

Vancouver Centre of Excellence



Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis

Working Paper Series

No. 01-07

**Emerging Patterns of Immigrant Settlement in Metropolitan
Sydney and Vancouver: The Need for New Concepts and Models**

Ian Burnley, Dan Hiebert

January 2001

RIIM

Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis

The Vancouver Centre is funded by grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Citizenship & Immigration Canada, Simon Fraser University, the University of British Columbia and the University of Victoria. We also wish to acknowledge the financial support of the Metropolis partner agencies:

- Health Canada
- Human Resources Development Canada
- Department of Canadian Heritage
- Department of the Solicitor General of Canada
- Status of Women Canada
- Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
- Correctional Service of Canada
- Immigration & Refugee Board

Views expressed in this manuscript are those of the author(s) alone. For more information contact the Co-Directors of the Centre, Dr. Don DeVoretz, Department of Economics, SFU (e-mail: devoretz@sfu.ca) or Dr. David Ley, Department of Geography, UBC (e-mail: davidley@unixg.ubc.ca).

**Emerging Patterns of Immigrant Settlement in Metropolitan
Sydney and Vancouver: The Need for New Concepts and Models**

Ian Burnley

Department of Geography
University of New South Wales
Sydney, NSW 2052
i.burnley@unsw.edu.au

Dan Hiebert

Department of Geography
University of British Columbia
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2
dhiebert@geog.ubc.ca

January 2001

Abstract: We describe and interpret the changing residential location patterns of immigrants to Sydney and Vancouver. Planning and policy questions relating to high residential concentrations of migrant groups are considered. The evolving locations of immigrants challenge the continued relevance of traditional conceptual models in explaining contemporary settlement patterns. They also require a reworking of related planning models for organising service delivery. In particular, the suburbanisation of recent immigrant settlement contrasts strongly with a traditional concentration in inner cities in areas of cheap, high density housing close to the factories where many migrants first worked.

Key words: residential concentration, urban models, suburbanisation, ethnic diversity

Emerging patterns of immigrant settlement at the metropolitan scale

This paper focuses on patterns and determinants of immigrant settlement in Sydney and Vancouver and how these have changed over time. We begin by outlining the dominant model of urban socio-spatial structure and then show that immigrants have recently settled in ways that city planners and urban geographers would not have anticipated 20 years ago. The new patterns of settlement reflect globalization processes, and also a transformation in how immigrants are admitted to Australia and Canada. We conclude by discussing the implications of emerging patterns of immigrant settlement for models of urban structure and for the delivery of government and NGO services to immigrant populations.

Modeling the Metropolis

Their [new immigrants'] invasion of the city has the effect of a tidal wave, inundating first the [established] immigrant colonies, the ports of first entry, dislodging thousands of inhabitants who overflow into the next zone, and so on until the momentum of the wave has spent its momentum on the last [most peripheral] urban zone. (Burgess 1925, 57-58)

When immigrants first arrive, they cluster in central locations dominated by members of their own ethnic group, a tendency that is no different in 1998 than it was in 1908. (Clark 1998, 140)

The traditional view of immigrant settlement was established by urban sociologists in Chicago during the early 20th century. Surprisingly, after some 75 years and despite many calls to abandon this framework, the basic elements of the Chicago model continue to dominate urban studies, for example in William Clark's influential recent book on immigration in California (see the above quotation). The pervasive model begins with these assumptions:

- A linear relationship, in industrialized cities, between housing cost and distance from the city centre, such that the least expensive housing is in inner-city neighbourhoods;
- Immigrants come to first-world cities to improve their fortunes: they arrive with little money and generally experience upward mobility after a relatively brief adjustment period;

- Upward economic mobility is strongly associated with assimilation to western mores and the gradual abandonment of ‘folk’ oriented pre-immigration cultures.

Given these assumptions, the following processes and patterns are postulated:

- Immigrants settle initially in inner-city neighbourhoods;
- Immigrants seek to live near others of their cultural background during the initial phase of adjustment to their adopted societies. Therefore, reception neighbourhoods in the inner city are highly group-specific;
- After this initial phase, immigrants adjust (assimilate) and improve their linguistic capability and human capital. This leads to upward social mobility that is accompanied by relocation to better housing in the suburbs;
- Suburban movement is therefore associated with a process of acculturation and suburbs are less ethnically differentiated than inner-city neighbourhoods.¹ That is, they are home to mixed populations and have low levels of ethnic concentration.

Clark (1998) argues that, with some exceptions, these processes are generally occurring in Los Angeles and San Francisco. While the pace of economic advancement is more rapid for Asian-origin groups than Hispanics, both are attaining middle class incomes and moving to ethnically mixed suburban bands around the two metropolitan areas.

In sum, the model of urban spatial structure inherited from the period of substantial (mainly European) immigration in the early 20th century leads us to expect inner-city concentrations of populations needing various forms of social assistance, including language training, programmes designed to develop other aspects of human capital, income support, special day

care facilities to enable both men and women to access these programmes, and so on. The level of need would be expected to drop with distance from the city centre, since people living

¹ Actually, the Chicago sociologists were often more sophisticated, and saw more irony in these processes, than many contemporary researchers. For example, Louis Wirth (1928) wrote that the first immigrants who move to the suburbs encourage others who follow in their path, and that the ‘ghetto’ was eventually replicated in a new setting.

in peripheral areas would be acclimatised to the requirements of their new society. As we argue below, both of these expectations, but especially the latter, are fundamentally wrong in Sydney and Vancouver.

Both Sydney and Vancouver offer economic, social and environmental settings that have attracted a wide range of migrant groups, from refugees who arrive with few financial resources, through skilled workers, to international business elites. Many newcomers are assisted, some directly by relevant state ministries, some by NGOs, and others by specific ethnic organizations and/or kin. These support systems have additional consequences that influence the ways that immigrants experience the city and the micro-geographies of the settlement process. Finally, the internal housing markets of Sydney and Vancouver are both highly differentiated, also influencing the settlement process.

Postwar Immigrant Social Geographies, 1945-1970

The residential settlement of post war immigrants in both Sydney and Vancouver was focussed on the inner city, especially for those immigrants who originated in southern and eastern Europe and, in Vancouver's case, Asia.² In both cities, however, there were

² Note that the meaning of terms like urban/suburban and inner city/outer city differs between Australia and Canada. In the Sydney case, the phrase 'within the city limits', and the concept of 'suburbia' as beyond the city limits, are inappropriate. First, in everyday language the term 'suburb' is applied to inner city residential districts as well as outer residential localities. Second, the City of Sydney, as an administrative unit, included fewer than 50,000 out of over 3.7 million in the metropolitan area in 1996. There were 44 separate municipal units in the Sydney metropolitan area in 1996—which, unless otherwise specified, are the spatial units of analysis in the remainder of this paper (Figure 1). The terms used in Sydney are, first, "inner city areas", mostly areas of medium density housing as they were developed before the age of the motor car. Second, two suburban zones are also used: the "middle ring suburbs", built between the two world wars and commonly oriented toward public transport routes, and the "outer suburbs" which have been developed since the Second World War. The "outer suburbs" have in turn been divided into older established outer areas mostly developed between the Second World War and 1960 and "newer release" suburbs developed after that date. Of course some of the newer release districts were mature suburbs by 1996.

There is a closer correspondence between the classic concepts of inner-city and suburban areas in Vancouver. There, the inner city is normally seen as a portion of the City of Vancouver (roughly, the West End, Downtown, and the central portion of the City north of 16th Avenue). The rest of the City of Vancouver is generally included in the category of 'inner suburbs' and was mainly built between the closing years of the 19th century and 1939 (with a great deal of subsequent infill and redevelopment). The Cities of Richmond, North Vancouver, Burnaby, and New Westminster constitute a zone of mid-range suburbs, and the other municipalities of Greater Vancouver are classified as outer suburbs (Figure 2).

exceptions to this general pattern. In Sydney, the post-war inner-city housing stock was primarily owned by middle class individuals who lived elsewhere. Most of these dwellings were rented to recent immigrants, especially from southern Europe. However the real rate of return on rental properties was low, and owners often sold them to sitting tenants. Over time, substantial inner city residential communities formed in owner-occupied housing, commonly on the basis of village groups and wider family networks (Burnley, 1972). An early tradition of owner-occupier housing was established among even low-income immigrant communities.

In the 1950s and early 1960s, house prices and rents were also relatively low in the suburbs immediately west, south and, to a lesser extent, east of the central city. The housing in these inner suburbs was dominated by private dwellings in the form of terraces, semi-detached houses or working class cottages, mostly soundly constructed of brick or sandstone. Generally speaking, eastern Europeans tended to settle in the middle-class inner eastern suburbs while those from southern Europe settled primarily in the inner western districts (Italians), developed in the 19th century, and the inner south (Greeks), in localities of similar vintage (Burnley, 1973).

There were also some pockets of affordable housing and immigrant settlement in more distant suburbs, though, particularly in Bankstown, Liverpool and Fairfield in the south west of the metropolitan area (Figure 1). Here detached houses were built with house-land packages frequently under A£200. Numerous eastern European former refugees and central Europeans availed themselves of these packages, as did lower-income British settlers and working class Australian-born families. Typically, the detached bungalows in these areas were built using the cheapest of materials, seen in the fibro-cement or weatherboard exterior cladding. On the western fringe of the metropolitan area, Italian (Calabrian), Croatian and Maltese immigrants had entered the market gardening sector in the early postwar period. In the 1950s and 1960s, these immigrant families were attracted by low land prices on the urban fringe. They tended to stay put as urbanization expanded, and the economic base of the western urban fringe

shifted to industrial and construction activities. More limited chain migration of elderly Italians, and Croatians, Serbs and Maltese has continued to the present.

Figure 1: Metropolitan Sydney



The basic story of the early postwar period of immigrant settlement in Vancouver is more simple in certain respects but more complicated in others (Hiebert 1999). Immigration to Canada rebounded almost immediately after the war, and Europeans—from nearly all parts of the continent—arrived in large numbers; over 200,000 residents of the metropolitan area in 1971 were born outside Canada. As in Sydney, the vast majority settled in or near the inner city where accommodation was least expensive, east and southeast of the downtown (Figures 2 and 3). Immigrants rented or purchased houses built, mainly, in the decades before and after 1914-18 (Holdsworth, 1977; Wynn, 1992). East Vancouver was at this time a classic inner-city reception area, with German, Italian, Portuguese, and other European neighbourhoods, each with its commercial and cultural landscapes (Ley et al, 1992). Its housing stock was mainly detached single-family units, but literally thousands of these were made into multiple

units by converting the basement into a self-contained dwelling space, usually with two bedrooms. To this day, the term ‘mortgage helper’ is locally used to refer to these basement suites.

Figure 2: Metropolitan Vancouver

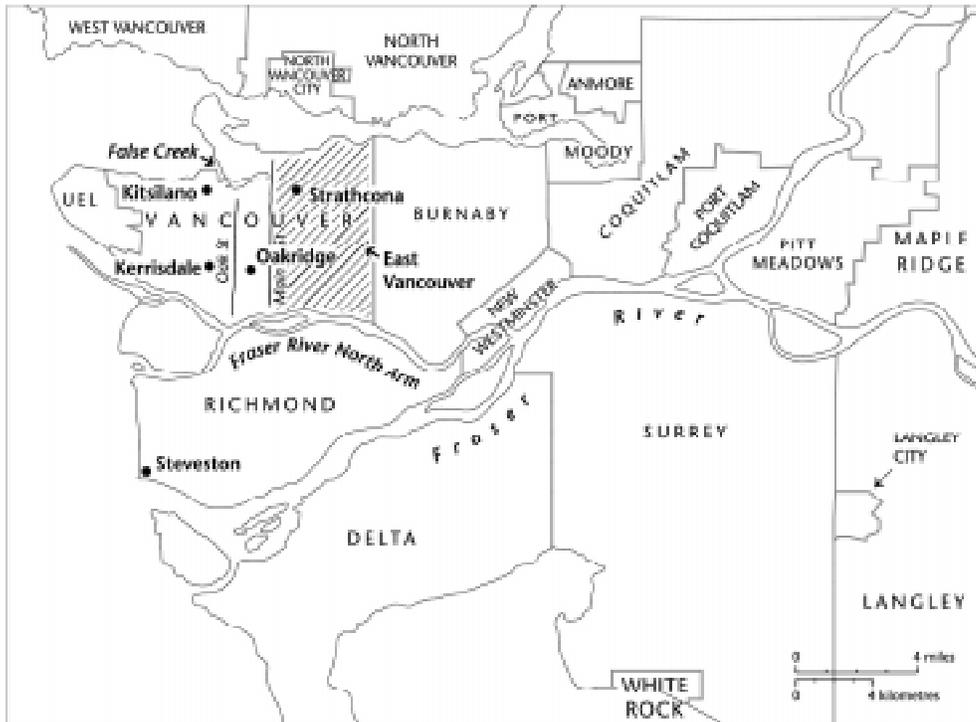


Figure 3: Total immigrant population, Vancouver CMA, 1971



A few European groups lived in more dispersed patterns, notably British immigrants, who could be found throughout most of the metropolitan region. Greeks, another residentially distinctive group, tended to live in walk-up apartments in the westside neighbourhood of Kitsilano.

The settlement of Asian-Canadians was also complex. In 1971, the majority of Chinese-origin immigrants and their descendents lived in or around the eastside inner-city neighbourhood of Strathcona. Another area of Chinese-Canadians was emerging directly south of the downtown, along Oak Street, which was also the predominant Jewish neighbourhood of Vancouver. Prior to 1940, there was also a significant Japanese-Canadian population in Strathcona, but it had been forcibly removed during the War. Prewar Japanese immigrants engaged in the fishery had also settled in Steveston, the southwestern portion of what is now the City of Richmond. They too had been forced to leave. The Japanese-Canadians who returned to Vancouver after their internment lived in a dispersed pattern, but generally near the Fraser River. The other growing Asian community—Indo-Canadians—had originally settled near the industrial region of False Creek. As the sawmills relocated to the cheaper land along the Fraser River (in the extreme southern portion of the City of Vancouver), Indo-

Canadians followed, and by 1971 this group had begun creating a small enclave near the foot of Main Street.

Details aside, the basic pattern of immigrant settlement in Sydney and Vancouver in 1971 was similar. Immigrants were drawn to neighbourhoods with inexpensive housing in or near the inner city. Also, certain immigrant groups that were engaged in resource-related sectors of the economy (farming in both cities, fishing and the lumber industry in Vancouver) lived in more peripheral locations, again in areas of cheap land. Immigrants from Britain were, generally, more dispersed than those from other countries. While the patterns of immigrant settlement at this time did not quite fit the traditional model of immigrant settlement, they were close. In particular, immigrants gravitated toward inexpensive housing, and (aside from the British) were barely present in middle-class districts.

Remaking the Metropolis, 1971-1996

The nature of immigrant settlement has been transformed since the early 1970s, with newcomers arriving in Sydney and Vancouver from almost every corner of the earth (Table 1). Furthermore, the socio-economic background of immigrants ranges more widely than ever before; Australia and Canada have both adopted multicultural policies, which have led to new dynamics of integration; and urban spaces have been re-evaluated and redeveloped as the new middle class has come to appreciate inner-city living.

Table 1: Birthplace groups in Metropolitan Sydney and Vancouver, 1996 census

Birthplace and Region	Sydney		Vancouver	
	Number	Per cent of Overseas-born	Number	Per cent of Overseas-born
Europe				
North West	247,089	20.6	122,670	19.4
Eastern	100,813	8.4	33,480	5.3
Southern	120,799	10.1	34,525	5.5
Other	21,700	1.8		
Total	490,401	40.9	190,680	30.2
Pacific region	110,070	9.2	19,790	3.1
Americas	73,058	6.1	45,835	7.2
Middle East	108,984	9.1	16,840	2.7
Asia				
East	137,694	11.5	210,395	33.2
Southeast	169,513	14.1	69,585	11.0
South	47,153	3.9	58,445	9.2
Other	18,422	1.5		
Total	372,782	31.1	338,430	53.4
Africa	26,640	2.2	21,805	3.4
Other	15,400	1.4		
Total	1,197,335	100.0	633,390	100.0

Note: there are inconsistencies in the Australian and Canadian classification systems, which required the use of 'other' categories for Sydney.

Source: Census of the commonwealth of Australia, 6 August, 1999;

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census, Nation Series.

Table 2 illustrates the different settlement patterns of the postwar and more recent immigrant cohorts to Sydney. Whereas 26 per cent of immigrants settled in the inner city in the first period, the proportion fell to less than 11 per cent in the second. In part this was due to gentrification in the inner city where housing was considerably more expensive by the early 1980s than in the outer western suburbs. Interestingly, many early postwar immigrants from southern Europe sold their homes to middle class individuals and families wanting to live near the downtown (Kendig, 1979); ironically, as the new middle class moved into the inner city, previous residents tended to move to middle and outer suburbs where they created new ethnic settlements. Moreover, industry was decentralising during this period, and new jobs were available in the suburbs, as well as, in many cases, inexpensive housing. The activities of the state also played a significant role. The major immigrant hostels through which refugee, humanitarian and assisted migrants passed were located in the western suburbs, and this along with housing market and employment factors meant that middle ring and outer western industrial suburbs became the new reception centres for lower income immigrants from

southeast Asia, part of the Middle East, and South America. Substantial communities formed in these suburbs as family reunion and chain migration followed the initial refugees (Waxman, 1999).

Table 2: Estimates of net migration of the overseas-born in residential zones of Metropolitan Sydney, 1947-1971 and 1971-1996

Zone	1947 - 1971 number	Per cent distribution	1971-1996 number	Per cent distribution
Inner city	132,450	25.6	63,297	10.8
Middle ring suburbs (1918-1939)	44,150	8.5	79,670	13.6
Older established outer suburbs (1947- 1960)				
More recent outer suburbs (1961-1994)	94,379	18.1	135,890	23.2
	248,441*	47.8	307,230**	52.4
Totals	519,420	100.0	586,087	100.0

- Note:
- (1) Boundaries standardised to 1971 boundaries
 - (2) The Life Table Survival Ratio method was used for the Australian-born and overseas-born populations in aggregate.
 - (3) Some of the growth in the middle ring and outer suburbs between 1971-1996 involved relocations of earlier overseas-born settlers from the inner city.
 - (4) * comprising mostly United Kingdom, and New Zealand-born, migration.
 - (5) ** Comprising mostly East Asian, South Asian, New Zealand, north America and South African migration.

Source: Overseas-born and Australian –born populations, unpublished tables by five year age groups and gender by LGAs, 1947, 1971 and 1996 censuses.

In general terms, Sydney's inner city Local Government Areas (LGAs) are highly differentiated, ranging from Hunters Hill, which has a relatively low proportion of overseas-born and a largely Anglo-Celtic population, to Marrickville, with half its population born outside Australia, including large Vietnamese and Portuguese minority groups. The share of the immigrant population in the middle-ring LGAs approximates the Sydney average. As in the inner city, however, the particular patterns of settlement in middle-ring LGAs are complex, with some areas dominated by European groups, others by Asians, and still others that are highly mixed. The social geography of the outer suburbs is, arguably, the most variegated of all. Some higher-status northern LGAs, such as Ku-ring-gai and Hornsby, house large immigrant populations, typically from English-speaking countries and eastern Asia. The presence of Asian groups in some of the most expensive properties in the

metropolitan area reflects the changing nature of international migration, particularly the recent trend for 'designer immigrants' to move to English-speaking global cities. The cultural composition of lower-income outer suburbs ranges very widely (Burnley, 1999). Relatively few immigrants live in Penrith, for example, while the opposite holds for Auburn and Fairfield. Significantly, some immigrant groups, notably from India, Korea, and Taiwan, are split between those who live in expensive LGAs and low-income ones – again illustrating the polarised fortunes of contemporary immigrants.

Fairfield is perhaps the most interesting example of an outer suburb that has come to be associated with immigrant reception. Fifty-seven per cent of the LGA population is foreign-born (a higher figure than any inner-city LGA), 26,000 from Vietnam, 20,000 from other parts of South East Asia, 25,000 from various parts of the Middle East, with refugees from Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Iraq, and Timor, sizeable communities from South America, and residual Italian, Croatian, Serbian, German and Austrian communities dating from the post-war period. Today, there are over 60 ethnic groups in Fairfield, the most cosmopolitan municipality in Australia. Fairfield became an immigrant receiving area because of lower cost housing, the immigration hostels, local institutions serving immigrant/ethnic populations, government and voluntary human services systems, and employment opportunities (Wilson, 1989). The entrepreneurship of immigrants transformed the formerly blighted shopping centres near the suburban train stations into vibrant commercial places and spaces, notably Cabramatta. Secondary settlement from Fairfield has also taken place in the adjacent Bankstown and Liverpool LGAs.

All of these trends are occurring in Vancouver as well. As in Sydney, in 1971 immigrants were more prone than the rest of the population to live in the inner city; this was especially true of recent immigrants (Table 3). By 1996, however, the proportions of immigrants and non-immigrants living in the inner city was about the same. Immigrants continued to reside in disproportionate numbers in the remainder of the City of Vancouver, though, while they were under-represented in the outer suburbs. These patterns are corroborated by Figure 4, which,

compared with Figure 3, illustrates the considerable suburban trajectory of immigrant settlement between 1971 and 1996.

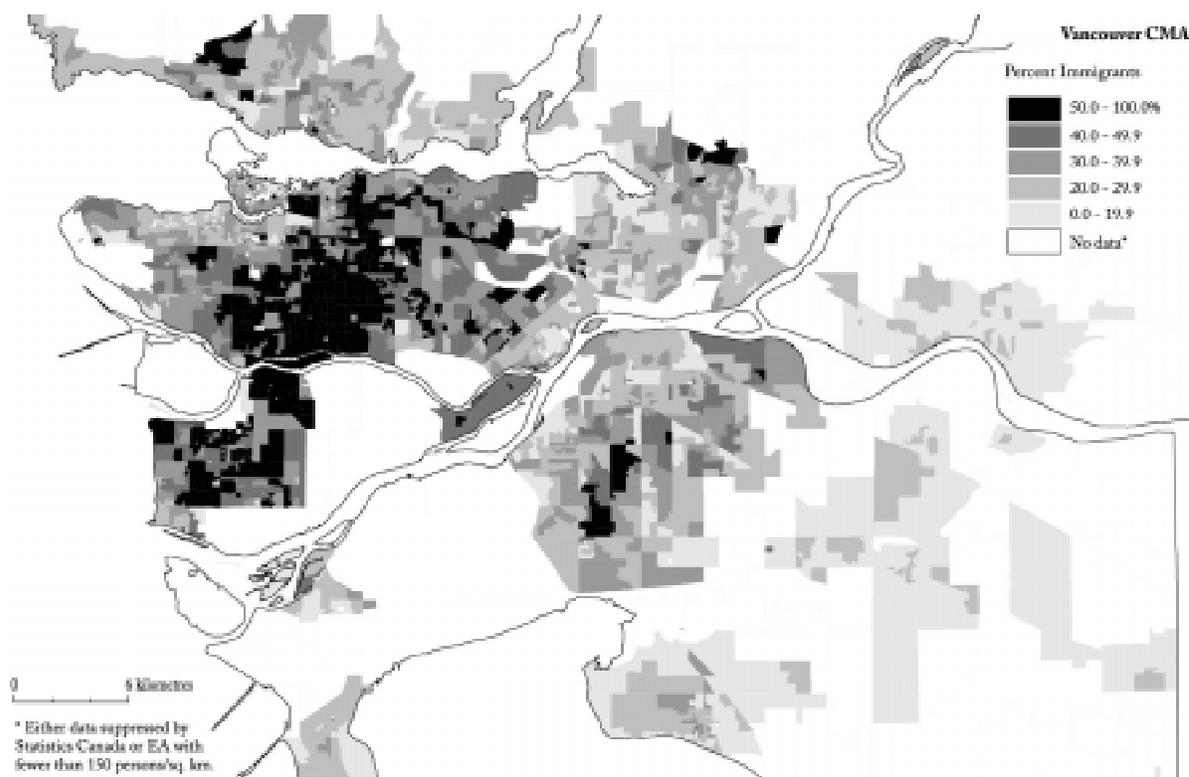
Table 3: Population of Metropolitan Vancouver by zone and immigrant status, 1971, 1996

1971	Population #	Population %	Non- immigrants %	Pre-1961 immigrants %	1961-71 immigrants %
Inner city	166,075	15.3	12.7	20.2	28.2
City of Vancouver (remainder)	265,355	24.5	22.9	28.5	30.2
Middle-range suburbs	262,510	24.3	25.5	21.8	18.1
Outer suburbs	388,415	35.9	38.8	29.4	23.6
Total population (CMA)	1,082,350	1,082,350	795,870	198,870	87,615
1996	Population #	Population %	Non- immigrants %	Pre-1991 immigrants %	1991-96 immigrants %
Inner city	198,195	10.9	10.6	11.6	10.0
City of Vancouver (remainder)	317,745	17.5	13.1	24.9	26.4
Middle-range suburbs	415,140	22.9	20.5	24.2	33.6
Outer suburbs	882,725	48.7	55.8	39.4	29.9
Total population (CMA)	1,813,935	1,813,935	1,156,360	444,090	189,655

Source: 1971: Statistics Canada, custom tabulation G00197

1996: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, DLI file PR96CT.IVT

Figure 4: Total immigrant population, Vancouver CMA, 1996



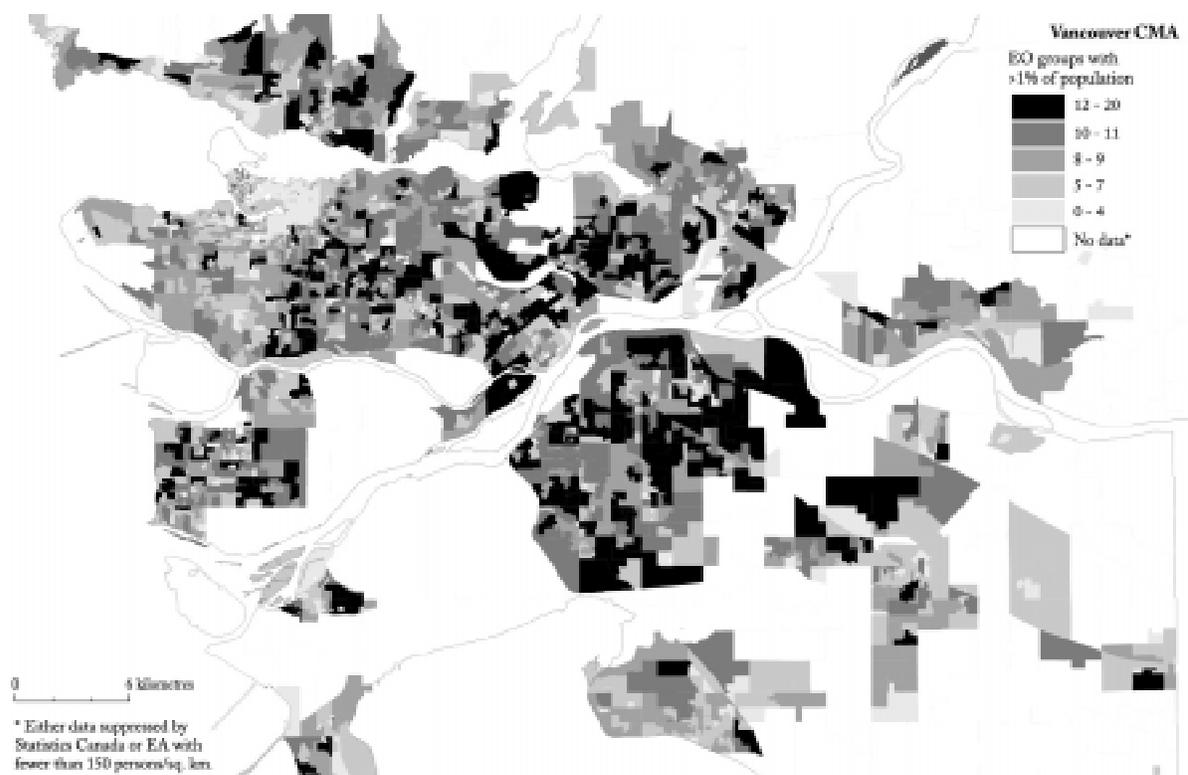
Again, like Sydney, there are distinctly different landscapes of immigrant settlement in Vancouver. In the City of Vancouver, these range from Strathcona, which continues to house a mainly low-income Chinese-Canadian population (for example, there is one census Enumeration Area in this neighbourhood where 97 per cent of residents are immigrants, and where 100 per cent are of Chinese ancestry). In 1996, the ‘primary maintainer’ in two-thirds of the households in the census tract that includes Strathcona was an immigrant. Of these, 70 per cent had 1995 incomes that were below Statistics Canada’s Low Income Cutoff (a measure of relative poverty), an alarming figure given the metropolitan average of 25 per cent. However, just three kilometres to the southeast, there are other neighbourhoods that house immigrant populations with considerably higher incomes. Moreover, the immigrant population in the Kerrisdale-Oakridge area, approximately five kilometres southwest of Strathcona, resides in some of the most expensive housing in Greater Vancouver (Ley, 1995). Significantly, the immigrant communities of both Strathcona and Kerrisdale-Oakridge are mainly of Chinese origin.

The incipient settlement of Asian-Canadians in peripheral neighbourhoods in 1971 was, in retrospect, a precursor to the multi-nodal pattern of immigrant social geography that has subsequently emerged. However, while early suburbanisation was related, as we have seen, to employment in the resource and processing sectors, and was associated with pockets of inexpensive land, contemporary suburban settlement is based on complex causes, and has produced complex landscapes. There is no exact Vancouver parallel to Sydney's Fairfield, but there are parts of the Cities of Richmond and Surrey that have similarly high proportions of immigrants (50 per cent in several census tracts). Like Sydney, both are centres of direct immigrant settlement, and each has active immigrant aid organizations that assist newcomers in the housing and labour markets (though, in contrast to Sydney, with one small exception, all of the immigrant hostels in Vancouver are concentrated in the inner city). In everyday life, residents of Greater Vancouver associate particular suburban areas with specific ethno-cultural groups, notably North Vancouver with Persian-Canadians, Surrey with Indo-Canadians, and Richmond with Chinese-Canadians.³ Each of these stereotypes is, to an extent, valid, but only partially so. In fact, with some exceptions, most of the middle-range and outer suburbs of Greater Vancouver are culturally mixed. This is illustrated by Figure 5, which provides a rough measure of ethnic diversity.⁴ Significantly, many of the suburbs of Greater Vancouver, even those on the metropolitan periphery, are as ethnically diverse as the inner city. Further, many of the areas commonly associated with single groups are actually multicultural (e.g. Richmond). In Sydney as well areas routinely assumed to house single groups are usually, like Fairfield, far more mixed than their reputations imply.

³ For example, a popular local joke is: "Which river separates India from China?—The Fraser" (which flows between Richmond and Surrey).

⁴ This map is based on a simple method, but still requires some clarification. In the 1996 census, respondents were asked to name their ethnic origin(s). Most indicated a single ethnic identity, but they were allowed to list up to four. Figure 5 is based on the number who indicated a single ethnicity. For each Enumeration Area

Figure 5: 'Ethnic diversity', Vancouver CMA, 1996



The cultural heterogeneity of Sydney and Vancouver is also corroborated by aggregate spatial statistics. The most commonly used of these is the index of segregation, which indicates the degree of distinctiveness of a group relative to the rest of the population. A figure of zero means that the group in question is completely intermingled (strictly speaking, it has exactly the same spatial distribution as the rest of the population), whereas a figure of 100 means the group is entirely ghettoised. In Sydney, the groups with the highest degree of segregation (over 60) all tend to be recently arrived and the product of forced migration (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodians, Iraqis, and Macedonians). Note that the concentrations of these groups are mainly found in the suburbs. The next tier of segregation (between 40 and 60) is comprised of other refugee groups (e.g., from Sudan, Afghanistan, and Myanmar/Burma), as well as immigrants from a wide variety of non-European countries (e.g., Uruguay, South Korea,

(average population of approximately 725), the number of groups with at least 10 members was counted, under the assumption that areas with the highest number of groups are the most culturally diverse.

Bangladesh, Lebanon) and a few 'middle-income' European ones (e.g., Portugal, Ukraine). However, immigrants from many non-English speaking countries are more widely scattered across Sydney (index values of 20-40); these include individuals from the Philippines, China, Egypt, Kenya, and India—of which many are recent arrivals. Finally, the Australian-born and groups from Northern and Western Europe had the lowest index values (0-20).

The Vancouver patterns in 1996 were quite similar, with groups at the lowest and highest levels of segregation that would be predicted on the basis of traditional theory. However, as in Sydney, there were exceptions to this general rule. In Vancouver, we probed the issue of ethnic segregation further by calculating separate index values for Vancouver and the surrounding suburban municipalities. Significantly, the levels of ethnic segregation in both parts of the metropolitan area were almost identical; the suburbanisation of immigrant settlement is *not* associated with a reduction in the tendency for groups to form residential enclaves. We do not wish to overstate this point, however. In both Sydney and Vancouver, no groups have formed exclusive ghettos, whether in inner city or suburban locations.

The cultural diversity of suburbs is mirrored by an equally complex socio-economic composition. Broadly speaking, the traditional model of urban spatial structure holds in Vancouver, in that average incomes are lowest in the inner city and rise as one moves toward the outer suburbs. However, there is profound heterogeneity in each of these zones. Vancouver's mid-range and outer suburbs actually contain a considerable degree of poverty, especially within their immigrant populations. There are census tracts in Richmond, for example, where 50 per cent of post-1986 immigrant households fall below Statistics Canada's Low Income Cutoff. Similarly, in the tract in Surrey with the highest proportion of immigrants, 47 per cent of recently-arrived immigrant households are in the same predicament. Clearly, suburbs have taken on a much larger immigrant reception role than they did in the past, and now host the same 'adjustment' issues that were once assumed to be confined to the inner city.

Summarising this survey of emerging residential patterns in Sydney and Vancouver, we highlight the following points:

- In general, new immigrant groups, especially from non-European countries continue to be more centrally located than those of European origin; however, the proportion of non-European minorities living in suburbs is rising more rapidly than that of the total population;
- Suburban settlement occurs for a number of reasons, including the cost of land and housing, the location of government and NGO services, the location of employment opportunities, and the existing presence of co-ethnic residents in suburbs;
- Suburbanisation is not necessarily an indicator of rapid upward mobility, though, since the growth of suburban minority populations is the result of both intra-urban mobility (as suggested by traditional theorists) and the settlement of new immigrants in suburban neighbourhoods upon their arrival;
- Suburbanisation is not necessarily associated with a greater degree of ethnic residential mixing either, since the degree of ethnic concentration—calculated in the Vancouver case—is as high in outer neighbourhoods as it is in the inner city;
- Increasing ethnic diversity has therefore been occurring in both inner city and outer suburban areas, with the exception of the exurban fringe;
- The new, more complex settlement patterns of immigrants reflect the diversity of immigrant groups that enter Australia and Canada, including people from many countries and also a range of socio-economic classes;
- There are pronounced differences in the settlement patterns of different groups, as seen in the Sydney case, where there is wide variation in the index of segregation values between groups;
- Many neighbourhoods that are home to large numbers of people from a particular background are also places with profound ethnic diversity. We must readjust our perception of these areas, which are not just enclaves housing single minority groups but are instead multicultural (with one dominant group). More generally, this means that concentration and diversity are not necessarily mutually exclusive but can, and do, coexist.

These emerging patterns have substantial implications for the delivery of services to immigrant populations. Before noting these, though, it is instructive to recall that the decentralisation of

certain types of service delivery in the past 25 years has contributed to the shift in immigrant settlement patterns. In particular, immigrants depend on government housing programmes and, in Sydney, have gravitated to the metropolitan periphery in conjunction with the location of hostels in the outer suburbs. In both Sydney and Vancouver, there is a continuing need to serve the social and economic needs of immigrants in the inner city, but increasingly in the suburbs as well. And, despite the popular image of suburbs as socially and culturally homogeneous, service providers are actually faced with diverse—in terms of culture, language, religion, and income—populations. Of course, as service providers turn their attention to meet the varied needs of suburban immigrants, the trajectory of peripheral immigrant settlement is sure to increase.

The Traditional Model Revisited

Some aspects of the complex social geographies of immigrant settlement described in this paper could be predicted using the concentric model, while others are completely outside its range of expectations and conceptual grasp. It remains to be seen whether there is any utility in using the traditional model at a time when both social groups and the emerging urban spatial order defy many of the assumptions it relies upon. Indeed, its continued use may cause problems, such as when today's immigrants are compared to those of the past and found wanting for their 'failure' to fulfil the expectations of the model. However, in rejecting the familiar model of urban spatial structure, we are also severing a longstanding link between academic research and policy making. Within the traditional perspective, there was a clear logic between process, pattern, and management. For example, given that dispersion and assimilation were seen as linked processes, researchers could use the residential characteristics of a group to ascertain its level of assimilation. Groups that retained high levels of concentration could be identified as those that, for whatever reason, remained separate both residentially and, much more importantly, economically and socially. This logic could be pushed further to suggest that segregated groups were not 'good' immigrants, and even that their entry should be curtailed. This view, thankfully, is now problematic and outmoded, for several reasons:

- Assimilation is no longer seen as the ultimate goal of settlement policy within societies that have enacted multicultural policies;
- The assumption that immigrants are a “type” is obsolete, given the variegated nature of people entering countries like Canada and Australia;
- As we begin to conceptualize identities in more complicated ways than in the past, we are more sceptical of the traditional view that coming to terms with a new society means rejecting an old one, and that living in an “ethnic” neighbourhood connotes a lack of integration with the mainstream;
- We therefore are learning to expect more variability in the ways that immigrant groups settle and integrate.

However, this does not mean that immigrants face fewer obstacles than in the past, or that well-considered policies related to housing access, neighbourhood structure, and urban planning are no longer needed. The emerging issue is, given our knowledge of the complexity of new patterns, and especially the fact that concentration no longer has straightforward meanings and can no longer be seen as a ‘problem’ without considering a host of ancillary issues (Dunn, 1993), then how can researchers who specialise in urban issues contribute to debates about immigration? Clearly, as a starting point we need new ways of understanding metropolitan areas and the groups inhabiting them. This must lead to new conceptualisations of residential patterns and, more fundamentally, the ways we interpret the social geography of the city.

References

- Burgess, E. W. (1925) The growth of the city: An introduction to a research project. In Park, R. E. and Burgess, E. W. (eds) *The City*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 47-62.
- Burnley, I. H. (1972) European immigration settlement patterns in metropolitan Sydney, 1947-1966, *Australian Geographical Studies* 10, 61-78.
- Burnley, I. H. (1973) Immigrants in Australian cities, *Australian Quarterly* 44, 15-27.
- Burnley, I. H. (1999) Levels of immigrant residential concentration in Sydney and their relationship with disadvantage, *Urban Studies* 36, 1295-1315.
- Clark, W. A. V. (1998) *The California Cauldron: Immigration and the Fortunes of Local Communities*. Guilford Press, New York and London.
- Dunn, K. (1993) The Vietnamese concentration in Cabramatta: site of avoidance and deprivation or island of adjustment and participation? *Australian Geographical Studies* 31, 228-245.
- Hiebert, D. (1999) Immigration and the changing social geography of Greater Vancouver, *BC Studies* 121, 35-82.
- Holdsworth, D. W. (1977) House and home in Vancouver: Images of west coast urbanism. In Stelter, G. A. and Artibise, A. F. J. (eds) *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History*. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 186-211.
- Kendig, H. (1979) *New Life for Old Suburbs*. Allen and Unwin, Sydney.
- Ley, D. (1995) Between Europe and Asia: the case of the missing sequoias, *Ecumene* 2, 185-210.
- Ley, D. et al. (1992) Time to grow up? From urban village to world city, 1966-1991. In Wynn G. and Oke T. (eds) *Vancouver and its Region*. UBC Press, Vancouver, 234-266, 312-314.
- Waxman, P. (1999) The residential location of recently arrived Bosnian, Afghan and Iraq refugees and humanitarian entrants in Sydney, Australia, *Urban Policy and Research* 17, 287-300.
- Wilson, W. (1989) Vietnamese settlement in Sydney, *Australian Geographical Studies* 31, 94-110.
- Wirth, L. (1928) *The Ghetto*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Wynn, G. (1992) The rise of Vancouver. In Wynn G. and Oke T. (eds) *Vancouver and its Region*. UBC Press, Vancouver, 69-145, 303-308.

Working paper series from 2000

No.	Author(s)	Title	Date
00-01	J. Atsu Amegashie	A Political Economy Model of the Permissible Number of Immigrants	01/00
00-02	David Ley	Seeking <i>Homo Economicus</i> : The Strange Story of Canada's Immigration Program	05/00
00-03	Chieko Tanimura	Immigration of Nikkeijin to Ease the Japanese Aging Crisis	05/00
00-04	Eden Nicole Thompson	Immigrant Occupational Skill Outcomes and the Role of Region-Specific Human Capital	05/00
00-05	Christiane Werner	A Taste of Canada: An Analysis of Food Expenditure Patterns for Canadian-born and Foreign-born Consumers	05/00
00-06	Don DeVoretz and Chona Iturralde	Probability of Staying in Canada	08/00
00-07	Ravi Pendakur, Fernanda Mata, Stan Lee and Natalie Dole	Job Mobility and Promotion in the Federal Public Service. A Joint Project with Strategic Research and Analysis, Multiculturalism Program, Canadian Heritage and Research Directorate. Public Service Commission.	05/00
00-08	Barry R. Chiswick and Paul W. Miller	The Complementarity of Language and Other Human Capital: Immigrant Earnings in Canada	07/00
00-09	John E. Hayfron	The Housing Market Outcomes of Immigrants in Norway	08/00
00-10	Greg Cunningham, Daniel Hiebert and Brian Klinkenberg	Immigration and Greater Vancouver: A 1996 Census Atlas http://www.geog.ubc.ca/metropolis/atlas	09/00
00-11	Barry R. Chiswick	The Economics of illegal Migration for the Host Economy	09/00
00-12	Daniel Hiebert	The Social Geography of Immigration and Urbanization in Canada: A Review and Interpretation	09/00
00-13	Barry R. Chiswick and Paul W. Miller	A Model of Destination Language Acquisition: Application to Male Immigrants in Canada	09/00
00-14	Jamie Winders	Immigration to Vancouver: An Analytical Review	09/00
00-15	Daniel Hiebert	Cosmopolitanism at the Local Level: Immigrant Settlement and the Development of Transnational Neighbourhoods	09/00
00-16	David Prescott, David Wilton, Canan Dadayli and Aaron Dickson	Visits to Canada: The Role of Canada's Immigrant Populations	08/00
00-17	J. Atsu Amegashie and John E. Hayfron	Perception and Labour Supply: A Theoretical Analysis with and Application to Immigrants	10/00
00-18	Geraldine Pratt	Studying Immigrants in Focus Groups	12/00
00-19	Allesandra Casarico and Carlo Devillanova	Social Security and Migration with Endogenous Skill Upgrading	12/00
00-20	Don DeVoretz, Holger Hinte, Christiane	Some Immigrant Language Lessons from Canada to Germany	10/00

Werner			
No.	Author(s)	Title	Date
00-21	Don DeVoretz	An Analysis of Turn-of-the-Century Canadian Immigration: 1891-1914	12/00
01-01	Shahrokh Shahabi-Azad	Immigrant Expenditure Patterns on Transportation	01/01
01-02	Johanna L. Waters	The Flexible Family? Recent Immigration and 'Astronaut' Households in Vancouver, British Columbia	01-01
01-03	David Ley, Peter Murphy, Kris Olds, Bill Randolph	Immigration and Housing in Gateway Cities: The Cases of Sydney and Vancouver	01-01
01-04	Gillian Creese, Robyn Dowling	Gendering Immigration: The Experience of Women in Sydney and Vancouver	01-01
01-05	David W. Edgington, Bronwyn Hanna, Thomas Hutton, Susan Thompson	Urban Governance, Multiculturalism and Citizenship in Sydney and Vancouver	01-01
01-06	Kevin Dunn, Minelle Mahtani	"Adjusting the Colour Bar": Media Representation of Ethnic Minorities under Australian and Canadian Multiculturalisms	01-01

For information on papers previous to 2000, please see our Website

<http://www.riim.metropolis.net/research/policy>

Back issues of working papers are available for \$5 from

Vancouver Centre of Excellence: Immigration, WMX4653, Simon Fraser University, 8888 University Drive, Burnaby, B.C, Canada V5A 1S6. Tel: (604) 291-4575 Fax: (604) 291-5336

E-mail: riim@sfu.ca

<http://www.riim.metropolis.net/>