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NEIGHBOURHOOD POVERTY:

URBAN POVERTY IN CANADA, 2000

CANADIAN
COUNCIL
ON SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT



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This series of on-line documents and resources is designed to be both user- and planet-friendly. It includes fact sheets, poverty data tables, in-depth reports, and summary documents. All UPP materials are available at <http://www.ccsd.ca/pubs/2007/upp/>.



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INTRODUCTION



More than 100 years ago, a wealthy businessman named Charles Booth financed and conducted a landmark study of the urban poor in London, England. Against a backdrop of social unrest and riots, Booth and his team set out to try to better understand urban poverty. Beginning with a Census, Booth expanded his research to include data from school boards and churches, as well as qualitative data summarized in extensive field notes that described conditions in London on a street-by-street basis. Booth was one of the first people to map neighbourhoods according to their level of poverty, and he “coined the term *poverty line*.”¹

Booth’s definition of poverty was inextricably bound with a wider notion of social class. Based on observations of “food, clothing, shelter, and relative deprivation,”² rather than just subsistence, he developed eight categories of social class. London streets were assigned a colour indicating the level of poverty found in that particular neighbourhood. For example, streets that were coloured black represented the “lowest class, vicious, semi-criminal;” dark blue streets contained residents who were described as “very poor, casual, chronic want;” and yellow streets were considered “upper-middle and upper classes, wealthy.” Booth determined that the social isolation of the poor was a major factor in understanding high concentrations of poverty in certain areas.

Over a century later, our research instruments and methodologies are far more sophisticated than they were during Booth’s time, and our definitions of poverty no longer include stereotypes about the poor. Yet, we are still grappling with questions about poverty and have returned

to the concept of assessing it at the neighbourhood level. Our notion of a poverty line is much clearer today, and we separate the concepts of poverty-level incomes and the outcomes that may be associated with it. Just as Booth came to study the impact of living in a poor neighbourhood, in this report we turn our attention to poverty at the neighbourhood level – or modern census tract – to examine questions about the spatial concentration of poverty.

From what we have found in other reports in this Urban Poverty Project series, it is clear that certain groups in Canada are more vulnerable to poverty than others. Aboriginal people, people with disabilities, recent immigrants and visible minorities are just a few of the groups that exhibit higher-than-average rates of poverty. As well, the dimensions of gender, age and family type impose a vulnerability to poverty that cuts across all groups. While some groups are at greater risk of poverty in general, location also plays an important role, and the degree of disadvantage faced can vary from urban area to urban area. For example, we learned that, within one large urban area – a census metropolitan area, or CMA – vulnerable groups faced different risks of poverty, depending on where they lived. Those living in the remainder of a CMA (the suburban and rural fringes outside the large cities) often had more favourable poverty profiles than those living in the large cities themselves. There were different poverty profiles, as well, in adjoining cities within the same large urban area. Typically, the historic core of a large urban area tends to bring with it greater challenges for all persons living there – and for members of vulnerable groups in particular.

We also found that poverty is not always spread evenly throughout an urban area or even throughout a single city. Poverty can be more highly concentrated in select neighbourhoods within a city. This organization of poverty, however, can have a negative impact on the residents and communities where concentrated levels of poverty are very high, which may translate into fewer opportunities and community resources being available to residents. Both sides of this debate have been argued. Are poor residents better off living in poor neighbourhoods where other residents share their poverty and struggles, but where amenities and economic opportunities may be missing? Or, are poor residents better off living in non-poor neighbourhoods where they may feel out of place or have a more acute sense of relative deprivation, but where they are more likely to have access to better amenities, recreational and educational facilities, as well as economic opportunities? There is some preliminary evidence that poor children may be somewhat better off when raised in non-poor neighbourhoods.³

In this report on urban poverty in Canada, we examine the neighbourhood concentration of the poor by focussing on 46 selected large cities (census subdivisions, or CSDs) found within Canada's 27 CMAs. (Our data are based on the 2001 Census boundaries.)^{4,5}

LOW POVERTY TO VERY HIGH POVERTY NEIGHBOURHOODS



As discussed in *Poverty by Geography* (another report in this UPP series), even within cities, some neighbourhoods⁶ had much higher poverty rates than others. A “low poverty neighbourhood” is defined here as a census tract where the poverty rate is less than 10%. In 2000, 24% of all the census tracts within the 46 selected cities could be described as being low poverty neighbourhoods. A “moderately high poverty neighbourhood” is one in which the poverty rate is between 20% and 29.9%. In 2000, 23.8% of the census tracts within the 46 cities were moderately high poverty neighbourhoods.

“High poverty neighbourhoods” are characterized by poverty rates between 30% and 39.9%, and “very high poverty neighbourhoods” are those with poverty rates of 40% or more. In 2000, 11.6% of the neighbourhoods across all 46 cities were high poverty neighbourhoods and 8.6% were very high poverty neighbourhoods. A more average or moderate range of poverty rates

(between 10% and 19.9%) was found in 32% of the neighbourhoods – making this range the modal category for poverty rates among all census tracts in the 46 cities.

Using a threshold of 40% to signify a “very high poverty neighbourhood,” we noted in *Poverty by Geography* that a higher proportion (10.5%) of neighbourhoods that were located in central or core cities (the historic core of the CMAs) were very high poverty neighbourhoods, compared with those located in suburban cities (1.7%). Of the 30 central cities examined here, 23 (or 76.7%) had at least some very high poverty neighbourhoods; however, of the 16 suburban cities, only 5 (or 31.3%) had any very high poverty neighbourhoods. In fact, eight of these suburban cities had no neighbourhoods with poverty rates of 30% or more (that is, no high or very high poverty neighbourhoods), and two cities (Vaughan and Richmond Hill) had no neighbourhoods with poverty rates of 20% or higher.

FIGURE 1
DISTRIBUTION OF NEIGHBOURHOODS BY LEVEL OF POVERTY, SELECT CSDs, 2000

CSDs	Census Tracts (%)					Total Number
	Low	Moderate	Moderately high	High	Very high	
Oakville	71.0	25.8	3.2	0.0	0.0	31
Burlington	65.7	31.4	2.9	0.0	0.0	35
Vaughan	67.9	32.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	28
Cambridge	44.0	44.0	12.0	0.0	0.0	25
Brampton	55.6	37.0	5.6	1.9	0.0	54
Saanich	47.8	43.5	8.7	0.0	0.0	23
Richmond Hill	40.9	59.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	22
Markham	36.8	55.3	7.9	0.0	0.0	38
Mississauga	43.0	40.4	16.7	0.0	0.0	114
Abbotford (c)	37.5	41.7	16.7	4.2	0.0	24

(table continues on next page)

FIGURE 1 (CONTINUED)

DISTRIBUTION OF NEIGHBOURHOODS BY LEVEL OF POVERTY, SELECT CSDs, 2000

CSDs	Census Tracts (%)					Total Number
	Low	Moderate	Moderately high	High	Very high	
Kitchener (c)	31.7	48.8	17.1	2.4	0.0	41
Oshawa (c)	50.0	23.3	16.7	10.0	0.0	30
Niagara Falls (c)	33.3	33.3	27.8	5.6	0.0	18
Calgary (c)	33.1	41.4	21.0	4.4	0.0	181
Greater Sudbury (c)	34.1	41.5	12.2	7.3	4.9	41
Ottawa (c)	50.3	23.1	14.2	6.5	5.9	169
Thunder Bay (c)	33.3	36.7	13.3	13.3	3.3	30
Halifax (c)	38.8	27.1	23.5	7.1	3.5	85
St. Catharines (c)	32.3	45.2	16.1	6.5	0.0	31
Laval	22.5	49.3	21.1	5.6	1.4	71
Gatineau	29.2	33.3	25.0	8.3	4.2	24
Regina (c)	36.2	25.5	21.3	6.4	10.6	47
Windsor (c)	29.8	34.0	23.4	6.4	6.4	47
London (c)	23.8	45.0	20.0	8.8	2.5	80
Chicoutimi (c)	18.8	56.3	18.8	0.0	6.3	16
Kingston (c)	41.4	20.7	17.2	6.9	13.8	29
Jonquière (c)	16.7	50.0	8.3	25.0	0.0	12
Surrey	18.4	44.7	28.9	5.3	2.6	76
Saskatoon (c)	19.0	28.6	33.3	11.9	7.1	42
Hamilton (c)	23.1	33.8	21.5	10.0	11.5	130
Edmonton (c)	12.9	42.2	28.6	13.6	2.7	147
Winnipeg (c)	24.3	29.6	23.0	11.2	11.8	152
Coquitlam	10.5	42.1	31.6	15.8	0.0	19
St. Johns (c)	19.4	35.5	22.6	19.4	3.2	31
Toronto (c)	16.2	32.4	30.1	14.1	7.3	519
Hull (c)	7.1	14.3	42.9	14.3	21.4	14
Richmond	3.2	32.3	38.7	25.8	0.0	31
Victoria (c)	5.9	23.5	52.9	11.8	5.9	17
Saint John (c)	3.2	32.3	19.4	19.4	25.8	31
Sherbrooke (c)	4.8	28.6	23.8	28.6	14.3	21
Longueuil	10.0	26.7	30.0	23.3	10.0	30
Burnaby	0.0	26.3	47.4	15.8	10.5	38
Vancouver (c)	1.0	25.7	44.8	21.9	6.7	105
Trois-Rivières (c)	6.3	18.8	37.5	6.3	31.3	16
Québec (c)	9.6	11.5	23.1	19.2	36.5	52
Montréal (c)	0.9	10.8	28.8	26.9	32.6	316
Total CTs in 46 CSDs	751	1,003	747	362	270	3,133
Distribution of CTs	24.0%	32.0%	23.8%	11.6%	8.6%	100.0%

Notes: Low = poverty rates of zero to 9.9%; Moderate = poverty rates of 10% to 19.9%; Moderately high = poverty rates of 20% to 29.9%; High = poverty rates of 30% to 39.9%; and Very high = poverty rates of 40% or more.

Cities are listed from lowest to highest overall poverty rate.

(c) denotes the central or core city within the CMA

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

Among the 46 large cities examined here, the number of census tracts – or neighbourhoods – within each city ranged from 12 (in Jonquière) to 519 (in Toronto). As summarized in Figure 1, the cities with the lowest overall rates of poverty were the least likely to have any very high poverty neighbourhoods. Not surprisingly, the cities with the highest overall poverty rates also had the highest proportion of very high poverty neighbourhoods. For example, Trois-Rivières, Québec and Montréal had the highest overall rates of poverty (of 27.2%, 30.6% and 34%, respectively) as well as the highest proportion of very high poverty neighbourhoods (31.3%, 36.5% and 32.6%, respectively). Other cities had somewhat curious patterns. For example, Kingston had a fairly average overall poverty rate (17.1%) and a fairly high proportion of both low poverty neighbourhoods (41.4%) and very high poverty neighbourhoods (13.8%), as compared with other cities with similar overall rates of poverty. This suggests that there may be a greater-than-average geographical separation of poor and non-poor residents in Kingston. Cities such as Jonquière, Surrey, Edmonton, Coquitlam, Richmond, Victoria and Vancouver had lower proportions of both low poverty and very high poverty neighbourhoods than other cities with similar poverty rates. This suggests that these cities may have had less separation of poor and non-poor residents.

In *Poverty by Geography*, we also introduced the concept of the neighbourhood *concentration* of the poor. This measure is the proportion of poor residents who live in very high poverty neighbourhoods, and it is a reflection of the environment experienced by poor individuals, or the degree of concentration of poverty. As we mentioned in that report, 19.8% of poor residents in all the central or historic core cities (30 CSDs) also lived in very high poverty neighbourhoods; this compares with 4.3% of poor residents in all the suburban cities (16 CSDs). This suggests a greater concentration of the poor in very poor neighbourhoods of central cities than in suburban cities. However, just as some vulnerable groups face greater poverty challenges than others and this varies by city, the concentration of poor members from these vulnerable groups is also likely to be a critical issue in understanding the nature of urban poverty.

At the aggregate level, when we examined the distribution of vulnerable groups across neighbourhoods in all 46 cities, we found that poor Aboriginal people were the most likely of all groups to be concentrated in very high poverty neighbourhoods – 26.4%, compared with 19.9% of visible minorities, the second most likely group. Aboriginal people who were poor were also the least likely to live in low poverty neighbourhoods (4.5%). Poor

FIGURE 2
**DISTRIBUTION OF SELECT GROUPS BY LEVEL OF POVERTY IN CENSUS TRACTS,
 AGGREGATE OF CSDs, 2000**

Groups vulnerable to poverty	Level of Poverty in CTs					Total
	Low	Moderate	Moderately high	High	Very High	
Aboriginal Identity	4.5%	20.3%	27.2%	21.7%	26.4%	100%
Immigrants	7.4%	24.2%	32.4%	19.1%	16.9%	100%
Visible Minorities	5.8%	22.8%	32.0%	19.5%	19.9%	100%
Lone-parent Families	7.5%	25.9%	29.9%	18.9%	17.8%	100%
Women	8.7%	25.8%	30.9%	18.5%	16.1%	100%
Children	8.7%	25.9%	29.9%	17.5%	17.9%	100%
Youth	7.6%	24.7%	30.9%	19.8%	17.0%	100%
Seniors	9.0%	26.6%	32.4%	18.2%	13.8%	100%

Notes: Low = poverty rates of zero to 9.9%; Moderate = poverty rates of 10% to 19.9%; Moderately high = poverty rates of 20% to 29.9%; High = poverty rates of 30% to 39.9%; and Very high = poverty rates of 40% or more.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

seniors, on the other hand, were the least likely of all vulnerable groups considered here to reside in very high poverty neighbourhoods (13.8%) and the most likely to reside in the more favourable, low poverty neighbourhoods (9%).

Nearly half of all poor Aboriginal people in the 46 selected cities lived in either a high poverty or very high poverty neighbourhood (i.e., neighbourhood poverty rate of 30% or higher). Among all the vulnerable groups, Aboriginal people had the greatest level of concentration in high poverty environments; members of visible minorities were second, with 39.4% of those who were poor living in high or very high poverty neighbourhoods.

In the sections which follow, we present the distribution of poor residents from different vulnerable groups⁷ in neighbourhoods with different poverty profiles within each of the cities (where sample size permits). For ease of presentation, we compare poverty profiles for the proportion of the poor in each vulnerable group who were living in “low” poverty neighbourhoods and those in “very high” poverty neighbourhoods.⁸ As a basis for comparison, the distribution of all poor residents is also shown.

VULNERABLE GROUPS IN LOW POVERTY NEIGHBOURHOODS



The first column in Figure 3-A indicates the proportion of all poor residents in each city who were living in low poverty neighbourhoods in 2000 (i.e., the percentage who lived in census tracts with poverty rates of less than 10%). Not surprisingly, cities with low overall poverty rates also had the highest proportion of poor residents living in low poverty neighbourhoods (see final column in Figure 3-B). For example, 67.7% of poor residents in Vaughan (with the 3rd lowest overall poverty rate of 8.2%) lived in a low poverty neighbourhood. Similarly, 49.8% and 46.8% of poor residents in Burlington and Oakville, respectively, lived in low poverty neighbourhoods –

Burlington had the 2nd lowest overall poverty rate (8.1%) and Oakville had the lowest (7.8%). At the other end of the spectrum, virtually no poor residents in Burnaby, Montréal, Richmond or Vancouver lived in low poverty neighbourhoods; however, this was largely due to the fact that in those cities, there were few or no low poverty neighbourhoods.

When we examined the concentration of poor residents in low poverty neighbourhoods, we found that poor residents from some vulnerable groups were more likely than others to live in a low poverty neighbourhood and again, this varied by city.

FIGURE 3-A
PERCENTAGE OF POOR LIVING IN LOW POVERTY NEIGHBOURHOODS, SELECT CSDs, 2000

CSDs	% of Poor in Low Poverty CTs					
	All Poor	Women	Children	Youth	Seniors	Lone-parent Families
Oakville	46.8	46.6	49.8	42.7	44.3	39.2
Burlington	49.8	48.0	52.2	49.5	43.2	44.5
Vaughan	67.7	65.8	73.5	66.0	48.7	65.8
Cambridge	30.0	31.0	24.0	34.2	36.0	22.4
Brampton	38.4	37.1	39.3	38.8	29.8	34.6
Saanich	27.1	28.2	25.8	24.5	31.6	25.3
Richmond Hill	21.5	22.5	24.7	17.3	25.8	19.3
Markham	16.4	16.9	15.3	13.3	23.6	19.7
Mississauga	24.5	24.4	23.2	25.9	25.0	20.6
Abbotsford (c)	25.3	24.4	26.3	26.9	12.8	19.3
Kitchener (c)	18.1	17.1	17.7	18.9	18.3	14.4
Oshawa (c)	25.7	25.7	21.0	25.0	28.7	18.6
Niagara Falls (c)	17.2	16.1	14.6	16.3	16.1	15.7

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FIGURE 3-A (CONTINUED)

PERCENTAGE OF POOR LIVING IN LOW POVERTY NEIGHBOURHOODS, SELECT CSDS, 2000

CSDs	% of Poor in Low Poverty CTs					
	All Poor	Women	Children	Youth	Seniors	Lone-parent Families
Calgary (c)	14.5	15.1	14.3	13.2	14.7	11.7
Greater Sudbury (c)	15.9	15.3	15.7	12.1	15.1	11.6
Ottawa (c)	16.9	17.1	16.6	15.6	17.5	15.7
Thunder Bay (c)	16.5	15.8	14.4	14.2	16.9	12.7
Halifax (c)	18.5	18.2	21.4	11.8	16.7	17.5
St. Catharines (c)	12.8	12.4	9.3	9.5	20.3	8.7
Laval	9.9	10.3	9.8	8.2	9.2	11.5
Gatineau	11.5	11.8	10.7	10.8	11.6	5.8
Regina (c)	14.3	14.8	11.9	15.0	15.2	11.6
Windsor (c)	14.4	14.8	11.3	11.8	22.0	8.8
London (c)	8.6	9.2	8.3	7.9	10.8	6.5
Chicoutimi (c)	9.2	9.2	10.1	6.0	5.0	8.0
Kingston (c)	15.4	15.6	17.6	12.8	16.1	16.3
Jonquière (c)	9.7	9.0	10.1	9.1	8.4	7.9
Surrey	4.8	5.1	3.6	5.3	7.4	5.7
Saskatoon (c)	6.4	6.9	6.1	5.4	8.5	6.9
Hamilton (c)	7.9	8.0	7.0	5.4	10.1	5.0
Edmonton (c)	5.5	5.5	5.9	4.0	5.2	3.3
Winnipeg (c)	7.9	7.8	7.9	6.9	7.0	6.7
Coquitlam	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.9	2.9	3.3
St. John's (c)	3.1	3.5	1.4	3.8	3.4	2.1
Toronto (c)	4.4	4.8	2.9	3.8	7.8	3.1
Hull (c)	4.3	4.3	5.8	4.7	2.4	5.5
Richmond	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.8
Victoria (c)	1.1	0.7	0.8	1.3	0.0	0.0
Saint John (c)	1.5	1.3	1.2	0.0	2.7	1.1
Sherbrooke (c)	2.9	3.2	3.7	2.6	1.2	3.6
Longueuil	2.9	3.0	3.6	4.2	2.0	2.8
Burnaby	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Vancouver (c)	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.3
Trois-Rivières (c)	1.2	1.2	0.6	1.6	0.9	1.3
Québec (c)	3.3	3.6	4.2	1.6	4.4	4.5
Montréal (c)	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2

Notes: A low poverty neighbourhood is a census tract with a poverty rate of 10% or less.

(c) denotes the central or core city within the CMA

Cities are listed from lowest to highest overall poverty rate.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

FIGURE 3-B
PERCENTAGE OF POOR LIVING IN LOW POVERTY NEIGHBOURHOODS, SELECT CSDs, 2000

CSDs	% of Poor in Low Poverty CTs			Overall City Poverty
	Aboriginal Identity	Immigrants	Visible Minorities	
Oakville	*	44.8	44.1	7.8%
Burlington	*	51.5	60.6	8.1%
Vaughan	*	65.1	36.4	8.2%
Cambridge	*	33.1	23.3	10.1%
Brampton	*	36.1	36.8	10.8%
Saanich	*	30.0	26.3	11.7%
Richmond Hill	*	16.0	11.5	12.6%
Markham	*	13.4	13.3	12.6%
Mississauga	*	22.5	20.9	12.7%
Abbotsford (c)	*	29.1	29.7	13.1%
Kitchener (c)	*	17.0	17.6	13.3%
Oshawa (c)	*	32.6	19.3	13.5%
Niagara Falls (c)	*	24.8	*	14.4%
Calgary (c)	5.7	16.0	15.2	14.9%
Greater Sudbury (c)	11.5	13.5	*	14.9%
Ottawa (c)	13.9	12.9	9.0	15.0%
Thunder Bay (c)	8.3	21.4	*	15.1%
Halifax (c)	11.8	19.0	11.5	15.5%
St. Catharines (c)	*	15.3	8.7	15.5%
Laval	*	9.6	9.9	16.0%
Gatineau	*	10.1	5.5	16.0%
Regina (c)	7.8	17.8	14.8	16.4%
Windsor (c)	*	14.6	10.1	16.8%
London (c)	4.0	9.0	8.1	16.8%
Chicoutimi (c)	*	*	*	17.0%
Kingston (c)	*	16.6	13.9	17.1%
Jonquière (c)	*	*	*	18.0%
Surrey	3.1	3.9	2.7	18.3%
Saskatoon (c)	2.5	6.1	7.0	19.7%
Hamilton (c)	4.2	6.9	3.3	19.8%
Edmonton (c)	1.7	7.5	7.3	20.0%
Winnipeg (c)	2.2	8.0	8.4	20.3%

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FIGURE 3-B (CONTINUED)

PERCENTAGE OF POOR LIVING IN LOW POVERTY NEIGHBOURHOODS, SELECT CSDs, 2000

CSDs	% of Poor in Low Poverty CTs			Overall City Poverty
	Aboriginal Identity	Immigrants	Visible Minorities	
Coquitlam	*	2.1	1.9	21.4%
St. John's (c)	*	*	*	21.9%
Toronto (c)	5.4	3.3	2.1	22.6%
Hull (c)	*	2.1	0.8	23.1%
Richmond	*	0.0	0.0	23.9%
Victoria (c)	0.9	1.0	1.9	24.5%
Saint John (c)	*	*	0.0	24.5%
Sherbrooke (c)	*	1.4	4.0	25.2%
Longueuil	*	3.8	5.2	25.2%
Burnaby	0.0	0.0	0.0	26.4%
Vancouver (c)	0.0	0.2	0.3	27.0%
Trois-Rivières (c)	*	*	*	27.2%
Québec (c)	*	0.7	0.7	30.6%
Montréal (c)	0.0	0.0	0.0	34.0%

Notes: A low poverty neighbourhood is a census tract with a poverty rate of 10% or less.

* indicates that data cannot be released due to small sample size.

(c) denotes the central or core city within the CMA

Cities are listed from lowest to highest overall poverty rate.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

IMMIGRANTS

Poor immigrants living in Richmond Hill were notably *less* likely than other vulnerable groups (except visible minorities) to live in low poverty neighbourhoods – 16% compared with 21.5% of all poor residents. However, they were *more* likely to live in low poverty neighbourhoods in Abbotsford, Oshawa, Niagara Falls and Thunder Bay, in particular.⁹

VISIBLE MINORITIES

In Burlington and Abbotsford, visible minority persons were notably *more* likely to live in low poverty neighbourhoods than most other vulnerable groups. In certain other cities, however, they were much *less* likely to be located there. For example, 36.4% of poor visible minority persons

in Vaughan lived in low poverty neighbourhoods, compared with 65% to 74% of most other vulnerable groups (except poor seniors, at 48.7%).

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE

In every city except Toronto, poor Aboriginal people were considerably *less* likely than all poor residents to live in low poverty neighbourhoods – and in some cities, the differences were quite stark. In Calgary, for example, 14.5% of all poor residents lived in low poverty neighbourhoods in 2000, compared with only 5.7% of poor Aboriginal people; in Thunder Bay, 16.5% of all poor residents were in low poverty neighbourhoods, compared with 8.3% of poor Aboriginal people. In Regina, the corresponding figures were 14.3% and 7.8%; in

Winnipeg, 7.9% and 2.2%; and in Saskatoon, 6.4% and 2.5%. Of all the vulnerable groups examined here, Aboriginal people who were poor were by far the *most* likely to have been isolated from low poverty neighbourhoods in cities across Canada.

CHILDREN

Only in Vaughan were poor children notably *more* likely to live in low poverty neighbourhoods than other vulnerable groups: 73.5% of poor children in Vaughan lived in low poverty neighbourhoods (compared with 66% of poor youth, 48.7% of poor seniors, 65.1% of poor immigrants and 36.4% of poor visible minorities). On the other hand, in Cambridge, Oshawa and St. Catharines, poor children stood out as being *less* likely than most or all other vulnerable groups to live in low poverty neighbourhoods.

YOUTH

In Cambridge, poor youth were notably *more* likely than other vulnerable groups to live in low poverty neighbourhoods; 34.2% of poor youth in that city lived in low poverty neighbourhoods compared with 30% of all poor, 24% of poor children, 23.3% of poor visible minorities, and 22.4% of poor lone-parent families. On the other hand, poor youth were notably *less* likely to live in low poverty neighbourhoods in Richmond Hill, St. Catharines and Halifax.

SENIORS

In Oakville, Burlington and Vaughan, a fairly high proportion of poor seniors (in excess of 43%) lived in low poverty neighbourhoods,¹⁰ but in these cities a fairly high proportion of all poor residents lived in low poverty neighbourhoods. In fact, in Vaughan, 67.7% of all poor residents lived in low poverty neighbourhoods, compared with 48.7% of poor seniors; so, relative to other vulnerable groups (and to all the poor) in Vaughan, seniors were quite a bit *less* concentrated in low poverty neighbourhoods than others. A similar situation was found in Brampton and Abbotsford, where poor seniors were *less* likely than other vulnerable groups to live in low poverty neighbourhoods.

On the other hand, poor seniors were quite a bit *more* likely than other vulnerable groups to live in low poverty neighbourhoods in Cambridge, Markham, St. Catharines and Windsor.

LONE-PARENT FAMILIES

In none of the cities were poor lone-parent families decidedly *more* likely than the other groups to live in low poverty neighbourhoods. However, they were notably *less* likely than most other vulnerable groups to live in low poverty neighbourhoods in Cambridge, Brampton, Mississauga, Abbotsford, Oshawa, Gatineau and Windsor.

VULNERABLE GROUPS IN VERY HIGH POVERTY NEIGHBOURHOODS



When we examine the opposite end of the spectrum – the proportion of poor people in each vulnerable group living in very high poverty neighbourhoods (40% poverty rate or higher), we find more pieces to the story of urban poverty for vulnerable groups. As noted earlier, 18 of the 46 large cities featured here (11 suburban cities and 7 core or central cities) had no “very high poverty” census tracts or neighbourhoods in 2000. These cities were Oakville, Burlington, Vaughan, Cambridge, Brampton,

Saanich, Richmond Hill, Markham, Mississauga, Abbotsford, Kitchener, Oshawa, Niagara Falls, Calgary, St. Catharines, Jonquière, Coquitlam and Richmond.

Among the 28 large cities in this analysis that did have very high poverty census tracts or neighbourhoods in 2000, it is obvious that some groups were much more heavily concentrated in those very high poverty neighbourhoods than others.

FIGURE 4-A

PERCENTAGE OF POOR LIVING IN VERY HIGH POVERTY NEIGHBOURHOODS, SELECT CSDs, 2000

CSDs	% of Poor in Very High Poverty CTs					
	All Poor	Women	Children	Youth	Seniors	Lone-parent Families
Greater Sudbury (c)	11.9	11.5	12.3	13.5	10.4	14.8
Ottawa (c)	16.0	16.2	18.3	14.2	14.2	18.7
Thunder Bay (c)	2.5	2.6	0.9	2.2	5.2	1.0
Halifax (c)	7.9	7.7	8.0	7.5	9.3	9.2
Laval	2.9	2.6	3.6	2.7	1.8	2.7
Gatineau	7.5	7.7	4.3	7.1	14.0	6.2
Regina (c)	23.8	22.7	27.0	20.2	18.8	23.4
Windsor (c)	20.4	19.2	20.1	22.3	19.1	15.9
London (c)	4.6	4.5	5.9	4.2	2.2	6.7
Chicoutimi (c)	13.4	12.8	6.6	13.6	19.9	8.0
Kingston (c)	33.6	32.5	38.2	37.7	18.7	38.2
Surrey	5.6	5.5	6.5	6.3	2.0	8.9
Saskatoon (c)	13.3	12.9	18.8	9.1	9.2	17.2
Hamilton (c)	24.3	22.7	24.7	26.1	18.3	23.5

(table continues on next page)

FIGURE 4-A (CONTINUED)

PERCENTAGE OF POOR LIVING IN VERY HIGH POVERTY NEIGHBOURHOODS, SELECT CSDs, 2000

CSDs	% of Poor in Very High Poverty CTs					
	All Poor	Women	Children	Youth	Seniors	Lone-parent Families
Edmonton (c)	7.4	6.8	5.3	8.5	5.0	5.2
Winnipeg (c)	25.2	23.4	26.7	25.2	18.2	26.1
St. John's (c)	6.8	6.3	7.3	6.9	6.6	6.1
Toronto (c)	17.1	16.7	22.2	17.8	9.6	21.2
Hull (c)	27.1	27.4	30.5	23.7	25.9	28.5
Victoria (c)	10.0	9.7	15.6	12.4	3.6	13.5
Saint John (c)	35.4	34.8	35.5	32.3	35.4	34.7
Sherbrooke (c)	16.5	15.7	13.8	20.8	12.5	16.3
Longueuil	18.6	18.2	23.1	19.9	12.9	20.3
Burnaby	18.0	18.0	16.2	15.5	21.5	16.5
Vancouver (c)	11.7	9.6	8.8	6.2	17.3	11.4
Trois-Rivières (c)	41.4	42.2	33.4	33.9	52.5	41.7
Québec (c)	46.6	44.3	48.5	45.5	40.4	50.9
Montréal (c)	45.0	42.9	51.2	48.2	31.9	43.9

Notes: A very high poverty neighbourhood is a census tract with a poverty rate of 40% or more.

(c) denotes the central or core city within the CMA

Cities are listed from lowest to highest overall poverty rate.

Cities with no very high poverty neighbourhoods were excluded from this table.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

FIGURE 4-B

PERCENTAGE OF POOR LIVING IN VERY HIGH POVERTY NEIGHBOURHOODS, SELECT CSDs, 2000

CSDs	% of Poor in Very High Poverty CTs			Overall City Poverty
	Aboriginal Identity	Immigrants	Visible Minorities	
Greater Sudbury (c)	13.7	12.0	*	14.9%
Ottawa (c)	11.3	19.2	21.6	15.0%
Thunder Bay (c)	2.3	3.4	*	15.1%
Halifax (c)	9.3	5.3	17.0	15.5%
Laval	*	4.9	4.3	16.0%
Gatineau	*	2.5	4.4	16.0%
Regina (c)	40.7	20.0	18.2	16.4%
Windsor (c)	*	22.9	26.5	16.8%
London (c)	10.1	3.8	4.5	16.8%
Chicoutimi (c)	*	*	*	17.0%
Kingston (c)	*	19.7	27.2	17.1%
Surrey	6.7	5.2	4.8	18.3%
Saskatoon (c)	26.6	11.7	11.1	19.7%
Hamilton (c)	33.2	22.4	29.8	19.8%
Edmonton (c)	12.5	10.1	9.7	20.0%
Winnipeg (c)	46.7	24.9	28.4	20.3%
St. John's (c)	*	*	*	21.9%
Toronto (c)	15.0	18.0	22.7	22.6%
Hull (c)	*	27.8	36.2	23.1%
Victoria (c)	17.3	9.2	13.4	24.5%
Saint John (c)	*	*	39.3	24.5%
Sherbrooke (c)	*	24.7	20.4	25.2%
Longueuil	*	18.5	20.4	25.2%
Burnaby	12.9	19.9	18.0	26.4%
Vancouver (c)	37.8	9.3	8.8	27.0%
Trois-Rivières (c)	*	*	*	27.2%
Québec (c)	*	59.6	59.7	30.6%
Montréal (c)	44.5	53.0	59.8	34.0%

Notes: A very high poverty neighbourhood is a census tract with a poverty rate of 40% or more.

* indicates that data cannot be released due to small sample size.

(c) denotes the central or core city within the CMA

Cities are listed from lowest to highest overall poverty rate.

Cities with no very high poverty neighbourhoods were excluded from this table.

Source: Prepared by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

IMMIGRANTS

Poor immigrants had notably higher levels of concentration in very high poverty neighbourhoods than all poor residents in Sherbrooke, Québec and Montréal, in particular. In Sherbrooke, for example, 24.7% of poor immigrants lived in very high poverty neighbourhoods, compared with 16.5% of all poor people. Poor immigrants in Québec had the highest rate of concentration in very high poverty neighbourhoods of immigrants in any city, at 59.6% – nearly three in five poor immigrants in Québec lived in very high poverty neighbourhoods. In contrast, 19.7% of poor immigrants in Kingston lived in very high poverty neighbourhoods, compared with 33.6% of all the poor – making poor immigrants in that city quite a bit *less* concentrated in very high poverty neighbourhoods than all other vulnerable groups. Unfortunately, these data do not allow a further breakdown for recent and more established immigrants.

VISIBLE MINORITIES

In Ottawa, Halifax, Windsor, Toronto, Hull, Saint John, Sherbrooke, Québec and Montréal, notably *higher* proportions of poor visible minorities lived in very high poverty neighbourhoods than all poor residents in those cities. In a few cities (Regina, Kingston and Vancouver), poor visible minorities had notably *lower* representation in very high poverty neighbourhoods than all the poor. In Vancouver, there was a large contrast between the concentration of poor visible minorities (8.8%) in very high poverty census tracts and that of Aboriginal residents (37.8%).

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE

One of the most striking findings in the data was the tremendous concentration of poor Aboriginal people in very high poverty environments. In many of the large cities¹¹ examined here, the proportion of poor Aboriginal people who were living in very high poverty neighbourhoods was starkly *higher* than the proportion of other vulnerable groups in those neighbourhoods.

In the western cities of Victoria, Vancouver, Edmonton, Regina, Saskatoon and Winnipeg, this great disparity in the degree of concentration of poor Aboriginal people was

particularly evident.¹² In Winnipeg, for example, 46.7% of poor Aboriginal people were living in very high poverty neighbourhoods, compared with 25.2% of all poor people in the city and 28.4% of poor visible minorities, the next most highly concentrated group.¹³ In Regina, 40.7% of poor Aboriginal people lived in very high poverty neighbourhoods, compared with 23.8% of all poor and 27% of poor children, the next most concentrated group. In Saskatoon, 26.6% of poor Aboriginal people resided in very high poverty census tracts, compared with 13.3% of all poor people and 18.8% of poor children.¹⁴

In Vancouver, 37.8% of poor Aboriginal people lived in very high poverty neighbourhoods, compared with 11.7% of all poor and 17.3% of poor seniors, who were the next most concentrated group. In Victoria, 17.3% of poor Aboriginal people lived in very high poverty neighbourhoods, compared with 10% of all poor and 15.6% of poor children. And in Edmonton, 12.5% of poor Aboriginal people lived in very high poverty neighbourhoods compared with 7.4% of all poor and 10.1% of poor immigrants.

In central Canada, poor Aboriginal people were more highly concentrated than other vulnerable groups in very high poverty neighbourhoods in the cities of London (10.1% compared with 4.6% of all poor and 6.7% of poor lone-parent families) and Hamilton (33.2% compared with 24.3% for all poor and 29.8% for poor visible minorities).

Aboriginal people were *less* concentrated in very high poverty neighbourhoods than other vulnerable groups in only two cities. In Ottawa, 11.3% of poor Aboriginal people lived in very high poverty neighbourhoods, compared with 16% of all poor and 21.6% of poor visible minorities. In Burnaby, 12.9% of poor Aboriginal people lived in very high poverty neighbourhoods compared with 18% of all poor and 21.5% of poor seniors. In the remaining cities examined, the concentration of poor Aboriginal people in very high poverty neighbourhoods was more similar to the average concentration of all poor residents.

While poor Aboriginal people in Vancouver were *highly* concentrated in very high poverty neighbourhoods compared with other poor groups, in neighbouring Burnaby, they were *less* concentrated.

CHILDREN

In relation to all poor residents, poor children had a decidedly *greater* likelihood of living in very high poverty neighbourhoods in Kingston, Saskatoon, Toronto, Victoria, Longueuil and Montréal. In Montréal, for example, over half (51.2%) of all poor children lived in very high poverty neighbourhoods in 2000, compared with 45% of all poor in the city. In Toronto, 22.2% of all poor children lived in very high poverty neighbourhoods, compared with 17.1% of all poor residents; this level of concentration was also greater than that found among poor youth (17.8%) and poor immigrants (18%), and much greater than for poor seniors (9.6%).

On the other hand, poor children faced *less* concentration in very high poverty neighbourhoods than all poor in Chicoutimi (6.6% compared with 13.4%) and in Trois-Rivières (33.4% compared with 41.4%).

YOUTH

Poor youth were *more* concentrated in very high poverty neighbourhoods than other poor residents in Kingston (37.7% compared with 33.6%) and Sherbrooke (20.8% compared with 16.5%). They were *less* concentrated in very poor neighbourhoods than all the poor in Saskatoon (9.1% compared with 13.3%), Hull (23.7% compared with 27.1%), Vancouver (6.2% compared with 11.7%) and Trois-Rivières (33.9% compared with 41.4%).

SENIORS

In many cities, poor seniors were the *least* highly concentrated in very high poverty neighbourhoods of all vulnerable groups. In particular, they were *less* likely than other poor residents to live in very high poverty neighbourhoods in Kingston (18.7% compared with 33.6%), Saskatoon, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Toronto, Victoria, Longueuil, Québec and Montréal. However, in five cities – Gatineau, Chicoutimi, Burnaby, Trois-Rivières and Vancouver – seniors were quite a bit *more* likely to be concentrated in very high poverty neighbourhoods than all the poor in those cities. In Gatineau and Vancouver, in particular, poor

seniors were far *more* segregated into very high poverty neighbourhoods than other vulnerable groups. In Gatineau, 14% of poor seniors lived in very high poverty neighbourhoods, compared with 7.1% of poor youth, 4.3% of poor children, 2.5% of poor immigrants, 4.4% of poor visible minorities and 6.2% of lone-parent families. In Vancouver, 17.3% of poor seniors lived in very high poverty neighbourhoods, compared with 8.8% of poor children, 6.2% of poor youth, 9.3% of poor immigrants, 8.8% of poor visible minorities and 11.4% poor lone-parent families. (Only poor Aboriginal people were more highly concentrated in very high poverty neighbourhoods in Vancouver.)

LONE-PARENT FAMILIES

Although poor lone-parent families often had high levels of concentration in very high poverty neighbourhoods across Canada, they had notably *higher* concentration levels than all poor residents in only three cities – Kingston, Toronto and Québec. In Windsor, lone-parent families had the *lowest* rate of concentration in very high poverty neighbourhoods of all vulnerable groups in that city. Nevertheless, in some locations (regardless of how they compared with other groups), their level of concentration in very high poverty neighbourhoods was above 30% (such as in Trois-Rivières, Kingston, Saint John, Québec and Montréal).

ISOLATION INDEX



The analysis above suggests that many poor urban Canadians were concentrated in poor neighbourhoods, indicating a level of segregation of the poor that has important policy implications. However, this level of segregation was not constant in all cities.

There are several measures of segregation.¹⁵ The majority were developed by U.S. researchers as tools to study racial and ethnic segregation in the country between minority groups and between minority/majority groups. These indicators have since been applied to a wide range of research topics, such as residential segregation and housing market analysis, or segregation within the school system.

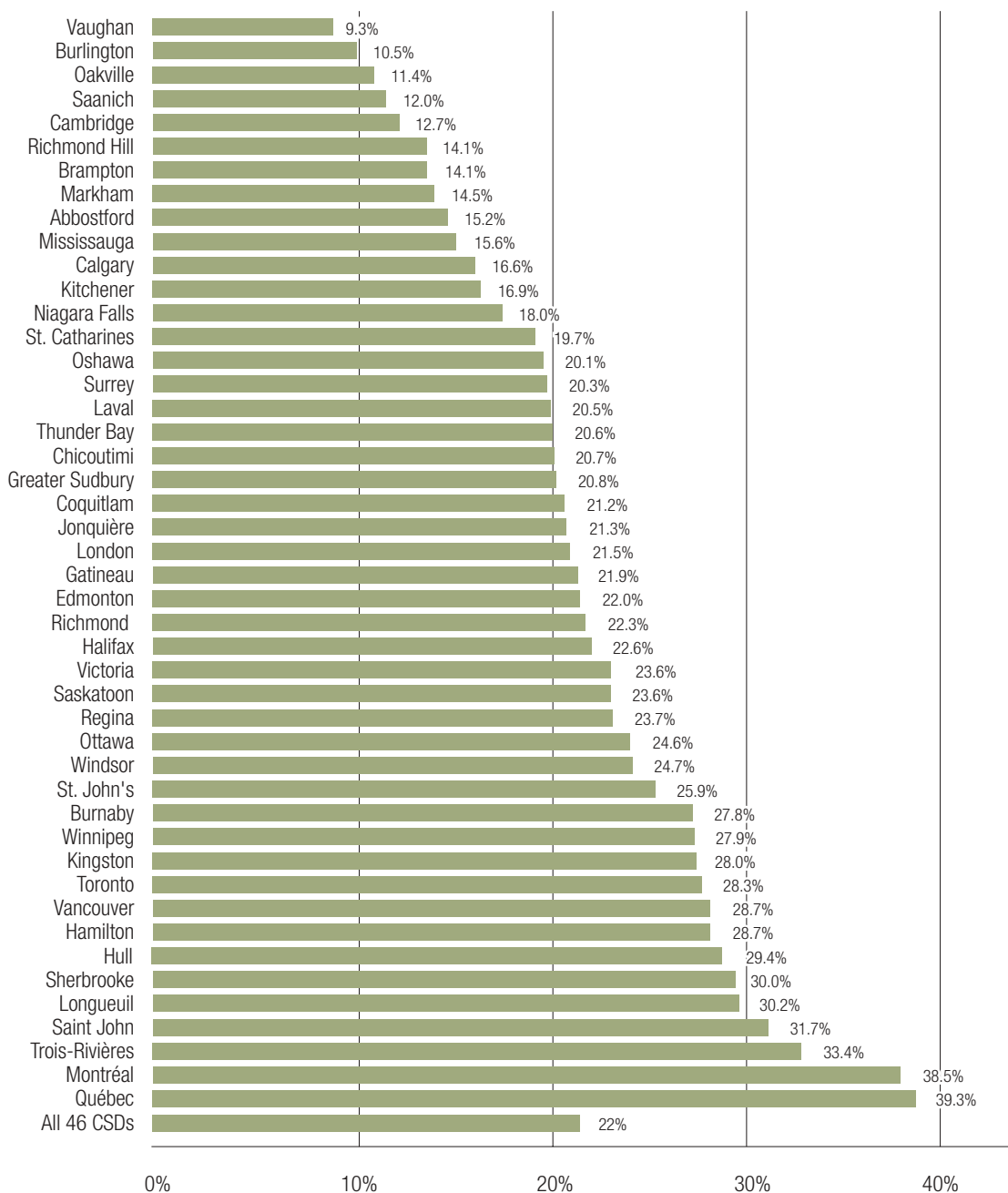
In order to summarize and compare the degree to which poor residents across Canada were isolated within their cities, we have calculated an isolation index. The index helps determine the likelihood that poor people living in the 46 selected cities (including 30 central cities and 16 suburban cities within CMAs) would have had contact only with other poor people within their neighbourhoods. It is a measure of the degree to which people from a certain group – in this case, people living in poverty – are isolated from members of other groups (i.e., those not living in poverty). The isolation index can be expressed as a proportion ranging from 0 to 1, with 0 indicating that there is no likelihood of being completely isolated from those not living in poverty, and 1 indicating complete isolation.¹⁶ For ease of presentation, we convert this to a percentage from 0 to 100. When interpreting this index, it is important to remember that many variables are not

taken into account that, in reality, would have an enormous impact on the likelihood of being isolated. Some of these factors include a person's family circumstances, their living arrangements, housing type, location and organization of services, location of natural physical boundaries, employment opportunities, transportation services, health care facilities, the health of the individual and the presence of certain types of disabilities. Rather than relying on the isolation index to accurately predict the likelihood of actual contact, we present it here as a rough measure by which we can compare the degree of isolation of the poor in different cities.

As shown in Figure 5, there is a very low measure of isolation for poor residents of Vaughan, where there was less than a 10% chance that a poor resident would come in contact with only other poor residents. Low measures of isolation for poor residents were also found in cities such as Burlington, Oakville, Saanich, Cambridge, Richmond Hill, Brampton, Markham, Abbotsford, Mississauga, Calgary, Kitchener and Niagara Falls – where poor residents in those locations had less than a 20% chance of being in contact only with other poor people.

At the other end of the spectrum, however, we found high degrees of isolation of the poor in cities such as Sherbrooke, Longueuil, Saint John, Trois-Rivières, Montréal and Québec, where poor residents had a 30% chance or higher of coming in contact only with other poor residents. The spatial concentration of poverty in these cities was also very high.

FIGURE 5
ISOLATION INDEX FOR SELECT CSDs, 2000



Source: Calculations by the Canadian Council on Social Development using data from Statistics Canada's 2001 Census, custom tabulations.

Note: An Isolation Index, developed by Denton and Massey in 1988, is a measure of the extent to which members of a particular group are exposed only to other members of the same group within their neighbourhood. The index varies from 0 to 100, with 0 indicating that there are no poor in the neighbourhood, and 100 indicating that the neighbourhood is composed entirely of persons from the same group. (Abramson and al., 1995)

SUMMARY



Examining the concentration of poverty in Canadian cities helps paint a picture of the organization of the poor and their environment. Just as Charles Booth stimulated concern about the impact of the spatial concentration of poverty in 19th century London, England, we find cause for concern that some urban areas in Canada contained very high concentrations of poverty in 2000 and that certain vulnerable groups were more likely than others to live there. Cities with high rates of overall poverty were the most likely to have high proportions of very high poverty neighbourhoods. Montréal, Québec, Trois-Rivières and Saint John led the country in this regard, with very high proportions of their neighbourhoods having very high poverty rates. Some cities, such as Kingston in particular, had a higher-than-average proportion of both very high poverty neighbourhoods and low poverty neighbourhoods, given the overall poverty rate for that city. This suggests the possibility of a fair degree of separation and polarization of residents along income lines. Other cities, such as Jonquière, Surrey, Edmonton, Coquitlam, Richmond, Victoria and Vancouver, had lower-than-expected proportions of low poverty neighbourhoods and of very high poverty neighbourhoods. Given the fairly high rates of poverty in some of those cities, this suggests that poverty may be spread more evenly throughout the cities.

The following observations summarize some of the nuances regarding the concentration of poverty among different vulnerable groups in cities across Canada in 2000:

- Poor children were decidedly more likely to live in very high poverty neighbourhoods, relative to other groups, in some cities than in others. For example, Kingston, Saskatoon, Toronto, Victoria, Longueuil and Montréal all had higher-than-average concentrations of poor children in very high poverty neighbourhoods relative to other groups in those cities. And while the city of Toronto had a high concentration of poor children in very high poverty neighbourhoods, neighbouring Vaughan had a higher-than-average proportion of poor children living in low poverty neighbourhoods.
- Poor youth had a greater concentration than most other groups in very high poverty neighbourhoods in Kingston and Sherbrooke.
- Poor seniors fared better than most vulnerable groups; in most cities, they were less likely to be concentrated in very high poverty neighbourhoods (especially in Kingston). In five cities, however, poor seniors were more segregated into very high poverty neighbourhoods than other groups – and in Gatineau and Vancouver, in particular, they were *much* more segregated.
- Poor immigrants had notably higher levels of concentration in very high poverty neighbourhoods than other groups in Sherbrooke, Québec and Montréal, in particular. In Québec, for example, three of every five poor immigrants in the city lived in a very high poverty neighbourhood. In contrast, poor immigrants were less concentrated in very high poverty neighbourhoods in Kingston.
- Ottawa, Halifax, Windsor, Toronto, Hull, Saint John, Sherbrooke, Québec and Montréal all had higher proportions of visible minority persons concentrated in very high poverty neighbourhoods, as compared with other groups. On the other hand, visible minority persons in Regina, Kingston and Vancouver were less concentrated in very high poverty neighbourhoods.

- Poor lone-parent families registered high levels of concentration in very high poverty neighbourhoods in cities across the country. In Kingston, Saint John, Trois-Rivières, Québec and Montréal, for example, the concentration of poor lone-parent families in very high poverty neighbourhoods was in excess of 30%. In Kingston, Toronto and Québec, poor lone-parent families were more highly concentrated in very high poverty neighbourhoods than all other poor residents in those cities.
- The extremely high degree of concentration in very high poverty neighbourhoods was most stark among poor Aboriginal people. In every city except Toronto, poor Aboriginal people were considerably less likely to live in low poverty neighbourhoods than all poor residents together. In most cities, poor Aboriginal people were much more likely to live in very high poverty neighbourhoods, and in some cities, this concentration was quite severe. For example, in Winnipeg, 46.7% of poor Aboriginal people were living in very high poverty neighbourhoods, compared with 25.2% of all poor people; poor visible minorities were the second most highly concentrated group in Winnipeg, at 28.4%. Similar findings were evident in Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Vancouver and Victoria.

Vulnerable groups and different dimensions of vulnerability appear to leave some segments of the population more likely to live in very poor neighbourhoods. Which groups are most affected by this trend varies from city to city. The spatial configuration of poverty is complex, and its impact is still not completely understood.

ENDNOTES



- ¹ Fearon, David. "Charles Booth: Mapping London's Poverty, 1885-1903." In Center for Spatially Integrated Social Science. *CSIS Classics*. Santa Barbara: Regents of University of California. Available from: <http://www.csiss.org/classics/content/45>.
- ² *Ibid.*
- ³ Corak, Miles, and Andrew Heisz. *Neighbourhoods, Social Capital and the Long-term Prospects for Children*. Paper presented at the Conference on the State of Living Standards and the Quality of Life in Canada, Ottawa, Oct. 1998.
- ⁴ In this paper, we do not examine rural poverty.
- ⁵ Note that some of the numbers and percentages for the CSD data (and even the CMA totals) presented here will differ slightly from those presented in our time-series analysis (*A Lost Decade*). The 2000 poverty statistics presented in that analysis were based on geographic boundaries that were reconfigured to match those in 1996, for consistency over time. In other words, they were based on 2000 poverty data reconfigured to 1996 boundaries. In addition, the CMA and CSD data presented here include Kingston and Abbotsford, which became CMAs in 2001.
- ⁶ Neighbourhoods are defined here in terms of census tracts.
- ⁷ Unfortunately, due to a lack of appropriate special Census tabulations, we are unable to present data for people with disabilities in this section.
- ⁸ Where the number of poor individuals was less than 1,000, the percentages are withheld. Also, the categories for vulnerable groups are not mutually exclusive; in fact, there is a great deal of overlap among these groups. Many individuals are members of more than one vulnerable group.
- ⁹ Our data do not permit a breakdown by length of time since immigration.
- ¹⁰ This is high relative to poor seniors in other cities.
- ¹¹ No data are presented for any group where the number of poor in that group within the city was below 1,000 in 2000.
- ¹² Calgary is not mentioned here since there were no very high poverty neighbourhoods in Calgary in 2000.
- ¹³ While 17.1% of all children in Regina were Aboriginal, they accounted for 48% of all *poor* children. The poverty rate of non-Aboriginal children in Regina was 14%, compared with 63.6% for Aboriginal children. So, when we consider the concentration of poor children compared with poor Aboriginal people in very high poverty neighbourhoods in Regina, it is important to remember the overlap between these two groups. Thus, when we find a very high concentration of poor children in Regina living in very poor neighbourhoods, it is important to recognize that these children were disproportionately *also* Aboriginal children.

- ¹⁴ As with Regina, the high concentration of poor children in very high poverty neighbourhoods in Saskatoon was inextricably linked with the high concentration of poor Aboriginal people. In Saskatoon, 18% of children were Aboriginal, but 45.6% of *poor* children were Aboriginal. Aboriginal children had a poverty rate of 62%, compared with 16.1% for non-Aboriginal children.
- ¹⁵ Massey, D. and N.A. Denton. "The Dimensions of Residential Segregation." In *Social Forces*, Vol. 67, 281-315, 1988.
- ¹⁶ The formula for the isolation index is $I_i = \frac{\sum (\frac{p_i}{P})^2}{\sum (\frac{p_i}{n_i})}$, where p_i is the number of poor persons in census tract i , P is the number of poor persons in the city (i.e., the larger geographic entity for which the isolation index is being calculated) and n_i is the number of people living in census tract i .

The **Urban Poverty Project 2007** is a series of comprehensive analytical reports, resource tools, and data profiles which take a broad look at different aspects of urban poverty in Canada, using detailed data from Statistics Canada Censuses and other sources. Reports in the UPP series examine the economic security of Canadians in the largest metropolitan areas. Some reports pay special attention to the status of certain population groups that are particularly vulnerable to poverty, while others examine the concentration of poverty in urban neighbourhoods.

This series of on-line documents and resources is designed to be both user- and planet-friendly.

It includes fact sheets, poverty data tables, in-depth reports, and summary documents. All UPP materials are available at <http://www.ccsd.ca/pubs/2007/upp/>.

Reports and products developed under the Urban Poverty Project 2007 include:

- *Community Profiles: National Edition;*
- *A Lost Decade*, an historical analysis of urban poverty from 1990 to 2000;
- Detailed analyses of different dimensions of urban poverty in 2000, presented in the following reports:
 - *Poverty by Geography;*
 - *Dimensions of Income Among Poor Households;*
 - *Employment and Education;*
 - *Populations Vulnerable to Poverty;*
 - *Age, Gender and Family;*
 - *Neighbourhood Poverty;*
- An on-line database containing demographic profiles of 111 communities across Canada;
- Another database of over 100 poverty data tables, organized by levels of geography;
- A summary report on the Urban Poverty Project 2007.



The Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD) is Canada's oldest non-profit research group. The Council measures, monitors and reports on issues of social and economic security and well-being. A national, membership-based organization, the CCSD facilitates forums to encourage innovative and pro-active sharing, discussion and debate.

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