Precarious Housing & Hidden Homelessness Among Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and Immigrants: Bibliography and Review of Canadian Literature from 2005 to 2010

Report Submitted to the Homelessness Partnering Strategy (HPS) of Human Resources and Skills Development, Canada (HRSDC)

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ABSTRACT
This review and bibliography was undertaken in support of a research project called “Precarious Housing and Hidden Homelessness among Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and Immigrants in Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver.” The research compares the housing situations and needs of immigrants and refugees in Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver, the three metropolitan areas in Canada in which the majority of newcomers settle. This review focuses on documents released between 2005 and 2010. The literature search resulted in 155 items organized here both by author and by theme. The overall finding of the research is that some immigrants and refugees progress relatively quickly towards a “positive” housing outcome with affordable, suitable, and good-quality housing, while others remain in inferior, overcrowded, and unaffordable rental accommodation, often for long periods of time. More comparative longitudinal studies are needed to track the longer-term housing experiences of Canadian immigrants. These studies also need to be large enough to capture the immense diversity of immigrant groups entering Canada and the diverse nature of the areas where they settle. At the same time, localized ethnographic studies are needed to capture the lived experiences of the variety of Canada’s immigrant groups.

KEYWORDS: Immigrants, Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Housing, Homelessness, Hidden Homelessness, Housing Careers, Canadian Housing Markets
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OVERVIEW

1. Introduction

Access to adequate, suitable, and affordable housing is an important first step in immigrant integration. It can be argued that immigrants first seek a neighbourhood in which to live and find housing for their families (Murdie and Teixeira, 2003). Given the importance of housing in the integration process, it is not surprising that Canadian literature in this field has expanded exponentially during the past decade. The increased research interest can be attributed to several factors. These include the development of the Metropolis project and its network of university-based research centres, a corresponding interest in immigration and housing issues by federal government agencies such as Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) and the Homelessness Partnering Strategy of Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC), the increased concern and research capacity of large non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and interest in these issues by university faculty and their graduate students.

Despite this increased research interest there have, until recently, been few bibliographies or reviews of related Canadian literature. Exceptions include an annotated bibliography from the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg (Beavis, 1995) and the Housing New Canadians Research Working Group bibliography (www.hnc.utoronto.ca). While useful, both are incomplete and out of date. The most thorough recent review and bibliography, incorporating material from 1990 to 2005, was undertaken for an extensive analysis of the housing situation and needs of immigrants in Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver by Metropolis-based researchers in the three cities (Murdie et al., 2006). This review and bibliography was updated to 2008 as part of a HRSDC/Metropolis sponsored study of the housing experiences of immigrants in York Region, Ontario (Murdie and Logan, 2009). Other recent bibliographies and literature reviews include a policy-oriented review of immigration and housing for the Canadian Housing and Renewal Association (Wayland, 2007), a bibliography on immigration and settlement in the Toronto area (Doucet and Hii, 2008), and the web-based Homelessness Hub (http://www.homelesshub.ca/default.aspx).

The bibliography by Murdie et al. (2006) focused on housing demand, housing careers, homeownership, and barriers in the housing market. The bibliography was divided into two parts: (a) a list of 106 items with abstracts, where available, and (b) 56 items of particular relevance assigned to six themes: introduction; housing choices, demands and needs; housing careers and social networks; immigration, housing, and homelessness; barriers and discrimination in the housing market; and homeownership. Forty-four of the 56 items were summarized using the following headings: objective, methodology, findings, and evaluation.

Recurrent themes from the Murdie et al. (2006) bibliography included:
1. Affordability is paramount, especially for renters, in securing adequate and suitable housing.
2. Housing conditions improve the longer an immigrant has been in Canada, but there are major differences between immigrant groups and between groups in different locations in Canada.
3. Discrimination is a major barrier in acquiring appropriate housing, but discrimination can take numerous forms and varies by immigrant group and the nature of the local housing market.

4. Many immigrants rely on family and friends rather than more formal information sources in their search for housing.

5. Refugees, especially refugee claimants, experience much greater difficulty accessing permanent housing than immigrants.

6. Most immigrants aspire to single detached ownership house in the suburbs.

7. The extent to which immigrants are able to acquire homeownership and the length of time that it takes them to do so depend on a number of factors, but material resources are paramount.

The update of this review and bibliography (Murdie and Logan, 2009) extended the search for references from 2005 to 2008. It was undertaken in support of a research project titled “Immigrants and Homelessness – At Risk in Canada’s Outer Suburbs: A Pilot Study in York Region.” Given the nature of the York Region project, the search was expanded to include items on settlement patterns, ethnic enclaves, and segregation as well as items on homelessness, broadly defined, and immigrant housing experiences in the outer suburbs.

2. Development of the Review and Bibliography

This review and bibliography was undertaken in support of a research project called “Precarious Housing and Hidden Homelessness among Refugees, Asylum-Seekers, and Immigrants in Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver.” The objective of the research is to compare systematically the housing situations and needs of immigrants and refugees in Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver, the three metropolitan areas in Canada where the majority of newcomers settle. Given this focus, special consideration was given to literature on immigrant and refugee experiences in Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver.

This review focuses on items released between 2005 and early 2011. It includes literature from Murdie and Logan (2009), but has been broadened to include items from 2009 to early 2011, with increased emphasis on refugees and asylum seekers. The search for relevant material was based on a review of the contents of the following 11 Canadian and international journals focusing on housing, urban studies, and immigration:

- Canadian Journal of Urban Research
- Canadian Review of Anthropology and Sociology
- Housing Studies
- Journal of Housing and the Built Environment
- Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies
- Journal of International Migration and Integration
- Plan Canada
- The Canadian Geographer
- Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie
- Urban Geography
- Urban Studies
In addition, we searched the Homeless Hub (http://www.homelesshub.ca/default.aspx), a “research library and information centre focusing on homelessness issues in Canada.” and the Theses Canada Portal of Library and Archives Canada for relevant material, and the annual literature reviews prepared by Carlos Teixeira, the Metropolis Housing and Neighbourhood priority leader. Finally, we relied on personal knowledge of research undertaken between 2005 and early 2011. Particular mention should be made of the special issue of Canadian Issues/Thèmes Canadiens (Newcomer’s Experiences of Housing and Homelessness in Canada) edited by Teixeira and Halliday (2010). This publication includes 21 brief articles summarizing recent research on the housing experiences and needs of Canadian immigrants and refugees; 18 items in this bibliography come from this publication.

3. Outcome of the Literature Search

The literature search resulted in 155 items (68 from Murdie and Logan (2009) and 87 new references). The items are organized in three appendices, alphabetically by author in Appendix A and by theme in Appendices B and C. Where available, Internet addresses (URLs) are provided for documents and abstracts or short summaries of each document are included in Appendix C. The documents were divided into 11 categories; in the list below, the number of items in each category is indicated in parentheses. The categories are somewhat arbitrary and some items could be included in more than one category.

1. Bibliographies and Syntheses of the Immigrant and Housing Literature (11)
2. Challenges and Barriers Faced by Immigrants in Canadian Housing Markets (24)
3. Housing Careers/Residential Mobility/Social Networks (19)
4. Settlement Patterns, Ethnic Enclaves, Segregation (25)
5. Statistical Studies of Newcomers in the Canadian Housing Market (13)
6. Housing Needs (9)
7. Housing Adaptations (2)
8. Creating Home (5)
9. Homelessness (31)
10. Homeownership (10)
11. Planning for Immigrant Settlement (5)

4. Major Themes

Several themes emerged from this literature. Some confirm findings from the Murdie et al. (2006) and Murdie and Logan (2009) literature reviews; others are new. The themes broadly follow the categories developed for Appendices B and C. As noted, however, several documents could be placed in more than one theme.

Important themes include the following:
a) Challenges and Barriers

1. Affordability remains the most important barrier for most immigrants and refugees in acquiring adequate and suitable housing, especially in high-cost cities such as Toronto, Vancouver, and Calgary, but increasingly in mid-sized cities such as Kelowna. This point is confirmed by individual case studies as well as evidence from the three waves of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada and special tabulations of 2001 census data made available to Metropolis researchers (City of Calgary, 2009a and 2009b; Hiebert, Mendez, and Wyly, 2006; Preston, Murdie, and Murnaghan, 2006; Rose, 2010; Rose, Germain, and Ferreira, 2006; Sherrell and Immigrant Services Society of British Columbia, 2009; Teixiera, 2009).

2. Other challenges include finding housing in relatively good condition, suitable for a large family, and in a safe neighbourhood, as well as accessing reliable information about housing vacancies (Calvez and Ives, 2008; Carter et al., 2008a; LeLoup and Zhu, 2006; Rose, 2010; Sherrell and Immigrant Services Society of British Columbia, 2009; Teixeira, 2009).

3. The challenges and barriers that immigrants face in finding acceptable housing differ according to immigrant and visible minority status. Refugees tend to be most severely impacted (Carter and Osborne, 2009; Carter et al., 2008a; Cubie, 2006, Francis, 2010, 2009; Guay-Charette, 2010; Murdie, 2010; Sherrell and Immigrant Services Society of British Columbia, 2009). Many visible minorities experience discrimination in rental housing markets based on race and cultural background (Teixeira, 2010, 2008).

4. Difficulties in finding appropriate housing can be accentuated by external factors. Examples include (a) the effects of gentrification on central city immigrant neighbourhoods, especially the retention of affordable housing, in cities such as Toronto and Vancouver (Calvez and Ives, 2008; Murdie and Teixeira, 2011) and (b) competition by groups such as refugees and Aboriginals for good quality affordable housing in the central city. Winnipeg is a prime example (Carter, 2010).

b) Housing Careers, Residential Mobility, and Social Networks

1. Studies of immigrant housing careers generally indicate that immigrants improve their housing position over time. However, the degree of improvement depends on the type of immigrant group, their location in Canada, and their ability to achieve homeownership. Refugees and certain visible minority groups struggle and usually experience precarious beginnings in the housing market (Carter et al., 2008a, 2008b; D’Addario, Hiebert and Sherrell, 2007; Hiebert and Mendez, 2008; Murdie, 2010, 2008b; Propa, 2007; Sherrell, 2010; Teixeira, 2008, 2006). African refugees have been identified as a particularly vulnerable group (Francis, 2010, 2009). Also, Firang (2011) found that Ghanaian immigrants in Toronto who invest in housing in Ghana and send remittances to the home country experience serious difficulty meeting their housing needs in Canada.

2. Newcomers in more affordable cities such as Kitchener-Waterloo and Winnipeg improve their housing position more rapidly than newcomers in more expensive housing markets such as Toronto and Vancouver.

3. Social networks are important in facilitating progressive housing careers and reducing the risk of immigrants becoming homeless. Refugees are disadvantaged, however,
because they often lack extensive social networks (Bergeron and Potter, 2006; D’Addario, Hiebert and Sherrell, 2007; Greenberg and Martinez-Reyes, 2010; Hiebert and Sherrell, 2007; Lauer and Yan, 2007).

c) Settlement Patterns, Ethnic Enclaves, Segregation

1. The trend towards immigrant concentration in the suburbs continues, both as a result of long-established immigrants relocating from central cities to the inner and outer suburbs and newcomers bypassing central cities and settling directly in the suburbs. In part, this reflects the reduced opportunities for low-cost housing in many of Canada’s central cities, primarily as a result of the increased importance of gentrification in these cities (Brenner, Friesen, and Sherrell, 2010; Murdie, 2008a; Preston et al., 2009; Qadeer, Agrawal, and Lovell, 2010; Teixeira, 2007).

2. Residential segregation and immigrant concentrations reflect the increasingly complex nature of Canada’s new immigrants, both in terms of country of origin and socio-economic status. Transnational ties are often important in fostering concentrations of immigrants from particular countries and ethnic backgrounds (Ghosh, 2007; Hiebert, Schuurman, and Smith, 2007; Hou, 2006; Leloup, 2007a).

3. The relationship between immigrant concentrations and areas of concentrated poverty is equally complex. The general conclusion, however, is that ghettoization as it has emerged in many U.S. cities is not a factor in Canada. Projections also indicate that large spatial concentrations of immigrant poverty will not emerge in the next decade, except possibly in Toronto, where in the absence of serious policy interventions, economically marginalized areas of immigrant settlement in the inner suburbs will continue to develop, particularly in high-rise apartment areas. It is especially important that “gatekeepers” not stigmatize neighbourhoods of concentrated poverty and by extension the residents of these neighbourhoods (Apparicio, Leloup, and Rivet, 2007; Lo, 2008; Ghosh, 2007; Hiebert, Schuurman, and Smith, 2007; Hulchanski, 2010; Murdie and Ghosh, 2010; Qadeer and Kumar, 2006; Smith and Ley, 2008; Walks and Bourne, 2006).

4. Ethnic enclaves vary in terms of ethno-cultural mixing. For Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver, the extent of intra-neighbourhood ethnic mixing is less than that in Australia and New Zealand, about the same as in the U.K. and greater than in the U.S. Gentrification of central city neighbourhoods tends to decrease ethnic diversity as well as levels of social mix in these neighbourhoods (Hiebert, Schuurman, and Smith, 2007; Ray, 2009; Walks and Maaranen, 2008).

5. Spatial concentrations of immigrants can facilitate the effective delivery of services in a culturally sensitive manner to specific groups (Agrawal, Qadeer, and Prasad, 2007).

6. Place (neighbourhood) is important in shaping immigrant lives, both positively and negatively and particularly in areas of concentrated poverty. Many immigrants are strongly attached to their neighbourhood, even though relationships with neighbours may be limited to casual interaction rather than more intense friendships (Ray and Preston, 2009; Smith and Ley, 2008).
d) Housing Needs and Adaptations, Creating Home

1. For some groups, difficulties obtaining adequate and reliable information about housing opportunities represent a major barrier in achieving a successful housing career. Increasingly, non-profit agencies are being asked to fill the gap, and there is a need to better recognize the provision of culturally sensitive housing information as one of the most important elements of successful immigrant integration (Agrawal, Qadeer, and Prasad, 2007; Bohemier, 2010; Francis, 2010, 2009; Gajardo, 2010; Greenberg and Martinez-Reyes, 2010; Ley, 2008; Wayland, 2010).

2. There is increased need to recognize the important role that churches, mosques, and other places of worship play in the social support and settlement patterns of immigrants (D’Addario, 2008; Ley, 2008).

3. In some cases, internal changes to a house are needed to accommodate an immigrant family, a trend that has existed since the arrival of Italian immigrants to Canada in the early 1960s. Italian families often installed a basement kitchen or made other adaptations to accommodate an extended family while more recently arrived South Asian families may need a prayer room. Suggestions have been made for flexible housing designs that could more easily accommodate these culturally sensitive needs (Agrawal, 2006; Pascali, 2006).

4. The experience of “creating home” is an important complement to the more tangible aspects of appropriate housing. How do immigrants and refugees evaluate “home,” especially in the context of satisfaction with house and neighbourhood, and how does this affect their integration into Canadian society? (Bérubé, 2010; Gurnett, 2010; Logan, 2010; Simich, 2010).

e) Homelessness

1. A greater number of studies examine homelessness among the immigrant population. Data are often difficult to acquire, but the general impression is that immigrants are over-represented among the hidden homeless population rather than the visible homeless. There has been some interest in using census indicators and GIS methods to identify areas of the city where immigrant populations are at risk of homelessness. There is also increasing interest in relying on individual interviews at various points over time to evaluate pathways into and out of homelessness. These studies reinforce the importance of job loss and partner abuse as important factors in initiating a cycle of homelessness. (Enns, 2005; Fiedler, 2006; Fiedler, Hyndman, and Schuurman, 2006).

2. Evidence from Vancouver indicates an over-representation of immigrants, especially newcomers, in the homeless population, but homelessness is largely hidden. Spatial concentrations of hidden homeless immigrants are found primarily in the inner suburbs (Fiedler, Schuurman and Hyndman, 2006). However, evidence from Vancouver also suggests that the extent of homelessness among immigrants and refugees may not be as great as might be indicated by their relatively low-income levels (Hiebert, D’Addario, and Sherrell, 2009). In Toronto, a relatively high proportion of outer suburban newcomers (York Region) are at risk of hidden homelessness, a situation that is partly due to the lack of affordable rental housing in the outer suburbs and the substantial
number of homeowners who are paying a high proportion of their total income on housing costs (Preston et al., 2009).

3. Evidence from the Greater Toronto Area suggests that immigrants without a fixed address (those suffering from absolute homelessness) are less likely to participate in language classes, training sessions, and networking programs. This is particularly important because the homeless lack connections to appropriate jobs. They also have few resources among family and friends. They need more social capital to find good jobs and housing (Kilbride et al., 2006).

4. The housing situation of non-status migrants has also received attention, especially in Toronto and Vancouver. These migrants, who often remain underground before submitting a refugee claim, tend to experience hidden homelessness interspersed with episodes of absolute homelessness. Submission of a refugee claim may be a first step in the route out of homelessness and extreme poverty (Kissoon, 2010a, 2010b, 2009).

However, evidence from Vancouver suggests that refugee claimants are in the most precarious housing situation, characterized by poor housing conditions, crowding, and high rent-to-income ratios (Sherrell, D’Addario and Hiebert, 2007).

5. Immigrant women often end up homeless (in a shelter) due to partner abuse or job loss. Many have no previous experience of homelessness. After a year, however, most experience an improvement in their housing situation. Non-status women are most likely to be in an unstable housing situation before entering a shelter and are least likely to state an improvement in their housing circumstances after leaving the shelter (Paradis et al., 2010, 2008; Smith 2007; Thurston, 2006).

f) Homeownership

1. The acquisition of homeownership by immigrant groups is becoming more complex than in the past. There are substantial differences in homeownership rates between immigrant groups and other cohorts that are often difficult to explain, although some of the differences may be accounted for by variations in wealth. Age at arrival may also be an important factor. Overall, homeownership rates have declined for more recent arrivals due to declining income prospects. Immigrant homeowners in the outer suburbs may be more vulnerable than others due to affordability issues. (Gyimah, Walters, and Phythian, 2005; Haan, 2005; Kim and Boyd, 2009; Mok, 2009; Preston et al., 2010)

5. Conclusion

Research interest in immigrant housing experiences in Canadian cities has expanded dramatically in the past decade. An understanding of these experiences has been assisted by the availability of data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada and other panel studies and research undertaken by university faculty, graduate students, and NGOs with financial support from the Metropolis Project, the Homelessness Partnering Strategy and Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Is Canada moving towards a two-class immigrant society? This is a major research and policy question arising from these studies. In the field of housing, it is evident that some immigrants and refugees progress relatively quickly towards a “positive” housing outcome
with affordable, suitable, and good-quality housing while others remain in inferior, overcrowded, and unaffordable rental accommodation, often for long periods of time.

More comparative longitudinal studies are needed to track the longer-term housing experiences of Canadian immigrants. These studies also need to be large enough to capture the immense diversity of immigrant groups entering Canada and the diverse nature of the areas where they settle. At the same time, localized ethnographic studies are needed to capture the lived experiences of the variety of Canada’s immigrant groups. From a more general perspective, there needs to be continued emphasis of the link between housing policy and broader social and economic policy, as articulated by Carter and Polevychok (2004).

References


See Appendix A (Immigrants and Housing: Canadian Literature from 2005 to 2010, Alphabetical by Author) for all other references in this section.
APPENDIX A: IMMIGRANTS AND HOUSING: CANADIAN LITERATURE FROM 2005 TO 2010 ALPHABETICAL BY AUTHOR

* Indicates citation is about refugees, claimants or both


Bérubé, M. (2010). “Beyond the Four Walls: The Sainte Marie Neighbourhood as Seen by its Immigrant Residents.” *Canadian Issues/Thèmes Canadiens (Newcomer’s Experiences of*
(http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/aec_citc_fall2010_e.pdf)

(http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/aec_citc_fall2010_e.pdf)


(http://www.issbc.org/publications)

(http://intraspec.ca/08-03-07--PivotMOSAIC%5B1%5D.pdf)

(http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/aec_citc_fall2010_e.pdf)


(http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/toc_odc_vol6_09_e.html)


(http://pcerii.metropolis.net/generalinfo/info_content/HousingRefugeesWinnipeg[1].pdf)

Change and Adaptation, The University of Winnipeg, Research Highlight No. 32.  
(http://geograph.uwinnipeg.ca/Carter/publications_research.htm)


(http://www.homelesshub.ca/ResourceFiles/s5ho5phv.pdf)

(http://www.homelesshub.ca/ResourceFiles/mgzs2cxb.pdf)

City of Calgary (2009c). Housing Affordability in Calgary, by Sex, for Households with a Recent Immigrant Primary Household Maintainer, Community and Neighbourhood Services Social Research Unit., Research Brief 23.  
(http://www.homelesshub.ca/ResourceFiles/dprfowe4.pdf)

(http://www.homelesshub.ca/ResourceFiles/iagnqhg0.pdf)

(http://issbc.org/publications)

(http://ceris.metropolis.net/research-policy/wkpp_list.htm)


(http://ceris.metropolis.net/research-policy/wkpp_list.htm)

(http://canada.metropolis.net/pdfs/CITC_Spring_05_EN.pdf)


Schellenberg, G., and H. Maheux (2007). “Immigrants’ Perspectives on their First Four Years in Canada: Highlights from Three Waves of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to


APPENDIX B: IMMIGRANTS AND HOUSING: CANADIAN LITERATURE FROM 2005 TO 2010 BY THEME

* Indicates citation is about refugees, claimants or both

1. Bibliographies and Syntheses of the Immigrant and Housing Literature


Metropolis (2007). *Symposium on Newcomers, Housing and Homelessness* (held in conjunction with the 9th National Metropolis Conference, Toronto, March 1, 2007).


2. Challenges and Barriers Faced by Immigrants in Canadian Housing Markets


City of Calgary (2008). *Housing Adequacy in Calgary for Households with a Recent Immigrant Primary Household Maintainer (RIPHM)*. Community and Neighbourhood
Services Social Research Unit., Research Brief 20. (http://www.homelesshub.ca/ResourceFiles/iaqqnthg0.pdf)


3. Housing Careers/Residential Mobility/Social Networks


### 4. Settlement Patterns, Ethnic Enclaves, Segregation


5. Statistical Studies of Newcomers in the Canadian Housing Market


a) Comparative Studies of Immigrants in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver Based on Special Tabulations from the 2001 Census and the First Wave of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC)


b) Studies Based on Data (Including Housing) from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada


c) Studies Based Entirely on Housing Data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC)


6. Housing Needs


7. Housing Adaptations


8. Creating Home


9. Homelessness


10. Homeownership


### 11. Planning for Immigrant Settlement


APPENDIX C: IMMIGRANTS AND HOUSING: CANADIAN LITERATURE FROM 2005 TO 2010 BY THEME WITH ABSTRACTS

* Indicates citation is about refugees, claimants or both

1. Bibliographies and Syntheses of the Immigrant and Housing Literature


Where immigrants choose to plant new roots and where they migrate to as they adapt to their new surroundings can greatly affect their experience in Canada. Trends in settlement location and migration appear to be changing, and so the delivery of services must change with them. This paper attempts to answer two sets of questions:

- How important is geography and neighbourhood pattern in affecting family life and human service needs among newcomers? What are the implications of ethnic concentrations? What is the desirable mix of residential, commercial and industrial development to promote social interaction in a diverse community?
- What housing choices will immigrant families make as they grow and mature in their country? Will current trends towards high persons-per-unit (PPU) of housing in immigrant neighbourhoods continue, and for how long?

The literature search related to the above research questions, in whole or in part, was conducted in the following four broad subject areas: ethnic concentration and human service needs and delivery; ethnic concentrations; mixed land use, compact development and diversity; and immigrant and household size. Very little literature is available on the above topic questions except ethnic concentrations. Still, some assertions and ideas for future research and policy implications have been put forward for further consideration. In order to assess the policy implications, the analyses tend to rely on those studies that are pan-Canadian and not specific to one ethnic group.

The rest of this segment of the paper is divided into six sections. Barring the concluding section, every other section attempts to answer the above questions in the order in which they are listed and explain the issues and present solutions, ideas and policy implications. The concluding section wraps up the discussion and presents a list of potential strategies, gaps in the literature and future research inquiries for Region of Peel to consider.


This Bibliography, an update of earlier versions published by CERIS in 1999 and 2003, provides a listing of books, monographs, research reports, graduate theses, book chapters, and journal articles that deal with immigration and settlement in the Toronto area. Undergraduate theses are not included here. Access to some relatively obscure publications has never been easier, thanks to postings on the internet. Attention is directed to two
websites in particular: www.settlement.org, which is home to a variety of community/agency-developed reports, and the ‘Search’ function found at http://ceris.metropolis.net, which provides digital access to CERIS Working Papers, the CERIS Policy Matters series, some theses, and a variety of other research reports and documents. Items available from these sites are so indicated within square brackets at the end of a citation. Moreover, readers are also directed to the Housing New Canadians website, which is located at http://www.library.utoronto.ca/hnc/biblio.htm. Two selected bibliographies, on Housing and Immigrants and Housing-Related Discrimination in Canada, can be found at this site. Items in this Bibliography cover the entire history of Toronto and include all “ethnic” and racial groups.

An extensive summary of the presentations and discussions at a symposium held on March 1, 2007 in conjunction with the 9th National Metropolis Conference. About 40 persons representing the academic, policy and NGO communities attended the symposium. The symposium focused on the continued problem of affordable housing supply, the links between affordable housing and employment and income, and the high risk of homelessness amongst immigrant women fleeing domestic violence. Newcomers have adopted a number of strategies to alleviate the affordability problems. These include assembling larger household units and under-consuming housing. Although not entirely desirable, these strategies tend to mitigate homelessness among the immigrant population.

This bibliography is an update of the previous literature review, “Housing Situation and Needs of Immigrants in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver – An Overview” (Murdie et al., 2006), which extended the search for references from 2005 to 2008. The bibliography was undertaken in support of a research project entitled “Immigrants and Homelessness – At Risk in Canada’s Outer Suburbs: A Pilot Study in York Region.” As in the previous study, the search for relevant material was based on a review of the contents of eleven Canadian and international journals focusing on housing, urban studies, and immigration, as well as grey literature from governments and non-profits including reports in the newly initiated Homeless Hub (http://www.homelesshub.ca/default.aspx).

Despite the importance of immigrant access to acceptable housing and increased interest in this research area during the past decade there are few bibliographies of related Canadian
literature. Two notable exceptions include an annotated bibliography from the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg (Beavis, 1995) and the Housing New Canadians Research Working Group bibliography (2000) While useful, neither of these is complete, and the Beavis bibliography is out of print. Therefore, there is need for an updated literature review and annotated bibliography in this important and rapidly emerging field of study. This literature review was constructed in several stages. The search for sources concentrated on items that appeared between 1990 and 2005 and on literature about Canadian housing markets. Material concerning housing demand, housing careers, homeownership, and barriers in the housing market were sought. Appendix A of this literature review, which lists 106 items, is derived from the search for a variety of relevant sources. Abstracts are provided where available. Web addresses are also given for material that is publicly available on the Internet. About one-third of the sources originate from government reports, of which half were initiated by CMHC. Twenty-five percent were found in journal articles, seventeen percent in student theses, and twelve percent in reports from NGOs. The remainder was from research institutes, book chapters and conference papers. Often material from a government report or student thesis is subsequently revised and published in a refereed journal. In several instances, both documents are included in the bibliography. After compiling the bibliography, 56 items were selected for further consideration and more detailed summary. These are included in Appendix B. The primary criteria were relevance to the overall theme of immigration and housing, recency of material, and availability.

Researchers and policy-makers alike are seeking to better understand the relationships between housing, neighbourhoods and integration into Canadian society. Housing affordability is important because it determines to a large degree who can afford what type of housing and where in Canada. The articles in this volume suggest the role of housing is much more central to integration than is commonly acknowledged. There are two common findings in this volume: (i) that refugees face the most difficult housing circumstances of all newcomers to Canada; and (ii) affordability is the single most significant barrier to housing, regardless of location. Many of these articles contain policy and program recommendations aimed at improving housing outcomes in support of overall integration.

This report updates the 2003 Literature Review of Current Housing and Homelessness Research in the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM). The review covers information, published or issued between 1993 and 2004, deemed to be highly relevant to the HRM context. Various forms of research studies (working papers, white papers, plans, theses, internal studies and reports, evaluation reports, historical documents) constitute the literature review.
The annotated bibliography contains research that either focused on HRM or was related to the housing and homelessness issues in HRM. Where relevant, some national or international research studies that address issues relevant to HRM were included. Among them are effective and innovative practices in housing services, as well as those that demonstrate possible strategies, directions, methodologies and designs in future research applicable to HRM.

Only one study, Ball (2004), was found on housing and immigrants. Few recent studies seem to analyze housing and homelessness issues in HRM by ethnic or cultural subgroups, such as African Nova Scotians, First Nations and Aboriginal members, and different immigrant groups. Members of these groups are disproportionately represented in homeless or at-risk populations and poverty rates for new immigrant families continued to worsen between 1996 and 2000.11 Also, according to the Portrait of Streets and Shelters (2003), Aboriginals in HRM are over-represented in at-risk and homeless populations. Further research into these populations would be useful in addressing housing difficulties.

The Homeless Hub is an innovative research library and information centre focusing on homelessness issues in Canada. Building on the success of the Canadian Conference on Homelessness, held at York University (2005), the Homeless Hub represents a new approach to sharing information and research on homelessness. We strongly believe that evidence-based research can and should have an impact on decision-making and solutions to homelessness, through helping to educate the public, and to inform policy and practice at all levels of government and in the social, health care and housing sectors. As a one-stop-shop, the Homeless Hub is a place where community services providers, researchers, government representatives, people who have experienced homelessness and the general public can access and share research, stories, and best practices. Based on a partnership between York University, the Government of Canada and a range of community partners from across the country, The Homeless Hub provides an opportunity for people and organizations to better understand, develop and promote creative and collaborative responses to homelessness and housing instability.

L’objectif de ce symposium est double : (1) Dresser un état des connaissances acquises après plus de dix ans de recherche sur la thématique « immigration et habitat » (habitat entendu au sens large, soit non seulement l’espace domestique, celui du logement ou de l’unité d’habitation, mais aussi ce qui l’entoure – le voisinage, le quartier – et constitue un milieu de vie porteur de contraintes et d’opportunités sur le plan de l’insertion urbaine entendue dans un sens plus large). Comme il y a déjà eu un colloque de ce genre en novembre 2000, axé principalement sur le logement social, au cours de cette journée, nous allons surtout centrer
nos discussions sur les recherches menées depuis ce temps. (2) Définir des pistes de recherche pour les années à venir, en tenant compte des préoccupations et des besoins ressentis par une diversité d’acteurs associés tant aux groupes du milieu « communautaire » qu’aux organisations relevant de différents ordres de gouvernement ou encore à des institutions liées au réseau de la santé, de l’éducation, etc,


The overall purpose of this background paper is to build on what is known about immigration and housing in order to find ways of better linking housing policy and newcomer settlement policy. Based on a literature review, findings from the 2001 census and 2001 Longitudinal Study of Immigrants to Canada (the first longitudinal study of newcomers in Canada since the 1970s) and interviews with individuals knowledgeable about various aspects of immigration and housing, this paper provides an overview of immigrant housing experiences; an overview of housing-related services for newcomers; and a policy review. Lastly, it makes recommendations for improving the links between immigration and housing policies and programs.


Toronto and Vancouver are the two major English-speaking census metropolitan areas (CMAs) in Canada with the largest number of immigrants. These two CMAs also have the most expensive and limited rental housing stock (Hiebert et al., 2006) in the country. This paper summarizes research from the Working Paper series on housing and immigrants published between 1996 and 2008 by the Metropolis British Columbia (MBC) in Vancouver, and by the Centre of Excellence for Research in Immigration and Settlement (CERIS) in Toronto. The purpose of this paper is to identify research themes, and provide recommendations for future research.

2. Challenges and Barriers Faced by Immigrants in Canadian Housing Markets


Volunteer survey teams from MOSAIC, a multilingual non-profit organization dedicated to addressing issues that affect immigrants and refugees, and Pivot Legal Society, an anti-poverty legal advocacy group, canvassed the residents of four buildings in the neighbourhood identified as North Mount Pleasant by the City of Vancouver. The survey found some evidence that significant shifts in tenant demographics are occurring in the rental housing stock: newer residents tended to be Canadian-born singles or couples with no children, rather than immigrant families who defined the long-term residents. The main issues of concern identified by the tenants were the lack of affordable housing in Vancouver, overcrowding, gentrification, and safety. The results indicate that there is a high concentration of households in danger of displacement from their housing in the study area. [abstracted from the Executive Summary].

This article discusses the settlement challenges that two newcomer groups, refugees and Aboriginals, are experiencing in Winnipeg. As refugees and Aboriginals struggle to establish new lives in the city, they often end up in competition for the same jobs and housing. This is particularly challenging in regard to obtaining housing since much of the affordable housing stock, which is located in the inner city, is old and in need of repair. Since vacancy rates in the inner city are also quite low, landlords have the ability to “pick and choose” tenants, making it easier for them to engage in discriminatory practices. More support and information for tenants and landlords as well as more affordable housing is required.


Most refugees arriving in Winnipeg settle in the inner city, an area of substantive urban decline. The attraction of the area is the affordable, but poor quality, housing and proximity of service agencies. The area is characterized by unemployment, poverty, crime, and safety issues. It is also the destination of a significant influx of Aboriginal people, also seeking affordable housing and services. This study tracks refugee households over a three-year period, documents trajectories in labour force participation, income and poverty trends, neighbourhood experiences, and housing circumstances. It also examines the dynamic related to the competition for affordable housing that exists with a marginalized Aboriginal population. The picture that emerges is one of improving trajectories over time but also very difficult circumstances and sacrifices in housing and neighbourhood choices. The affects of settling in declining neighbourhoods and the competition for affordable housing complicates the resettlement process. The findings suggest a range of policy and program changes that would improve the housing circumstances of newly arrived refugees, and facilitate their resettlement and integration into a new society.


Access to adequate, affordable housing is an essential first step in the re-settlement process for immigrants and refugees. It is the basis from which newcomers look for jobs, language training and other services. Without such housing, newcomers may have limited security of tenure, compromised health, jeopardized education and employment opportunities and impaired social and family life. Refugees generally face the greatest challenges of all newcomers and find their housing choices constrained by many factors. This article presents the results of a study of refugee housing circumstances in Winnipeg. Key socio-economic, housing and neighbourhood characteristics important to successful re-settlement are documented and analyzed. The longitudinal nature of the study facilitates exploration of trajectories in a variety of indicators over time. The picture that emerges is one of the improving trajectories in many key indicators but also of very difficult circumstances that
negatively affect the re-settlement process and the effective integration of refugee households. The article ends with suggestions for policy and program changes that would improve the housing circumstances of newly arrived refugee households.


Current demographic trends in Canada include population aging and declining household growth. These trends generally result in falling housing demand and stable or declining house prices. Housing markets in Canada’s major cities, however, have been characterized by increases in demand and prices in recent years; due in large part to the influence of arriving immigrants. The destinations of 76 percent of international immigrants to Canada are the three global cities – Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal – where they have a very significant effect on housing demand, particularly as under current immigration policy many of those arriving come with considerable wealth. Their influence, however, is much broader and includes the growth of exclusive, prosperous immigrant neighbourhoods, new architectural designs and other neighbourhood changes. Not all immigrants, however, arrive with wealth. Many are poor, live in less attractive neighbourhoods and pay unrealistic amounts of their inadequate incomes for poor quality housing. Some end up homeless on the street. The role of immigrants in housing markets is an important consideration for urban and housing policy.


This series presents detailed statistical data on housing affordability by the average age of the Primary Household Maintainer (i.e., head of household) for “three low-income target groups” identified by City Council as households that are in need of affordable housing because they spend 30% or more of gross household income on shelter. This Research Brief focuses on only those with a Recent Immigrant Primary Household Maintainer (i.e., head of household).


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City of Calgary (2009c). *Housing Affordability in Calgary, by Sex, for Households with a Recent Immigrant Primary Household Maintainer*, Community and Neighbourhood
Services Social Research Unit, Research Brief 23.  
(http://www.homelesshub.ca/ResourceFiles/dprfowe4.pdf)  
This series presents detailed statistical data on housing affordability by the average age of the Primary Household Maintainer (i.e., head of household) for “three low-income target groups” identified by City Council as households that are in need of affordable housing because they spend 30% or more of gross household income on shelter. This Research Brief focuses on only those with a Recent Immigrant Primary Household Maintainer (i.e., head of household).

(http://www.homelesshub.ca/ResourceFiles/iagnqhg0.pdf)  
This series presents detailed statistical data on housing affordability by the average age of the Primary Household Maintainer (i.e., head of household) for “three low-income target groups” identified by City Council as households that are in need of affordable housing because they spend 30% or more of gross household income on shelter. This Research Brief focuses on only those with a Recent Immigrant Primary Household Maintainer (i.e., head of household).

(http://issbc.org/publications)  
During February and March 2006, the Immigrant Services Society of BC (ISS) undertook a review and evaluation of the services provided under the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) and settlement outcomes for Government Assisted Refugees in British Columbia, entitled the ISS RAP Client Monitoring Project. The aim of the project was to interview 25% of all Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) from the top eight countries of origin who arrived in BC during the calendar years of 2003 and 2005, to obtain their views on their arrival and subsequent settlement outcomes, challenges and successes. The project provides feedback for service enhancements during the clients’ first six weeks in Canada, as well as identifying other issues of RAP policy and program consideration. The information gained from this process has been compiled and the data analysed to provide qualitative and quantitative evidence.

The results show how difficult it can be to find reasonably priced accommodation in the GVRD. Therefore, ISS recently received core funding to provide GARs with assistance in searching for accommodation once they arrive. Clients from both 2003 and 2005 felt that the biggest challenges that they faced were the high rents and their limited income, along with language barriers and finding housing large enough to accommodate their family. Clients from both years also felt that they did not know enough about the different areas, and rental prices, within various parts of the GVRD… Clients from both years of arrival felt that the biggest challenges that they faced were the high rents and their limited income, along with language barriers and finding housing large enough to accommodate their family. Clients from both years also felt that they did not know enough about the different areas, and rental prices, within various parts of the GVRD… While more than half of respondents felt that their accommodation was appropriate for their family, a sizeable proportion did not. Of
these, the two main issues raised were the small size of their accommodation and the high rent (or low financial assistance received). However, some of the other comments made by respondents were that people in their building were drug addicts who asked for money, that landlord’s were drunk and caused a nuisance, and that there had been robberies and they felt insecure in their building.

The growing body of evidence about the economic insecurity faced by recent immigrants to Canada coincides with reports of immigrants and refugees becoming one of the two fastest growing sub-populations among the homeless in Canada. Difficulties with labour market attachment, gaps in the system of integration and discrimination are important risk factors that may contribute to the increased risk of housing instability among newcomers. The article concludes by identifying some key areas for further research and by suggesting some basic principles, derived from current knowledge, which can improve policy and programming responses.

Amongst other conclusions, the report argues that finding affordable housing is still a challenge for Canada’s most vulnerable. Although the report does not directly concern the housing situation of immigrants and refugees it is an up-to-date and readable summary of the major issues in affordable housing and homelessness in Canadian cities.

The housing picture for immigrants in Montreal is in flux as living conditions become more precarious. There are growing numbers of immigrants living in social housing and those living in the private market are living in poor quality housing, as vacancy rates continue to decline. However, what seems to be a growing precariousness of housing conditions for immigrant families has to be understood within the broader context of changes currently taking place in Montreal’s housing market and neighbourhoods. On the other hand, more young adults of immigrant origin are becoming homeowners.

In this paper, I argue for an increase in research activity in the area of immigrant residential crowding in Canada. I use the 2006 Census of Canada to suggest that crowding is too complex to label as ‘good’ or ‘bad’, and that future work should try to identify how we can distinguish when crowding actually reflects economic constraint.

On March 1, 2007, the Metropolis Project hosted a Symposium on Newcomers, Housing and Homelessness held in conjunction with the 9th National Metropolis Conference, in Toronto, Ontario. As is the standard practice for Metropolis events, participants (approximately 40) represented a variety of perspectives from the academic, policy, and NGO communities. This event had two specific objectives. First, it aimed to provide a forum for discussion of existing research on newcomers, housing and homelessness in select Canadian cities. Second, it sought to identify, through discussion and debate, specific priority research questions which could help guide future academic inquiry in this area. On both fronts, this event was successful. Research findings were shared illuminating the housing and homelessness experiences of newcomers in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, as well as in Windsor/Essex, Winnipeg, and Halifax, and priority research questions were developed in five different thematic groupings.


The effect of residential capital through immigration on the internal structure of cities and housing markets has become of increasing importance. This study examines the effects of immigration on Vancouver’s residential housing market as the city became increasingly influenced by global processes and the arrival of skilled and wealthy migrants. The changing determinants of housing demand are analyzed for recent immigrants and the rest of the population using Statistics Canada data for two time periods. Intraurban spatial dimensions of the changes in housing demand are examined using tract data. The analysis reveals a decoupling of local housing from labour markets as recent immigrants’ housing consumption became less tied to their local labor market participation. Labor market income measured in national datasets becomes less instructive in explaining housing market outcomes and neighborhood change if immigrants arrive with established wealth and continue to earn unreported income outside the country.


Despite extensive literature on the nature and impact of gentrification, there has been little consideration of the effects of gentrification on ethnic neighbourhoods. This study evaluates the negative and positive effects of gentrification on the Portuguese in west central Toronto. Details concerning the settlement patterns of the Portuguese, the characteristics of Portuguese residents and patterns of gentrification in inner-city Toronto were obtained from census data. Evaluations of neighbourhood change and attitudes of the residents towards gentrification were obtained from key informant and focus group interviews. The results suggest considerable ambivalence among the respondents, but most agreed that the long-term viability of Little Portugal as an immigrant reception area with a good supply of low-cost housing is in doubt.

This article highlights the ways the housing situation facing newcomers in Montreal is different from or similar to Vancouver and Toronto. Montreal newcomers, like those in other “gateway” cities, are faced with the challenge of finding affordable housing, spending one-half or more of their incomes on shelter, and living in overcrowded housing conditions. Montreal newcomers are less likely to be homeowners after four years compared to Vancouver and Montreal, with homeownership being more prevalent among family rather than non-family households. A comparative perspective makes clear that, overall, newcomers and recent immigrants to Montreal are quite well housed considering the modest level of their incomes.


This research seeks to better understand the housing experiences of refugees in the City of Surrey, B.C. Two questions frame this research: (1) What are the current housing needs of refugees? (e.g., What is the profile of immigrants and refugees living in Surrey? Is their current housing adequate and affordable) (2) How are refugees being supported by settlement services and housing services/programs (e.g. What services are available? Are there any barriers to accessing services/programs?).

Twenty-four individual interviews and 4 focus groups, representing a total of 44 households, were undertaken with Karen and Sudanese refugees in Surrey (12 interviews and 2 focus groups with each group). In total 11 Sudanese and 11 Karen respondents participated in the focus groups. Whenever possible, attempts were made to ensure respondents chosen for focus groups and individual interviews were not from the same households.

Affordability challenges are widespread, with 15 of the 22 respondents providing affordability information spending upwards of 51% of monthly household income on housing. Alarmingly, 7 of 22 respondents allocate over 75% of monthly household income on housing, placing them at extreme risk of absolute homelessness. Anecdotal evidence in both interviews and focus groups indicates “sofa surfing” is on the rise.

Difficulties in reconciling low incomes, whether from employment in low-paying, part-time jobs or dependence on insufficient RAP or MHSD benefits, with high rents is aggravated for many by the need to begin repaying Federal Government travel loans (incurred travelling to Canada) one year after arrival.

While the housing is in better physical condition than may be expected by previous research, almost all households are experiencing significant overcrowding (e.g. households of 4 and 5 in a one bedroom unit, or 6-8 in a two bedroom unit). Crowding may be higher even within suites, as families attempt to separate male and female youths and adults.

Barriers to finding housing include the need to reconcile low incomes and high rents, size of households, and a lack of knowledge (e.g. about how to find housing). In particular,
respondents in focus groups and interviews identified a need for information about BC Housing programs, as well as the City of Surrey itself.

Rapid urbanization is redefining the landscape of the Central Okanagan Valley. Expensive housing is a major problem for the local economy throughout the Central Okanagan. Kelowna—a mid-sized city and the main economic engine of the Valley—is one of the fastest-growing cities in British Columbia. Teixeira’s findings indicate that the housing crisis affecting Central Okanagan—low vacancy rates and a restricted supply of affordable housing (to buy or rent)—together with the area’s high cost of living make Central Okanagan a uniquely challenging region for immigrant settlement.

Teixeira, C. (2010). Housing Immigrants and Newcomers in Central Okanagan, BC. Vancouver: Metropolis British Columbia, Working Paper Series, No. 10–03. (http://riim.metropolis.net/assets/uploads/files/wp/2010/WP10-03.pdf) Immigrant and refugee housing is becoming a growing concern in small and mid-sized cities such as Kelowna, Vernon, and Penticton in the Central Okanagan region of interior British Columbia. The real estate market in this region is one of the most expensive in Canada. Housing affordability determines who can afford to move to Central Okanagan, and who, from lack of housing choices, cannot. Immigration has been identified as an engine of economic growth; therefore, the fact that newcomers, including immigrants and refugees, face barriers in securing affordable housing in this area has policy implications of interest to politicians, planners, and community workers.

Teixeira, C. (2009). “New Immigrant Settlement in a Mid-Sized City: A Case Study of Housing Barriers and Coping Strategies in Kelowna, British Columbia.” The Canadian Geographer, 53 (3): 323-339. The successful integration of immigrants into a new society is based on their attainment of several basic needs, including access to adequate, suitable and affordable housing. While this has long been a concern in Canadian cities, such as Vancouver, Toronto, and Montréal, it is also increasingly an issue in growing mid-sized cities such as Kelowna, in the interior of British Columbia. While Kelowna’s real estate market is one of the most expensive in the country, there is little published data or literature on the housing experiences of immigrants in the city. This study examines the housing experiences and stresses of a small group of immigrants in Kelowna’s rental housing market. This study uses data from five focus groups with 34 new immigrants and 20 interviews with key informants, conducted in Kelowna in summer 2008. The evidence indicates that for this group of immigrant newcomers, the housing search process in Kelowna’s rental housing market met with significant barriers in locating affordable rental housing. Of these barriers, the most commonly cited were: (a) high housing costs; (b) lack of reliable housing information, including lack of access to organizations that provide housing help (government or not); and (c) prejudice by landlords based on the immigrants’ ethnic and racial background. This study points to the need for more comparative studies on the housing experiences of immigrants in mid-sized cities in
Canada to better understand which groups of immigrants are more successful than others in finding affordable housing in these mid-sized cities, and why.

3. Housing Careers/Residential Mobility/Social Networks


Using data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), this article examines social networks and the role they play in the settlement and integration of immigrants to Canada. The authors look at difficulties faced by immigrants during their first six months of arrival and find that there are some differences depending on immigration category, country of origin, age and other factors. One key finding is that the presence of family members and relatives is important during a newcomer’s immediate settlement period.


About 600 privately sponsored refugees arrive in Manitoba each year. Most are from Africa and the majority settle in Winnipeg. Arrivals under the Privately Sponsored Refugee Program now constitute more than half of all refugees arriving in Manitoba.


A two-year study of recently arrived refugees in the City of Winnipeg illustrates the significant housing challenges they face. In the first year 75 households who had been in the City a year or less were interviewed. Fifty-five of these households were re-interviewed a year later. The research findings highlight the housing and neighbourhood challenges households faced in the first year and the changes in their circumstances that had occurred by the time Year Two interviews were conducted.

The households in the study face high levels of poverty. In the first year the average annual income of the refugee households was $22,374: approximately one third of the average household income of $63,025 in the city. With an average rent of $566 per month, the average household spent 34 percent of their gross income (before tax) on shelter. Fifty-one percent of households spent thirty percent or more, while twelve percent spent fifty percent or more. The households were much larger than Winnipeg households in general – 3.6 compared to 2.4 persons per household – and therefore require larger housing units. The Winnipeg rental market provides few units with three or more bedrooms, particularly at prices refugees can afford. Hence it is not surprising that 47 percent of refugee households in this study lived in housing that, according to National Occupancy Standards, was overcrowded.
In addition to affordability and crowding problems, households faced other housing-related challenges. They were highly mobile as they searched for better living circumstances – not a situation conducive to integration. One quarter did not feel safe in their neighbourhood, felt their housing was unsafe and felt their home contributed to health problems. Nineteen percent did not feel their rights and responsibilities as tenants and 40 percent had no idea of their landlords’ rights and responsibilities. Some also felt they faced discrimination in the housing market. In terms of housing circumstances, the refugee households in this study could not be considered a settled group of people at the time of the first interview.

A year later the interviewees’ economic circumstances had improved considerably, as had their housing situation. Average household income had increased by 31 percent to $29,357. Higher incomes led to improved housing affordability as the average shelter-to-income ratio fell from 34 percent to 25 percent: only 22 percent were paying thirty percent or more of their income on housing costs and two percent were paying more than fifty percent. Only 36 percent of the households did not meet National Occupancy Standards, although there was no appreciable decline in household size. Other improvements included a growing satisfaction with dwelling size and design, building and unit safety, greater satisfaction with landlords and caretakers and an improved knowledge of both tenant and landlord responsibilities. There was also less concern regarding discrimination and a growing number of households felt they were better equipped to deal with discrimination they faced.

A noticeable change that was contrary to these positive trends was a growing dissatisfaction with the condition of their units and with the length of time for repairs to be made. At the first interview, 25 percent of the interviewees said they felt their home was in poor condition but a year later this ratio had increased to 42 percent. Concern about the timeliness of repairs increased from 26 percent of households to 42 percent in the second year. This may reflect an improved understanding of the standards they can expect and perhaps less reluctance to express their concerns, rather than an actual decline in housing conditions or timeliness of repairs.

The refugees reported considerable difficulty in finding housing. In the first year, it was noted that sponsors and immigrant agencies provided considerable assistance. By the second year housing information sources included a broader social network of family and friends and also real estate and property management agencies, government agencies and more of their own efforts through websites, newspapers and street searches by walking and driving around. This shift in the second year illustrates growing knowledge of the city and the housing market and an expanding social network. It also reflects the absence of immigrant services’ assistance with finding housing beyond the initial search, after which newcomers are on their own. Refugees in this study struggled with their lack of familiarity with the market, neighbourhood characteristics, tenant rights and responsibilities and the absence of a place to go to get the reliable, comprehensive information they need to find suitable housing. By the second year interviews, the interviewees had developed better social support networks.
As a first stage of the Winnipeg portion of the study “Evaluating the Housing Careers of Recently Arrived Refugees in Edmonton, Calgary and Winnipeg,” two focus group discussions with refugees who had all arrived in Winnipeg during the previous five years were held in December 2005. There were thirteen participants in total representing refugee claimants, privately sponsored and government sponsored individuals and families. The material obtained in the focus groups provided a foundation on which to structure the questions developed for the questionnaire used in the second stage of the research.

During the focus group, participants were asked to view their experiences after they arrived as “a river of life” and a lake, into which the river flows, as their actual or imagined destination – the circumstances in life they had hoped to achieve when they came to Winnipeg. The barriers, challenges and difficulties they faced along the way were to be represented as rapids they had to navigate on their way to the lake. Bends in the river represented unexpected twists and turns in their life circumstances, and they were to identify the people, friends, family and/or services at different points along the riverbank that gave them support and encouragement along the way. In areas of the river that were less turbulent, the participants were asked to identify the indicators of hope, confidence and encouragement evident at this stage. This scenario represented the transition process the participants experienced during their settlement in Canadian society.

The discussion illustrated the barriers refugees faced and the support they received. Difficulties that hindered the integration process included lack of adequate, affordable, suitable housing, language problems, difficulties with finding adequate jobs, lack of information and support, cultural differences and discrimination. An account of people and circumstances that helped newcomers in the transition process included support of family and friends, the church, private sponsors, their ethnic community, and settlement counsellors; support from family back home; the ESL program; housing that was clean, quiet and affordable; ability to access a student loan and a welcoming Canadian society.

The focus group discussions documented what participants felt represents success in their integration. Reaching their personal and career objectives were described in a number of ways ranging from owning their own home to being in a position to help other refugees arriving in Winnipeg. Although objectives most new arrivals have are similar to those of other Canadians, they have more difficulties in achieving these goals. (Excerpted from the Report)


The housing patterns of newcomers mark a primary indicator for their successful integration. However, different groups of people have varied access to the stock of housing in Canada. The purpose of this paper is to examine the role that social capital plays in housing trajectories of immigrants with particular attention to the experiences of refugee claimants. In this paper we draw upon the results of a 2004–2005 study on the profile of absolute and relative homelessness among immigrants, refugees, and refugee claimants in the Greater
Vancouver Regional District (GVRD). We highlight the importance of social networks in the housing careers of newcomers, and argue that access to social networks varies according to the mode of entry for immigrants (e.g., skilled immigrants vs. refugees). We find that refugee claimants are particularly vulnerable, given their combination of uncertain legal status, lack of official language ability, and unfamiliarity with Canadian society. They are the most likely of all newcomers to “fall between the cracks” of the housing system. We discuss the benefits of social capital for immigrants and refugees, especially the key role that social capital plays in the integration process.


Appropriate housing with security of tenure is an important factor in the immigrant settlement and integration process. However, many studies of immigrant settlement and the housing careers of immigrants do so within the borders of a nation-state without reference to transnationalism – immigrants’ ties and cross-border connections with the country of origin. This case study of the transnational ties and housing careers of Ghanaian immigrants in Toronto aims to increase our understanding of one recent immigrant group’s settlement and integration process in Canada. Using a mixed-method approach involving both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods, this study explores how transnational housing activities influence the housing careers of Ghanaians in Toronto. The findings include insights into the immigration history and the socio-demographic characteristics of Ghanaians in Toronto; the nature and extent of transnational ties between Ghana and Canada; the nature of housing careers among Ghanaians in Toronto; and the influence of transnationalism on housing careers of Ghanaians in Toronto.

Although Ghanaians’ immigration to Canada dates from the late 1950s, Ghanaians started coming to Canada in noticeable numbers after the 1960s. Ghanaian immigration to Canada generally and to Toronto particularly surged in the 1980s and beyond. Deteriorating economic and political conditions in Ghana and relatively favourable immigration policies and a good economic climate in Canada were the driving forces behind Ghanaian migration to Canada. However, the Ghanaian settlement process in Toronto does not culminate in a complete break with the homeland. Rather, Ghanaians in Toronto have engaged in a range of transnational activities with the country of origin, including contacts with family and friends, travelling to or visiting Ghana, following Ghanaian politics, investing in housing or property in Ghana, running businesses in Ghana, attending funerals in Ghana, and making regular remittances to Ghana.

With respect to Ghanaians’ housing careers, the study reveals that during their initial settlement period, most Ghanaians lived in public subsidized rental housing or poor-quality private rental housing. They considered their housing conditions as inadequate and unsuitable and were not satisfied with their neighbourhood’s safety and security. At the time of the survey, however, respondents were more likely to own homes and were more likely to feel safe and secure in their neighbourhoods. However, housing affordability remains a major problem for Ghanaians in Toronto. With respect to the influence of transnationalism on housing careers of Ghanaians in Toronto, the study finds that transnational housing activities, especially Ghanaians’ attitudes to and preference for investing in housing in Ghana, affect their housing careers in Toronto. Sending regular remittances to Ghana and investing in
housing in the homeland involve mobilizing huge financial resources from Toronto to achieving their housing needs in the country of origin, while many Ghanaians struggle to meet their own needs in Toronto. A logistic regression analysis shows that personal income and strong ties with Ghana are statistically significant predictors of investing in housing in Ghana. At the same time, significant predictors of Ghanaians’ propensity to own a house in Canada include loyalty to Canada and household income.

The study contributes conceptually and empirically to three areas of research – transnationalism, housing careers, and immigrant settlement and integration – which hitherto have been studied as separate themes. Conceptually, it breaks away from the traditional way of researching immigrant settlement and housing careers by introducing a new conceptual dimension, transnationalism. Further, this research has added new insights about a recently arrived immigrant group in Toronto. Finally, the study contributes to the social work literature by identifying an emerging field of international social work. It has drawn attention to the fact that in the era of transnationalism, the emergence of a population of migrants whose needs and lives transcend national borders will affect the future of social work research and practice.


French Abstract: L’accès au logement par les nouveaux arrivants à faible revenu fait l’objet de recherches scientifiques dans la plupart des régions métropolitaines canadiennes. De plus en plus, on distingue les groupes ethnoculturels dans leurs modes et conditions d’accès à un logement convenable et abordable. Les Africains subsahariens, et particulièrement les réfugiés et demandeurs d’asile qui arrivent à Montréal en provenance de cette région du monde sont toutefois des groupes qui font l’objet de connaissances assez limitées.

Le mémoire que nous présentons ici vise à mieux comprendre les modes d’accès au logement, puis les conditions résidentielles des réfugiés et demandeurs d’asile en provenance d’Afrique subsaharienne, un groupe issu des minorités visibles qui parle français et dont le nombre à Montréal s’accroît. Nous inscrivons cette étude exploratoire dans un cadre théorique qui pose l’accès à un logement convenable et abordable comme l’un des piliers de l’insertion des nouveaux arrivants à une société receptrice. Ce cadre théorique définit aussi la trajectoire résidentielle comme l’ensemble des processus par lesquels les nouveaux arrivants consomment des logements au fil du temps et des événements de leur vie. Ces processus sont influencés par le niveau d’intégration de leur groupe ethnoculturel à la société, puis aux différentes structures socioéconomiques et politiques du marché résidentiel, de la ville d’accueil, et de la société d’accueil.

Aux moyens d’entretiens semi-dirigés et d’un groupe de discussion, nous explorerons les trajectoires résidentielles de treize réfugiés et demandeurs d’asile en provenance d’Afrique subsaharienne. Nous considérons alors deux questions capitales : dans un premier temps, nous nous intéressons aux motifs des choix de localisation résidentielle, puis aux motifs des choix des logements occupés, au cours des premières années de résidence à Montréal. Dans un second temps, nous abordons les processus d’insertion résidentielle et les conditions de logement, c’est-à-dire la démarche de recherche et le mode d’accès au logement, les attentes, les obstacles rencontrés et les stratégies mobilisées pour surmonter ces obstacles, puis les
conditions dans lesquelles vivent ces nouveaux arrivants. Nous nous intéressons par la suite au sentiment des participants d’être chez eux dans leur logement, et à leur perception du quartier de résidence comme d’une communauté. Nous représentons finalement les trajectoires résidentielles, dont le point de départ se situe dans le pays d’origine, sur des schémas, dont les variables de l’autonomie résidentielle et de la satisfaction résidentielle s’entrecroisent et donnent un indice du niveau d’intégration de chaque participant.

**English Abstract:** Access to housing by low income newcomers is studied in many CMAs in Canada. Increasingly, ethnic groups are distinguished in their way to access to adequate and affordable housing. Sub-Saharan Africans, and specially asylum seekers and refugees that arrive in Montreal from this part of the world are groups that have not been studied much. The thesis that is presented here aims to better understand the settlement experiences, and housing conditions for refugees and asylum seekers from sub-Saharan Africa, a visible minority group that speaks French and that is increasingly present in the Montreal’s residential market. This exploratory study is placed in a conceptual framework that considers access to a suitable and affordable housing as a pillar of integration to a new society. This theoretical framework also defines housing trajectory as the whole process by which newcomers live in different housing situations through time and events in their lives. These processes are influenced by the level of integration of their ethnic group to society, and by the different socioeconomic and politic structures that govern the housing market, the new city and the new society.

With semi-structured interviews and a focus group, we study the housing trajectories of thirteen refugees and asylum seekers who come from sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, we consider two main questions: first, we study the grounds for the residential localisation choices (priorities, security, presence of members of ethnic community), and the reasons for the housing choices (preferences, expectations, and priorities) during the first years of residence in Montreal. Second, we study the processes through which these newcomers access to housing, and the housing conditions they live in. We look at the housing search processes, the expectations and the multiple factors that limit access to housing: economic disadvantages, housing costs, discrimination, lack of knowledge about the housing market. Then, we examine the strategies that are mobilised to overcome these obstacles, and the housing conditions in which newcomers live. Next, we study the participants’ housing satisfaction and their feeling of being home, and their perception of the neighbourhood as a community. Finally, we illustrate residential trajectories on graphs. The trajectories start in the home country, and the variables of residential autonomy and residential satisfaction intersect and give an idea of the level of integration of each participant.

In this paper we examine the formation of diverse social ties among newcomers to Vancouver. We look specifically at the influence of Neighbourhood House membership on facilitating diverse tie formation. Past research has found that membership in different types of associations can lead to more or less network diversity. We build on this research by considering how different types of involvement can lead to either increases or decreases in network diversity among new immigrants. Looking at one type of association, we find that
targeted, instrumental types of involvement can lead to more diverse immigrant social ties and that general, expressive types of involvement can lead to more homogeneous social ties.


This study asked the following research questions:

- Where in Winnipeg are refugees settling?
- Why are they settling where they are?
- What are the housing experiences of newly arrived refugees in Winnipeg?
- Are these housing experiences positive?
- If not, what policies could be adopted to improve them?

By adopting a holistic definition of housing, this study not only explored the physical units of refugees (e.g. apartment types; landlord receptivity; room space; utilities) but also their wider neighbourhoods (e.g. safety issues and involvement in community organizations).

This report is organized into three different sections. The first section explores existing settlement services for refugees, the current housing situation in Winnipeg, and a literature review on the topic of housing and refugees. The second section describes the project’s methodology as well as its findings. The third section offers recommendations emerging from the project’s findings.


In contrast to many new immigrants, refugees normally have limited financial resources upon arrival in a new country. Consequently, most refugees need some form of assistance in accessing good-quality, safe and affordable housing. This paper evaluates the assumption that refugee claimants in Toronto experience a much more difficult pathway to housing than sponsored refugees. The housing trajectories of a sample of refugees are examined using semi-structured interviews. The results confirm that this sample of refugee claimants experienced a more difficult pathway to housing, at least in the initial stages of settlement. Over time, claimants improved their housing position and narrowed the gap with sponsored refugees.


The housing experiences of Canada’s immigrants have been relatively well documented but much less is known about the housing situation of Canada’s refugees. Recent research suggests that refugees, particularly in the initial stage of settlement, are less well housed and experience more affordability problems than immigrants. This article evaluates recent evidence concerning the housing situation of Canada’s refugees, including the differential experiences of sponsored refugees and refugee claimants.
The literature tends to treat immigrant settlement, health, housing, and homelessness as separate agendas. Yet, given that immigrants generally experience declining health on arrival, poor health may lead to homelessness. Conversely, appropriate housing facilitates good health. For immigrants, and particularly vulnerable populations including refugees and the elderly, the risk of homelessness may be increased for those with poor health, individuals lacking social networks and who are socially excluded, or those that are settled in marginalized areas. The following considers the health status of new arrivals and access to health care before exploring the potential linkages to housing and homelessness.


As Canada’s biggest metropolitan area, Toronto has a large immigrant population and attracts a major proportion of the country’s new arrivals. Although it is well known that new immigrant arrivals are highly mobile, there is limited understanding of how this mobility impacts settlement patterns, particularly in the period following arrival in Canada and at small spatial scales. Using Wave I of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) and a variety of spatial-analytical methods, this article examines the short-term evolution of Toronto’s immigrant population over their first six months in Canada. The impacts of various individual and household characteristics are evaluated to determine reasons for mobility within the Toronto CMA, as well as in- and out-migration from the CMA. Results suggest that whereas mobility is high, new arrivals primarily remain in their initial destination with little difference in the overall distribution. Residential moves are associated with various individual and household characteristics, along with neighborhood effects and the type of housing initially occupied.


This study explores Bangladeshi immigrants’ settlement experiences in Kitchener-Waterloo (K-W) and analyses their housing history, housing search process, barriers and discrimination in accessing housing in the area. It reveals the factors that influence Bangladeshi immigrants housing accessibility in K-W. It also summarises recommendations to support and improve their housing situation. Qualitative research methods were used to collect and document the findings of the research.

The study findings reveal Bangladeshi immigrant households in K-W have comparatively higher levels of education compared to mainstream population and better employment condition compared to other Bangladeshi immigrants living in Toronto or Montreal. Many of these households have utilized higher educational opportunities in local universities as a more viable strategy of successful settlement in Canada. However, some of the existing practices in the rental market restrict their housing accessibility and limited
social interaction with the mainstream Canadian society hampers Bangladeshi immigrant households’ overall wellbeing in the city.

The findings of the research indicate that Bangladeshi immigrant households in K-W have attained a very different social status compared to their counterparts living in Toronto and Montreal. Bangladeshi immigrant households in K-W thus provide a very positive example of immigrant settlement in Canada.


This paper looks at a key aspect of new immigrants’ settlement experience – finding a home. Specifically, we examine the factors determining the propensity, over the first six months of settlement, to remain in or move on from the first residence occupied since arrival in Canada. We consider in turn the effects of various household and individual characteristics, and examine how these effects vary by urban region. Our data source is the first wave of observations from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), which covers a sample of 12,040 people who arrived in Canada as landed immigrants between October 2000 and September 2001. Semi-parametric survival models are used for the analysis. We find that while the residential mobility of this cohort in the initial months after arrival is associated with certain individual – and household-level characteristics, the strongest association is with the type of housing occupied. The city of residence of these newcomers, however, has little bearing on their housing transitions.

(http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/aec_citc_fall2010_e.pdf)

The housing difficulties facing many low income Canadians today is well documented. For newcomers, and particularly refugees, these challenges may be amplified. This paper considers the influence of legal status and place in the housing outcomes of government-assisted refugees and refugee claimants in Vancouver, BC and Winnipeg, MB. Results from the study indicate that while claimants in Vancouver face a more difficult ‘pathway to permanent housing’ than do government-assisted refugees, the same is not true in Winnipeg. More alarmingly, certain refugee groups face barriers beyond legal status and place, owing to characteristics of the group itself.


Toronto is Canada’s main port of entry for new immigrants and refugees as well as the country’s most culturally diverse city. It is also one of the most expensive housing markets in Canada. This study examines the housing experiences of three relatively recent, Portuguese-speaking African immigrant groups—the Angolans, the Mozambicans, and the Cape Verdeans—in Toronto’s rental market, by examining their settlement experiences and housing search processes, as well as the outcomes of those searches. The evidence indicates
that most respondents experienced discrimination by landlords in their housing search (this was less of a problem for the Cape Verdeans, who have a lighter skin colour). Both Angolans and Mozambicans encountered significant barriers in locating and securing affordable housing in a suitable neighbourhood. The study also examines their relations with the established white Portuguese community. Clearly, race (the colour of one’s skin) still matters in Toronto’s rental housing market. Racism—whether real or perceived—can result in social exclusion and housing segregation of immigrant groups in low-income neighbourhoods, and thus a slower integration of newcomers into Canadian society. This study points to the need for more comparative studies on visible and non-visible minorities, including newcomers from Africa (whether English-, French-, Spanish-, or Portuguese-speaking), to understand why certain groups are more successful than others in finding affordable housing in a neighbourhood of their choice.

This paper examines the housing experiences of immigrants to Canada through a survey of first-generation Portuguese homebuyers in Mississauga, a suburb of Toronto. The survey focused on the push/pull factors leading to their decision to live in the suburbs, their housing search strategies, and their use of services in Mississauga and in the initial area of Portuguese immigrant settlement in downtown Toronto. This study uses data from a questionnaire administered to 110 Portuguese homebuyers in 1990, shortly after their first move to suburban Mississauga; a sample of those respondents were re-interviewed in 2003. The evidence indicates that these immigrants were ‘pulled’ into relocating to Mississauga because of their desire to live in a single-family dwelling in a good neighbourhood. Their housing search relied extensively on ethnic sources of information, particularly Portuguese real estate agents. In general, this group of immigrants expressed satisfaction with their move. The Portuguese community in Mississauga is characterized by a form of voluntary segregation, which seems to be partly a result of their reliance on their own ethnic community for information, language barriers to participating in non-Portuguese activities, and a cultural preference for living near people of the same ethnic background. One consequence of this re-segregation process, by which Portuguese people recreate a Portuguese ‘homeland’ in the suburbs, has been the limitation of their social contacts with members of other ethnic communities that have also settled in suburban Mississauga.

This paper examines the housing experiences of two relatively recent African immigrant groups-the Angolans and the Mozambicans - in Toronto’s rental market through an analysis of their settlement experiences, housing-search processes, and ultimate outcomes. The evidence indicates that both groups encounter significant barriers and challenges in securing affordable and adequate housing. Of these barriers, one of the most commonly cited is prejudice and discrimination by landlords based on race or skin colour. In this context, race and cultural background can be seen as major barriers to equal treatment for members of certain visible minority groups in Toronto’s rental housing market.

Using the data from the longitudinal study “L’Établissement des nouveaux immigrants (ÉNI).” this paper analyses the residential trajectories of new immigrants in Montreal during the 1990’s. Two methodologies were applied. First, survival models were used to identify the factors that determine the probabilities of moving and of access to homeownership. Second, the immigrants’ mobility within the Montreal metropolitan area was analysed with conditional Logit models. The results show that high-skilled immigrants have a better situation on the housing market and that there is a strong relationship between employment and housing. We also notice a residential dispersion from downtown to the suburbs, especially in spaces where the houses are older and the average income lower. Apart from that, our results illustrate the process of residential concentration for immigrants from the industrial countries, as well as for people from third-world countries.

4. Settlement Patterns, Ethnic Enclaves, Segregation


This report presents a study of the implications of religion in the formation of new neighbourhoods and the neighbourly ties within these neighbourhoods. The study argues that a faith-based neighbourhood is essentially a social network of persons of the same faith, reinforced by the presence of a religious institution. Faith, we found, is not an all-encompassing characteristic of such a neighbourhood and does not make a neighbourhood an exclusive area. The study further argues that a faith-based neighbourhood is a part of Canadian urban landscape and is not so different from a typical Canadian neighbourhood.


La ségrégation résidentielle est devenue un phénomène complexe dans de nombreuses grandes villes du monde. Il devient dès lors nécessaire de l’étudier en faisant appel à des approches méthodologiques capables de rendre compte de cette complexité. C’est ce que montre ce texte en proposant une étude où le cas montréalais est traité à l’aide de plusieurs indices de ségrégation regroupés selon de cinq dimensions de la ségrégation identifiées par Massey et Denton (Social Forces 67:281–315, 1988) – l’égalité, la concentration, l’agrégation, l’exposition et la centralisation –, et calculés pour sept variables qui permettent de décrire la population immigrante. Au terme de cette étude, il apparaît que Montréal était en 2001 une ville multiculturelle marquée par la pluralité des modes d’insertion urbaine des immigrants.

Residential segregation is becoming a complex phenomenon in a great number of cities, in which case, it becomes important to use methodological approaches that allow us to take this complexity into account. This article presents a case study of the Montreal situation
using a method describing segregation along five dimensions identified by Massey and Denton (Social Forces 67:281–315, 1988): equality, concentration, aggregation, exposition and centralisation, as well as a set of fifteen segregation indices, and seven variables describing the immigrant population. Results indicate that Montreal, in 2001, appeared as a multicultural city characterized by a plurality of immigration patterns of urban insertion.


While there are statistics available on the number of government-assisted refugees (GARS) destined to British Columbia, there is no systematic analysis of neighbourhood-based settlement patterns of specific GAR populations. What communities are arriving and where are they settling? Has this pattern changed over time? Are “ethnic enclaves” or low-income poverty pockets forming in Metro Vancouver? What impact do settlement patterns have on local institutions and community agencies? This paper addresses such questions in hopes of speaking to municipal social policy, funding and program-service allocation, and the need for greater population case management approaches.


The purpose of this publication is to highlight some of the settlement patterns and trends of government-assisted refugees (GARS) settling in Metro Vancouver based on the mapping of a snapshot of GAR postal codes taken in April 2010. What are the source countries of GARS coming to BC? Which cities and neighbourhoods have higher concentrations of GARS? Do settlement patterns indicate any locations of specific GAR ethnic clustering? Settlement patterns are mapped for GARS from Myanmar (Burma), Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Somalia.


From the introduction: I would like to show that in Montréal’s case, the narrative of this relationship is a story of immigrant neighbourhoods; in essence, the relationship has therefore crystal-lined at the meso scale (between micro and macro). … I use neighbourhood here in a very specific way: it is to be understood as a territory of collective urban life, as distinct from merely the immediate surroundings of a place of residence (voisinage in French). Such a relatively large territory cannot be accurately captured by statistics at the census tract level. This is one of the reasons why the literature on neighbourhood effects is often so confusing: a neighbourhood consists not only of neighbours as such but also of local services and institutions, public spaces and so on. It is not however necessarily recognised as a formal district or borough. Thus, since the merger of all 28 municipalities of the island of Montréal in 2002 (and the subsequent de-merger of 15 of them), almost every one of the 17 boroughs that make up the new city of Montréal is larger than what we might call a sociological neighbourhood. Many boroughs’ territories cover two or three such
neighbourhoods. In light of the role that neighbourhoods have historically played in the
development of Montréal, I argue that this is the appropriate scale at which to analyse the
urban realities of immigration. And as we shall see, even though they also frequent
Montréal’s still-vibrant city centre, successive waves of immigrants have helped make the
neighbourhood a solid and durable cornerstone in the construction of the cosmopolitan city.

Experiences: A Case Study of Indian Bengalis and Bangladeshis in Toronto.”
Transnational theories have established that, after migrating to a new country, migrants often
maintain their pre-existing social, economic, and political ties to their home country. The
extent to which however, transnational institutional and social connections may affect the
residential location and housing experiences of immigrant and refugee groups, and why and
how these experiences differ within broadly defined immigrant groups such as the ‘South
Asians’ remains unexplored. Building on transnational theory and previous research on the
housing trajectories of new Canadians, this paper examines the housing experiences of two
recently arrived ‘South Asian’ subgroups in Toronto-Indian Bengalis and Bangladeshis. By
highlighting important intra-immigrant group differences, the study reveals how diverse
transnational ties affect their neighbourhood choice and the type, tenure, and quality of
housing when they first arrived in Toronto.

Hiebert, D. (2009a). Exploring Minority Enclave Areas in Montréal, Toronto, and
Vancouver. Ottawa: Research and Evaluation Branch, Citizenship and Immigration
Canada. (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/research/minority-enclave.asp)
The population of immigrants and members of Visible minority groups in Canada is
concentrated in the three largest metropolitan areas of Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver.
Further, there are pronounced variations within these cities, and researchers and policy
analysts have become increasingly interested in the tendency of some groups to form ethno-
specific enclaves in certain neighbourhoods. In large measure, this interest reflects the
assumption that residential segregation might challenge social cohesion. This study is
designed to be a kind of preliminary step, laying down a set of basic points that are primarily
factual in nature. The analysis is confined to the three metropolitan centres with the largest
immigrant and visible minority populations, Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver (MTV).
Each Census Tract in these three urban regions is assigned one of five neighbourhood types,
which range from areas that are mainly White to ethno-specific visible minority enclaves. In
general, the degree of ethno-cultural mixing in the residential spaces of Canadian cities is
less than that found in Australia or New Zealand, approximately equivalent to that found in
the UK, and more than that found in the United States.

The Social Geography of Immigrant and Minority Populations in Montreal, Toronto, and
The core of this report is devoted to an empirical examination of the social geography of
immigrant and visible minority populations in Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal. For each
of these three metropolitan areas, we begin by documenting the degree of geographical
congregation/concentration/segregation of these groups. In all three cities, the distribution of these groups is complex and is comprised of a mixture of concentration and dispersion. That is, there are areas that can be identified with relatively high densities of immigrants and/or visible minority groups, but the dispersion of these populations is also striking. We also investigate the degree of geographical co-location between immigrants and visible minority groups on the one hand, and the low-income population on the other. This part of our analysis also reveals complex patterns. Immigrants and members of visible minority groups make up a disproportionate share of the low-income population in all three cities.

There are also discernable areas where particular ethnocultural communities and poverty overlap. But we emphasize three points. First, the existence of enclaves of poor immigrants, or poor visible minority groups, where individuals would only encounter others in the same situation, is exceedingly rare in Canadian cities. In nearly every case, neighbourhoods house socioeconomically mixed populations. Secondly, the pockets where there are poor immigrants and/or visible minority groups are scattered. In Toronto, they are mainly located in the older, inner suburbs (but in a number of neighbourhoods rather than just one or two). In Vancouver, they are in many parts of the metropolitan area, including some neighbourhoods that are associated with expensive, owner-occupied housing. In Montreal, they are more confined to the Island of Montreal, but in a number of neighbourhoods. That is, there is no large, contiguous landscape of immigrant or visible minority poverty. Thirdly, in all three CMAs, but especially Montreal, we can identify low-income areas that are not associated with immigrant or visible minority populations at all.

We also used estimates of the number of immigrants and members of visible minorities in Canadian cities in 2017 to project future ethnocultural landscapes in the same three metropolitan areas. There are two simultaneous trends at work in all three cities, though the pace of transformation is more rapid in Toronto and Vancouver than Montreal: immigrants and visible minority groups are increasingly finding homes in suburbs; and the process of inner-city gentrification is becoming associated with its mirror image – more socially variegated suburbs that are no longer (if they ever were) exclusively populated by middle class and affluent residents. We investigate the degree to which these trends are converging. For the most part, our analysis suggests that they are not. In Vancouver, the degree of co-location of immigrants and visible minority groups on the one hand, and low-income areas on the other, is projected to decline slightly. In Toronto, where the process of suburbanization is most rapid, we are likely to see a continuing development of marginalized enclaves in the inner suburbs, especially those associated with social housing, but this will not yield large, contiguous areas of deep socio-economic need (as in certain areas in the US and France), and the cultural composition of these areas will be mixed. [From the Executive Summary: 6 and 7]

This study demonstrates that conventional expectations concerning patterns of residential spatial assimilation by racial minority immigrants are likely to be altered under conditions of persistent high levels of immigration. While cross-sectional studies conclude that the traditional assimilation model fits the experience of racial minority immigrants to Canada, a different picture emerges from longitudinal changes at the group level. Using a pseudo-cohort approach, it is shown that, for some racial minority immigrants, the level of
residential dissimilarity from Whites in Canada’s gateway cities has risen with time. Moreover, residential proximity to Whites is becoming less salient as a marker of spatial assimilation. Differences among racial minority groups in residential distribution and exposure to own-group neighbours only reflect variations in the degree of own-group preference and capacity to build affluent ethnic communities.

The increasing immigration to Canada during the 1990s has generated, if not a threat, at least some public concerns about the formation of ethnic enclaves and ghettos, and about their potential effects on social cohesion. In this context, this paper offers a reconsideration of the question of ethnic segregation in Canadian cities. Its main purpose is to show how the situation of Canadian cities can be analyzed through a pluralist framework. To illustrate this, the empirical part of the paper uses a special set of data from the 2001 census. This set of data is treated using threshold measures and a knowledge-based classification method both developed recently. The method also includes thematic cartography to localize types of neighbourhoods. The results of the study confirm the pluralist character of the three metropolis under study, and lead the way to new critical works which are more able to take into account the growing complexity of this phenomenon.

Lucia Lo’s essay on Toronto highlights a city in which more than 44 percent of the inhabitants are foreign-born. During the past four decades, Toronto has become Canada’s premier immigrant gateway, with more than 2 million foreign-born residents. Toronto is often touted as a model of multiculturalism and tolerance. Lo cautions, however, that the social and economic integration of immigrants in Toronto, particularly the large black population from the Caribbean and Africa, is poor. Although there has been considerable spatial integration of immigrants in this gateway city, their economic integration has been uneven. Lo’s examination of the foreign-born and labor markets shows that many of Toronto’s immigrants work in only a handful of industries, namely, construction, garment manufacturing, child care, accommodations, and food and beverage services. Many highly skilled immigrants, selected through Canada’s point system, often are unable to find employment in their respective professions and work in low-skilled jobs instead. (Abstract taken from Chapter 1, Migrants to the Metropolis, page 9).

This paper discusses research published between 1997 and 2007 on the residential concentration of immigrants and ethnic and visible minority groups in Canadian metropolitan centres. Specifically, it reviews findings and conclusions that relate to the ongoing debate over the validity of assimilationist perspective assumptions regarding the
typical social and spatial trajectory of newcomers. A Canadian immigrant underclass thesis is generally rejected, but some evidence emerges to suggest a potential bifurcation of the assumed pattern of sociospatial mobility. The traditional assumptions would hold for most groups, yet significant exceptions would justify an alteration of the model, essentially de-linking social from spatial mobility in the case of certain groups. Methodological considerations underlying this proposition are discussed.


Immigrants to Canada are increasingly concentrated in Canada’s three biggest metropolitan areas. Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver accommodate 70% of those who arrived between 2001 and 2006. The three biggest gateway cities, however, exhibit important differences in the ethnic groups they attract, and the patterns of settlement. Toronto and Vancouver have some similarities (more Asians, more immigrants settling in the suburbs), while Montréal has a larger proportion of European and African immigrants, who still tend to cluster in the central city. The suburbanization of immigration in Toronto and Vancouver poses challenges for service provision and planning and raises questions about the pros and cons of suburban ethnic enclaves in enhancing immigrant integration.


Toronto is Canada’s major immigrant-receiving city and contains a wide diversity of ethnic groups. Although Canadians are generally receptive to immigration there is evidence that some recent immigrant groups, especially those concentrated in Toronto’s inner suburbs, are not faring well economically. In this research we question whether spatial concentration necessarily equates with a lack of integration. Specifically, we review Toronto’s changing ethnic geography, comparatively evaluate the functional integration of selected ethnic groups who entered Toronto primarily in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s with those who came later, and provide a more subjective perspective on integration, drawing from the experiences of recently arrived Bangladeshi immigrants. The findings call into question traditional perspectives on ethnic concentration, especially the spatial assimilation model, and highlight the importance of considering subjective integration, particularly satisfaction with life in the new country, as a way of alleviating the barriers of weak functional integration. We conclude from the Toronto case study that spatial concentration does not necessarily equate with a lack of integration although, for disadvantaged recent immigrants who tend to be concentrated in inner-suburban enclaves, there may be cause for worry. The latter is of increasing concern to city officials and community agencies.


How do ethnic enclaves grow and change over time? This question is addressed by a longitudinal analysis of the geography of ethnic enclaves in the Toronto Census
Metropolitan Area over the period 2001–2006. The analysis shows that the enclaves in the Toronto area are continually realigning, their centres of gravity shifting and their contours changing. Usually, in an enclave, an axis or band of high-ethnic-density territories is formed, surrounded by zones of lower ethnic concentrations. Enclaves of groups with high levels of immigration from South Asia and China have been expanding, whilst those of earlier waves of immigrants—Jews, Portuguese and Italians—show tendencies towards consolidation and contraction. The emergence of ethnic institutions and services keeps enclaves thriving. Today, enclaves are largely in suburban areas where homeownership rates are high and new housing has been built. In the Toronto area enclaves, particular ethnic groups are demographically dominant without being a majority. Other ethnic groups have a sizable presence in these enclaves.

Ethnic enclaves have a vibrant local commercial and services infrastructure. They are not altogether places of poverty and despair, at least not in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA). Their social benefits outweigh the disadvantages of the predominance of one ethnic group. Social cohesion is largely promoted through the equality of economic opportunities, open society and public education. These are supra-neighbourhood processes, and institutionalizing them through the metropolitan, provincial and societal policies are ways to promote social cohesion. Neighbourhoods play an insignificant role in these processes.

This article examines the geography of new immigrants in Canadian cities and emphasizes the importance of examining not just where individual groups live, but the degree to which residential areas are ethnoculturally diverse. It emphasizes the degree to which all groups in Canadian cities are sharing residential space and where within cities this is occurring. The implications of high levels of ethnocultural diversity in neighbourhoods is considered emphasizing that community planning is being challenged by the need to build consensus and meaningful governance out of pluralism, competing discourses of how to live together, and calls for empowerment.

Recently, the media have expressed concern about the apparent concentration and social isolation of immigrants in central and inner suburban neighborhoods in large Canadian cities. This paper compares and contrasts the frequency and nature of neighborhood-based social contacts among three cohorts of immigrants distinguished by their period of arrival in Canada and Canadian-born individuals. We begin by outlining the family, friend, and acquaintance relationships that immigrants build and argue that their networks are culturally diverse and dominated by acquaintances. In this context, intense friendships rarely develop between neighbors, even for recent newcomers. Rather, neighboring consists mainly of casual interactions between individuals that often involve the provision of mundane forms of
assistance. Despite their fleeting and routine qualities, social relations with neighbors lead the vast majority of people to express strong levels of belonging to their neighborhoods. As a consequence, we argue that the neighborhood is an underestimated locale for understanding social inclusion.

This article examines the importance of place at multiple scales in the construction and experience of concentrated immigrant poverty and social exclusion in the Canadian metropolitan areas of Toronto and Vancouver. We emphasize four contributions: first, recognition that place has a profound effect on the shaping of immigrant lives; second, consideration of the multiple geographical scales implicated in the construction and experience of poverty; third, setting the immigrant experience in Canada in the broader comparative context of immigrant outcomes in the United States and western Europe; and fourth, complementing quantitative analyses of poverty effects with a qualitative methodology using focus groups to generate narratives that offer insight on the meaning of concentrated poverty in everyday life. The gateway cities of Toronto and Vancouver display an increasing spatial (and statistical) association between immigrant distributions and areas of concentrated poverty. Through focus groups with newcomers to Canada in nine poverty districts in Toronto and Vancouver we identify the role of the nation-state in shaping immigrant opportunities; sociospatial exclusion as it varies between city and suburban sites; and the penalties of living in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty, including the stigmatizing effects of neighborhood labeling by gatekeepers such as the media, police, and educators. At the same time, different sites display variable effects. We conclude by isolating neighborhood spaces of hope, where respondents offered more positive assessments.

This paper examines the housing experiences of immigrants to Canada through a survey of first-generation Portuguese homebuyers in Mississauga, a suburb of Toronto. The survey focused on the push/pull factors leading to their decision to live in the suburbs, their housing search strategies, and their use of services in Mississauga and in the initial area of Portuguese immigrant settlement in downtown Toronto. This study uses data from a questionnaire administered to 110 Portuguese homebuyers in 1990, shortly after their first move to suburban Mississauga; a sample of those respondents were re-interviewed in 2003. The evidence indicates that these immigrants were ‘pulled’ into relocating to Mississauga because of their desire to live in a single-family dwelling in a good neighbourhood. Their housing search relied extensively on ethnic sources of information, particularly Portuguese real estate agents. In general, this group of immigrants expressed satisfaction with their move. The Portuguese community in Mississauga is characterized by a form of voluntary segregation, which seems to be partly a result of their reliance on their own ethnic community for information, language barriers to participating in non-Portuguese activities, and a cultural preference for living near people of the same ethnic background. One
consequence of this re-segregation process, by which Portuguese people recreate a Portuguese ‘homeland’ in the suburbs, has been the limitation of their social contacts with members of other ethnic communities that have also settled in suburban Mississauga.

Walks, R.A. and M. August (2008). “The Factors Inhibiting Gentrification in Areas with Little Non-market Housing: Policy Lessons from the Toronto Experience.” *Urban Studies, 45*(12): 2594-2625. This paper examines the factors that have limited gentrification in two Toronto neighbourhoods which have below-average proportions of public housing and which have traditionally acted as immigrant reception areas. The first failed to gentrify despite the existence of gentrification nearby, whereas gentrification stalled in the second in the early 1980s. Analysis of the historical reasons behind this suggests ways in which policy could intervene to limit the spread of gentrification in the absence of support for local affordable housing. These include the maintenance of areas of working-class employment, different approaches to nuisance uses and environmental externalities, a housing stock not amenable to gentrifiers’ tastes and state encouragement of non-market and ethnic sources of housing finance. However, the Toronto experience also highlights the importance of policy in a negative way, as changes in municipal policy which run counter to these prescriptions are now resulting in the gentrification of these two neighbourhoods.

Walks, R. A. and R. Maaranen (2008). “Gentrification, Social Mix, and Social Polarization: Testing the Linkages in Large Canadian Cities.” *Urban Geography* 29(4): 293-326. Gentrification in the form of “neighborhood revitalization” is increasingly touted as one way of decreasing the social exclusion of residents of poor inner-city neighborhoods and of increasing levels of social mix and social interaction between different classes and ethnic groups. Yet the gentrification literature also suggests that the process may lead to increased social conflict, displacement of poorer residents to lower quality housing elsewhere, and, ultimately, social polarization. Much of this hinges on whether gentrifying neighborhoods can remain socially mixed, and whether neighborhood compositional changes result in more or less of a polarized class and ethnic structure. However, the impact of revitalization and gentrification on levels of social mix, income polarization, or ethnic diversity within neighborhoods remains unclear and under-explored. This study addresses this gap by examining the relationship between the timing of gentrification, changes in the income structure, and shifts in immigrant concentration and ethnic diversity, using census tract data for each decade from 1971 to 2001 in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. This research demonstrates that gentrification is followed by declining, rather than improving, levels of social mix, ethnic diversity, and immigrant concentration within affected neighborhoods. At the same time, gentrification is implicated in the growth of neighborhood income polarization and inequality.


This paper demonstrates a local approach to assess changes in segregation at the neighborhood scale. Many studies on segregation change were conducted at a regional or city scale using a single measure. This approach is not sufficient to document the process of neighborhood change, and using one measure can reflect only a single dimension of multifaceted segregation. In this article, several local measures related to two segregation dimensions are utilized to compare segregation levels between the three census years of 1980, 1990, and 2000. Using Buffalo, New York, as the case study, I show that the local approach is effective in depicting the varying levels of segregation within a city for a given year as well as changes in neighborhood segregation levels over time. Overall, the local multidimensional approach offers an effective way of identifying neighborhood demographic transformation and detecting varied trajectories of neighborhood change across a metropolitan area.


Using a multinomial logit model, this article explains the initial destination choices of skilled-worker immigrants from four South Asian countries (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka) who landed in Canada in 1992-2001, based on the micro data of Citizenship and Immigration Canada. We found that their choice pattern, which is characterized by extremely strong concentration in Ontario, was strongly affected by the attractions of (1) co-ethnic communities and (2) long-term income opportunities represented by earned income per capita. The temporal pattern of their choices was subject to the lagged effects of the fluctuations in the spatial pattern of employment opportunities in an economically sensible
but relatively mild way. The enhancement of Quebec’s attraction by the Canada/Quebec agreement on immigration dissipated within only a few years.

5. Statistical Studies of Newcomers in the Canadian Housing Market


L’objectif principal de la recherche était de comprendre et décrire la place qu’occupe le logement social public montréalais dans le système de l’habitation et, en particulier, le rôle qu’il tient pour les ménages familiaux défavorisés. Les questions abordées étaient les suivantes : quelles sont les politiques d’attribution en vigueur dans le parc du logement social public? À quel type d’intervention étatique correspondent-elles, et quels sont leurs effets sur le peuplement des logements publics à Montréal? Quel est le profil des ménages locataires avec enfants dans le logement social public à Montréal? L’analyse conduite au cours de l’étude articulait deux éléments essentiels : une analyse des politiques du logement en tant que politique sociale et une analyse sociodémographique des ménages locataires avec enfants résidants dans le logement social public.


L’analyse sociodémographique s’est faite à travers la réalisation d’une enquête par questionnaire. Le choix de l’enquête par questionnaire s’est imposé en raison de la difficulté d’accéder, à travers la base de location de l’Office municipal d’habitation de Montréal (OMHM), à certaines informations utiles à l’élaboration d’un profil des ménages familiaux vivant dans le logement social public. C’est le cas par exemple lorsque l’on veut connaître le pays d’origine des résidents, cette information étant le plus souvent absente du dossier de location. Le fait de mener une enquête par questionnaire permettait aussi d’enrichir les connaissances sur les résidents en HLM sur des points absents des données administratives conservées par les offices municipaux d’habitation à des fins de gestion et d’administration.

Les résultats de cette enquête soulignent l’importance de la valeur sociale du logement public. Ce secteur de l’habitation accueille en effet des ménages souvent fragilisés d’un point de vue social et économique. Leurs trajectoires personnelles et résidentielles sont souvent chaotiques et caractérisées par un processus de précarisation. Leurs caractéristiques individuelles rendent aussi ces personnes plus vulnérables sur le marché du travail et sur le marché du logement, influant sur leur mobilité sociale et résidentielle.

Les résultats de l’enquête indiquent également quelle place occupe le logement social public dans le système de l’habitation au Québec, et à Montréal en particulier. Ce secteur de
l’habitation correspond à un espace résidentiel de type résiduel, étant peu attractif pour l’ensemble des ménages et se peuplant essentiellement à partir de besoins en logement spécifiques. Ce secteur de l’habitation soulève ainsi des défis et enjeux sociaux particuliers. Il nécessite donc toute l’attention des chercheurs et des décideurs pour qu’y soit mené des interventions adéquates et en mesure d’en faire un milieu de vie favorable au développement du bien-être de ses occupants. Le présent travail se veut une contribution à cet effort en établissant un profil des familles avec enfants vivants en HLM à Montréal.


English: Housing conditions of immigrants and metropolitan dynamics in Montréal: an exploratory multilevel analysis: This study presents an analysis of housing conditions of immigrant households in Montréal. Using the 2001 census data, its aim is to show the potential effects or consequences of urban factors on housing conditions. Theoretically, interpretation of housing conditions for immigrant households is provided by an historical analysis of metropolis dynamics and a neo-Weberian or institutional framework (Rex and Moore, 1967). This interpretation breaks off with dominant explanations in Canadian urban research, which see in cultural differences the cause of the gap observed between ethnic groups in terms of housing conditions. Empirically, access to homeownership and housing affordability are estimated by means of multilevel models combining individual and contextual factors in the same analysis. Results corroborate the merit of this methodological choice and open the way to other investigations on the effects of metropolitan dynamics on individual outcomes.

LeLoup, X. and N. Zhu (2006). “Différence dans la qualité de logement: Immigrants et non-immigrants à Montréal, Toronto et Vancouver.” Journal of International Migration and Integration 7(2): 133-166. The immigrant population in Canada has risen substantially during the last decades. This increase has produced some tension and raised questions about the institutional arrangements of the host society. In response to these tensions and questions, the government of Canada
adopted a policy of multiculturalism in 1971 and promoted the constitutionalization of human rights through the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This response was successful in terms of the evolution of the liberal democracy in Canada, the management of diversity and the building of an inclusive identity. However, it remains to be evaluated in relation to the struggle against discrimination and inequalities. While the response has already been evaluated in regard to employment, no evaluation has been undertaken regarding housing. This article tackles this issue through the decomposition of differences in the quality of housing for immigrants and non-immigrants in three metropolitan areas. The quality of housing is measured by the number of rooms per capita and is studied in relation to several variables to estimate the difference between populations. The results show a convergence in the situation in the three metropolitan areas and clearly reveal a difference in the quality of housing for immigrants and non-immigrants.

a) Comparative Studies of Immigrants in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver Based on Special Tabulations from the 2001 Census and the First Wave of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC)


This overview provides a synopsis of the findings of a large comparative study of immigrants in the housing markets of Canada’s largest metropolitan centres, Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver. It describes the changing trajectories of immigrants within the housing markets of these three cities, summarizes the housing characteristics of the immigrant population compared with the Canadian born, then focuses on households that are in vulnerable circumstances. Finally, an analysis of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSCIC) provides insight into the experience of immigrants in the housing market within their first few months of settlement. [See also Hiebert, et al. (2006), Preston, et al. (2006) and Rose et al. (2006)]


Access to adequate, suitable and affordable housing is an essential step in immigrant integration. Immigrants first seek a place to live and then look for language and job training, education for their children, and employment. Housing is also an important indicator of quality of life, affecting health, social interaction, community participation, economic activities, and general well-being. This report provides a detailed analysis of the housing situation of immigrants in the Vancouver metropolitan area and complements similar reports on Montréal and Toronto. Drawing on a wealth of new information about the housing situation of immigrants, we examine four themes: the history of immigration in the Vancouver metropolitan area and recent trends in the Vancouver housing market; the
housing conditions of immigrants currently living in the metropolitan area, focusing on the intersections between immigration, income, and ethno-cultural origin in the housing market; a detailed analysis of Vancouver residents who are experiencing affordability problems; and the housing circumstances of newcomers six months after landing in Canada, based on the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC). In the last of these themes we are able to make direct links between immigrant admissions policy and outcomes in the housing market, since LSIC, in contrast to the census, includes information about the class of entry of immigrants. [See also Hiebert, et al. 2006].


This working paper examines the housing situations and needs of immigrants in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) in 2001. We describe the history of immigration in the Toronto area and recent trends in the housing market. The housing conditions of immigrants living in the CMA in 2001 are reviewed before various social characteristics of immigrants who are experiencing affordability problems, such as income, household type, ethnic origin, and visible-minority status, are examined. In the final section, we explore how recently-arrived immigrants find housing and the extent to which their initial housing situations are affordable, adequate, and suitable. The analysis draws on special tabulations from the 2001 census, and information from the first wave of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC). In 2001, immigrant households accounted for a disproportionately high proportion of renters and homeowners spending at least 30 per cent of total income on housing in the CMA. Our analysis highlights the early onset of affordability problems. Within the first six months of arrival, the majority of immigrants and refugees were spending at least 30 per cent of total income on housing. Affordability problems may persist for years. The findings suggest that immigrants and refugees are forming three housing classes that consist of successful homeowners, households whose housing situations are financially precarious, and vulnerable renters. [See also Hiebert, et al. 2007].


This report is part of a larger project on the housing situation and needs of new immigrants in the Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver metropolitan areas, jointly funded by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the National Homelessness Initiative, as part of their contribution to the Metropolis Project. Drawing on a wealth of new information about the housing situation of immigrants, the authors examine four topics. The report begins with a review of the history of immigration in the Montréal metropolitan area and recent trends in the Montréal housing market. The aim is to set the context for understanding the social and housing circumstances that immigrants encounter in Montréal upon arrival. The next section reviews the housing conditions of immigrants currently living in the metropolitan area. In
this section, the authors emphasize the effects of immigrant status, period of arrival, and ethnic and visible minority status on immigrants’ housing. Drawing on special tabulations from the 2001 census (made available by Statistics Canada to researchers affiliated with the Metropolis Project), and where possible invoking comparisons with 1996 census data, they examine how the housing situations of immigrants differ from those of their children and other Canadian-born. They investigate the impact of period of arrival on tenure, housing costs, and income. Further disaggregating the immigrant population in Montréal, they also explore differences in housing situations across visible minority subgroups and ethnic origins. The description of immigrants’ access to homeownership is followed by a detailed analysis of Montréal residents who are experiencing affordability problems. Following conventions developed by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the authors describe the housing costs and household incomes of immigrant households spending at least 30 percent of total pre-tax income on housing, as well as those of a smaller group of immigrant households spending at least 50 percent of total income on housing. Again, the immigrants are disaggregated by immigrant status, period of arrival, visible minority subgroups and ethnic origins. Information from the first wave of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), conducted by Statistics Canada and Citizenship and Immigration Canada on a representative sample of immigrants who landed in Canada between October 2000 and September 2001, allows the authors to explore how very recently-arrived immigrants find housing and the extent to which their initial housing situations are affordable, adequate and suitable. The LSIC data also enable us to distinguish immigrants on the basis of their immigration class—information not collected for the census. Previous research, based on single case studies or surveys in a single city (Renaud 2003; Rose and Ray 2001; Murdie 2005; Bezanson 2003), has suggested that refugees and refugee claimants have more difficulty than other classes of immigrants finding appropriate housing. The LSIC sample includes refugees selected overseas, but not refugee claimants or others whose immigration papers were processed from within Canada. The LSIC information allows us to explore how immigration class at landing affects housing outcomes in a single metropolitan area, to relate these findings to the local housing market, about which we have detailed information, and to situate the results in a comparative context.

b) Studies Based on Data (including Housing) from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada


The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) reveals some of the contours of the highly dynamic engagement of newcomers with the Canadian housing market during the first four years of their settlement. The most significant story is the remarkable improvement in the housing circumstances over the time period covered by the LSIC, particularly in regard to homeownership. In fact, immigrants have a much higher tendency to purchase a home than Canadian-born given their financial circumstances. This outcome, however, was not universally experienced as a number of newcomers continued to struggle with problems of affordability and crowding even in the third wave of the survey.

The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) is used to investigate the participation of immigrants in Canada’s housing market during the first four years of the settlement process, beginning in 2000–2001. The analysis focuses on the changing rate of homeownership, crowding and affordability. Special attention is given to differences between landing classes and population groups (especially visible minority groups). In general, the housing situation of LSIC survey respondents improved remarkably over the years covered by the survey. This is registered in a much higher rate of homeownership in the third wave of the survey (at four years after landing) compared with the first (six months after landing). Similarly, the ratio of survey respondents spending more than 30 percent of their total family income on housing dropped dramatically, as did the percentage living in crowded conditions. In other words, at least according to the measures explored here, LSIC suggests that the proportion of immigrants in precarious housing situations drops significantly in the early settlement period. This positive outcome is not universally shared, however, and certain groups—notably refugees, and immigrants of black and Middle Eastern background—see much less improvement in their circumstances than the average survey respondent.


The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) is designed to examine the process during the critical first four years of settlement whereby newcomers establish economic, social, & cultural ties to Canadian society. The LSIC employs a longitudinal design, interviewing the same selected immigrants at about six months, two years, and four years after landing. The focus of this publication is on the early settlement experiences of immigrants, from pre-migration to the first six months after arrival. It first presents an overview of the LSIC population, looking at both pre-migration characteristics as well as those at arrival. This is followed by a comprehensive look at the first six months of the settlement process, examining matters such as health, housing, & mobility; training taken since arrival; employment & income; and the general perception of the immigrant’s settlement experience. The last section presents a more in-depth look at problems & difficulties newcomers experience in four key areas of integration: accessing health services, finding housing, accessing education & training, and finding employment. Challenges to integration are examined in terms of what help was needed & received and from whom, or needed & not received.


This report examines settlement in terms of the subjective assessments and perceptions of immigrants after having been in Canada for four years. Overall, new immigrants value the social and political environment in Canada, characterized by its rights and freedoms,
security, and quality of life. However, new immigrants have less favourable assessments of their experiences in the Canadian labour market with difficulties finding suitable employment remaining the problem they most frequently encounter. Other challenges newcomers experience include finding housing, getting language training and accessing health care. In spite of these challenges, most of the new immigrants who remain in Canada for four years are positive about their decision to come here.

c) Studies Based Entirely on Housing Data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC)


This study builds from previous work by a team of researchers by considering the housing experiences of immigrants from all three waves of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC). That earlier project built a comprehensive portrait of immigration and housing in Canada by examining the first wave of LSIC in conjunction with the 2001 census. Separate reports were produced for Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver (MTV), as well as a composite study of all three together and a stand-alone literature review.

The LSIC panel is based on a target population of approximately 164,200 people who are aged 15 and over, were officially landed in Canada from abroad between October 2000 and September 2001, and who had lived in Canada for at least six months at the time of the survey. The target population accounts for just under two-thirds of the 250,000 people admitted to Canada during this period. Children and immigrants who went through the landing process from within Canada were excluded. It is vital to note that the Refugee category in LSIC only includes Government Assisted and Privately Sponsored Refugees, and not successful asylum seekers. A total of 12,040 respondents were interviewed in the first wave of the survey (hereafter W1). The number declined to 9,322 for the second wave (W2) of the survey and 7,716 for the third (W3).

LSIC contains important information on the housing conditions, needs, and trajectories of new immigrants that is simply unavailable elsewhere. First, LSIC provides a systematic window on the initial experience of immigrants, very soon after their arrival in Canada. This type of information is not available in the census or other traditional sources of housing data. Secondly, LSIC replicates some of the information found in other surveys, such as the census, so researchers can engage in meaningful comparisons across surveys. Thirdly, LSIC includes some unique information, such as the landing class of each respondent, and data on problems that respondents experienced when looking for housing.

The most significant conclusion from the study is the remarkable improvement in the housing circumstances—by several relevant criteria—over the time period covered by LSIC. The rate of home ownership acquisition was particularly significant and speaks to the impact of immigration in the Canadian housing market. Clearly, there is an impact in housing demand (and, likely price), given the large and rapid investment on property shown in the data. Of course this favourable outcome was not universally experienced, and a number of newcomers continued to struggle with problems of affordability, crowding, and difficulties finding housing even in the third wave of the survey. Regrettably, there are several groups
who feel the impact of these problems more consistently than others, notably Refugees, and immigrants identifying as Black, Arab, and West Asian.

In general, the progressive housing career identified at the first wave of the survey continued for a large number of immigrants through the second and third waves. As expected, though, the degree of improvement in housing circumstances continued to vary a great deal by group, a fact that was associated with the broad distinction between European and Visible Minority newcomers, but it’s also more complex than such a simple categorization could ever capture. The situation of Refugees is worthy of particular attention given the information available in LSIC. There are some hints that this group, too, will see a marked improvement in its housing situation, but the larger story is one of difficulty, lack of affordability, and (at least by the simple measure of crowding) inadequate housing for this group. (From pages 6, 7, 10, 11, 85 and 86 of the report)


This paper examines the housing conditions, needs and trajectories of recent newcomers to Canada, by focusing on the first few months of their adjustment process. Until now, most research in this field has been unable to provide a comprehensive description of this early stage of settlement. Employing individual survey data from the first wave of Statistics Canada’s Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), we draw a portrait of immigrant and refugee residential outcomes as observed six months after arrival. In particular, we highlight five novel insights, centered around the rapidity with which newcomers in general enter the housing market, but also around the appreciable variability of outcomes in tenure status, class of entry, metropolitan area of settlement, and assessment by newcomers of their situation in the housing market. We conclude with a discussion of the significance of these variegated findings for the settlement experience of recently arrived immigrants and refugees and, more broadly, for social policy in the areas of housing and newcomer integration.

6. Housing Needs


What public services do immigrants need and what provisions exist for their supply? This study probes the question from the angle of ethnic enclaves, where there is a concentration of one particular ethnic group that is largely comprised of immigrants, and provides a generic account of immigrants’ needs, particularly for human services. Except for language training, immigrants ask for the same services as those available to the general public. It is cultural sensitivity in the delivery of services that helps make services more satisfying for immigrants. Neighbourhood seems to have relatively little impact on immigrants’ human service needs. Social geography of a neighbourhood comes into play in the supply of services. Concentration of immigrants of a particular ethnicity in an area can facilitate effective delivery of linguistically and culturally relevant services to targeted clients.

(Abstract from Our Diverse Cities).

The Office municipal d’habitation de Montreal (OMHM) manages nearly 30,000 public housing units of which 66 percent are of non-Canadian origin. The ethno-cultural diversity in public housing creates a number of challenges in terms of social integration for newcomers. A couple key strategies used by OMHM to improve tenants’ quality of life include making French language learning accessible, and providing a designated representative to help tenants feel welcome and learn the rules of daily life in low-cost housing. The study found that the programs provided and the representative’s role in the project supported the orientation of immigrants and directed them to resources in the area encouraging their integration.


Due to a complex combination of factors, including lack of affordable housing, discrimination, low incomes, and long application processing times, African refugees are facing an availability and affordability crisis in Metro Vancouver that forces them to accept substandard housing which is neither suitable, adequate, nor affordable. These unstable conditions are both symptomatic and generative of other problems, including poverty, debt, hunger, and a high risk of homelessness. Outcomes can be improved by increasing the provision of appropriate housing related settlement services and taking steps to address the economic marginalisation of African refugees.


Despite increasing numbers, there is little research about the experiences of African refugees in Canada. For those arriving in Metro Vancouver, housing is a crucial component of settlement and integration. By providing an overview of the housing challenges African refugees face and identifying gaps in available services, the study expands the knowledge base upon which improved settlement policy and service provision may be built. Given Metro Vancouver’s expensive housing market, high levels of homelessness, and consistently low vacancy rate, the report’s insights into the experiences of a particular group of racialised newcomers will remain relevant as immigrants and refugees are likely to face increasing challenges in the future.

Due to a complex combination of factors, including lack of affordable housing, discrimination, low incomes, and long application processing times, African refugees are facing a housing availability and affordability crisis in Metro Vancouver that forces them to accept substandard housing that is unsuitable, inadequate, and unaffordable. These unstable conditions are both symptomatic and generative of other problems, including poverty, debt,
hunger, and a high risk of homelessness. Outcomes can be improved by increasing the provision of appropriate housing-related settlement services and taking steps to address the economic marginalisation of African refugees.


This article stresses the importance of a public housing policy that promotes a healthy housing path with supports to ensure newcomers are not being taken advantage of or falling between the cracks. It is recommended that all service providers dealing with newcomers include a housing assessment at all service levels as well as provide culturally competent services. The author also presents a number of elements to consider that will help migrant communities and Canadians at large.


The report helps us better understand the experiences of homeless and newcomer individuals and how Fred Victor (FV) and the Learning Enrichment Foundation (LEF) can more effectively address the housing and support needs of these groups. Of particular interest was to further understand the service pathways that homeless newcomers travel to each organization and to each sector so that opportunities to minimize experiences of homelessness could be identified and service delivery improved, developed or integrated to meet their needs. To identify these priorities a profile questionnaire was distributed to frontline workers, interviews were conducted for both staff and service users, and two staff focus groups were conducted. Some of the themes that emerged include lack of affordable housing, lack of housing information, and the importance of informal networks and information sharing. Based on the findings, there are several opportunities to prevent and address homelessness by integrating resources and sharing information between FV and LEF, as well as service delivery improvements within each organization that are worthy of exploration.


This paper draws from interviews conducted with leaders of 46 immigrant Christian churches in Vancouver. The congregations comprise newcomers from Korea, ethnic Chinese who are primarily recent immigrants and an older post-1945 German migration. The churches are identified as a hub in which relations of trust and compatibility generate bonding social capital; from this base, a wide range of personal and social services is provided, significantly aiding co-ethnic members to adapt to their new conditions. In a neo-liberal era, the state is facilitating such activities as part of a policy of contracting-out its own former in-house functions. The capacity of the immigrant church to serve both its own members and adherents and also a broader expanded constituency beyond its co-ethnic
clients is important. The paper examines the activities of some of the churches in this transition from bonding to bridging social capital and the challenges that they confront.


Although Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal still receive the lion’s share of immigration to Canada, medium-sized cities are growing increasingly prominent as a destination of choice for newcomers. They bring with them a range of opportunities for their new communities, but also a range of challenges, particularly for housing. The purpose of this report is to discuss how second-tier cities in Ontario provide affordable housing for newcomers – the challenges that immigrants, governments, housing providers and settlement agencies face, and the policies and strategies they follow for overcoming these challenges. The report examines the five medium sized cities in the province – Hamilton, Kitchener, London, Ottawa and Windsor – that together receive four out of five new immigrants who do not settle in Toronto. As well, a series of recommendations for these and other cities are made in this report.


Immigration is fuelling most of Canada’s population growth, and housing is a key component of the settlement experience. At the policy level, however, there is very little connection between services to newcomers and housing. This paper builds on what is known about immigration and housing in Canada and makes recommendations for better linking housing policy and newcomer settlement policy. It summarizes a background paper written for the Canadian Housing and Renewal Association in 2007.

7. Housing Adaptations


This paper investigates if and how immigrants modify their domestic space to suit their ethno-cultural needs. Findings are based on an empirical study of the exterior and interior of Asian-Indian immigrant homes in Toronto. The study determines that Asian-Indian homeowners do not aspire to more adaptations than their mainstream counterparts. The majority of respondents in the sample made structural changes; however, the changes were made predominately to their homes’ interiors. Physical manifestations of Asian-Indian ethnic expressions on the outside of homes were minimal. Internal changes were made to accommodate large social and religious gatherings and, in some cases, to house extended family. Except for the need for a prayer room, additional storage space, and adequate ventilation in the kitchen, the changes appear typical of the changes “mainstream Canadians” would make. The study recommends flexible house design that would allow easier adaptations to daily domestic needs.

Many Italian North Americans have two kitchens in their homes: one on the first floor, and a second in the basement. While this set-up is pervasive in cities across North America, homes with two kitchens are uncommon in Italy. This article explores the significance of the basement kitchen in first-generation Italian homes in Canada and the United States. Examining homes of various typologies in and around Toronto, Montreal and New York, purchased by Italian immigrants between 1950 and 1980, this paper argues that for Italian women the basement kitchen is a liberating space, free from the constraints of formality and traditional room divisions.

8. Creating Home


This article presents the results of an exploratory qualitative survey1 of immigrant families carried out by a local community organization, the Carrefour de Ressources en Interculturel (CRIC), in Sainte Marie, a disadvantaged neighbourhood in the urban core of Montreal. The aim was to determine how immigrants perceive their neighbourhood, how they read their environment and what role housing plays in that perception. Housing is one of newcomers’ primary concerns, but what does their level of satisfaction with their housing depend on once they have settled? What makes the place they live in a “home.” and determines whether they want to live in the neighbourhood in the longer term?


Toronto is home to a growing Muslim population that has arrived in large numbers since the 1990s. Through a detailed case study of Muslim settlement in the Toronto metropolitan area, we aim to illustrate the inherent diversity of those who identify as Muslim and examine the ways that religion, specifically, proximity to places of worship, influences the settlement patterns of Muslims in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA). We examine the residential segregation of Muslims and through a case study of one mosque, the reasons that immigrants may locate near a religious establishment. Our research shows only moderate segregation of Muslims in the Toronto metropolitan area. The empirical findings about Muslims in the Toronto metropolitan area underscore the heterogeneity of this religious group. Even in an officially multicultural society, such as Canada, the residential concentration of an immigrant group may arise for a variety of reasons that include the imperative to sustain religious, cultural, and social practices; the desire to mark the presence of Muslims in a hostile and discriminatory environment; and the commitment to develop facilities and activities that will allow Muslims to inform the larger public about Islam. The analysis points to the critical role that religion, places of worship, and the social support that often follows can play in the settlement patterns of immigrants to Canada.

The author discusses the importance of creating “home” for immigrants and refugees in Alberta. Since the 1990s, homelessness has increased as a result of the federal and Alberta governments making cuts to social programs and affordable housing. Newcomers are particularly challenged with these cutbacks since they are more likely to have lower incomes, lower level of English proficiency, and lack of familiarity with Canadian culture. Because there is little affordable housing, newcomers are living in more “crowded” conditions and “couch surfing.” One success story is a supportive housing model developed by the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers. The author calls for public policy to rediscover the importance of home as the foundation for social stability.


This study examines the meaning of ‘home’ for newcomer Tibetan women living in the South Parkdale area of Toronto and how the meaning of ‘home’ relates to their inclusion in Canada. Toronto’s Tibetans form one of North America’s largest Tibetan communities. Half of Toronto’s Tibetans reside in the city’s South Parkdale area. The research methods used in the study included photovoice, a photographic technique used to shed light on ‘home spaces’, along with a census analysis, interviews with key informants, and participant observation to provide context to the photographs. A number of themes emerged from the photographs including house as ‘home,’ natural space, cultural and religious imprints and the women’s capacity to develop and grow within Parkdale’s vibrant Tibetan community.


This article describes the functional and psychological significance of “home” and how refugee mental health and resettlement may be affected by the lack of social supports associated with the concept of home. Using illustrations from studies with refugee communities, the author suggests that the way in which refugees evoke experiences of “back home” reveals critical social and psychological gaps in their settlement and integration experiences.
9. Homelessness


This study, an exploratory longitudinal study, attempted to understand the dynamics that underlie exits and returns to homelessness among homeless people in Windsor, Ontario over a one year period. The study methodology included a longitudinal survey of 120 participants who were homeless at baseline; and in-depth qualitative interviews with 22 participants who were purposively chosen from the sample of 120 participants. After one year, 71 participants from the original sample of 120 participants were tracked and successfully interviewed for the second time. A significantly higher proportion of those not tracked were male (81.3%, p < .05) and were born outside of Windsor (69.4%, p < .01). Also, a significantly lower proportion of respondents who were not tracked reported, at baseline, that their main source of income was wages, salaries or self-employment (4%) compared to respondents who were tracked (16.9%, p < .05). Findings from the longitudinal survey indicated that at baseline, participants had been homeless (without regular housing) in their lifetime an average of 3 times. They also reported being homeless a further 2 times on average between the baseline and follow-up interviews. A significantly larger proportion of youth cited trouble with the family (70%) and trouble with the law or being arrested (25%) compared to their adult counterparts (32.5% p < .001, 10% p < .05 respectively) as the reason for their homelessness. Findings from the in-depth interviews helped illuminate the dynamics that link homelessness and other circumstances in a person’s life (such as abuse) as well as larger macro-level issues (such as the closing down of an employment site). Findings from the survey and in-depth interviews were integrated in four areas – homelessness dynamics, youth homelessness, multiple vulnerabilities and homelessness, and systems failures and homelessness.


This research project focused on understanding immigrants’ and refugees’ experiences of homelessness and the processes that facilitate, hinder or obstruct their access to housing. This project also explored how immigrant status interacts and interweaves with other interlocking oppressions such as ethnicity, race, gender, religion, age, and language difficulties to impact one’s housing options.


Uprooting and displacement are a common part of everyday life for millions of girls and young women throughout the world. While much of the discourse has centered on movement from one country to another, uprooting and displacement are also a reality for
many within Canada. Notably, a growing population of homeless girls and Aboriginal girls also have experienced uprooting and dislocation from home, community, and in some cases, family. For many of these girls, multiple forms of individual and systemic violence are central features of their lives. The primary purpose of this critical narrative study is to examine how uprooting and displacement have shaped mental health among three groups: (1) newcomers to Canada (immigrant and refugee girls); (2) homeless girls; and (3) Aboriginal girls. In-depth narrative interviews were conducted with 19 girls in Southwestern Ontario. Narrative themes revealed that although there is much diversity within and between these groups, uprooting and displacement create social boundaries and profound experiences of disconnections in relationships. Barriers to re/establishing connections generate dangerous spaces within interlocking systems of oppression. However, in negotiating new spaces, there is the potential for the forming and re-forming of alliances where sources of support hold the promise of hope. It is within these spaces of hope and pathways of engagement where connections offer a renewed sense of belonging and well-being. The findings highlight the relevance of the construct of ‘uprootedness’ in girls’ lives, provide beginning directions for the design of gender-specific and culturally meaningful interventions, and comprise a substantial contribution to the growing body of research related to girls and young women.


Data on the number of homeless individuals and families in Canada are difficult to obtain and precise numbers are not known. The obviously homeless represent only one segment of homeless individuals and households. Broader definitions of homelessness include the hidden homeless, or those that experience core housing need. Counting these individuals is also difficult because many individuals are able to procure substandard housing for periods of time or may seek refuge with friends and families and so are not easily identified. The situation of the obviously homeless represents the most profound example of the failure of current housing policies and market strategies to provide adequate and affordable housing for all citizens but housing policies must also consider the hidden homeless. Recent immigrants are over-represented among the hidden homeless and their situation appears to be worsening due to falling income levels and discrimination. Adequate housing is important for healthy development and action is required to offset the structural disadvantages increasingly faced by recent immigrants.


This research introduces methods and results that explore geographies of immigrants at-risk for homelessness. Recent immigrants, in particular, are identified as a group at elevated risk of homelessness. The research draws on a range of data sources of varying resolution including CMHC housing indicators, census data and a postal survey, to illustrate how census-based socioeconomic GIS can be improved by using high-resolution data augmented with complementary primary data. Three findings are highlighted: (1) recent immigrants at-risk for homelessness---especially those spatially concentrated---are disproportionately located in Vancouver’s inner suburbs (Burnaby and Richmond); (2) while the majority of recent immigrants at-risk are located in at-risk areas, a sizeable minority are dispersed in
areas that are otherwise well-housed; and (3) risk of homelessness is often highly localized and misrepresented by coarsely aggregated census data.


There are a number of socioeconomic phenomena that are difficult to discern using only census data. We present an approach developed to identify areas where poverty, deprivation, and housing need intersect with high recent immigrant presence. A census-based GIS analysis and a postal survey are employed to improve the resolution and utility of census data. The results illustrate the potential for developing a more nuanced understanding of the spatial dimensions of complex socioeconomic phenomena using a combination of primary and secondary data. It is argued that higher-resolution data aids in identifying and understanding socioeconomic phenomena that are highly localized, and misrepresented in more aggregate analysis.


While homelessness is a growing problem in Greater Vancouver, immigrants are not yet a visible part of the region’s homeless. The over-representation of immigrants among the population considered at-risk suggests that immigrant homelessness remains hidden. Using census-based housing indicators, we examine the geographies of immigrants at-risk of homelessness to discern where ‘hidden’ homelessness might be occurring. Findings indicate that: spatial concentrations of recent immigrants at-risk of homelessness are found in inner suburban locations; in these at-risk areas the vast majority of immigrants are recent arrivals; and recent immigrants are disproportionately excluded from at-risk estimates because they are significantly over-represented among households that have shelter costs that exceed their incomes (which are excluded by the indicator). These conclusions are reached through analysis at the regional and sub-regional scale, which revealed broad trends and patterns, and a second small-area (neighbourhood) scale analysis, a means of better documenting the highly-localized geography of low-cost rental housing, revealing fine-grained patterns of social difference, that in Greater Vancouver identify areas where ‘hidden’ homelessness may be present.


‘Housing’ – the practical provision of a roof over one’s head – is experienced by users as ‘home’ – broadly described as housing plus the experiential elements of dwelling. Conversely, being without housing, commonly described as ‘homelessness’, is experienced not only as an absence of shelter but in the philosophical sense of ‘ontological homelessness’ and alienation from the conditions for well-being. For asylum seekers, these experiences are deliberately and explicitly excluded from official law and policy discourses. This article
demonstrates how law and policy is propelled by an ‘official discourse’ based on the denial of housing and the avoidance of ‘home’ attachments, which effectively keeps the asylum seeker in a state of ontological homelessness and alienation. We reflect on this exclusion and consider how a new ‘oppositional discourse’ of housing and home – taking these considerations into account – might impact on the balancing exercise inherent to laws and policies concerning asylum seekers.


The housing situation of newcomers to Greater Vancouver is heavily influenced by the social capital of existing ethno-cultural communities. As a result, the extent of relative and absolute homelessness among immigrants, refugees, and refugee claimants is less than would be expected, given the income levels of these groups. Although many individuals and families are living in crowded, sub-standard conditions, the social networks operating among immigrant, refugee, and refugee claimant communities appear to mitigate against the worst forms of homelessness.


The various parts of this project converge on the point that the housing situation of newcomers to Greater Vancouver is heavily influenced by the social capital of existing ethno-cultural communities. As a result, the extent of relative and absolute homelessness among immigrants, refugees, and refugee claimants is less than would be expected given the income levels of these groups. This is not to say that the delineated groups are well housed. Indeed, many individuals and families are living in crowded, sub-standard conditions. However, the social networks operating among immigrant, refugee, and refugee claimant communities appear to mitigate against the worst forms of homelessness, and the groups of people we studied are actually underrepresented in the population using homeless shelters.


This study took place in Toronto, Peel Region, and Hamilton. Three types of study were undertaken: (1) an extensive review of the literature at the beginning and end of the study, (2) three focus group interviews of key informants, one each in Toronto, Brampton (Peel), and Hamilton, and (3) 100 in-depth interviews with individual homeless immigrants. The term homeless used in the study was based on definition of the Housing and Homelessness
Branch (HBB) of the Department of Human Resources and Social Development Canada (HRSDC): any person, family or household with no fixed address or security of housing tenure.

The review of the literature indicated that the importance of accurate and timely information is still at the forefront of immigrant needs. In this regard, the need for assistance in building social capital, especially bridging capital, is critical. By social capital is meant the social resources that enable immigrants to acquire more resources: people they can trust and fall back on in hard times, called “bonding” social capital, and people who can link them to society’s opportunities and rewards, called “bridging” social capital. The focus groups provided a lengthy list of exemplary practices designed to enhance the social capital of immigrants that in turn would prevent or remedy their homelessness. An examination of these practices, however, makes it obvious that most service providers are sadly lacking the funding needed to do what has been proven to work.

Homeless immigrants, like other immigrants, are more highly educated than their Canadian-born counterparts; what they lack are connections to appropriate jobs. The anonymity and sheer size of the big city may pose a problem - there is a much greater likelihood of a complete lack of social support among the homeless than among the hidden homeless in Toronto. Despite the number of services available, the homeless in Toronto experience less participation in English classes, training sessions, and other possible networking sites. Besides a lack of “bridging” social capital to make the connections they need, there is a lack of family support: 64% of the immigrants had no family member nearby to whom they could turn. Given that so many of them came to the city they lived in because of the recommendation of family and friends, it was astonishing to see that, except for the hidden homeless living with relatives who took them in, there were so few resources among family and friends for the homeless to rely upon. Another striking finding, supporting what both the literature and focus groups indicate, was that the level of resources of the family and friends they turned to was lower than that of the families and friends of earlier immigrant groups, who had jobs to share and houses with rooms to rent. Finally, both focus groups and individual immigrants reported considerable discrimination against “visible minorities” who encounter a racism that makes it exceedingly difficult to find good jobs and appropriate housing.

The good news is that the homelessness of immigrants is remediable. Their loss of social and financial capital through migration, and their loss of status by being racialized and not having their credentials and experience recognized can both be effectively addressed. Both the key informants and immigrants themselves gave examples of groups that are energetically reaching out to newcomers and building a sense of community. Hence the title of this report: if we plug them into sources of social capital, we will not only be empowering immigrants to find decent jobs and housing, we will be turning on a new source of significant resources for Canada. Higher tax revenues based on their lifelong higher earnings can more than offset the support provided in their early years in Canada.
*Canadian Issues/Thèmes Canadiens (Newcomer’s Experiences of Housing and Homelessness in Canada).* Montréal: Association for Canadian Studies, Fall 2010: 8-15. (http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/aec_citc_fall2010_e.pdf)
Recognizing different pathways to illegality, this study focuses on the refugee determination system to draw attention to the intersection of illegality and vulnerability to persecution. This paper offers a snapshot of the characteristics and homelessness experiences of non-status or undocumented migrant participants in Vancouver and Toronto. It shows that shifting status exacerbates and relieves different vulnerabilities at different scales along different parts of the migration-settlement trajectory and that women and children in particular are leading extremely precarious lives.

This working paper focuses on precarious status in Canada, its intersections with refugee protection, and the everyday survival of those living without immigration status. Non-status migrants in Canada face both official and unofficial barriers to emergency welfare supports and programs. As a result, critical levels of destitution, homelessness, or poor health compel some of these migrants to access support by applying for asylum after entering Canada. In such cases, the refugee claim may be a pathway out of homelessness and a strategy to stabilise situations of dire poverty. This trajectory, from non-status to refugee claimant status, was also evident for migrants who were either reluctant to claim asylum on arrival in Canada or uneducated about their right to do so. In such cases, homelessness brought migrants face to face with settlement and other frontline workers who revealed inland refugee protection as a legitimate option. Migrants who were underground before making a refugee claim, or after receiving a negative decision, experienced a trajectory characterised by hidden homelessness intertwined with multiple episodes of absolute homelessness, including rough-sleeping. Immigration legal fees and application fees further influenced experiences of destitution, housing instability, and eviction.

Canada and the United Kingdom have pedigrees in offering asylum; however, research in both countries has demonstrated widespread poverty amongst asylum seekers and a high risk of homelessness. Focusing on case examples drawn from 60 in-depth interviews with refugees in Toronto and London, this paper shows how national and local structures shape pathways to homelessness, and how refugees interpret their homelessness’ in the context of their flight from persecution, reception, and settlement.

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This thesis presents a comparative analysis of conceptions of home and homelessness amongst refugees in London and Toronto. Homelessness and forced migration are issues of fundamental social justice, operating at different scales. While homelessness is traditionally viewed as a local housing problem, forced migration is viewed as a problem of national instability and international concern. However, increasing numbers of asylum seekers arriving in the West has created a new form of homelessness, mainly hidden, often vulnerable, and located in the interstices of national and local policies. This thesis argues that this new form of homelessness also requires a new perspective for understanding it, and this perspective should come from refugees themselves. The thesis explores two main questions: “How is home conceived, located and reconstructed in the asylum and settlement process?” and “How do national and residential dynamics affect refugee participants’ sense of home or homelessness?” Drawing on structuration theory amongst other ideas, the research analyses the relationship between ‘refugeeness’ and homelessness and how each is shaped in the countries of asylum. Mainly relying on qualitative methodologies, sixty in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with recently arrived post-determination asylum seekers in Toronto and London, to build upon ideas of home and homelessness that originate empirically from refugees’ experiences. Key informant interviews were also conducted in each country to contextualise refugees’ stories, and to examine the perspective of state actors concerned with asylum and integration.

This thesis argues that managed migration strategies in Canada and deterrent migration strategies in the UK have a profound effect on refugees’ perceptions of belonging and acceptance, equality, and the desire and ability to make home. In addition to shaping notions of belonging, national support and services (or the lack thereof) structure the
pathways to homelessness, revealing distinct trajectories amongst refugees in London and Toronto. Canada’s lack of designated, specialised, and federally-funded programmes of support fail to recognize the immediacy of refugees’ needs on arrival and overemphasise the role of social networks and community support, forcing many newcomers to enter the shelter system on arrival. In contrast, centralised control over asylum support in the UK occurs in a system of inequality for newcomers that diminishes their capacity to help themselves, make decisions, and capitalise on their own resources and networks, but which keeps them out of shelters and off the streets until their claims are complete, at which point support ends.

Case studies show the ways individuals move through a system of constraints, where the Canadian government leaves asylum seekers to eke out a living with equal rights but unequal capital, resources, and knowledge to compete for housing, while the UK government has variably eroded the rights and entitlements of asylum seekers to appear in control of its borders. The relationship between refugee integration and settlement, house and ‘home’ are conceptualised along a trajectory of subsistence, perseverance, despondence, and transcendence aiding in the analysis of the relationship between housing conditions and a sense of home, from refugees’ perspectives, and the effects of policy, over time and space, on each.


The Panel Study on Homelessness in Ottawa is one of only a few Canadian studies to investigate longitudinally the experiences of diverse individuals who were homeless upon initial contact. In this essay, we report on what happened to these individuals over time, drawing upon both quantitative and qualitative components of the study. Our goal was to explore the extent to which individual, interpersonal, and community-level resources contributed to a successful exit from homelessness and to assess the relationship between housing stability and health. The key finding from this analysis is that the ability to find stable housing after being homeless is affected by gender and family status, regardless of country of origin.


The purpose of the Panel Study is to examine the pathways into and out of homelessness by following persons who are homeless over time. The research objective for the first wave of the study was to interview a representative sample of current residents of Ottawa emergency shelters in order to gather descriptive data on demographic characteristics, housing history, health status, and health and social service utilization.

This article is based on excerpts of a report prepared for National Secretariat on Homelessness entitled The Panel Study on Homelessness: Secondary Data Analysis of Responses of Study Participants Whose Country of Origin is not Canada. This study examines the characteristics of Ottawa homeless individuals as observed at the time the research was conducted. The authors conclude by highlighting the urgency of creating affordable and safe permanent housing, as part of the revitalization of the social housing sector.


This year-long study compared the experiences of three kinds of homeless families who, at the beginning of the study, were living in a family shelter in Toronto: Canadian-born families, immigrant families with permanent resident status, and families headed by migrant women without permanent status. Although most families found housing within the year, not all were better off housed than they had been before becoming homeless or during their time in the shelter, where they had access to childcare and other services, were protected from abusive ex-partners, and found relief from the financial strain of paying high rents.


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A one-year panel study that followed 91 women-led homeless families, initially living in six homeless shelters in Toronto, divided into two groups: (1) homeless immigrant and refugee
families (status and non-status) and (2) Canadian-born homeless families. Each woman was interviewed three times. The most common reason for leaving the last stable housing was abuse, followed by bad housing conditions, affordability problems, crowding, crime, and family conflict. Most were satisfied with the shelters that they were in. By the final interview only two women were still in a shelter. Most were housed in above-grade apartments. The following individuals/organizations were helpful in finding their current place: shelter staff (30%), housing help centre (25%), another agency (10%), friend, partner or family member (10%). The majority were more satisfied with their current residence than the last stable place before entering a shelter.

Most immigrant women with status left their previous place because of partner abuse or crises such as job loss. Almost all had no previous experience of homelessness. They were more satisfied with the shelter than the Canadian-born and more likely to rely on housing search help from their social networks. Non-status women had the most unstable housing prior to the shelter and were least satisfied with the housing they obtained after leaving the shelter. Most women indicated that their lives, including housing (75%), had gotten better in the previous year. The most common concern was potential threats from ex-partners. Some women were dissatisfied with their new housing including poor maintenance, dangerous neighbourhoods, and affordability. The latter made it more difficult to provide for their children than when they were in a shelter. Three unexpected findings: (1) the intersection of homelessness and lack of permanent resident status, (2) family shelters as transitional and supportive housing, and (3) shelters and independent housing represent a series of trade-offs.


The suburbanization of immigrant settlement means that immigrants must look for housing in submarkets that offer mainly single-family, detached, owner-occupied housing. In York Region, rental housing and social housing are scarce, as are social services, including settlement services. Immigrants in York Region may face precarious and overcrowded housing arrangements, as households double up, move into unlicensed rental units, or try to maintain homeownership without a stable income stream. The resulting stress may delay successful settlement.


Homelessness is a risk for growing numbers of immigrants. Largely as a result of low incomes, newcomers are more likely than the Canadian-born to spend over 50 percent of total household income on housing costs. Many newcomers suffer ‘hidden homelessness’. They do not use shelters and other services, but share accommodation, couch-surf and rely on their social contacts for temporary and precarious housing. The adverse impact of low incomes on the housing experiences of Canadian newcomers is exacerbated in the outer suburbs of metropolitan areas where the supply of affordable housing is limited. This study
explores the social backgrounds and housing experiences of immigrant households that are vulnerable to homelessness in outer suburbs through analysis of special tabulations from the 2001 census for York Region and interviews with representatives from local community organisations serving immigrant and low-income populations. The initial findings confirm that a high proportion of newcomers in York Region are at-risk of homelessness during the first 10 years of residence in Canada. Although renters are more vulnerable than homeowners, a substantial percentage of newcomers who are homeowners pay more than 30 percent of their total income on housing costs. The shortage of affordable rental housing in the outer suburbs exacerbates the impacts of low incomes, immigration status, household size and ethnoracial identities on immigrants’ housing.


This report looks at these issues and finds that there is a need to document not only the numbers of immigrants and refugees currently using housing assistance or shelter services in Calgary, but also to determine the larger problem of relative and hidden homelessness in this population. The complexity of this research increases given the heterogeneity of immigrant populations and their needs. An informal survey conducted for this report notes the paucity of hard data collected by shelter agencies along with recognition of the growing need to provide culturally appropriate and competent service to these individuals.


Access to affordable and adequate housing is a key step in the successful integration of newcomers. While some immigrants are able to transition into home ownership quite rapidly, other newcomers are finding it increasing difficult to access basic shelter. There is little systematic knowledge about the extent of homelessness among immigrants and refugees in Greater Vancouver. This paper details the findings of a 2005 study entitled The Profile of Absolute and Relative Homelessness among Immigrants, Refugees, and Refugee Claimants in the GVRD. We highlight the extent to which some newcomers are increasingly at risk of “hidden homelessness.” a term that describes precarious and unstable housing experiences. This paper also details the unique housing experiences of refugee claimants. Given their temporary legal status, claimants often face the most tenuous experiences in the housing market. Their experiences are often marked by poor residential conditions, crowding, and high rent-to-income ratios.


Sponsorship arrangements create a power imbalance for many immigrant and refugee women, and when combined with a lack of proficiency in an official language it can create fertile ground for partner abuse. This abuse, in turn, has a strong impact on the risk of
homelessness for immigrant and refugee women. Since immigrant women were more likely to depend on their partners for their entire livelihood, a breakdown of the sponsorship arrangement had direct impact on sudden poverty and homelessness. The report recommends more active engagement of immigrant women in the current sponsorship process, have women apply as principal applicants for sponsorship based on their marriage or relationship to the partner, and translation services available for those who may not be proficient in one of Canada’s official languages.


The primary goal of the research project was to ascertain patterns, trends, and pathways related to episodes of homelessness among Caribbean youth. The data component of the study used in-depth qualitative interviews with homeless Caribbean youth 15-25 to develop a greater understanding of the socio-demographic characteristics of ‘street-involved’ Caribbean youth, the ways in which they found themselves homeless, their support systems, interactions with police, vulnerabilities, and the impacts these have on their self-image and sense of control over their lives.


In 2007, as the development of Calgary’s 10-Year Plan to End Homelessness was underway, immigrant serving agencies raised concerns about the increasing housing challenges their newcomer clients were experiencing. At the same time, homeless serving agencies reported an increase in newcomers accessing their services. It became evident that particular attention and strategies would be required in the Plan to address specific barriers. It was clear that research was required to gain a better understanding of the issue. Research was conducted to provide an overview of existing literature, to gauge shelter use by newcomers, and to propose recommendations for policy changes and amendments to the 10-Year Plan in response to the housing needs of newcomers. As the Immigrant Housing Sector of the Calgary Homeless Foundation began to develop its Strategic Plan, members noted the need for a better understanding of the nature of hidden homelessness and housing difficulties experienced by newcomers in Calgary. The current study seeks to complement earlier work by focusing specifically on the newcomer population that was experiencing housing issues in Calgary. Hidden in Plain Sight presents key findings about the housing challenges experienced by newcomers to Calgary. It draws on the analysis of quantitative data from 292 survey responses and in-depth interviews with 20 newcomers who self-identified as having experienced housing issues. These findings were complemented by 12 interviews with service providers engaged in this issue from the homelessness, housing, immigration, and settlement sectors. It seeks to outline critical trends in this area of study; provides an analysis of the survey and interview findings to shed light on the experiences of newcomers and service providers; and highlights the complexity of experiences of those who have encountered housing difficulties. The report concludes with considerations for future action.
in programming and policy, potential impacts of the global recession on this population group, and future areas for research.


This project was a multi-site study with research being conducted in collaboration with academic and community partners in Calgary, Winnipeg, and Halifax. We completed longitudinal qualitative interviews with immigrant women who had experienced family violence, as well as one-time qualitative interviews with service providers in related sectors. We explored a number of themes including housing, health, and service awareness and access.


This chapter describes the social, economic, and political conditions that contribute to the marginalization and disenfranchisement of Muslims and Latin Americans in West Central Toronto and analyzes how the interlocking systems of oppression based on race, class, gender, religion, sexuality, age, mental health status, and disability affect their ability to access and maintain stable housing. The author also identifies specific housing needs within these groups and explores the dynamics of informal housing networks.

10. Homeownership


Past research on ethnic inequality in Canada has focused largely on earnings and occupational stratification, paying little attention to differences in housing wealth. As recent research in the United States demonstrates, however, ethnic differences in homeownership patterns are significant in perpetuating and, to some extent, exacerbating social inequality among groups. Using data from the 1996 Canadian Census Public Use Micro File on individuals, this paper builds on previous research by investigating the impact of ethnicity on two different measures of housing wealth (tenure and value of housing) in Toronto. The study is guided by two theoretical perspectives on ethnic differences in housing wealth: spatial assimilation theory and place stratification theory. Our results reveal considerable ethnic differences in housing wealth after accounting for life-cycle and sociodemographic factors, lending support to both theories.

Using visible minority indicators from the 1971-2001 census of Canada master files, and race indicators from the 1970-2000 International Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-USA) census files, group-specific homeownership trajectories are identified among three cohorts (1965-1969, 1975-1979, and 1985-1989 for Canada; 1965-1970, 1975-1980, and 1985-1990 for the United States) of Canadian and U.S. Black, Chinese, Filipino, South Asian, and White immigrant arrivals. Many of the observed differences in homeownership rates could be due to differences in wealth (for which the study has no data), which in turn may be due to a whole variety of factors other than discrimination based on race/visible minority status (e.g., differences in savings rates, differences in wages due to unobserved abilities, differences in the rates of return on one’s assets due to differences in preferences toward investment risk, etc.).


Using the 1971-2001 census of Canada master files, in this paper it is shown how employment in banking/finance, construction and real estate, and living in multiple family households reduces unexplained homeownership disparities between groups in Canada’s seven largest immigrant-intake Census Metropolitan Areas. Although these characteristics are important at times for homeownership attainment, they do not elicit a persistent effect across the study period.


Numerous studies equate immigrant homeownership with assimilation into the residential mainstream, though only rarely is this claim verified by studying the ethnic character of neighbourhoods where immigrants actually buy homes. In this paper, the 1996 and 2001 Census of Canada master files and bivariate probit models with sample selection corrections (a.k.a. Heckman probit models) are used to assess the neighbourhood-level ethnic determinants of homeownership in Toronto, Canada. By determining whether low levels of ethnic concentration accompany a home purchase, it can be assessed whether immigrants exit their enclaves in search of a home in the ‘promised land’, as traditional assimilation theory suggests, or if some now seek homes in the ‘ethnic communities’ that Logan, Alba and Zhang (2002) recently introduced in the American Sociological Review. Assessing the role of concentration under equilibrium conditions, evidence emerges that same-group concentration affects the propensity of several group members to buy homes.
In the past, working-age immigrant families in Canada’s large urban centres had higher home-ownership rates than the Canadian-born. Over the past 20 years, however, this advantage has reversed, due jointly to a drop in immigrant rates and a rise in the popularity of home-ownership among the Canadian-born. This paper assesses the efficacy of a fairly standard microeconomic consumer choice model, which includes indicators for age, income, education, family type and immigrant characteristics, plus several interactions with time, to explain these changes. It is found that the standard model almost completely explains the immigrant homeownership advantage in 1981, as well as the rise in home-ownership rates over time among the Canadian-born. Even after accounting for the well-known decline in immigrant economic fortunes, however, it is shown that only about half of the 1981-2001 immigrant change in homeownership rates is explained by the standard model.

A status attainment perspective of immigrant integration suggests that the socio-economic mobility of immigrants occurs over time and over generations, with first generation immigrants expected to have the least desirable outcomes. We examine this proposition in terms of homeownership, long viewed as an indicator of socioeconomic status, and compare the likelihood of ownership across immigrant waves and generations in Canada. Our analysis reveals a non-linear process of housing integration, the timing of arrival does affect tenure in the expected direction but levels stabilize after 20 years in Canada. We find that these earliest immigrants, arriving prior to 1981, are the most likely to own. In general, the 1.5 and second generations are as likely to own as this latter group but by the third-plus generation, homeownership drops somewhat. Distinguishing the type of homeownership is also important as newcomers are more likely than others to enter the condominium market.

This paper asks whether age at arrival matters when it comes to home-ownership attainment among immigrants, paying particular attention to householders’ self-identification as a visible minority. Combining methods that were developed separately in the immigrant housing and the immigrant offspring literatures, this study shows the importance of recognising generational groups based on age at arrival, while also accounting for the interacting effects of current age (or birth cohorts) and arrival cohorts. The paper advocates a (quasi-) longitudinal approach to studying home-ownership attainment among immigrants and their foreign-born offspring. Analysis of data from the Canadian Census reveals that foreign-born householders who immigrated as adults in the 1970s and the 1980s are more likely to be home-owners than their counterparts who immigrated at a younger age when they self-identify as South Asian or White, but not always so when they self-identify as Chinese or as ‘other visible minority’. The same bifurcated pattern recurs between householders who immigrated at secondary-school age and those who were younger upon
arrival. Age at arrival therefore emerges as a variable of significance to help explain differences in immigrant housing outcomes, and should be taken into account in future studies of immigrant home-ownership attainment.


This study tracks four waves of Canadian immigrants and estimates the cohort effect on the probability of renter immigrants buying their first home, cohort being defined directly by immigrants’ age and year of arrival and indirectly by their permanent and expected earnings. It uses twenty cross-sectional data files that span two-and-a-half decades (1974-1998) to build four synthetic cohorts of immigrants. It treats the synthetic cohorts as if longitudinal, by viewing each record as a doubly censored observation, and estimates a proportional hazard model of first-time homeownership. The results show that homeownership rates are declining with successive cohorts of immigrants due to waning income prospects. Both permanent and expected incomes among more recent cohorts of immigrants lag behind those of earlier cohorts.


This article examines how immigrants come to home ownership and the role of some of the participants involved, including real estate agents, buyers and sellers, notaries and mortgage lenders. It also looks at the importance of contacts in the process of finding housing for Haitians living in Rivière-des-Prairies to understand the dynamics of buying real estate in certain Montreal neighbourhoods. The study revealed that individuals mostly rely on their own networks when purchasing residential housing with many choosing to buy real estate from an agent of the same ethnic background. The Haitians primarily choose to live in Rivière-des-Prairies due to proximity to work, family and ethnic community; being on the Island of Montreal; as well as beautiful homes, low taxes and a quiet neighbourhood.


Homelessness is a risk for growing numbers of immigrants, particularly in the suburbs of Canadian cities where affordable housing is in short supply. This study explores the social backgrounds and housing experiences of immigrant households in one Canadian suburb, York Region. A high proportion of newcomers in the region are at risk of homelessness during their first ten years of residence. Although renters are more vulnerable than homeowners, an unexpectedly large number of homeowners are also living in unaffordable housing. In the newly developed outer suburbs, many immigrant homeowners are at risk of homelessness.
11. Planning for Immigrant Settlement


Faith-based ethnic neighbourhoods are growing rapidly across the Greater Toronto Area and other metropolitan areas of Canada. Recently we have seen their resurgence, mainly among ethnic groups and the followers of non-Christian religions such as Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism. This study focuses on four organically evolved ethnic communities (South Asian, Italian and Jewish) based on four major religions (Islam, Sikhism, Catholicism and Judaism) in the Greater Toronto Area, of which three are non-Christian religions. The topic of this study falls at the intersection of a number of interrelated yet seemingly distinct areas of study, such as neighbourliness, the role of religion and places of worship in the lives of immigrants and the impact of religion on space. The study explored the characteristics of faith communities and examined how and why they form.


Planning for successful resettlement and integration of an increasing number of newcomers from international destinations is a challenge facing the planning community. This article examines some of the difficult challenges newcomers, in this case refugees, face in settling in Winnipeg’s inner city. The findings highlight the importance of adequate, affordable housing in the resettlement process and suggest housing program and policy changes to facilitate successful resettlement and integration.


This article is based largely on a report commissioned by the Research Directorate of the Citizenship and Multiculturalism Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada from Dan Hiebert, Nadine Schuurman, and Heather Smith in 2007, and on in-house work by the research team of the Citizenship and Multiculturalism Branch. The authors describe an emerging narrative in Canada about visible minority isolation and the development of enclaves, where the narrative exaggerates such urban behaviour as “ghettos” in the making. But a more nuanced narrative would focus on future trends, where emerging ethnic enclaves may be associated with residents living in poverty, and where the need is greater for more social policies and programs with a multicultural focus.


*Centraide of Greater Montreal* has chosen the “neighbourhood” as an agent of change. By investing in the collective efforts of local communities, it hopes to facilitate the inclusion of ethnocultural communities who are presently excluded. *Centraide* sees inclusion as a reciprocal process that involves all stakeholders—both the excluded and those who are in a position to remove barriers to inclusion. Six participating neighbourhoods developed their own strategies to bring about change. *Centraide* concentrated its efforts on helping to equip individuals and agencies involved at the local level to renew their intervention practices.
based on their own neighbourhood’s needs. *Centraide* then provided medium-term monetary support tailored to help meet these needs through its *Accessibility Program*.


The Region of Peel was one of the first municipalities in the Greater Toronto Area to address immigration issues from a planner’s perspective. This article will highlight how planners at the Region of Peel addressed immigration by collaborating with decision makers and community partners to shape priorities. Senior level of leadership and a strategic framework for success are critical for enabling planners to be agents of change within their community. Also, planners should seize opportunities to take on leadership roles to affect change in their organization because of their multi-disciplinary and forward-looking roles.
CERIS - The Ontario Metropolis Centre

CERIS - The Ontario Metropolis Centre is one of five Canadian Metropolis centres dedicated to ensuring that scientific expertise contributes to the improvement of migration and diversity policy.

CERIS - The Ontario Metropolis Centre is a collaboration of Ryerson University, York University, and the University of Toronto, as well as the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants, the United Way of Greater Toronto, and the Community Social Planning Council of Toronto.

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Statistics Canada

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The Metropolis Project

Launched in 1996, the Metropolis Project strives to improve policies for managing migration and diversity by focusing scholarly attention on critical issues. All project initiatives involve policymakers, researchers, and members of non-governmental organizations.

Metropolis Project goals are to:

• Enhance academic research capacity;

• Focus academic research on critical policy issues and policy options;

• Develop ways to facilitate the use of research in decision-making.

The Canadian and international components of the Metropolis Project encourage and facilitate communication between interested stakeholders at the annual national and international conferences and at topical workshops, seminars, and roundtables organized by project members.

For more information about the Metropolis Project
visit the Metropolis web sites at:
http://canada.metropolis.net
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