Half of these immigrants arrived in Toronto between 1902 and 1911.

Table 5.9: Immigrant Status and Move Distance, East Toronto, 1911
Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Move Distance	No. of Immigrants	No. of Native-Born	Total
Moved from Other Suburbs	6 (26% / 50%)	6 (24% / 50%)	12
Moved from Outer City	11 (48% / 39%)	17 (68% / 61%)	28
Moved from Central City	6 (26% / 75%)	2 (8% / 25%)	8
Total	23	25	48

Residents who moved into the suburban area of East Toronto were primarily British (English, Irish and Scottish) and Protestant. Most of the English residents that moved into East Toronto in 1911 came from the outer city, while the majority of Scottish residents moved from other suburbs (Table 5.10). Distinct mobility patterns also existed among Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics in East Toronto between 1901 and 1911.

While the majority of both Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants came from the outer city, only Irish Catholics originated in the central city, and only Irish Protestants originated from other suburbs. This reflects the relative ease with which Irish Protestants fit into the greater city population, as well as the ethnic segregation of Irish Catholics. Regardless, the British population as a whole within the East Toronto neighbourhood largely originated from the outer city.

Table 5.10: Ethnicity and Move Distance, East Toronto 1911

Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Move Distance	No. of English/Welsh	No. of Scottish	No. of Irish Catholic	No. of Irish Protestant	No. of European Non-Jewish	Total
Moved from Suburbs	6 (23% / 50%)	4 (50% / 33%)	--	2 (25% / 17%)	--	12
Moved from Outer City	16 (62% / 57%)	2 (25% / 7%)	3 (60% / 11%)	6 (75% / 21%)	1 (100% / 4%)	28
Moved from Central City	4 (15% / 50%)	2 (25% / 25%)	2 (40% / 25%)	--	--	8
Total	26	8	5	8	1	48

In summary, movers in East Toronto that originated from the central city were primarily immigrants, while those that came from the outer city were mostly native-born. The population that moved from other suburbs was split equally between immigrants and native-born. Regardless of being immigrants or native-born, whether from the central city, outer city or other suburbs, the population of residents that moved to East Toronto was primarily made up of blue-collar, middle class, British Protestants.

5.2.5 Level of Mobility (Number of Moves)

Similar to the analysis of the previous neighbourhoods, the level of mobility of a household was determined by the number of moves made when tracing households between 1911 and 1901. Each of the mover households were classified as exhibiting low

(one move), moderate (two moves), or high mobility (three or more moves).

Approximately 53% of movers in the traced sample exhibited high mobility, while 27% were one time movers. The level of mobility of households was influenced by year of immigration, ethnicity, and annual income of the household head.

Analyzing level of mobility with the year of immigration revealed that established immigrants exhibited higher mobility than recent immigrants. Overall, immigrants arrived in the city primarily in 1872-1891 and 1902-1911. Fifty percent of established immigrants (immigrated between 1872 and 1891) were highly mobile, and only minor proportions moved once or twice (Table 5.11). Conversely, large proportions of households that immigrated after 1901 (recent immigrants) were one time movers.

Table 5.11: Year of Immigration and Level of Mobility, East Toronto, 1911
Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Levels of Mobility	No. immigrated Pre 1871	No. immigrated 1872-1891	No. immigrated 1892-1901	No. immigrated 1902-1911	No. of Native- Born	Total
Low (1 Move)	--	1 (10% / 9%)	--	4 (40% / 36%)	6 (24% / 55%)	11
Moderate (2 Moves)	1 (50% / 11%)	2 (20% / 22%)	--	2 (20% / 22%)	4 (16% / 44%)	9
High (3 Moves or more)	1 (50% / 4%)	7 (70% / 25%)	1 (100% / 4%)	4 (40% / 14%)	15 (60% / 54%)	28
Total	2	10	1	10	25	48

In terms of ethnicity, over half of the households that had high mobility were English (Table 5.12). A specific pattern existed among Irish households in that Irish Catholics were more mobile than Irish Protestants. Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants accounted for the same proportions of the populations that were moderately and highly mobile; however only Irish Protestants exhibited low mobility. Irish Catholics may have moved more often to find an ethnic enclave or Roman Catholic neighbourhood, while

Irish Protestants may have been able to remain more stationary, because they were ethnically similar to the host population (Rust D’Eye 1984).

Table 5.12: Ethnicity and Level of Mobility, East Toronto 1911
Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Levels of Mobility	No. of English/Welsh	No. of Scottish	No. of Irish Catholic	No. of Irish Protestant	No. of European Non-Jewish	Total
Low (1 Move)	6 (23% / 55%)	2 (25% / 18%)	--	3 (38% / 27%)	--	11
Moderate (2 Moves)	5 (19% / 56%)	2 (25% / 22%)	1 (20% / 11%)	1 (12% / 11%)	--	9
High (3 Moves or more)	15 (58% / 54%)	4 (50% / 14%)	4 (80% / 14%)	4 (50% / 14%)	1 (4%)	28
Total	26	8	5	8	1	48

Occupational data revealed that households where the household head had a higher annual income were more mobile than those with lower annual incomes. Seventy-two percent of movers who were highly mobile earned an annual income of close to the neighbourhood median of \$600 (Table 5.13). In contrast, 40% of low mobility movers earned annual incomes within the same range. Instead, one time movers had a large population of household heads with an annual income less than \$500 (27%). This data supports the observed pattern that mobility is positively affected by annual income. The pattern, however, did not apply to households that earned over \$1000 or less than \$250 annually.

Table 5.13: Annual Income and Level of Mobility, East Toronto 1911

Percentages expressed as: (% of column total / % of row total)

Levels of Mobility	Annual Income (\$)						Total
	0-250	251-500	501-750	751-1000	1001 or greater	Not Listed	
Low (1 Move)	--	2 (50% / 18%)	2 (12% / 18%)	3 (22% / 27%)	1 (25% / 10%)	3 (38% / 27%)	11
Moderate (2 Moves)	--	--	4 (23% / 44%)	1 (7% / 11%)	2 (50% / 22%)	2 (24% / 22%)	9
High (3 Moves or more)	1 (100% / 4%)	2 (50% / 7%)	11 (65% / 39%)	10 (71% / 36%)	1 (25% / 4%)	3 (38% / 10%)	28
Total	1	4	17	14	4	8	48

Overall, the level of mobility of households from their origins in 1901 to East Toronto in 1911 was primarily affected by immigrant status, ethnicity and income. British Protestant immigrants were more likely to be one time movers than British Protestant native-born residents, while the opposite was true for moderate mobility movers. Regardless of immigrant status, the majority of households that exhibited high mobility were characterized by household heads that worked semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar jobs and earned \$500 to \$1000 per year.

5.3 *Conclusion*

This chapter has analyzed the social characteristics and residential mobility of two suburban neighbourhoods (West Toronto suburb and East Toronto suburb). The mobility patterns for these neighbourhoods were characterized by white-collar and semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar British native-borns and established immigrants who primarily originated from the outer city and exhibited high mobility. Additionally recent immigrants engaged in unskilled blue-collar work primarily originated in the central city and exhibited low mobility. Further discussion of the main findings of this analysis will occur in the next chapter (Chapter Six).

Chapter 6 Discussion and Conclusion

6.1 Discussion of Main Findings: City Neighbourhoods

The Ward and Cabbagetown

The traced sample of residents of the Ward in 1901 included 12 stayer households, and 46 mover households (21% and 79% respectively). The traced sample of Cabbagetown was comprised of 27 stayers (30%) and 63 movers (70%). In both neighbourhoods, stayers and movers were culturally and economically comparable to their larger neighbourhood populations. For example, stayers were primarily middle-aged (40 years to 60 years) to elderly (older than 60 years), of British descent, Protestant, and equally likely to have been born within or outside of Canada. In the Ward, however, stayers were employed in semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar and white-collar occupations, while in Cabbagetown, stayers were exclusively employed in blue-collar jobs. Movers generally differed from stayers in both neighbourhoods in terms of their age, ethnicity, and occupation. Based on these differences, distinct patterns existed which are comparable to findings of previous research on city growth, neighbourhood formation, and residential mobility.

The first pattern identified for both neighbourhoods differentiates movers from stayers in terms of the age of the household head. In the Ward, household heads with a median age of 50 years were more likely to be stayers, while younger residents (median age of 41) were more likely to be movers. Similarly, in Cabbagetown, movers were younger than stayers and ranged in age from early 20s to middle-aged (40 to 60 years of

age). Household heads place emphasis on the perceived long-term benefits of a new location against the short-term costs of moving (Moore and Rosenberg 1993; Kan 2005). Consequently, older individuals would be much less likely to change residence as their short-term costs of moving would be much higher than any perceived long-term benefits (Moore and Rosenberg 1993; Kan 2005). Evidence of the age differences between movers and stayers in the Ward and Cabbagetown, therefore, supports this theory.

In the Ward, the majority of British (native-borns or immigrants) with either semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar or white-collar occupations moved long distances (i.e. from the central city to the outer city or to the suburbs), and had generally low mobility levels (i.e. moved less often). Mobility patterns identified in the Cabbagetown data are consistent with those observed in the Ward. In Cabbagetown, British native-borns and established British immigrants who immigrated after 1892 with semi-skilled/ skilled blue-collar jobs primarily moved from Cabbagetown to places elsewhere in the outer city (possibly including within Cabbagetown itself) and generally exhibited low to moderate mobility. Almost none of these Cabbagetown British moved towards the city centre. Additionally, white-collar British native-born households in Cabbagetown that exhibited moderate mobility generally moved further away, often to suburban regions of the city.

Patterns of mobility for the native-born and British immigrant populations in the two city neighbourhoods are consistent with theories regarding city growth that suggest city growth began in the central city and spread outward. As immigrants arrived in the immigrant reception areas of the central city, the native-born host population as well as established immigrants, migrated outward to the outer city and eventually to the suburbs

(Knox and Pinch 2006; Harris 1991; Ward 1971). In other words, the arrival of new immigrants fostered longer distance residential mobility of established immigrant and native-born groups. This was seen in the data with the outward movement of blue-collar British native-born and immigrant residents from the central city (the Ward) to the outer city, and the outward movement of similar groups within the outer city (including Cabbagetown). White-collar British native-borns with higher incomes moved either from the Ward or Cabbagetown to the suburbs, and this further supports theories of city growth, and suburbanization. Many scholars have suggested that suburban districts were homogeneous enclaves of the British native-born upper class (Jackson 1985). The movement of white-collar British native-borns from the Ward and Cabbagetown to the suburbs of Toronto that was seen in the data, at least partially supports this hypothesis.

The final mobility pattern related to the largely blue-collar and self-employed Continental European immigrants, specifically Jewish immigrants. This group primarily moved from the Ward, over short distances (i.e. within the central city) and exhibited high rates of mobility (i.e. moved more often). This pattern was in direct contrast to that of the dominant British native-born and established immigrant populations discussed above; however, the trend is consistent with the historical character of the Ward in the early 20th Century. The Ward was Toronto's immigrant reception area between 1901 and 1911, and as a result of changing Canadian immigration policies it was host to an increasing number of immigrants arriving from Continental Europe and Russia (Careless, 1984; Ward 1971).

Social geographic theory of neighbourhood formation and preservation suggests that recent immigrants tended to spend their early years in ethnic enclaves in the central city. These areas offered security, employment, and institutions (both religious and educational) that were centred on the preservation of culture (Kessner, 1977; Knox and Pinch 2006; Ward 1971). Residential mobility patterns of the Jewish population within the central city, as observed in this study, are consistent with this theoretical understanding. A similar pattern of voluntary segregation existed in the Cabbagetown area. In 1901, Cabbagetown was equally an English and Irish neighbourhood, but its identity was certainly determined by its disproportionately large Irish population (Rust D'Eye 1984). Not surprisingly, the data in this study indicated that residential mobility differed within the Irish population of the neighbourhood. Irish Catholics were more likely than Irish Protestants to remain at the same location between 1901 and 1911. If they did move, blue-collar Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants both exhibited low rates of mobility and moved almost exclusively shorter distances mostly elsewhere within the outer city. From this data, it is apparent that Cabbagetown served as an ethnic enclave for Irish immigrants, specifically Irish Catholics in the same way that the Ward was an ethnic ghetto for the largely Jewish (European) population.

6.2 *Discussion of Main Findings: Suburban Neighbourhoods*

West Toronto and East Toronto

In the West Toronto suburb in 1911 only seven households remained at the same location when traced from 1911 to 1901 (stayers). The remainder of the traced population either immigrated directly into West Toronto (direct immigrants), or moved to

West Toronto from elsewhere in the city (movers). As an emerging suburban region in 1911, East Toronto was host to only two households that were resident since 1901 (stayers). Direct immigrants were also a very small minority population in East Toronto accounting for five households in the traced population. All of the traced households in West Toronto and East Toronto represented cultural and economic traits that were similar to their wider neighbourhood population samples.

Despite the small numbers of direct immigrants in these two suburban neighbourhoods, both areas had very large recent immigrant populations which runs counter to most theoretical views of suburbanization. Researchers previously assumed that immigrants only entered the social and economic fabric of the city through immigrant reception areas in the inner city. However, some scholars have recently suggested that immigrant groups were actually relatively common in early 20th Century suburbs (Careless 1984; Harris 1996; Evenden and Walker 1993). In West Toronto and East Toronto small numbers of direct immigrants were present, at least partially confirming this revised view. The direct immigrants in both suburban neighbourhoods were British and Protestant, and were engaged in mostly semi-skilled/skilled blue collar occupations, earning between \$500 and \$1000 per year. Contemporary research supports this finding. British immigrants that arrived in North American cities in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries moved with little noticeable disruption into fringe areas beyond the city limits (Careless 1984; Harris 1996). As Toronto was predominantly an Anglo-community at the time, newly arriving British immigrants did not have to learn a new language or adapt to different cultural practices (Harris 1996; Evenden and Walker

1993). Additionally, since many immigrants were arriving from an already industrialized England, they were skilled in the urban ways of life allowing them to easily enter the suburbs directly (Harris 1996; Evenden and Walker 1993).

The stayers and movers in West Toronto and East Toronto were primarily British Protestant native-born residents who were engaged in semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar labour for middle to high annual incomes. The mover population, however, differed from stayers in terms of immigrant status, year of immigration, and occupation.

Both native-born households and established immigrants (i.e. those that immigrated before 1901) in West Toronto originated either in the outer city or other suburban areas, and exhibited moderate to high levels of mobility. Movement to the East Toronto suburb was also dominated by native-borns, many originating in the outer parts of the city proper. Equal proportions of native-borns and established immigrants moved to East Toronto from other suburban regions. Both of these populations were highly mobile. Most of the native-born and established immigrant populations in West Toronto and East Toronto that originated from the outer city or other suburbs were engaged in blue-collar employment for middle to high range annual incomes. Few white-collar households existed, and these households originated exclusively from other suburban locales.

In general, it was found that recent immigrants (in contrast with established ones) that moved into either of the suburban neighbourhoods, originated in the central city and were largely one time movers. Similar to the situation of direct immigrants, instances of recent immigrants moving to suburban areas soon after entering the central city

contradicts traditional views about city and suburban growth which emphasize that during the first half of the 20th Century thousands of native-born city dwellers migrated outward to suburban neighbourhoods as the inner city became crowded with newly arriving international immigrants searching for employment and housing (Teaford 1993). Upon further investigation of the mobility patterns to West and East Toronto as outlined above, it was observed that the recent immigrant populations were socially comparable to the native-born population of the city at the time: British, Protestant and engaged in semi-skilled/skilled blue-collar employment. As such, in the same way that direct immigrants from Britain were able to settle directly into Toronto's suburbs, recent British immigrants were able to move from the central city to fringe areas in little time and with little effort (Careless 1984; Harris 1996).

The presence of a blue-collar majority that moved to the suburban areas of West Toronto and East Toronto from other areas of the city further contradicts the traditional view of the suburban transition as expressed by Lewis (2001:20): "*classical statements of 20th Century North American urban landscape stress the growth of middle class residential districts on the expanding urban fringe, and the concentration of working class and immigrants in the central city*". The common assumption is that unskilled jobs and low wages kept blue-collar workers in central city locations. Therefore, the suburbs came to be known as homogenous places of residence for affluent, white, native-born groups (Harris 1991). However, there is reason to believe that there was a substantial immigrant working class settlement at the urban fringe of Toronto (Harris and Lewis 2001). The pattern observed in this study supports this heterogeneous view of fringe

areas of early 20th Century cities. As industry decentralized from the inner city there was great incentive for blue-collar families to follow their places of employment, because land at the urban fringe was comparatively cheap, and homes could be acquired easily (Harris 1996). As a result, early 20th Century suburban neighbourhoods may have been as socially and economically diverse as neighbourhoods in the city proper (Harris and Lewis 2001).

6.3 *Discussion of Residential Mobility and Early 20th Century Toronto*

Overall, the residential mobility of early 20th Century Toronto is consistent with traditional theories about city growth and social neighbourhood formation in areas in, and around, the central city. Growth of suburban regions, however, appears to challenge earlier views which present the suburbs and the city in a socially dichotomous way (Careless 1984, Teaforde 1993, Ward 2001). Instead, the findings here support more recent views about direct immigration to suburbs, and suburban heterogeneity (Harris 1996, Harris and Lewis 2001, Lewis 2001). Patterns observed in the four Toronto neighbourhoods permit assessment of mobility patterns in early 20th Century Toronto, and comparisons to other cities at the time.

Few historical studies that trace individual-level household residential mobility exist. Studies that have been completed identified three common residential mobility patterns (Pooley 1979, Harris and Moore 1980, Thernstrom 1976). The first pattern was that rates of mobility were high in all sectors of society (Pooley, 1979). Toronto, as a whole, did not conform to this pattern. While the vast majority of residents in the suburban neighbourhoods (West Toronto and East Toronto) exhibited high mobility, the

majority of movers in the city neighbourhoods (the Ward and Cabbagetown) only moved once over the decade.

The second mobility pattern common in early 20th Century cities was that intra-urban mobility tended to occur over short distances, and was confined to specific areas of a city (Pooley 1979). In Toronto, however, the data further contradicts this pattern. In the Ward, while a small and relatively distinct proportion of the population (i.e. Jewish) moved within the central city itself, most households moved outwards to either the outer city or the suburbs. Similarly, the majority of movers in the suburban neighbourhoods in 1911 originated from areas that required moves over longer distances.

The final common mobility pattern is that characteristics such as age, life cycle stage, birthplace, socioeconomic status, and tenure were important factors that affected mobility (Pooley 1979; Harris and Moore 1980; Thernstrom 1976). This was indeed the case in early 20th Century Toronto. As outlined above, residential mobility in Toronto was affected most commonly by immigrant status, ethnicity, year of immigration, and household head occupation and income. These social and economic factors played a major role in influencing the move distance and levels of mobility observed in the four study neighbourhoods.

Of the three common mobility patterns of early 20th Century cities, the findings from this study disagree with all patterns but the last. This indicates that Toronto, in the early 20th Century, experienced residential mobility behaviour that was, for the most part, unique by comparison with other industrialized cities at the time, or that our views of historical residential mobility need to be reconsidered.

6.4 *Conclusion: Future Research*

Residential mobility has several dimensions and is influenced by various factors. Behind the concrete categorical observations of where, when, and how often people moved, lie more complex social question such as the reasons for movement. Consequently, there are many avenues that future research can take using this study as starting point.

As discussed in the analysis of suburban neighbourhoods (Chapter Five), a bias existed in the direct immigrant populations within the West Toronto and East Toronto traced samples. This bias occurred as a result of the strict tracing time period, and resulted in a possible over representation of the populations that moved to each suburban neighbourhood from other suburbs. In other words, some suburban movers may have, in fact, been direct immigrants to the suburbs, but were not classified as such. Future research should attempt to trace the populations that moved to suburban neighbourhoods from other suburbs from 1911 all the way back to their listed years of immigration. The completion of such research would provide a more representative sample of direct immigrants upon which to base subsequent analyses.

Another avenue for future research, with specific reference to larger areas such as the outer city and the suburbs, is to differentiate between the populations that moved within the original study areas from the populations that moved elsewhere within the same general region. The city boundaries used to distinguish the outer city from the central city and the suburbs yielded relatively large areas. For the purposes of this study, the study neighbourhoods were discussed as part of the whole of these large areas,

however important differences in the patterns of mobility may exist within each specific study area. Future research to investigate the existence of these potential differences in the outer city and suburban neighbourhoods should be undertaken.

Additionally, an avenue for future research may be to increase the number and variety of neighbourhoods in Toronto that are traced. Including a variety of central city, outer city, and suburban neighbourhoods would create a more detailed picture of the residential mobility patterns of the city as a whole. Along the same lines, the tracing time period could be lengthened to investigate longer term mobility or to take into account the effect of defining events on the mobility of residents in the city. For example, by extending the tracing time period to include the first two decades of the 20th Century (1901-1920) one could investigate whether the onset of the First World War had any distinct effect on the mobility of residents in Toronto. Similarly, a large fire in the centre of the city in 1904 displaced hundreds of families for both the long and short term, and this may have had unforeseen consequences on the residential geography of the city (Careless 1984).

Finally, an essential subject of future research should be the investigation of the effect of tenure on residential mobility. Among existing mobility research, tenure is discussed as one of the important factors that affect the level of mobility of a household. Residents who are home owners have more invested financially, socially, and emotionally to their location and are therefore less likely to move (Mulder 2006). On the other hand, residents who rent their homes, or are tenants, have greater tendency to be mobile because many are working toward a goal of stability, or home ownership (Harris

and Moore 1980; Goodman 1987). Therefore, mobility research theorizes that migration from the urban core to the suburban periphery dominates the shift from renting to owning (Moore and Rosenberg 1993). Information on household tenure can be acquired through historical Tax Assessment documents over various time periods. Due to the time constraints of this research the effect of tenure on household mobility in the study neighbourhoods was not investigated. As evidenced in existing literature, however, tenure should be an important dimension of any future residential mobility research (Mulder 2006, Harris and Moore 1980, Goodman 1987, Moore and Rosenberg 1993).

In closing, it is apparent that various social and economic characteristics affected the residential mobility of neighbourhood populations in early 20th Century Toronto. Immigrant status, ethnicity and occupation/annual income were the most important influences on the distance and level of residential mobility of households. Also evident is that residential mobility played a crucial role in the development and expansion of suburban areas of early 20th Century Toronto. Often, the origin of movers dictated the social composition, and in effect the diversity, of suburban neighbourhoods. Combined, the social characteristics of neighbourhood populations and their residential mobility behaviours allow us to gain an understanding of the ever changing social geography of Toronto in the first decade of the 20th Century.

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