

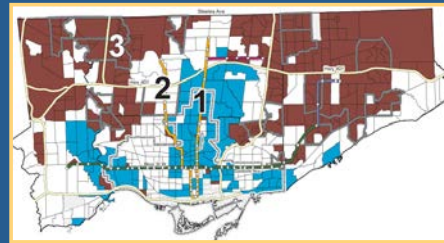
# Toronto's Growing Socio-spatial Divide

Researching the Urban Impact of Rising  
Income Inequality & Income Polarization

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University of Toronto

[www.NeighbourhoodChange.ca](http://www.NeighbourhoodChange.ca)

Nathalie P. Voorhees Center  
35<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Symposium  
University of Illinois at Chicago, 11 April 2014



## “Divided Cities”

Divided cities are not new.

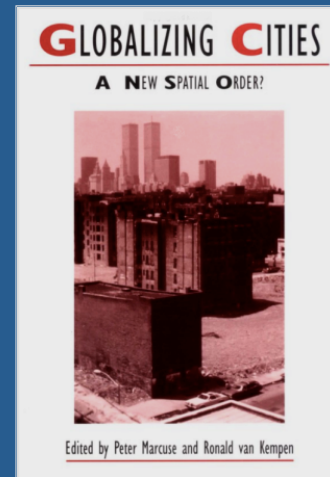
Cities have always been divided.

What is new?

Today: A new socio-spatial order with stronger (more rigid) divisions, and greater inequality

“Those changes may be summarized as an increase in the strength of divisions in the city and the inequality among them.”

– Peter Marcuse & Ronald van Kempen, 2000, p.272



3

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**WHAT'S INSIDE**

**New: Homelessness & Rental Housing**  
 INADEQUATE HOUSING AND RISK OF HOMELESSNESS FOR FAMILIES IN TORONTO'S RENTAL, HIGH-PRICES  
 9 OUT OF 10 FAMILIES' APARTMENTS ARE UNAFFORDABLE, UNSAFE, OVERCROWDED, INSECURE, OR IN BAD CONDITION.  
 11% SUBSIDIZED HOUSING  
 50% INADEQUATE HOUSING  
 30% UNAFFORDABLE HOUSING  
 7% AT RISK OF HOMELESSNESS

This report explores the continuum of inadequate housing, risk of homelessness, and visible homelessness among families in Toronto's Inner suburb highrises. [For the PDF >](#)

**Halifax, 1970-2010**  
 Neighbourhood Change in Halifax Regional Municipality, 1970 to 2010: Applying the "Three Cities" Model  
 Victoria Proven, Jill L. Grant, Martha Radice, Howard Remos, Paul Shakofke  
 With assistance from Malcolm Shookner, Kasia Tota, Gibban Withersbee  
 January 2014

This report provides an analysis of the income inequality and income polarization trends within the Halifax region over the period 1970 to 2010. [For the PDF >](#)

**Vancouver 1970-2005**  
 Socio-Spatial Income Polarization in Greater Vancouver, 1970-2005

**Montréal 1970-2005**  
 Une métropole à trois vitesses?  
 Bilan sur les écarts de revenu dans le Grand Montréal, 1970-2005  
 A City-Region Growing Apart? Taking Stock of Income Disparity in Greater Montréal, 1970-2005

# THE THREE CITIES WITHIN TORONTO

## Income Polarization Among Toronto's Neighbourhoods, 1970-2005



**THE THREE CITIES WITHIN TORONTO**  
Income Polarization Among Toronto's Neighbourhoods, 1970-2005  
BY J. DAVID HULCHANSKI, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Download a PDF of the Media Coverage of the release of the report

**TABLE 1**  
**Three Cities in Toronto: Selected Characteristics**  
Characteristics of the Three Cities, based on income levels, 1970 to 2005, by census tract

<b>CITY 1</b>	Income increased 28% or more since 1970
<b>CITY 2</b>	Income increased or decreased by less than 20%
<b>CITY 3</b>	Income decreased 20% or more since 1970

Selected Characteristics

View Table 1 Menu

[f](#) [t](#) [s](#) [v](#) [p](#)

Neighbourhood Change > The Three Cities Home



Toronto is sometimes described as a "city of neighbourhoods." It seems an odd description, since nearly all cities contain neighbourhoods, but it is intended to imply that Toronto's neighbourhoods are especially varied and distinctive. However, neighbourhoods are not fixed entities. Although some neighbourhoods change very little in their physical, social, and demographic composition over time, others may change significantly in the course of a few years.

This report provides a new way of looking at Toronto's neighbourhoods. It focuses on who lives where, based on the socio-economic status of the residents in each neighbourhood, and how the average status of the residents in each neighbourhood has changed over a 35-year period. It shows that Toronto's neighbourhoods fall into one of three categories — creating three distinct Torontos.

Why is this important? Cities have always had pockets of wealth and poverty. Neighbourhoods in the great cities of the industrialized world have undergone many transitions over the course of their history. However, the City of Toronto's neighbourhood transition has been relatively sudden and dramatic, and the changes have serious consequences for Toronto residents.

## Social Science & Humanities Research Council of Canada, Partnership Grant, 2012-2019

Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership: Research Focus

**1 Economic Inequality**  
*produces*  
**Socio-spatial Exclusion**

**2 Socio-spatial Segregation**

**3 Socio-spatial Disadvantage**

We start with this observation, as a premise

We will research socio-spatial SEGREGATION trends and processes, and the DISADVANTAGES that result (the consequences).

# Neighbourhoods Matter

Research has found “area related outcomes” such as

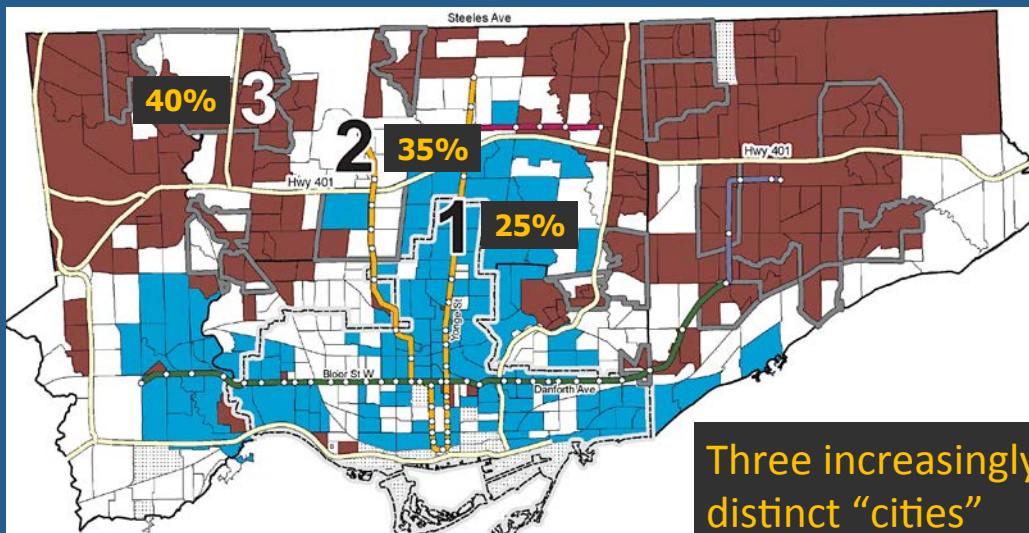
- school dropout rates;
- childhood achievement;
- transition rates from welfare to work;
- deviant behaviour;
- social exclusion; &
- social mobility



7

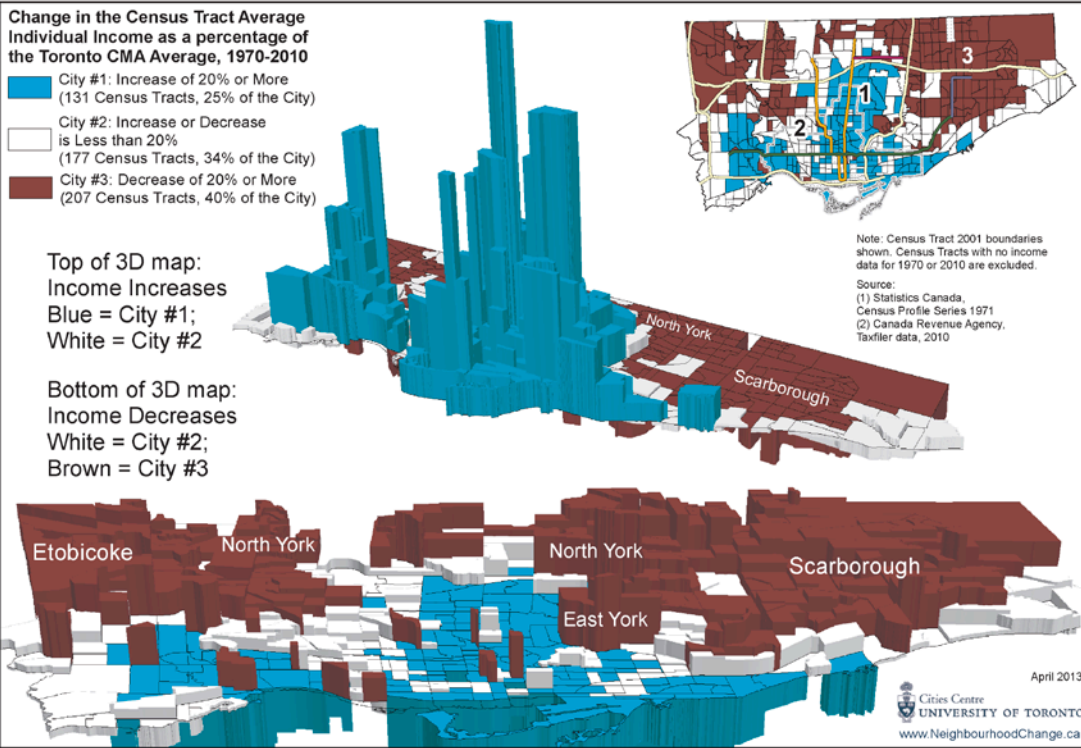
## 40 Year Trend in Toronto, 1970-2010

A new socio-spatial polarization (partitioning of urban space) on the basis of income & SES & ethno-cultural origin



## Toronto's Growing Income Gap, Census Tracts, 1970 to 2010

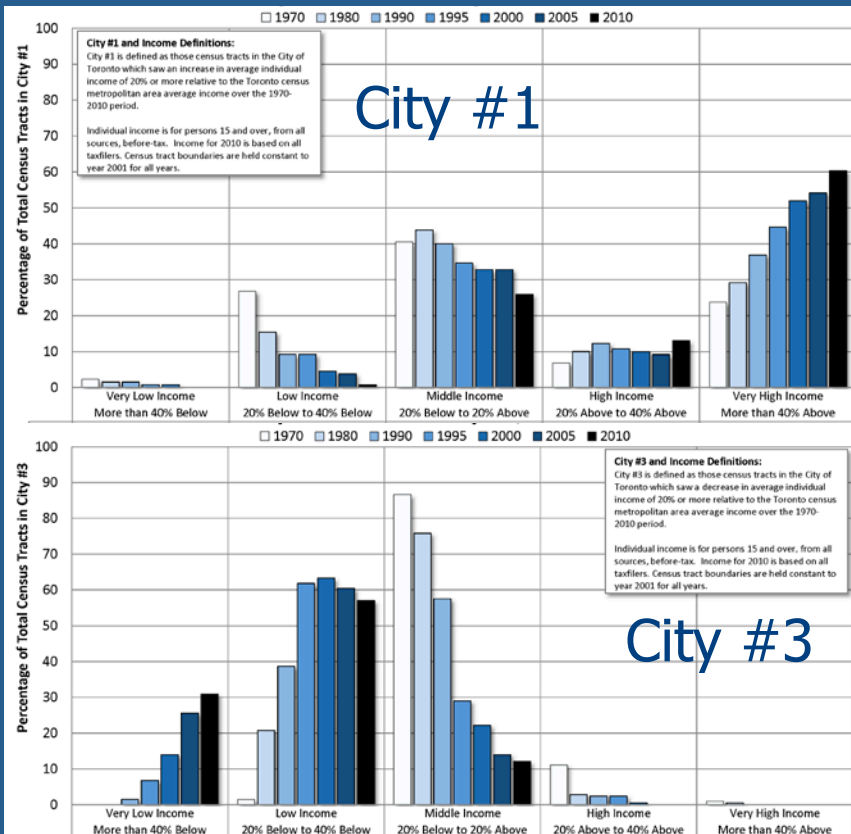
Change in Average Individual Income from all sources, 15 Years and Over, City of Toronto



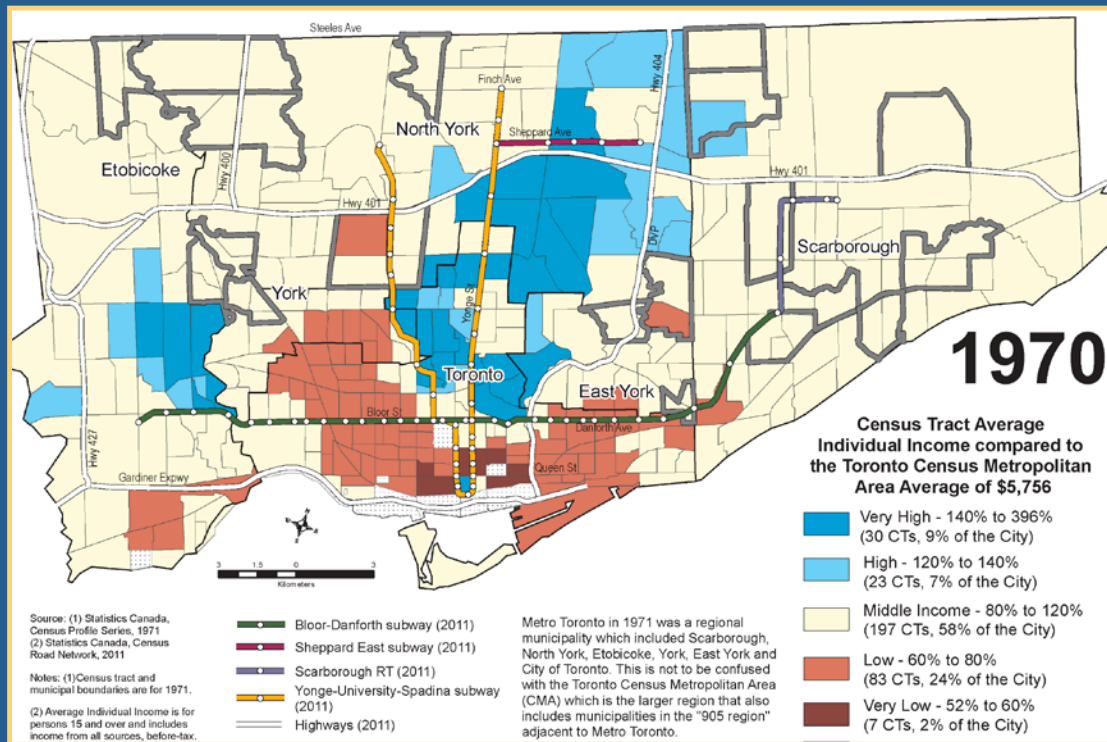
Change in average individual income

Toronto's City #1 & City #3

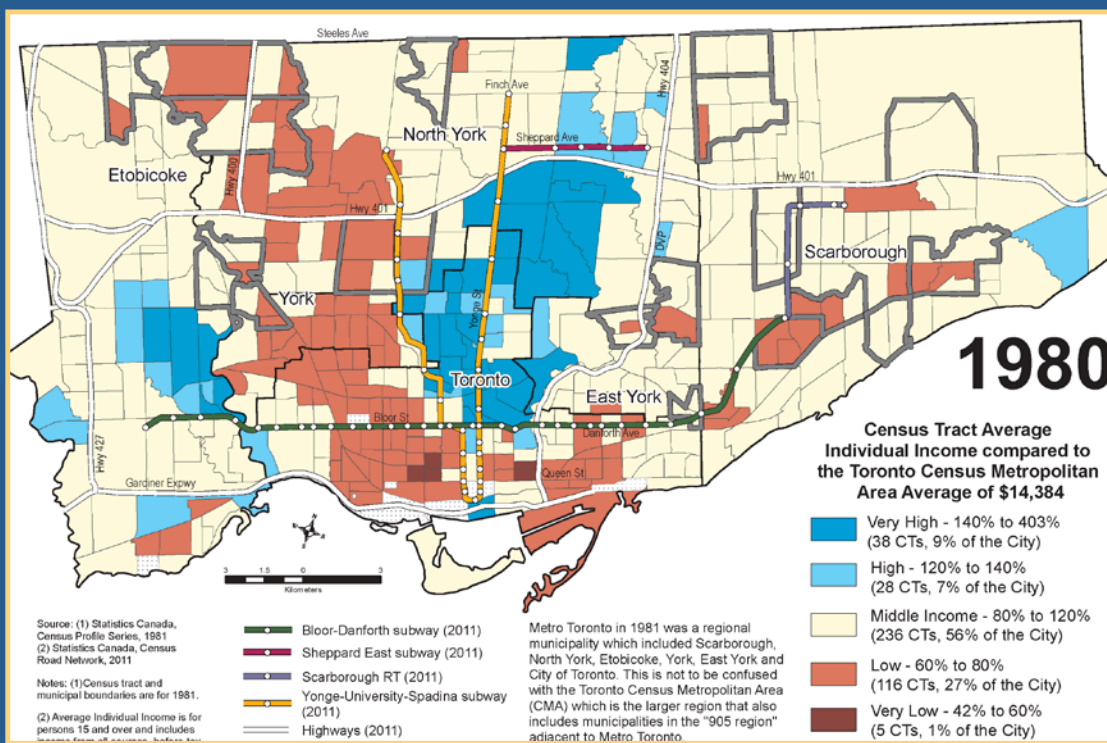
1970 to 2010



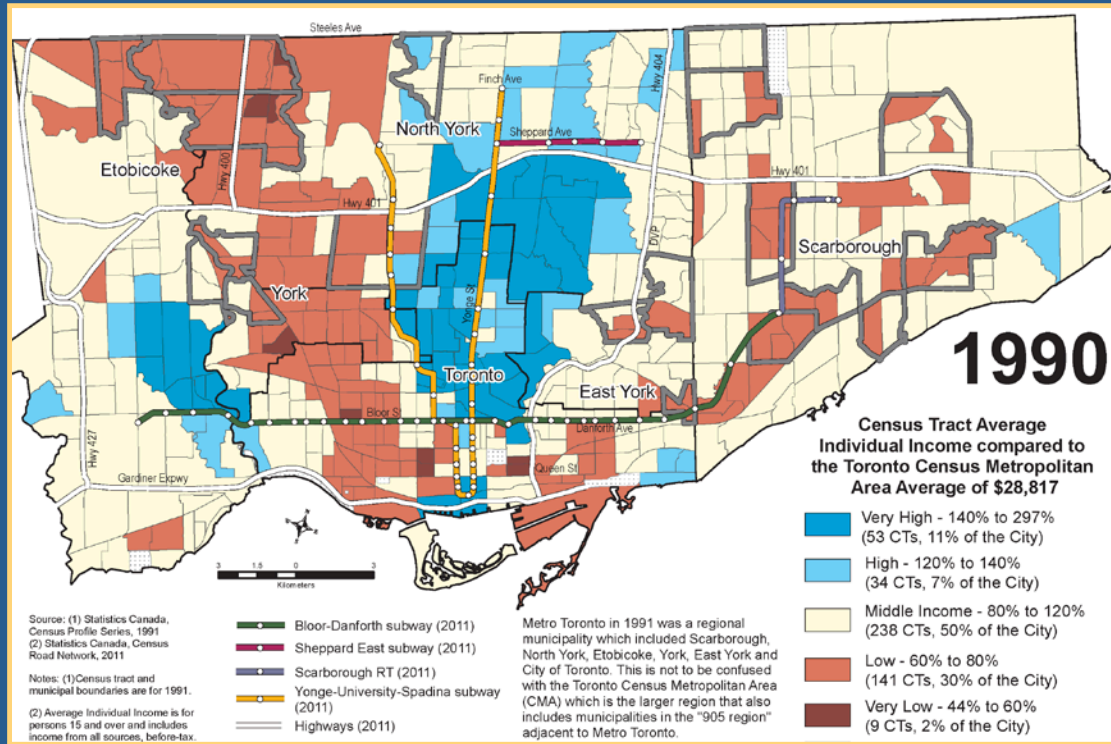
# Toronto 1970, Average Individual Income



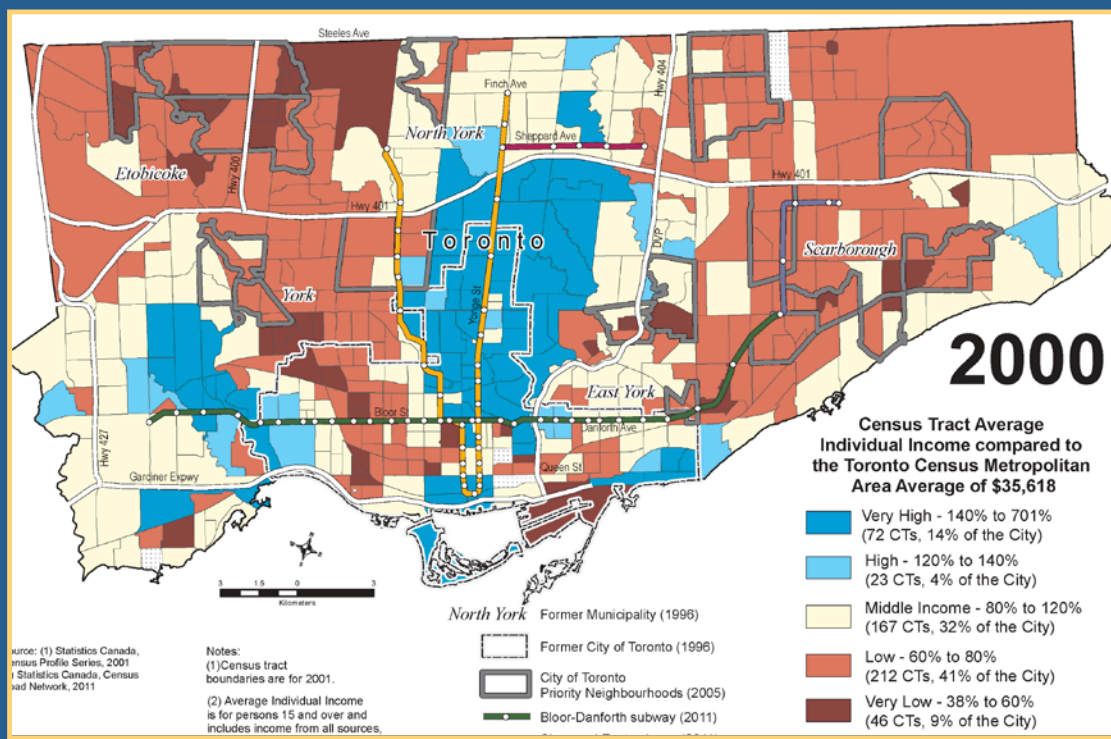
# Toronto 1980, Average Individual Income



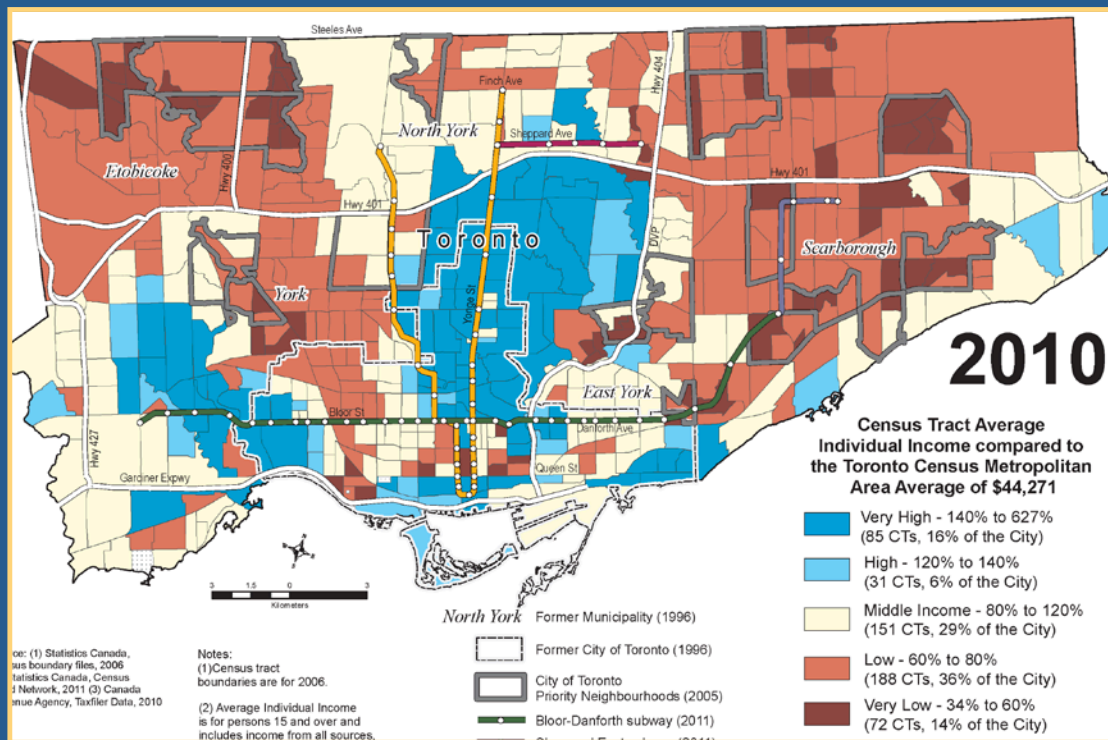
# Toronto 1990, Average Individual Income



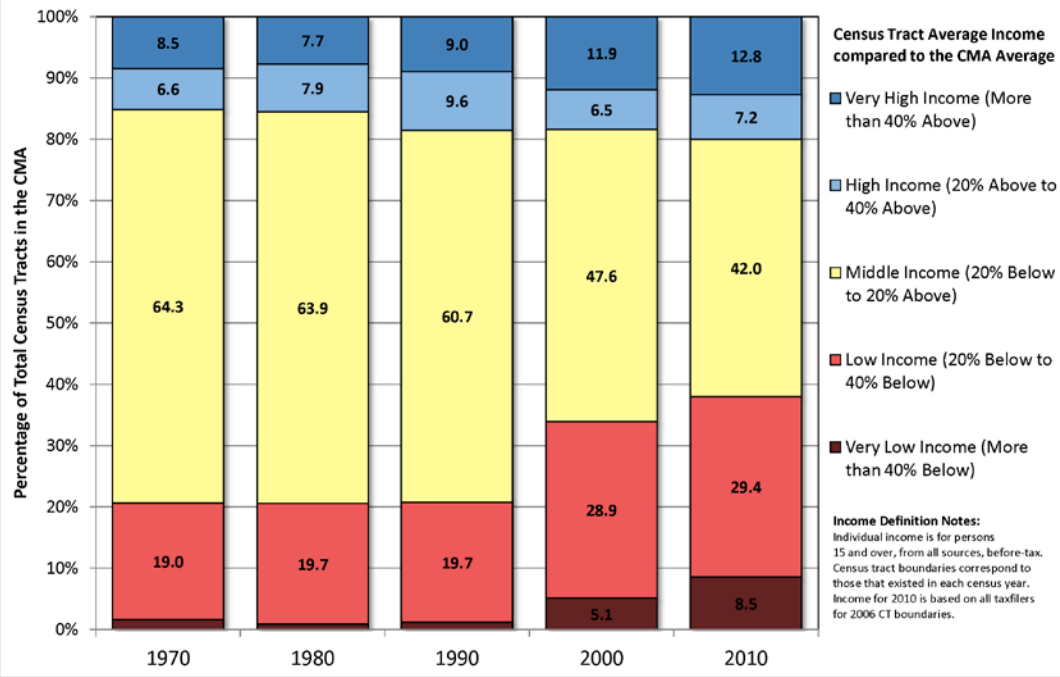
# Toronto 2000, Average Individual Income



# Toronto 2010, Average Individual Income

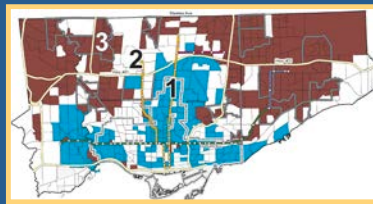
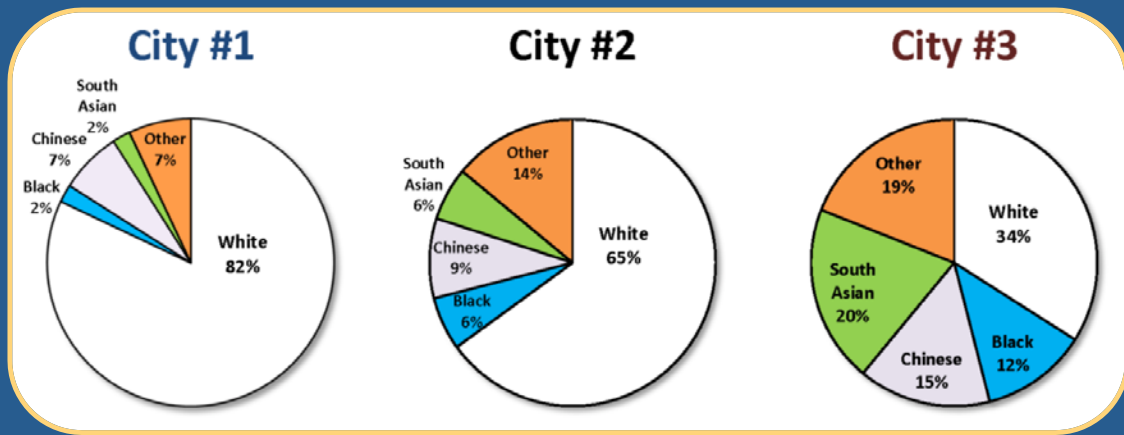


## Change in Neighbourhood Income Distribution in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area 1970-2010

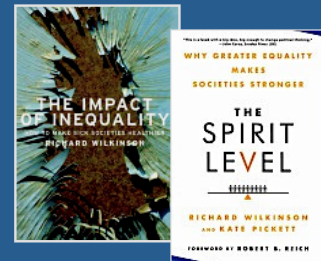




# Toronto's Segregated Ethno-Cultural Population, 2006

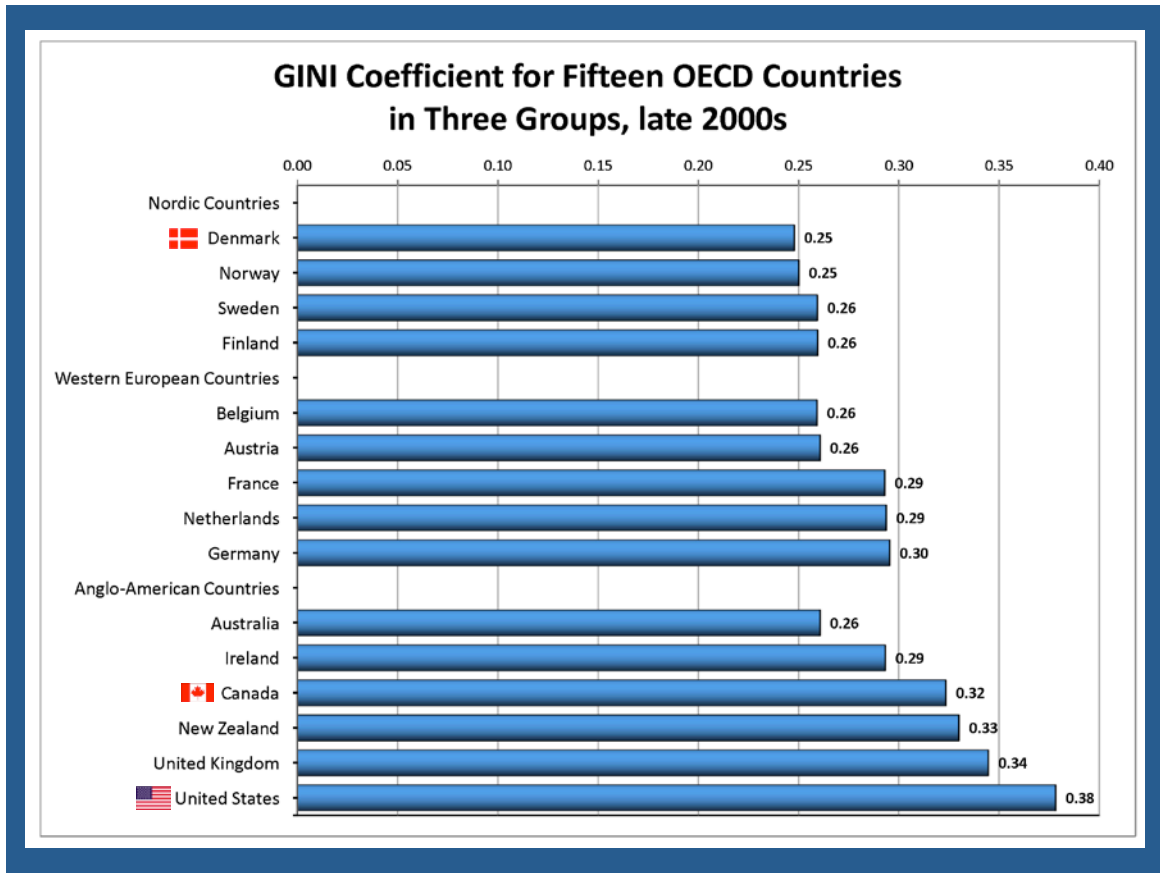


Why worry about more rigid socio-spatial divisions and greater inequality?



“Inequality promotes strategies that are more self-interested, less affiliative, often highly antisocial, more stressful, and likely to give rise to higher levels of violence, poorer community relations, and worse health.”

– Richard Wilkinson, *The Impact of Inequality*, 2005:22



## Divided Societies: Inequality is a Choice

“I see us entering a world divided not just between the haves and have-nots, but also between those countries that do nothing about it, and those that do.”

“Some countries will be successful in creating shared prosperity — the only kind of prosperity that I believe is truly sustainable.

“Others will let inequality run amok.”

– Joseph Stiglitz, 2013

THE GREAT DIVIDE | October 13, 2013, 9:06  
**Inequality Is a Choice**  
 By JOSEPH E. STIGLITZ

from a  
market  
economy

to a  
market  
society

What about  
the necessities  
of life?



Michael Sandel, American political philosopher and a professor at Harvard University: 'Philosophy can be debilitating. It demands a critical sensibility, and to try to apply that to everything can be a very disquieting thing.' Photograph: Jared Leeds for the Observer

**In the past few years** we have moved from having a market economy to living in a market society, in which just about everything is up for sale.

**I am fortunate to have enough money** not to have to worry about the necessities of life. Beyond that I try to think about money as little as possible.

Michael Sandel (2012) *What Money Can't Buy: The Moral Limits of Markets*

21

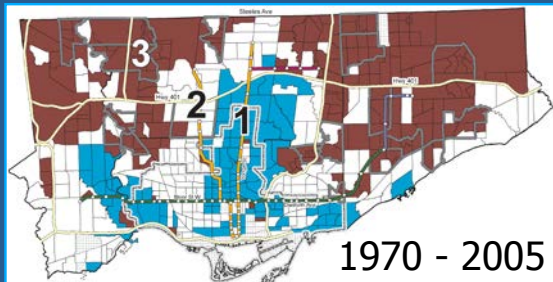
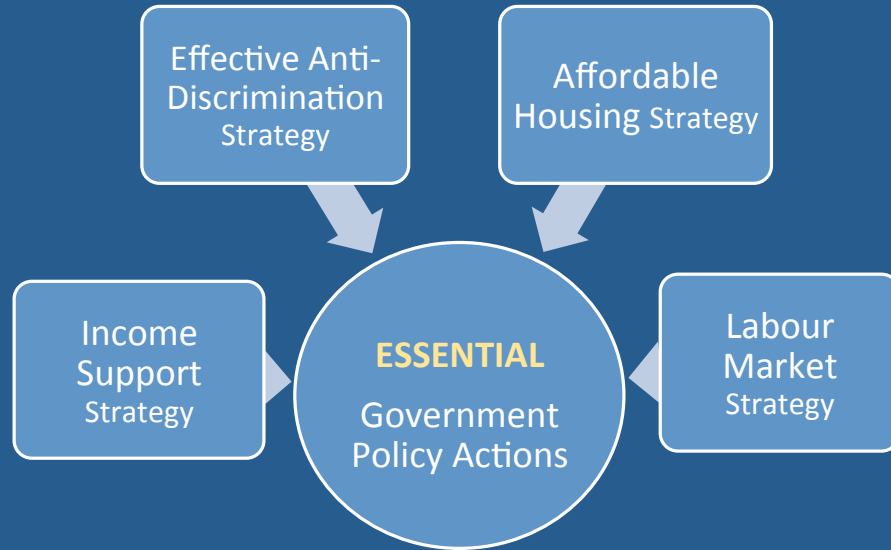
## What Can be Done?

Policy Options: Income inequality & polarization; and the resulting Socio-spatial and Ethno-cultural Divides

# What can be done?



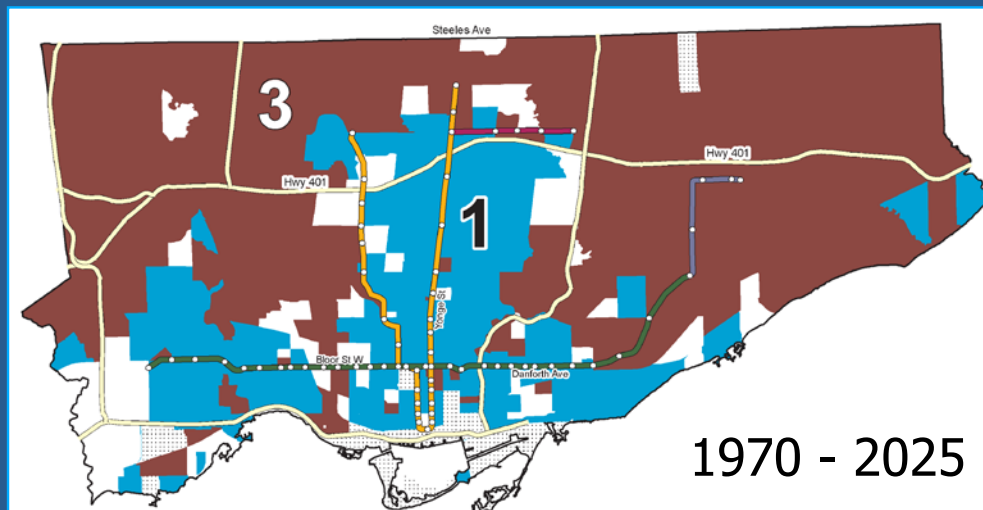
## Federal & Provincial Policy Action

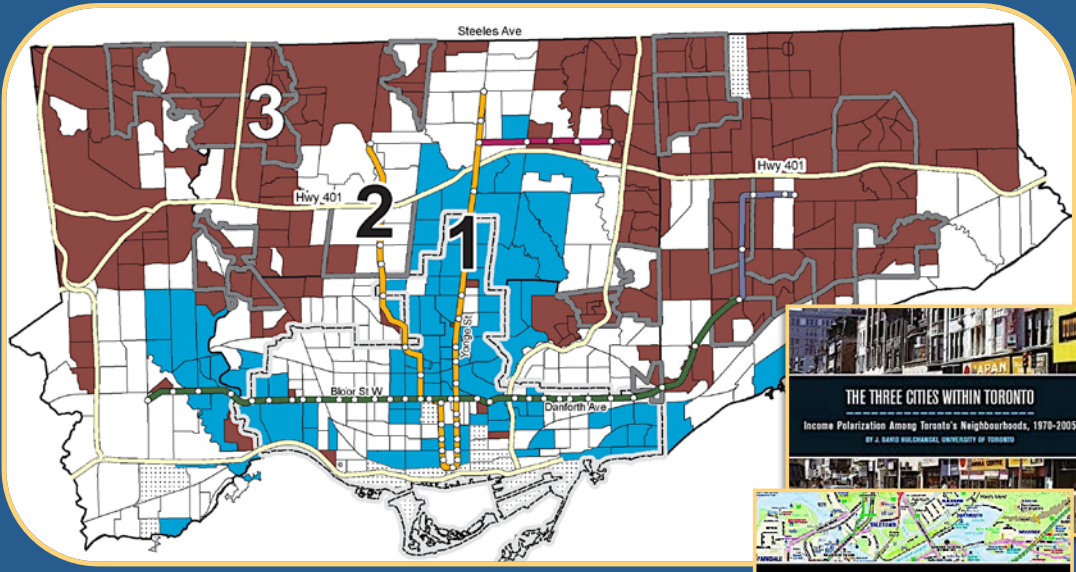


2025 if nothing changes

City #1 = 30%

City #3 = 60%





The main map shows Toronto divided into three numbered regions: 1 (central, blue), 2 (middle, yellow), and 3 (north, brown). Major roads like Steeles Ave, Hwy 401, Bloor St W, and Danforth Ave are labeled. Three inset images are on the right: a street scene, a report cover titled 'THE THREE CITIES WITHIN TORONTO: Income Polarization Among Toronto's Neighbourhoods, 1970-2005' by J. David Hulchanski, and a report cover titled 'WHO LIVED WHERE IN 2006? A Neighbourhood Typology of Eight Canadian Metropolitan Areas' by Robert Murdie, Jennifer Logan, and Richard Maaranen.

*For further information*  
[www.NeighbourhoodChange.ca](http://www.NeighbourhoodChange.ca)

Larry Bourne, David Ley, Richard Maaranen, Robert Murdie, Damaris Rose, Alan Walks