IMMIGRATION AND THE CHANGING SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF GREATER VANCOUVER[1]

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IMMIGRATION IS REDEFINING THE DEMOGRAPHIC, social, and economic life of large Canadian cities, and hardly a day passes without some comment in the media on Canada's immigration system. The level of academic attention given to immigration is also high, and the volume of writing on the subject is increasing rapidly. Despite this impressive research record, we lack sustained studies that document and analyze the impact of immigrant settlement on particular Canadian cities.[2] This article is intended to address one important gap by presenting a broad overview of late twentieth-century immigration and its impact on the social geography of Greater Vancouver, particularly during the years since the major policy changes of the 1960s. The removal of preferential treatment of prospective immigrants from Britain, the US, the Commonwealth, and certain European countries enabled a culturally more diverse cohort of immigrants to enter Canada. Greater Vancouver quickly became a principal destination for people migrating from East, Southeast, and South Asia, and also attracted many people from other non-traditional sources, such as the Middle East and Latin America.

In the process, the ethnocultural composition of the metropolitan population has changed. The recomposition of Greater Vancouver's population has affected the delivery of social services, the nature of

[1] The focus of this article is on Greater Vancouver, the metropolitan region of around 1.8 million people that includes the City of Vancouver plus its surrounding suburbs. When statistics for the region are reported, they refer to the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) as defined by Statistics Canada. The CMA is a little larger than the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD), an administrative body created by the provincial government to manage regional transportation and infrastructure.

[2] Germain (1997) represents a recent exception. However, apart from Breton et al. (1990) on Toronto, there is little Canadian work that compares with, for example, Burnley, Murphy, and Fagan (1997) on Sydney, or Waldinger and Bozoregmeh (1996) on Los Angeles.

the education system, and even the way that individuals experience urban life. For example, a century ago, the Chinese-origin population of the city was socially and spatially marginalized and had a tiny political voice; just over half a century ago, it was still virtually impossible to emigrate from China to Canada. Now, however, Chinese-origin Canadians have become a crucial factor in the electoral politics of Greater Vancouver, and all four major political parties nominated Chinese-Canadian candidates in the Kingsway riding during the 1997 federal election, an outcome that would have been inconceivable a generation ago.

The Kingsway riding, of course, is situated in a particular part of Greater Vancouver: it includes several traditional immigrant reception neighbourhoods on the east side of the City of Vancouver. Such geographical specificity poses a question: as immigration has brought a new mix of cultural groups to Greater Vancouver, has the familiar pattern of immigrant settlement – focused first on inner-city neighbourhoods and later on suburbs as incomes rise and acculturation takes place – remained? More broadly, has the rise of a new regime of immigration in the late twentieth century altered the basic socio-spatial structure of metropolitan Vancouver? The answer to this simple question, as one might expect, is not simple: recent immigrant settlement has led to fundamental changes in some but not all aspects of Greater Vancouver's social geography. On the one hand, the ethnocultural and aesthetic characteristics of many neighbourhoods have been redefined; immigrants settling in the metropolitan region today do not enter the British-dominated world encountered by previous generations of immigrants. On the other hand, the landscapes of rich and poor have remained more or less intact, and the class divide between, say, Shaughnessy and Strathcona, is as sharp as ever.

In this article, I offer a broad statistical and cartographic overview of the changing social geography of Greater Vancouver. In so doing, I seek to provide a comprehensive survey of the role immigration plays in shaping the social geography of the region. I do so to reflect on the type of place Greater Vancouver has become, to identify elements of continuity and change, and to speculate briefly on some of the implications of living in a multicultural urban region.

THE POST-SECOND WORLD WAR REVIVAL OF IMMIGRATION: 1945-67

Until approximately 1900, Vancouver attracted immigrants from a combination of European countries, the United States, and Asia, and from 1900 until the Second World War immigrants were almost exclusively from Europe. In these years, the reception of Asians[3] was generally hostile and included a persistent campaign that convinced the federal government to reduce and eventually prohibit immigration from China and India. Social marginalization was replicated in the spatial order of the city: minority groups responded to pervasive racism by settling in concentrated areas and by generating their own social institutions (Kobayashi 1986; Johnston 1988; Lai 1988; Adachi 1991; Anderson 1991). As immigration from Europe gathered momentum in the first decades of the twentieth century, the proportion of Asians and other visible minorities declined steadily, from approximately 10 per cent in 1901 to less than 5 per cent in 1951. By war's end, the social geography of Greater Vancouver seemed relatively straightforward. Those who declared West European origins were scattered throughout the metropolitan area, while the East European and Jewish communities were a little more isolated, the former in Eastside districts of the City of Vancouver and the latter along a corridor roughly defined by Granville and Cambie Streets. Chinese immigrants and their descendants lived in an extremely concentrated pattern in and around Strathcona. People of Japanese origin had also developed an enclave in the early decades of the century, but they had been removed from the city during the Second World War.

After the Second World War, the Canadian government resumed its earlier practice of encouraging immigration from Europe while discouraging it from other parts of the world (Green and Green 1996). However, regulations prohibiting Asians from immigrating to Canada were relaxed (Burnet and Palmer 1988; Hawkins 1988). Given the

[3] The choice of naming groups is inherently difficult. The term "Asians," for example, is inadequate, since the group it refers to, in this context, was a mixture of temporary migrants who intended to return to Asia quickly, recent immigrants who hoped to stay in Canada, earlier immigrants who were already settled, and Canadian-born children of previous immigrants. The phrase "Asian-origin Canadians and temporary residents" is more accurate but cumbersome and, with consistent use, clutters the text. I have therefore chosen to employ the simplest terms (e.g., "Asians," "Chinese," "British") and ask readers to assume that all the relevant subgroups are included under this rubric. From time to time, I use a more accurate phrase, such as "Chinese-origin Canadians" to remind readers of the complex composition of the groups under discussion. Also, I consistently use "Indo-Canadians" to refer to people originally from South Asia, since the term "Indians" is (ironically, given the history of these naming practices) too easily confused with Aboriginal peoples.

preferential selection system in place between the war and the 1960s, British immigrants dominated the flow of those moving to Greater Vancouver, and the British-origin population in the metropolitan area jumped from 376,000 in 1951 to 634,000 in 1971. Germany was the second most important source country of Vancouver immigrants at this time, followed by Italy, the Netherlands, and the United States. And, despite discrimination against Asians in immigrant selection, thousands migrated from South and, especially, East Asia to Greater Vancouver in the first postwar period; the Chinese-origin community doubled in size during the 1950s and again during the 1960s.

Although taken four years after a major shift in policy, the 1971 census can be used to obtain a rough measure of the social and spatial position of immigrants at the end of a long period of preferential immigration. In 1971, about 213,000 residents (26.4 per cent) of the metropolitan area were born outside Canada (Table 1). The majority of the CMA population traced its origins to the United Kingdom (58.6 per cent), and just over 85 per cent declared European ethnicities. However, it was clear that immigration was leading to a major shift in the cultural composition of the population: whereas 63.4 per cent of the non-immigrant population indicated British origins, this was the origin of just under half of the metropolitan area's pre-1961 immigrants, and of only 35.5 per cent of immigrants who had landed since 1961. Similarly, the proportion of people indicating European origins was almost 90 per cent among non-immigrants but only 62.6 per cent among those who had arrived in the decade preceding the census.

In 1971 Greater Vancouver was a classic example of a "modern" metropolitan area, with sharp functional and socio-spatial divisions. Within the City of Vancouver, the basic east/west pattern had remained intact for three-quarters of a century: Westside neighbourhoods were dominated by middle- and high-income households of Western European descent, while the Eastside was associated with low- to middle-income households from a more diverse set of origins (see Patterson 1974). At the metropolitan scale, there was a clear distinction between inner-city, mid-city, and suburban landscapes, the latter being especially associated with nuclear families with children. Generally, the social geography of immigrant groups was straightforward: while just over 60 per cent of the metropolitan population lived in suburban municipalities, this was the case for 65 per cent of those born in Canada, for 52 per cent of the immigrants who had

TABLE 1
Ethnic origin by immigration status, Vancouver CMA, 1971

	TOTAL		IMMIGRANTS		INDEX OF	% IN CITY
	#	%	#	%	SEGREGATION	OF VAN
Total ethnic origin	1,082,350		286,485			38.9
British	633,820	58.6	129,510	45.2	17.3	35.1
French	42,865	4.0	3,415	1.2	17.4	33.0
Dutch	31,960	3.0	12,980	4.5	23.3	23.6
German	89,675	8.3	30,860	10.8	16.3	35.9
Polish	14,985	1.4	4,310	1.5	16.9	42.1
Ukrainian	31,125	2.9	4,165	1.5	15.9	38.7
Jewish	10,820	1.0	4,120	1.4	52.9	72.5
Italian	30,050	2.8	14,575	5.1	43.2	63.2
Portuguese	4,770	0.4	3,630	1.3	60.5	79.6
Greek	4,785	0.4	2,665	0.9	52.7	75.1
Norwegian	23,950	2.2	5,825	2.0	19.2	27.4
Hungarian	8,210	0.8	4,125	1.4	23.4	47.8
Total European origins	927,025	85.6	220,190	76.9		36.6
South Asian	10,640	1.0	7,740	2.7	38.6	61.1
Chinese	36,405	3.4	22,735	7.9	54.5	84.0
Japanese	9,050	0.8	2,580	0.9	40.1	55.4
Total Asian origins	58,260	5.4	34,405	12.0		74.4
Black & African	1,205	0.1	470	0.2	52.4	43.2
Caribbean	560	0.1	380	0.1	62.5	24.8
Aboriginal	7,460	0.7	410	0.1	41.5	40.3
All other	87,840	8.1	30,630	10.7	9.4	39.2

Source: custom SC tabulation G00197

Note: Segregation indices are calculated using census tracts as the spatial unit.

lived in Canada for at least ten years, and for only 42 per cent of recent arrivals (Figures 1 and 2). These aggregate statistics show that most immigrants initially settled in the urban core, and they imply a diffusion to suburbs over time – presumably as incomes rose. Segregation indices (based on ethnic origin) help to clarify this pattern and reveal important details.

The use of a simple statistic called the Index of Segregation is common in studies of residential differentiation. The index is based on a comparison of the distribution of a specific group with the remainder of the population. Results vary between zero, indicating that the group in question has exactly the same residential distribution as the remainder of the population, and 100, indicating complete isolation (when all members of one group are located in an area in which

they are the exclusive population).[4] The degree of isolation was low for West European groups, but in 1971 there was a remarkable range of segregation indices for South and East European groups – from 23.4 for Hungarians, to over 50 for Greeks, and over 60 for those of Portuguese origin. Groups with modest incomes, such as the Italians and the Portuguese, were mainly located in the City of Vancouver's Eastside (with some spill-over into north Burnaby). In contrast, the Jewish population was highly clustered in the western half of the city along the previously mentioned corridor. This was a middle-class area, and the location of the Jewish community reflected both its upward mobility and a high degree of social cohesion following the Holocaust and the formation of Israel.

Groups of Asian ancestry had a slightly less distinct residential profile. As shown in Figure 3, the concentration of Chinese residents in and around Strathcona – where they accounted for more than half the population in some enumeration districts – remained intact. However, by 1971 a subsidiary concentration had formed along Oak Street, where about 20 per cent of the population indicated Chinese ethnicity. Like the Jewish population that had settled in this part of the city, Chinese residents here were mainly middle class, living in single-detached housing on ample properties. The presence of Chinese-Canadians in this part of the city reveals that at least a portion of the group had achieved substantial upward mobility. Also, note that there was a scattering of Chinese-origin households in a number of peripheral municipalities by 1971 (including Burnaby, Delta, Richmond, Surrey, Port Coquitlam, and on the North Shore).

In contrast to the pattern of Chinese settlement, the indices of segregation for Japanese and South Asian groups were fairly low. Those of Japanese descent were widely distributed throughout East Vancouver, in relatively close association with people of Chinese ancestry.[5] Outside the City of Vancouver, most Japanese residents

[4] Arithmetically, the index shows the proportion of a group that would have to change its location in order to match the distribution of the remainder of the population. Table 1 shows, for example, that about 70 per cent of Vancouver's Chinese-origin population in 1941 would have to have moved (from Strathcona to other parts of the city) to even its distribution with all non-Chinese Vancouverites. Unfortunately, index values are difficult to compare over time and between cities because they vary according to the number of sub-areas used in their calculation (Index values increase along with the number of sub-areas used in their calculation) and, to a lesser extent, according to the size of groups (smaller groups tend to have higher Index values). Conventionally, values of twenty-five are considered significant, but there is no clear rationale for this, or any other, cut-off figure. For the formula used to calculate the Index and a broader discussion, see Ogden (1994).

[5] Note that there was no significant return to the area around Powell Street, which had been known as "Japantown" before the Second World War.

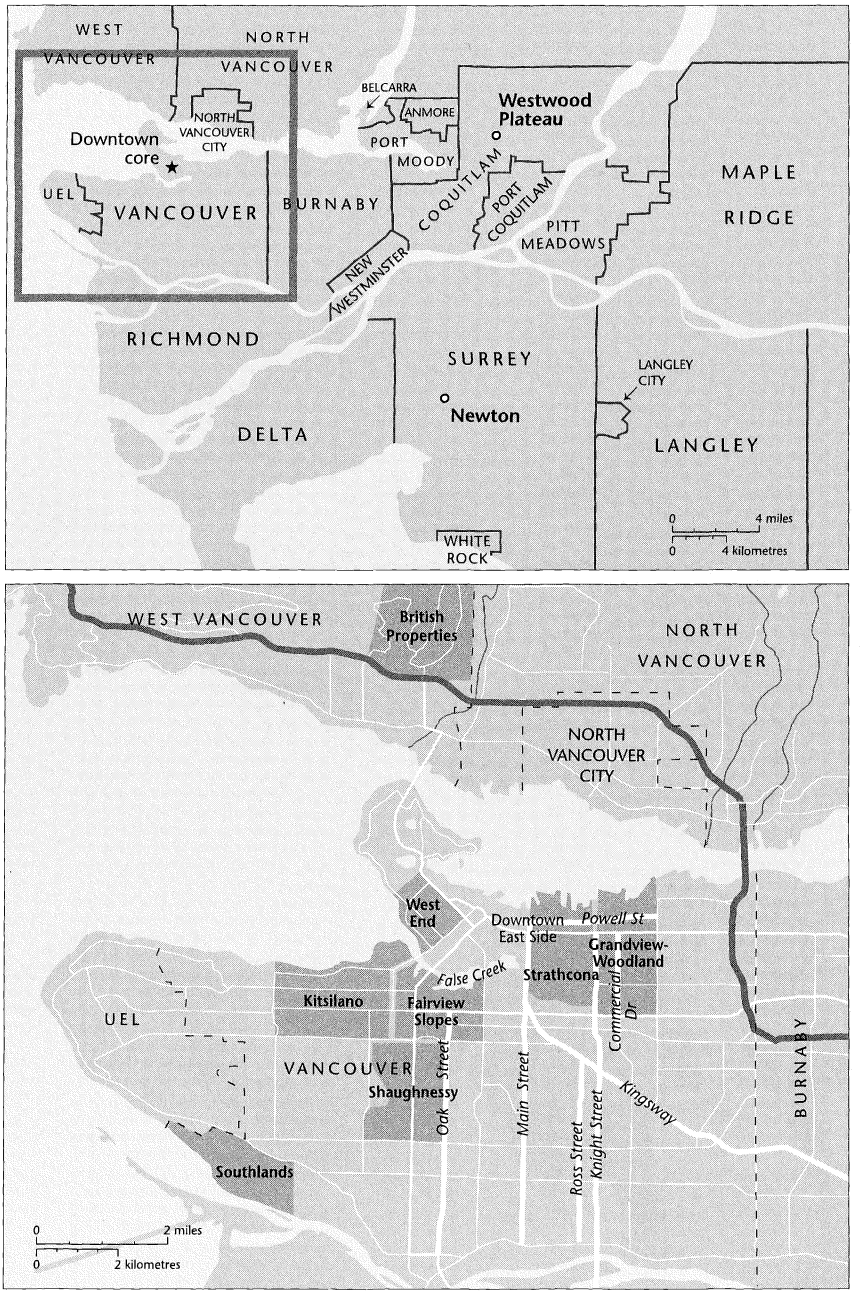
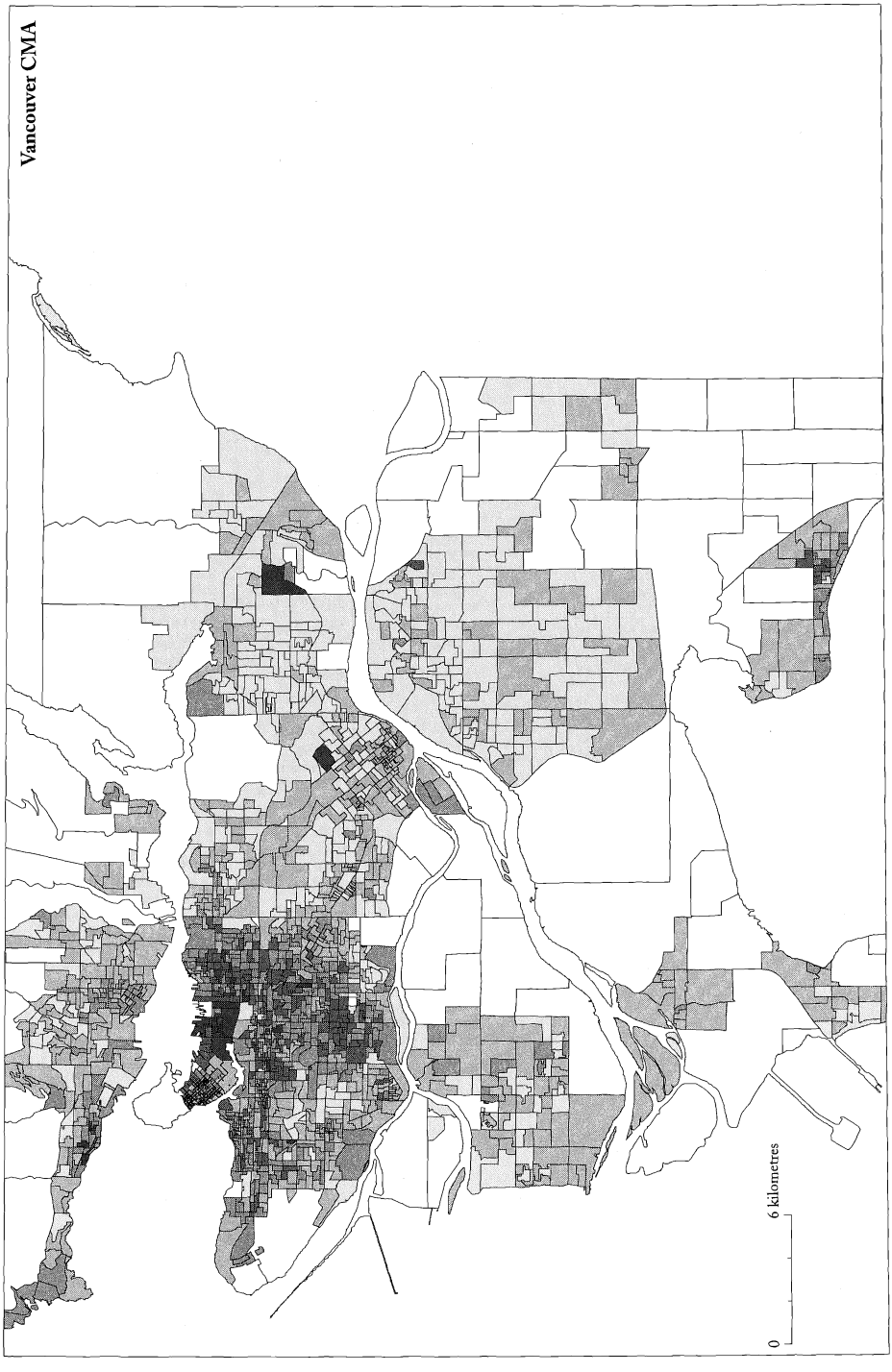


Figure 1: Greater Vancouver.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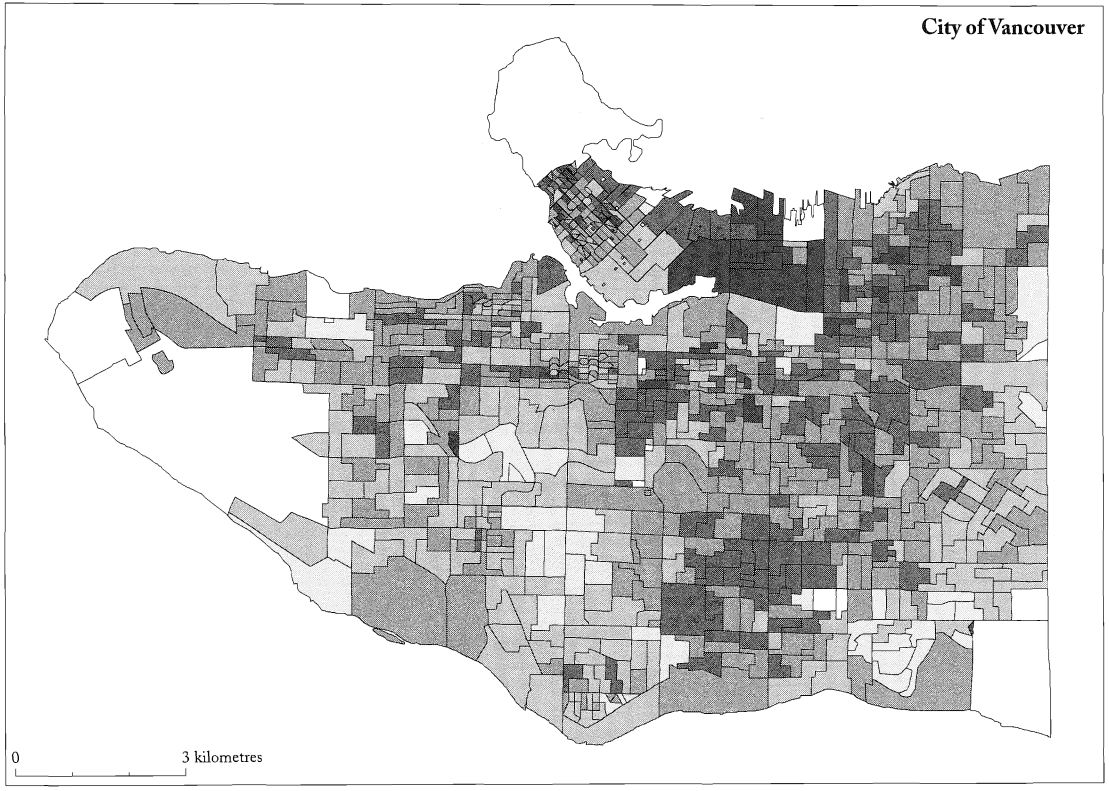
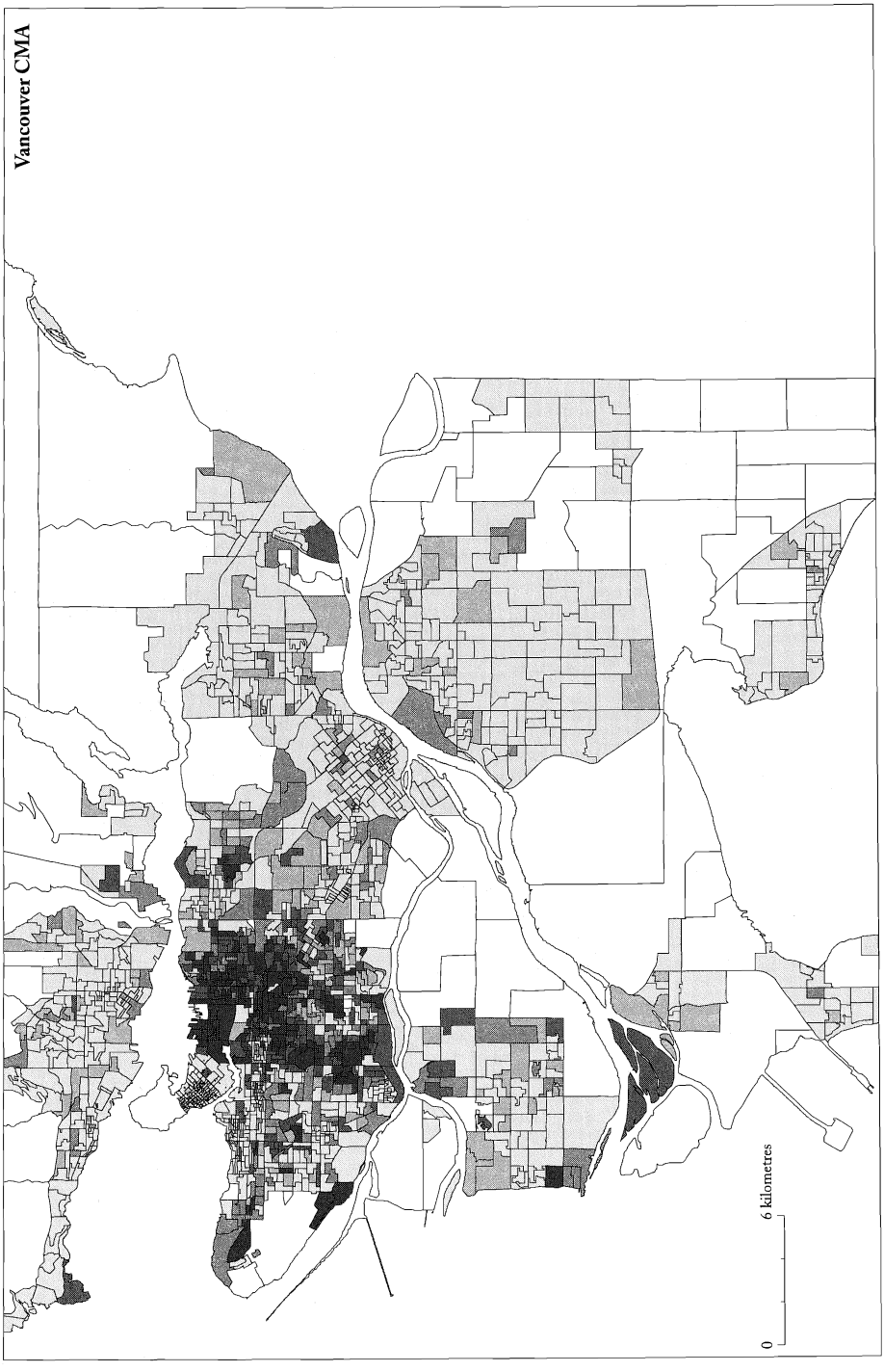


Figure 2: Immigrant population by enumeration area (EA), Vancouver CMA, 1971.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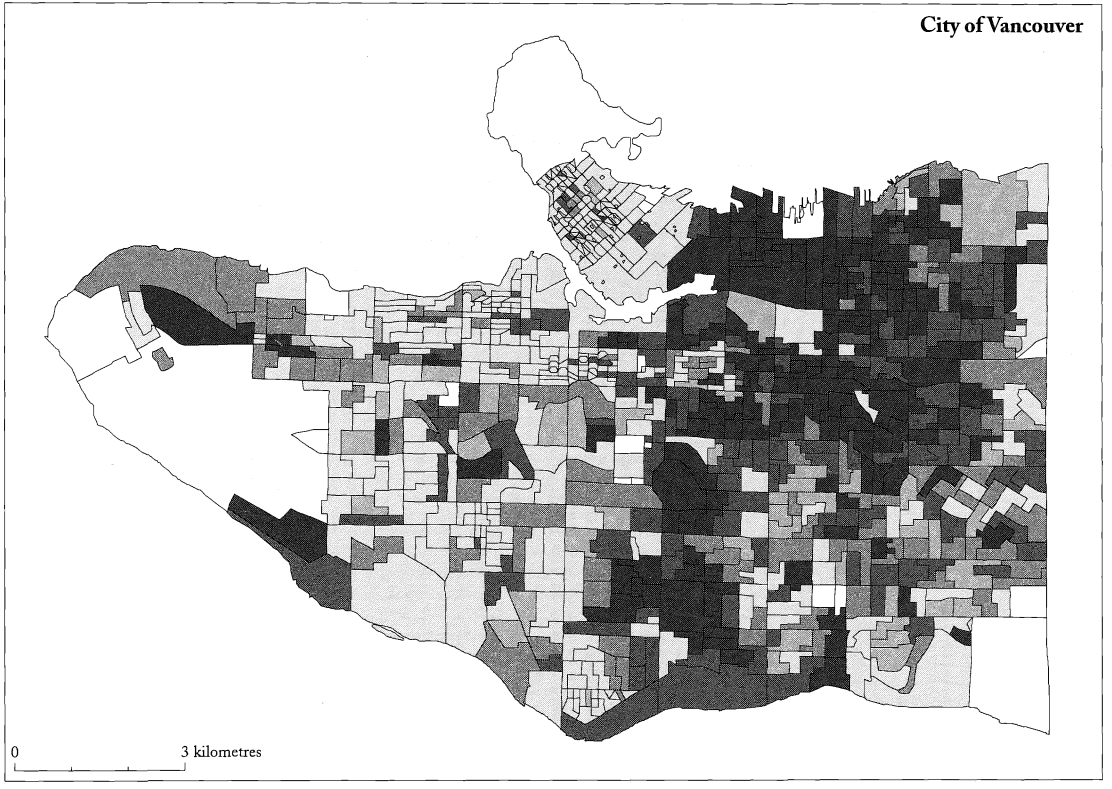


Figure 3: Ethnic origin Chinese by enumeration area (EA), Vancouver CMA, 1971.

lived within a short distance of the Fraser River – many continued to be employed in the fishery – especially in and around Steveston. Immigrants, and their descendants, from South Asia were also tied to the resource economy, but they were in the agricultural and wood products sectors. In the initial phase of Indo-Canadian settlement, many found jobs in the sawmills around False Creek, and the first gurdwara (place of worship) was built in the area. But employment in wood processing began to decline in the inner parts of the city during the 1960s as industrial land was redeveloped for residential purposes. By 1971, there were two emerging clusters of Indo-Canadians: the south Main Street corridor, near the site of a recently built gurdwara on Ross Street (Johnston 1988), and near the agricultural lands around the New Westminster/Richmond border. Both locations were close to sawmills on the Fraser River.

The small "Caribbean, Black, and African" group was highly suburbanized compared with other minority populations. There were no concentrations of this group, either within the City of Vancouver or in the peripheral municipalities. This lack of concentration was probably related to the multicultural, multinational character of this group, which was really an amalgamation of people from many countries, different chronological cohorts, and many languages.

As the Canadian immigration system began to respond to new policy directions after 1967, the social geography of Greater Vancouver reflected a complex set of historical and postwar settlement processes. Groups from traditional sources, particularly Britain, Germany, and the Netherlands, were widely distributed and intermingled with those who had been born in Canada. Several Asian groups had long roots in the city, but the extreme concentration of the prewar period appeared to be breaking down as immigrants arrived in increasing numbers from China, Hong Kong, and India. In fact, several East and South European groups, as well as the metropolitan Jewish population, lived in more congregated patterns. Finally, the most obvious pattern was that the majority of immigrants (from a variety of origins) resided in the City of Vancouver, especially in Eastside neighbourhoods; comparatively few lived in the periphery of the metropolitan area. As one might expect, given our understanding of the modern city, the suburbs were mainly White, middle class, and family oriented.

POLICY CHANGES AND NEW IMMIGRATION PATTERNS: 1967–86

During the 1960s, the federal government liberalized immigrant selection policy but retained the principle of "absorptive capacity" as the criterion for setting annual numerical targets (Hawkins 1988; Green and Green 1996). In practice, this meant that, for the first time, immigrants from anywhere were to be given equal treatment in selection policy; it also meant that the total number admitted would continue to fluctuate according to economic circumstances. On average, 140,000 per annum became landed immigrants over the next twenty years. The removal of preferential treatment for Europeans had an almost immediate effect. Turning to the 1986 census, of the 222,100 immigrants living in Greater Vancouver who landed in Canada between 1967 and 1986, 31,800 were born in Britain – still the single largest place-of-birth group. However, the three next largest birthplace groups that settled in Greater Vancouver in these two decades were from China, India, and Hong Kong (Table 2), and seven of the top ten source countries were Asian. The dominance of Asia as a source of immigrants to Vancouver was historically unprecedented and had dramatic effects on the cultural composition of the metropolitan population.

TABLE 2
Largest 1967–86 immigrant groups, by place of birth, in Vancouver CMA, 1986

	NUMBER	% OF '67-86 GROUP
United Kingdom	31,770	14.3
China	26,485	11.9
India	21,670	9.8
Hong Kong	20,495	9.2
United States of America	13,410	6.0
Philippines	13,050	5.9
Fiji	8,565	3.9
Vietnam	7,630	3.4
West Germany	3,745	1.7
Korea	3,615	1.6
Total, top 10	150,435	67.7
Total immigrants (1967-86)	222,120	

Source: SC 1986 Census (93-156)

The population of Greater Vancouver expanded rapidly between 1971 and 1986 due to a combination of substantial migration from non-metropolitan areas of British Columbia, from other Canadian provinces, and from abroad. It is impossible to trace the growth of particular cultural groups with any precision because of changes in the way information on ethnicity was collected in the 1971 and 1986 censuses.[6] That said, the rise in the population of non-European ethnic groups between 1971 and 1986 was substantial. There was at least a threefold increase in the Chinese population during these years (compared with a total population increase of nearly 30 per cent), while the number of Indo-Canadians jumped fivefold. By 1986 there were also significant Filipino-, Japanese-, Vietnamese-, and Korean-origin communities.

Assessing the residential geography of ethnic groups in 1986 is even more difficult since, for the most part, we only have access to data on those who reported single origins.[7] Based on information at hand, the changing social geography of thirteen groups can be examined (Table 3). At the census tract scale, there was a general rise in the degree of ethnic segregation after 1971 as the metropolitan population increased. Despite the different growth rates in the size of Greater Vancouver's ethnic communities, there was a remarkable consistency in the relative degree of segregation of the thirteen groups.[8] In both 1971 and 1986, European-origin groups tended to be dispersed, with segregation indices of less than thirty in all but two cases, while visible minority and Aboriginal groups were more spatially isolated (all had indices over forty). But while the indices changed little over these years, the detailed settlement patterns of specific groups evolved considerably. As in cities throughout North America, Vancouver's urban growth was accompanied by dispersal to suburban municipalities: 39 per cent of the metropolitan population lived in the City of Vancouver in 1971, compared with just 32 per cent in 1986. Only one group – those reporting Aboriginal ancestry – became more concentrated in

[6] Until 1971, census respondents were asked to specify a single, paternal, origin. In an effort to remove the masculine bias in the question and to portray ethnicity more accurately, Statistics Canada began in 1981 to allow respondents to list more than one origin and, starting in 1986, provided three blank lines for ethnic origin (in addition to a brief checklist).

[7] I rely on data purchased by a consortium of Canadian universities for this discussion, the Data Liberation Initiative (DLI). The file used to produce Table 5 includes a wide variety of single-origin groups listed by Census Tract, but only a few multiple-origin groups. See Davies and Murdie (1993) and Olson and Kobayashi (1993) for a discussion of the general social geography of immigrant and ethnic communities in Canadian cities in the 1980s.

[8] The correlation coefficient between the 1971 and 1986 indices for these groups was .95, significant at a .01 probability level.

TABLE 3

Ethnic segregation in the Vancouver CMA, 1971, 1986, and 1996

	1971				1986				1996			
	POPULATION	SEGREGATION INDEX	RANK	% LIVING IN CITY OF VAN.	POPULATION	SEGREGATION INDEX	RANK	% LIVING IN CITY OF VAN.	POPULATION	SEGREGATION INDEX	RANK	% LIVING IN CITY OF VAN.
Total population	1,082,350			38.9	1,319,055			32.3	1,831,665			28.1
Total ethnic origin*	1,082,350			38.9	998,930			34.3	1,116,540			31.4
Jewish	10,820	52.9	2	72.5	10,560	58.1	1	67.3	8,700	57.3	1	58.9
Black & African	1,205	52.4	3	43.2	3,730	45.0	5	34.5	4,865	52.9	2	34.0
South Asian	10,640	38.6	6	61.1	45,350	42.1	6	35.0	106,925	49.0	3	20.9
Chinese	36,405	54.5	1	84.0	99,800	52.2	2	70.7	264,225	47.7	4	50.7
Aboriginal	7,460	41.5	5	40.3	10,885	50.7	3	54.1	12,725	46.6	5	47.3
Italian	30,050	43.2	4	63.2	29,080	45.2	4	45.8	30,175	37.8	6	32.7
Dutch	31,960	23.3	7	23.6	23,855	29.3	7	16.6	22,045	36.4	7	12.6
Polish	14,985	16.9	11	42.1	10,440	26.6	9	41.6	15,670	31.0	8	26.0
Norwegian**	23,950	19.2	8	27.4	22,540	20.4	11	21.8	16,280	29.2	9	17.3
French	42,865	17.4	9	33.0	28,215	22.7	10	29.6	18,740	28.6	10	28.1
British	633,820	17.3	10	35.1	521,705	26.8	8	26.1	225,785	28.5	11	21.9
Ukrainian	31,125	15.9	13	38.7	22,015	17.5	13	27.2	17,975	24.8	12	21.7
German	89,675	16.3	12	35.9	58,080	19.0	12	25.4	47,320	23.3	13	20.4
Average		31.5				35.0				37.9		

* Single origin only for 1986 and 1996; in 1986, however, multiple British only is included

** Scandinavian in 1996

Source: 1971: SC custom tabulation G00197; 1986: DLI file EC86B01; 1996: DLI file PR96CT.IVT

the City of Vancouver during this period, but the extent of suburbanization varied substantially among others. Generally, the vast majority of those who reported European origins were drawn to the suburbs, although there were a few prominent exceptions. The metropolitan Jewish community was one of the most demographically stable during these years and actually intensified its settlement in the Oak Street corridor. The Polish community was nearly as stable, with few immigrants arriving and little residential movement from its principal settlement area – in this case in modestly priced houses in Eastside neighbourhoods. While many Italians moved beyond the city boundary, especially to Burnaby, East Vancouver remained the primary focus of their settlement, particularly in the northern portion of the district near a well-developed commercial centre (Commercial Drive) and the Italian Community Centre. Other European groups, as noted, were scattered, with a weak tendency for those of British origin to reside in suburbs north of Burrard Inlet, while German and Dutch groups were more prone to live south of the urban core.

The small but growing population that indicated "Black" ethnic origin was still mainly suburbanized, with no discernible commercial or institutional core in the metropolitan area. The continuing dispersal of this group reflected its heterogeneous social composition (by 1986 including people from the West Indies, the United State, and a variety of sub-Saharan African countries). Conversely, most Chinese-Canadians still lived in East Vancouver in 1986, especially around the original settlement district of Strathcona (for maps of this group in 1986, see Statistics Canada 1989; and Ley, Hiebert, and Pratt 1992). The rapid growth of the Chinese population and its increasingly diverse socio-economic composition, however, meant that it was impossible for the whole group to be situated in a single neighbourhood or even the same general district of the city. By 1986, there were significant numbers of Chinese-origin residents in nearly every Eastside neighbourhood. Cultural institutions and commercial centres followed the Chinese population as it dispersed from Strathcona; and the Eastside, with its affordable housing and rich set of cultural organizations, became the place of choice for most new immigrants from Hong Kong and China. Beyond the traditional – though much enlarged – core of Chinese settlement, the number living west of Main Street (noted in the 1971 discussion) had grown considerably, and, by 1986, about 30 per cent of those reporting single Chinese origin lived in suburban settings – twice the proportion seen in the 1971 census. The vast majority of those who chose to live in the suburbs gravitated

towards Richmond or Burnaby, in roughly equal numbers. The movements towards the west side of the City of Vancouver and to the suburbs indicated the continuing trajectory of upward mobility for particular members of the community, but the resilience of the Eastside as the primary Chinese-origin landscape illustrates the fact that not all members of the community shared in this prosperity.

Meanwhile, the number of immigrants arriving from South Asia – mainly Sikhs from the Punjab region of India, but including a significant number of Hindus and Muslims from other parts of the subcontinent – was also too large to be accommodated in the areas of initial settlement discussed above. The relocation of resource industries away from the inner city was completed in the period leading to Expo '86, the public spectacle designed to showcase Vancouver as a "world-class city." The Indo-Canadian presence around south Main Street remained significant over this period, and the growing population in east Richmond and New Westminster was served by a new gurdwara. However, by 1986 Indo-Canadians began to locate further from the city, in the distant suburbs of Northeast Delta and West Surrey (especially in and around the neighbourhood of Newton). Significantly, the new area of settlement bordered on agricultural land and was near sawmills; it also became the site of a new commercial landscape mainly owned by Indo-Canadians (Ley, Hiebert, and Pratt 1992).[9]

Immigration after 1967 brought a much more cosmopolitan population to Greater Vancouver, and the social geography of the metropolitan area became more complex. A few European-origin groups lived in discernible concentrations, but most did not. The three visible minorities examined here each followed a different residential trajectory, with Blacks dispersing, Indo-Canadians split between two increasingly vibrant districts in the City of Vancouver's southern neighbourhoods and West Surrey/Northeast Delta, and those of Chinese origin remaining the most urbanized large minority group in Greater Vancouver. The growing Indo-Canadian presence in the Surrey–Delta area was a marked departure from previous settlement patterns. In the past, immigrants, particularly those who came from non-European backgrounds, generally settled first in inner-city locations. For the first time in Vancouver's history, the cultural and economic characteristics of one of the suburbs began to be shaped

[9] Note that there was a growing level of social stratification within the Indo-Canadian community by the mid-1980s, which also contributed to the more diverse residential patterns. See Chadney 1989.

significantly by a recent immigrant group from a non-European source.

These changes, significant as they were in retrospect, were of little interest at the time. The economic crisis of the early 1980s, which lingered in British Columbia more than in the rest of Canada, and environmental deterioration were the "big issues" of the day, and few thought to comment on the sea change that was beginning to be manifested in the socio-spatial structure of Greater Vancouver. The lack of concern was also, no doubt, a product of the relatively small number of immigrants arriving each year. True, the proportion of Vancouverites who traced their origin to Asia doubled, but the change took place over a twenty-year period and generated little obvious social tension. By the end of the 1980s, however, public attention shifted to immigration with an intensity that, arguably, had not been seen since the early twentieth century.

THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF GREATER VANCOUVER: 1986–96

Changes in Canadian immigration policy during the mid–1980s were nearly as fundamental as those implemented in the late 1960s (Hiebert 1994; Green and Green 1996). The trend towards admitting fewer immigrants from the United Kingdom, Europe, and the United States continued, while the proportion arriving from Asian countries grew dramatically.[10] The size of the immigration program, however, was decisively changed. Driven by a combination of economic and demographic concerns, the Canadian government increased the total number admitted from 84,300 in 1985 to over 250,000 in 1992 and 1993.[11] Since then, the number of landings has been around 215,000 per year. At the same time, economic-class immigrants were accorded greater priority, and the ratio of these to the total increased from 32 per cent in 1985 to half in 1988 and (after a brief decline) 56 per cent in 1996. Within the economic class, special emphasis was given to entrepreneurial and investor immigrants, recently established categories created to attract individuals with business experience and investment

[10] The changes in percentage of landings in Canada by world region between 1986 and 1996 were: Africa (12.4 to 16.1); Asia and the Pacific (35.6 to 55.4); South and Central America, including the Caribbean (21.8 to 8.2); the United States (7.3 to 2.6); the United Kingdom (5.1 to 2.5); and the remainder of Europe (17.8 to 15.2). These figures are drawn from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) annual statistical reports.

[11] The statistics reported in this and the following paragraph have been gathered from annual reports of CIC and the Internet site of BC Stats (www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca).

capital. By the early 1990s, one-fourth of all economic immigrants (and over 15 per cent of *all* immigrants) were either principal applicants to the business programs or their dependents, though this proportion began to slide in the mid–1990s.

These trends were echoed, in many cases amplified, in British Columbia. A new constellation of factors emerged in the mid–1980s to shape the next decade of immigration to the province. Emigration from Hong Kong began to accelerate in the years preceding the repatriation of the colony to China in 1997. At the same time, the BC economy finally began to recover from a deep recession, the worst it had experienced since the 1930s (Barnes et al. 1992). By 1986, as the recovery gained momentum, a world exposition began to generate heightened international exposure for the Vancouver area (Ley 1995). According to information provided on landing forms filled out by immigrants, the number intending to settle in British Columbia rose steadily from 12,240 in 1985 to 50,500 in 1996. Over the same period, the proportion of economic immigrants jumped from 27 to 67 per cent; of these, the ratio of entrepreneurs and investors (including their dependents) peaked at 52 per cent in 1992. In fact, more than half of all the investor immigrants arriving in Canada between 1990 and 1996 indicated their intention to settle in British Columbia. Meanwhile, British Columbia received less than its share of family-class immigrants and a very small number of refugees.[12] Essentially, the BC figures apply directly to the Vancouver area, since approximately 85 per cent of immigrants intending to settle in British Columbia are bound for Greater Vancouver (CIC 1997).

As Table 4 indicates, there were extraordinary changes in the national origin of Greater Vancouver's population over the 1986–96 decade. While the number born in Europe (including the United Kingdom) and the United States actually fell during these years, other source regions became much more prominent. The number born in South and Central America doubled, as immigration from El Salvador, Mexico, Chile, and Peru gained momentum. The population of immigrants from the Caribbean, Oceania, and Africa expanded less rapidly, although the size of the Ethiopian and South African communities became more significant. The key change, however, was the growing significance of trans-Pacific migration: among Canadian

[12] In 1996, for example, 30 per cent of Canada's immigrants entered as family members and 12.5 per cent as refugees. The corresponding figures for British Columbia were 27.3 and 4.2 per cent. For a more extended discussion of these patterns, see DeVoretz (1996).

TABLE 4
Vancouver CMA population, by place of birth, 1986-96

	1986		1991		1996	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total population	1,380,729		1,602,502		1,813,935	
Total - Non-Canadian places of birth	391,860	28.4	476,545	29.7	633,740	34.9
United States	23,925	1.7	22,685	1.4	22,685	1.3
Central America	2,440	0.2	5,535	0.3	8,505	0.5
El Salvador	815	0.1	2,065	0.1	3,540	0.2
Guatemala	250	0.0	765	0.0	1,360	0.1
Mexico	880	0.1	1,480	0.1	2,015	0.1
Nicaragua	75	0.0	465	0.0	690	0.0
Other Central America	420	0.0	760	0.0	900	0.0
Caribbean & Bermuda	4,050	0.3	5,140	0.3	5,930	0.3
Barbados	360	0.0	455	0.0	490	0.0
Haiti	20	0.0	65	0.0	105	0.0
Jamaica	1,560	0.1	1,970	0.1	2,240	0.1
Trinidad & Tobago	1,340	0.1	1,770	0.1	1,975	0.1
Other Caribbean & Bermuda	770	0.1	880	0.1	1,120	0.1
South America	5,515	0.4	7,060	0.4	8,685	0.5
Argentina	620	0.0	650	0.0	895	0.0
Brazil	515	0.0	575	0.0	950	0.1
Chile	1,240	0.1	1,820	0.1	2,060	0.1
Colombia	380	0.0	400	0.0	480	0.0
Ecuador	60	0.0	120	0.0	135	0.0
Guyana	885	0.1	955	0.1	1,080	0.1
Peru	710	0.1	1,500	0.1	1,595	0.1
Other South America	1,105	0.1	1,040	0.1	1,490	0.1
Europe	199,550	14.5	192,655	12.0	190,780	10.5
Austria	3,225	0.2	2,855	0.2	2,465	0.1
Belgium	820	0.1	945	0.1	900	0.0
Czech & Slovak Federal Republic, former	4,905	0.4	5,120	0.3	5,625	0.3
France	1,970	0.1	1,970	0.1	2,510	0.1
Germany	19,040	1.4	19,095	1.2	17,785	1.0
Greece	3,225	0.2	3,360	0.2	3,340	0.2
Hungary	4,680	0.3	4,520	0.3	4,780	0.3
Ireland, Republic of (Eire)	2,590	0.2	2,595	0.2	2,690	0.1
Italy	14,995	1.1	14,305	0.9	13,500	0.7
Malta	280	0.0	185	0.0	205	0.0
Netherlands	10,745	0.8	10,740	0.7	10,010	0.6
Poland	8,295	0.6	10,455	0.7	12,445	0.7

	1986		1991		1996	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Europe (cont.)						
Portugal	5,575	0.4	5,585	0.3	5,545	0.3
Romania	1,250	0.1	1,655	0.1	3,575	0.2
Scandinavia	11,425	0.8	10,085	0.6	9,015	0.5
Spain	880	0.1	725	0.0	830	0.0
Switzerland	1,545	0.1	1,635	0.1	1,810	0.1
United Kingdom	90,690	6.6	83,585	5.2	75,410	4.2
USSR, former	6,465	0.5	5,635	0.4	6,775	0.4
Yugoslavia, former	6,775	0.5	7,090	0.4	11,025	0.6
Other Europe	175	0.0	515	0.0	540	0.0
Africa	12,055	0.9	15,945	1.0	21,790	1.2
Ghana	180	0.0	195	0.0	495	0.0
Other Western Africa	160	0.0	165	0.0	455	0.0
Ethiopia, former	140	0.0	495	0.0	1,185	0.1
Kenya	2,265	0.2	3,065	0.2	3,560	0.2
Somalia	0	0.0	115	0.0	700	0.0
Tanzania, United Republic of	2,295	0.2	2,685	0.2	2,935	0.2
Uganda	2,240	0.2	2,240	0.1	2,570	0.1
Other Eastern Africa	940	0.1	1,265	0.1	1,590	0.1
Algeria	90	0.0	100	0.0	185	0.0
Egypt	495	0.0	770	0.0	1,210	0.1
Morocco	180	0.0	250	0.0	340	0.0
Other Northern Africa	80	0.0	145	0.0	420	0.0
South Africa, Republic of	2,810	0.2	4,120	0.3	5,750	0.3
Other Central & Southern Africa	180	0.0	335	0.0	395	0.0
West Central Asia & the Middle East	4,845	0.4	8,700	0.5	16,725	0.9
Afghanistan	200	0.0	395	0.0	1,370	0.1
Iran	2,445	0.2	5,305	0.3	10,060	0.6
Iraq	165	0.0	230	0.0	960	0.1
Israel & Palestine/ West Bank/Gaza Strip	655	0.0	675	0.0	955	0.1
Lebanon	555	0.0	890	0.1	1,355	0.1
Syria	165	0.0	200	0.0	230	0.0
Turkey	335	0.0	550	0.0	615	0.0
Other West Central Asia & the Middle East	325	0.0	455	0.0	1,180	0.1
Eastern & Southeast Asia	99,060	7.2	163,535	10.2	279,975	15.4
Cambodia	480	0.0	1,070	0.1	1,355	0.1
China, People's Republic of	36,335	2.6	48,935	3.1	72,915	4.0
Hong Kong	22,275	1.6	45,650	2.8	86,210	4.8
Indonesia	1,395	0.1	1,715	0.1	2,185	0.1

	1986		1991		1996	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Eastern & Southeast Asia (cont.)						
Japan	4,385	0.3	4,980	0.3	6,515	0.4
Korea	3,685	0.3	6,695	0.4	12,720	0.7
Laos	740	0.1	770	0.0	1,130	0.1
Malaysia	2,670	0.2	5,290	0.3	6,575	0.4
Philippines	13,660	1.0	21,400	1.3	34,640	1.9
Singapore	1,305	0.1	2,205	0.1	3,235	0.2
Taiwan	2,115	0.2	7,250	0.5	29,330	1.6
Thailand	385	0.0	815	0.1	1,025	0.1
Vietnam	7,660	0.6	12,765	0.8	16,995	0.9
Other Eastern & Southeast Asia	1,970	0.1	3,995	0.2	5,145	0.3
Southern Asia	25,670	1.9	38,155	2.4	58,440	3.2
India	24,255	1.8	35,890	2.2	53,470	2.9
Pakistan	825	0.1	1,465	0.1	3,045	0.2
Sri Lanka	450	0.0	755	0.0	1,575	0.1
Other Southern Asia	140	0.0	45	0.0	350	0.0
Oceania & other	14,780	1.1	17,100	1.1	20,170	1.1
Australia	2,900	0.2	3,230	0.2	3,385	0.2
Fiji	9,000	0.7	11,095	0.7	13,860	0.8
Other Oceania & other	2,880	0.2	2,775	0.2	2,925	0.2

Source: SC 1996 Census Nation Series: Immigration and Citizenship

metropolitan centres, Greater Vancouver attracted the highest proportion of immigrants from Asian countries (80 per cent of landed immigrants to the CMA in the 1990s have been from Asia). By 1996, nearly 365,000 residents of the metropolitan area were born in Asia (roughly equivalent to the *total* immigrant population just ten years earlier), and Hong Kong had replaced the United Kingdom as the single most important place of birth among immigrants living in Greater Vancouver. Over the decade, the number born in India, China, and Vietnam doubled; the number born in Malaysia, the Philippines, and Pakistan tripled; the number born in Iran, Hong Kong. and Korea quadrupled; and the number born in Taiwan rose by more than tenfold.

Developments in the 1991–96 period were particularly striking. While there was a 13.2 per cent increase in Greater Vancouver's total population in these years, the number of immigrants rose by 30 per cent.[13] Of the 190,000 immigrants joining the metropolitan population,

[13] To add perspective to these numbers, note that the 189,660 immigrants living in the CMA in 1996 who had arrived since 1991 accounted for *90 per cent* of the 211,433 added to the population during this five-year period.

fewer than 4,000 were from the United States, and fewer than 20,000 were from Europe. Although the number of immigrants arriving from Latin American and African countries was modest, they represented significant additions to many of metropolitan Vancouver's small minority communities. The pace of change was most rapid among Vancouver's Asian groups: the 1991–96 arrivals represented over 40 per cent of the total born-in-Asia population.

Unfortunately, as in the 1971–86 case, it is difficult to measure the precise impact of arriving immigrants on the ethnic composition of Greater Vancouver. As we have seen, changes in the way ethnicity was defined between 1971 and 1986 made comparisons between these years difficult. Although the question on ethnic origin was not changed in such a sweeping way between 1986 and 1996, many respondents chose to answer it differently. In particular, nearly 125,000 people (compared to less than 5,000 a decade earlier) ignored the ancestral aspect of the question on ethnicity and defined themselves simply as "Canadian." Despite the lack of symmetry between the two sets of data, it is abundantly clear that the number reporting Asian, African, and Latin American origins – singly and as part of multiple origins – increased considerably over the ten-year period (compare Tables 1 and 5). Recognizing the ambiguities inherent in the definition of ethnic origin, Statistics Canada included a new "population group" question in the 1996 census that may provide a clearer picture of the size of certain minority groups (Table 6).[14] It is worth noting that the total size of the non-White population in Greater Vancouver was over half a million and, in itself, exceeded all but the largest nine metropolitan areas in Canada. The relative proportion of Asian-Canadians was far higher in Greater Vancouver than in the other major immigrant-receiving centres of Canada, although it might actually have been higher in the mid–1880s.

IMMIGRANTS AND THE ECONOMY OF GREATER VANCOUVER

As the cultural diversity of Greater Vancouver's population has grown, so, too, has the complexity of social relations both between and within

[14] The new question simply asked "Are you..." and gave respondents a list of groups to choose from plus a line to indicate an alternate group (see Table 6). Although the concepts of ethnic origin and population group differ, this may be a particularly valuable way of defining ethnicity because, given the stark way the question is posed, it invites respondents to *identify* themselves rather than to report their ancestry.

TABLE 5
Ethnic origin of the Vancouver CMA population (selected groups), 1996

	SINGLE		MULTIPLE		TOTAL	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
British Isles origins	225,780	20.2	528,175	37.1	753,950	30.9
French origins	18,825	1.7	113,120	7.9	131,940	5.4
Dutch	22,045	2.0	43,620	3.1	65,665	2.7
German	47,320	4.2	139,620	9.8	186,945	7.7
Norwegian	5,840	0.5	33,865	2.4	39,710	1.6
Hungarian	7,840	0.7	11,665	0.8	19,500	0.8
Polish	15,670	1.4	34,370	2.4	50,035	2.1
Russian	4,620	0.4	25,795	1.8	30,420	1.2
Ukrainian	17,975	1.6	55,360	3.9	73,335	3.0
Yugoslav*	2,645	0.2	3,970	0.3	6,620	0.3
Greek	6,740	0.6	4,500	0.3	11,235	0.5
Italian	30,175	2.7	34,105	2.4	64,280	2.6
Portuguese	9,660	0.9	6,060	0.4	15,720	0.6
Jewish	8,700	0.8	13,525	0.9	22,225	0.9
Other European	51,575	4.6	71,225	5.0	18,325	0.8
Iranian	11,415	1.0	1,785	0.1	13,200	0.5
Other Middle Eastern	8,085	0.7	5,305	0.4	13,390	0.5
Chinese	264,220	23.7	24,575	1.7	288,800	11.8
Filipino	33,365	3.0	9,110	0.6	42,475	1.7
Vietnamese	13,420	1.2	3,450	0.2	16,865	0.7
Japanese	18,170	1.6	6,130	0.4	24,300	1.0
Korean	16,690	1.5	815	0.1	17,505	0.7
Taiwanese	2,980	0.3	840	0.1	3,820	0.2
Other Asian	111,430	10.0	11,330	0.8	122,755	5.0
African origins	6,095	0.5	7,285	0.5	13,380	0.5
Fijian	3,875	0.3	3,035	0.2	6,910	0.3
Latin American	8,480	0.8	7,295	0.5	15,770	0.6
Caribbean origins	3,995	0.4	6,095	0.4	10,090	0.4
Aboriginal origins	12,725	1.1	34,080	2.4	46,805	1.9
American	1,930	0.2	17,790	1.2	19,725	0.8
Canadian	123,285	11.0	188,225	13.2	311,510	12.8
Total	**1,116,540**		**1,425,230**		**2,437,295**	

Source: SC 1996 Census Nation Series, Ethnic Origin

*Note: only "Yugoslav" origins are reported here (e.g., not Bosnian)

TABLE 6
Population group, 1996

	CANADA		MONTRÉAL		TORONTO		VANCOUVER	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total - Population groups	**28,528,125**		**3,287,645**		**4,232,905**		**1,813,935**	
Single responses	27,251,880	95.5	3,203,785	97.4	4,052,315	95.7	1,733,105	95.5
White	24,156,215	84.7	2,812,235	85.5	2,751,650	65.0	1,196,320	66.0
Total non-White	3,095,665	10.9	391,550	11.9	1,300,665	30.7	536,785	29.6
Chinese	820,370	2.9	43,700	1.3	325,345	7.7	269,855	14.9
South Asian	630,965	2.2	43,045	1.3	313,005	7.4	114,375	6.3
Black	510,945	1.8	115,040	3.5	253,125	6.0	12,805	0.7
Arab/West Asian	240,330	0.8	72,975	2.2	70,295	1.7	17,810	1.0
Filipino	220,570	0.8	13,850	0.4	95,250	2.3	37,955	2.1
Southeast Asian	163,340	0.6	36,030	1.1	44,445	1.0	18,910	1.0
Latin American	174,320	0.6	46,235	1.4	60,665	1.4	13,635	0.8
Japanese	51,730	0.2	1,780	0.1	13,930	0.3	18,045	1.0
Korean	62,710	0.2	3,355	0.1	27,840	0.7	16,800	0.9
Other	220,380	0.8	15,535	0.5	96,760	2.3	16,585	0.9
Multiple responses	496,455	1.7	74,420	2.3	165,030	3.9	50,755	2.8
All others	779,790	2.7	9,440	0.3	15,555	0.4	30,070	1.7

Source: StatCan 1996 Census Nation Series, Ethnic Origin

ethnic groups (see Mercer 1995). In the past, there was a relatively close correspondence between immigration, class position, and ethnic origin. Studies throughout North America – from the 1910s onward – have repeatedly demonstrated the familiar pattern of immigrant social mobility. Whether in the ethnographic research of the Chicago sociologists or in the statistical analysis common among economists, the conclusions have been generally similar: immigrants came to the United States or Canada to improve their standard of living. They arrived poor and ready to work hard to achieve material well-being and to participate in the polity; more succeeded than failed (Bodnar 1985; Burnet and Palmer 1988). These findings resonated well with a widespread social imagination that encompassed an open, democratic society that *eventually* included everyone who exerted the effort required to belong.

One of the contradictory elements in these narratives was, of course, the place of African-Americans in the United States. But if US Blacks have been unable to achieve economic parity with the mainstream, then the situation for people of Colour (and Aboriginals) in Canada was also problematic. Since the beginning of colonialism, British immigrants and their descendants have dominated Vancouver's economy and political system. People from a variety of European backgrounds occupied intermediary socio-economic positions (with Western and Northern Europeans being wealthier than Southern and Eastern Europeans). Those of non-European ancestry were in the least advantageous segments of the housing and labour markets. It was never quite so simple, of course, and there have been many examples of individuals who did not fit these categories; but the basic pattern was in place, certainly until the 1950s (see Porter 1965). How, then, were the contradictory tendencies of upward social mobility for immigrants and the blocked social mobility for people of Colour reconciled after the revival of Asian immigration to British Columbia in the 1950s, and the much increased significance of Asian source countries in subsequent decades?

Before considering this question directly, note that there is a general relationship between immigration and income in metropolitan Vancouver, as elsewhere in Canada (Pendakur and Pendakur 1996). According to the 1991 census, the average total income for individual adult residents in the Vancouver CMA was around $26,000.[15] The figure was higher for non-immigrants and immigrants who landed in Canada prior to 1971, and lower for those who arrived after 1971.

With the exception of those who landed prior to 1961 (a group that includes many retirees), there was a monotonic positive relationship between length of time since landing and income, and established immigrants earned higher incomes than non-immigrants. Generally, people identified as visible minorities earned lower than average incomes, and this was true in all of the immigration status and period-of-landing categories (Hiebert 1997).

There are, however, many variations on these general patterns. Even among visible minority groups, earlier arrivals realize higher incomes than newcomers. Also, the way ethnic groups are defined in the census and the popular imagination often conceals important internal diversity; Greater Vancouver's Chinese-origin population, for example, is really an amalgam of groups, including those who were born in Canada; immigrants from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other nations of the Pacific Rim; and twice-migrants from a number of countries (Lo and Wang 1997). These subgroups have come to Canada for different reasons, have different pre-migration characteristics, and achieve different income levels in their new setting. Finally, given the processes of immigrant selection in place since the 1960s, even those immigrants who arrive at the same time and from the same source country are likely to be drawn from a wide variety of socio-economic circumstances. For example, of the 29,300 immigrants from Hong Kong who landed in Canada in 1990, 12,800 were in the independent class and, therefore, were assessed according to their level of education, work experience, and so on; 1,600 were retirees; 20 were refugees (including the designated classes); 8,100 were part of the family reunification program; and 6,800 were either principal applicants in the business classes or their dependents. Acknowledging these different means of entering Canada, we should expect a complex socio-economic structure within the Hong-Kong born community – as well as other groups that are growing due to the arrival of new immigrants.

Returning to the question posed earlier, then, the issue of blocked versus upward social mobility is no longer straightforward. Many immigrants – even from "Third World" countries – arrive with business experience and considerable wealth, and have a broad range of options in their settlement decision and integration process. Others, again from a variety of countries, arrive with high levels of educational

[15] Statistics discussed here were derived from a special tabulation of the 1991 census (G00141) and include all non-institutionalized individuals, fifteen years and older, who reported a 1990 income different from zero.

attainment and work experience. Finally, there are many who come to Canada through humanitarian and family reunification programs with few resources and who, therefore, face stringent linguistic and financial constraints that are often compounded by racism.

The socio-economic differences among immigrants are therefore probably as extensive as those among the Canadian-born, and there is simply no such thing as a "typical immigrant." Also, for the first time, some of the wealthiest individuals in Canada (and particularly in Greater Vancouver, given its distinct immigration profile) are immigrants from outside North America and Europe who arrived with a unique set of cultural sensibilities and lifestyle preferences. They have also settled in new residential patterns.

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS IN THE 1990S

As we have seen, immigrants had already begun to reshape Greater Vancouver's social geography in the years between 1971 and 1986. In particular, the traditional pattern of initial inner-city settlement was giving way to a new residential landscape that included immigrant-reception neighbourhoods in selected suburbs as well as on the East side of the city. This trend intensified after 1986 and has led to a much more variegated urban social geography. Perhaps the most telling statistic is the proportion of immigrants that settled in the City of Vancouver as opposed to the suburban municipalities before and after 1986. According to the 1996 census, this figure was just over 55 per cent for those who arrived between 1982 and 1986 but declined to under 36 per cent for immigrants who landed in the 1991–96 period. Figure 4, particularly in combination with Figure 2, reveals the magnitude of change in immigrant settlement; note that even – indeed especially – the most recent immigrants to the metropolitan area chose to locate in peripheral neighbourhoods. Something of the complexity of these settlement outcomes can be seen in Table 7. The bulk of the nearly 190,000 immigrants who settled in Greater Vancouver between 1991 and 1996 was located, in 1996, in the City of Vancouver (68,200), Richmond (30,600), Burnaby (26,400), and Surrey (24,200), but there were also significant numbers in the North Shore municipalities and in the Tri-Cities (Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam, and Port Moody). Only a few districts, at the extreme northeast and southeast of the metropolitan area, were relatively untouched by new immigrants.

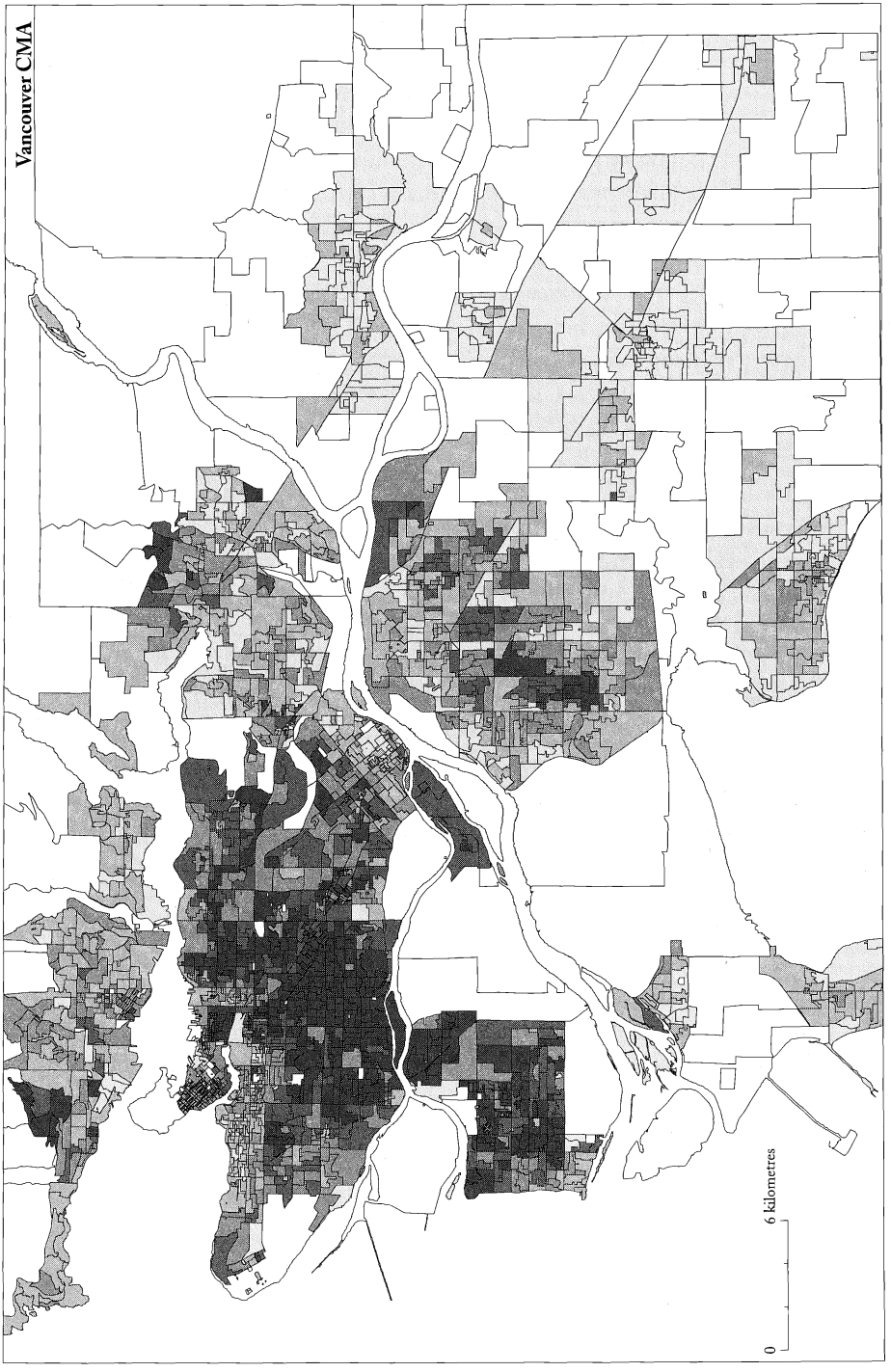
Significantly, the ethnocultural composition of the immigrant population differed between municipalities. While immigrants from Hong Kong, China, and Taiwan clearly dominated the flow to Greater Vancouver (and these groups were present in large numbers in almost every district), the largest birthplace group among recent immigrants to North Vancouver was Iranian. Immigrants from India formed the largest newcomer community in Delta, Surrey, and New Westminster. These maps and statistics reveal the formation of new landscapes of social life and new landscapes of need. They also show that these emerging needs differ between districts; the demand for counselling in Farsi, for example, is most acute in North and West Vancouver, Richmond, and the Tri-Cities, and less so elsewhere.[16]

Table 8 provides an alternate view of these data, showing the groups in each district that have the highest *relative* proportion of the population.[17] In this case, for example, New Westminster stands out as a centre of settlement for immigrants from Eastern Europe. While these groups are small in absolute numbers, their concentration in New Westminster and Burnaby suggests (if immigration continues to grow from these countries) significant future Eastern European enclaves in this part of the metropolitan area. Note, too, the variety of groups that are concentrated in the City of Vancouver, Richmond, and Burnaby, indicating again the multicultural character of these districts. Finally, the only recent immigrant groups "over-represented" in the most distant suburbs of Pitt Meadows and Maple Ridge were from the United Kingdom and South Africa, while none at all was over-represented in Langley. Apparently, the suburbs furthest from the city centre in the 1990s have something like the social composition that suburbs more generally had in the 1970s.

How did the addition of such a large new immigrant population affect the geography of particular cultural groups in Greater Vancouver? To the extent that such a comparison is possible – given the inconsistent ways that information on ethnic origin has been collected and reported by Statistics Canada – Table 3 offers a glimpse of the

[16] More detailed information on settlement by municipality is provided in GVRD (1997).

[17] Location quotients (LQs) are ratios of the percentage of a given group in an area compared with the percentage of the total population in the same area. For example, around 80 per cent of recent Vietnamese immigrants to the metropolitan area lived, in 1996, in the City of Vancouver, as opposed to 28 per cent of the total population; the LQ for the group in the city was therefore 2.87, indicating that recent immigrants from Vietnam were nearly three times more likely than the average resident of the metropolitan area to live in the city. Conversely, the LQ for the same group in Langley was 0.25, meaning that they were four times *less* likely than the average resident to live in that suburb.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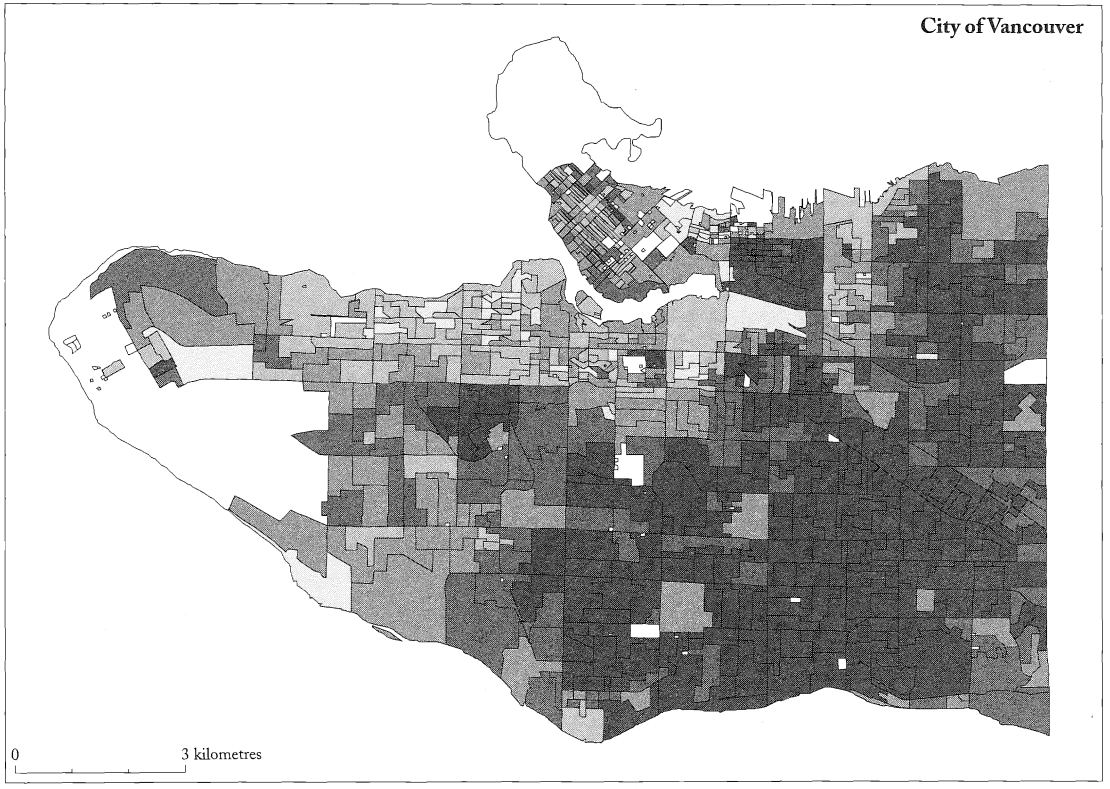


Figure 4: Immigration population by enumeration area (EA), Vancouver CMA, 1996.

TABLE 7
Largest recent immigrant groups, by district, Vancouver CMA, 1996

METROPOLITAN AREA		CITY OF VANCOUVER		NORTH VANCOUVER	
Population	1,813,935	Population	509,260	Population	128,510
Immigrants	633,745	Immigrants	228,530	Immigrants	37,930
Recent im.	189,655	Recent im.	68,215	Recent im.	9,385
HK	44,715	HK	16,625	Iran	1,885
China	27,005	China	14,010	HK	855
Taiwan	22,315	Taiwan	6,645	Phil.	815
India	16,180	Phil.	5,980	China	760
Phil.	13,610	India	3,145	UK	620
S. Korea	6,335	Vietnam	3,110	S. Africa	600
Iran	4,640	US	1,260	Taiwan	525
UK	4,040	Yugos.	1,210	S. Korea	465
Vietnam	3,860	UK	1,085	US	275
US	3,635	S. Korea	940	India	255

WEST VANCOUVER		RICHMOND		DELTA	
Population	42,400	Population	148,140	Population	95,300
Immigrants	15,485	Immigrants	71,595	Immigrants	23,150
Recent im.	3,755	Recent im.	30,555	Recent im.	4,170
Taiwan	1,020	HK	13,560	India	1,220
HK	780	China	5,140	Taiwan	595
Iran	330	Taiwan	3,910	HK	305
China	245	Phil.	2,130	UK	240
US	185	India	640	Fiji	200
UK	145	US	330	Phil.	190
S. Korea	145	Iran	310	China	185
Germany	130	UK	300	US	170
Phil.	95	Pakistan	210	S. Korea	90
France	40	S. Africa	170	Pakistan	85

SURREY (INC. WR)		NEW WESTMINSTER		BURNABY	
Population	302,930	Population	48,700	Population	176,825
Immigrants	89,980	Immigrants	12,525	Immigrants	73,815
Recent im.	24,235	Recent im.	3,180	Recent im.	26,430
India	9,050	India	415	HK	6,805
Taiwan	2,315	Phil.	415	Taiwan	5,075
Phil.	1,660	Poland	195	China	3,375
Fiji	1,610	HK	190	S. Korea	1,520
S. Korea	1,060	China	180	Phil.	1,245
China	880	S. Korea	145	Yugos.	860
HK	795	Yugos.	145	India	810
UK	685	Romania	140	Bosnia	565
Pakistan	675	Fiji	115	Poland	540
Poland	545	Iran	95	Iran	520

TRI-CITIES		PITT MEADOWS/MAPLE R.		LANGLEY	
Population	167,220	Population	69,040	Population	102,535
Immigrants	47,815	Immigrants	11,910	Immigrants	15,570
Recent im.	15,430	Recent im.	1,885	Recent im.	1,855
HK	4,620	UK	205	Taiwan	380
China	1,985	Taiwan	185	S. Korea	320
Taiwan	1,470	India	170	US	125
S. Korea	1,340	S. Korea	150	UK	115
Phil.	660	Phil.	140	China	105
Poland	525	Poland	120	Phil.	75
Iran	410	S. Africa	120	HK	65
Romania	380	US	75	India	55
India	355	Romania	65	Vietnam	55
UK	280	China	35	Yugos.	50

Source: DLI file PR2CT.ASC

TABLE 8

Immigrant settlement, by district, Vancouver CMA, 1991-1996

CITY OF VANCOUVER		NORTH VANCOUVER		WEST VANCOUVER	
LQ	BIRTHPLACE	LQ	BIRTHPLACE	LQ	BIRTHPLACE
2.87	Vietnam	5.73	Iran	5.51	Germany
1.85	China	4.30	South Africa	3.04	Iran
1.68	El Salvador	2.17	United King.	2.18	USA
1.62	Russian Fed.	1.82	Mexico	1.96	Taiwan
1.57	Philippines			1.54	United King.
1.53	Yugoslavia				

RICHMOND		DELTA		SURREY	
LQ	BIRTHPLACE	LQ	BIRTHPLACE	LQ	BIRTHPLACE
3.71	Hong Kong	1.44	India	3.35	India
2.33	China			2.97	Fiji
2.17	Russian Fed.			2.82	Pakistan
2.15	Taiwan				
1.79	Pakistan				
1.58	Mexico				

NEW WESTMINSTER		BURNABY		TRI-CITIES	
LQ	BIRTHPLACE	LQ	BIRTHPLACE	LQ	BIRTHPLACE
3.04	Romania	4.66	Bosnia-H.	2.40	Romania
2.37	Poland	3.14	Yogoslavia	2.29	S. Korea
1.92	Yugoslavia	2.46	S. Korea	1.86	Poland
1.54	Russian Fed.	2.33	Taiwan		
		1.81	Poland		
		1.56	Hong Kong		

PITT M./MAPLE RIDGE		LANGLEY	
LQ	BIRTHPLACE	LQ	BIRTHPLACE
1.60	S. Africa		n.a.
1.33	United King.		

Source: DLI file PR2CT.ASC

changing cultural landscapes of thirteen selected groups over the 1971–96 period. With all the necessary caveats in mind, the most basic point to be gleaned from the three snapshots of Vancouver's social geography is that the degree of ethnocultural concentration appears to have *increased* over time for the groups surveyed here (see the row of average segregation indices in Table 3). The basic trend for most groups has been a process – incomplete but nevertheless discernible – of congregation. That is, the gradual redistribution of the population to the suburbs, contrary to what many researchers have predicted (e.g., see Balakrishnan and Kralt 1987 for a recent statement), has been associated more with ethnocultural concentration than dispersion. Interestingly, some of the most prominent increases in segregation indices between 1986 and 1996 were registered by European-origin groups, and the rise in average segregation indices was about equal for groups of European and non-European descent (excluding Aboriginals). While the evidence is far from definitive on this matter, there is a suggestion here that people of European origin are consciously avoiding areas that are densely settled by new immigrants.

Still, the general trend in Greater Vancouver's ethnocultural landscapes was one of relatively high levels of segregation among visible minority groups and low levels among groups originally from Europe (Table 9). The residential characteristics of the Chinese-origin and Indo-Canadian communities provide instructive examples of the combined tendencies of suburbanization and concentration. Superficially, it may seem surprising that the index of segregation for the Chinese-Canadian population declined in each of the two

TABLE 9

Distribution of selected single ethnic origin groups, Vancouver CMA, 1996

	VANCOUVER CMA	INDEX OF SEGREGATION	CITY OF VANCOUVER	SURREY (INC. WR)	BURNABY	TRI-CITIES	RICHMOND	NORTH VANCOUVER	OTHER MUNICIPALITIES
Total	1,831,665	515,400	304,677	179,209	169,175	148,867	129,542	384,795	
Single origin	1,116,540		350,180	181,090	121,105	94,545	103,160	68,390	198,070
Taiwanese	2,980	67.8	1,275	350	440	175	360	55	325
Fijian	3,875	63.9	1,380	1,600	235	130	210	15	305
Vietnamese	13,420	61.8	10,000	1,615	430	235	445	45	650
Jewish	8,700	57.3	5,120	155	250	190	1,685	595	705
Iranian	11,420	55.3	2,380	295	1,080	1,180	515	3,990	1,980
African and/or Black	4,865	52.9	1,655	630	1,145	305	210	155	765
South Asian	106,925	49.0	22,350	44,505	9,715	4,550	8,910	3,310	13,585
Caribbean	3,745	47.9	700	925	500	520	295	190	615
Chinese	264,225	47.7	134,000	11,030	37,330	18,665	46,930	5,890	10,380
Aboriginal	12,725	46.6	6,020	1,675	930	560	320	1,190	2,030
Other West Asian/Arab	6,585	46.0	1,245	1,270	1,160	640	800	415	1,055
Greek	6,740	44.2	3,410	770	395	425	420	300	1,020
Korean	16,695	42.6	4,040	2,495	3,615	2,475	705	1,250	2,115
Latin American	7,565	42.2	2,845	1,190	890	685	505	475	975
Portuguese	9,655	41.3	4,225	1,050	1,380	795	505	295	1,405
Italian	30,175	37.8	9,860	2,745	7,780	3,850	750	1,525	3,665
Dutch	22,045	36.4	2,770	4,995	1,530	1,655	1,420	1,090	8,585
Japanese	18,170	32.9	7,200	990	2,345	1,105	2,675	1,565	2,290
Filipino	33,365	32.7	14,010	5,535	2,955	2,175	3,720	1,635	3,335
Polish	15,670	31.0	4,080	2,730	1,895	1,895	990	1,115	2,965
Hungarian	7,835	30.5	2,055	1,380	890	775	390	500	1,845
Scandinavian	16,280	29.2	2,815	3,215	1,350	1,650	815	1,330	5,105
Canadian	123,290	28.9	19,065	25,635	8,980	14,355	7,380	9,270	38,605
French	18,740	28.6	5,205	3,045	1,520	2,680	1,020	1,070	4,200
British	225,785	28.5	49,335	38,425	17,750	20,535	13,390	22,200	64,150
Ukrainian	17,975	24.8	3,895	3,885	1,810	1,735	1,250	905	4,495
German	47,320	23.3	9,670	9,585	4,120	4,225	3,045	3,190	13,485

Source: DLI files PR96CT and CTPRI.ASC

periods covered in Table 3. However, the drop from 54.5 in 1971 to 47.7 in 1996 should be interpreted in light of the sevenfold growth of the population as well as of the substantial suburbanization process. In 1971, fewer than 6,000 people of Chinese descent lived in Greater Vancouver's suburban municipalities; over the next twenty-five years, that figure jumped to nearly 140,000 (according to the number who answered "Chinese" in the Population Group question). The relatively high segregation index in 1996 is remarkable, given these conditions of rapid growth and outward movement. The majority of the large Chinese-Canadian population who chose to live in the metropolitan periphery settled in a small number of places, especially West Richmond, the British Properties in West Vancouver, the Westwood Plateau area of the Tri-Cities, and throughout Burnaby. Conversely, North Vancouver, Delta, most of Surrey, and the eastern suburbs were generally avoided (Figure 5). Within the City of Vancouver, about 27 per cent of the population declared Chinese as their Population Group in 1996, and more than half the population in several Eastside neighbourhoods was of Chinese descent. The only areas within the city with insignificant Chinese-origin populations were the West End, Kitsilano, and Fairview Slopes – districts with the highest proportions of rental property. Finally, the settlement patterns of Chinese-Canadians corroborates a point raised earlier about the growing heterogeneity of ethnocultural groups. By 1996, people of Chinese origin lived in parts of Greater Vancouver with vastly different housing situations, from the bottom rung of the housing market in Strathcona to the stratospheric markets of Southlands, Shaughnessy, and the British Properties.

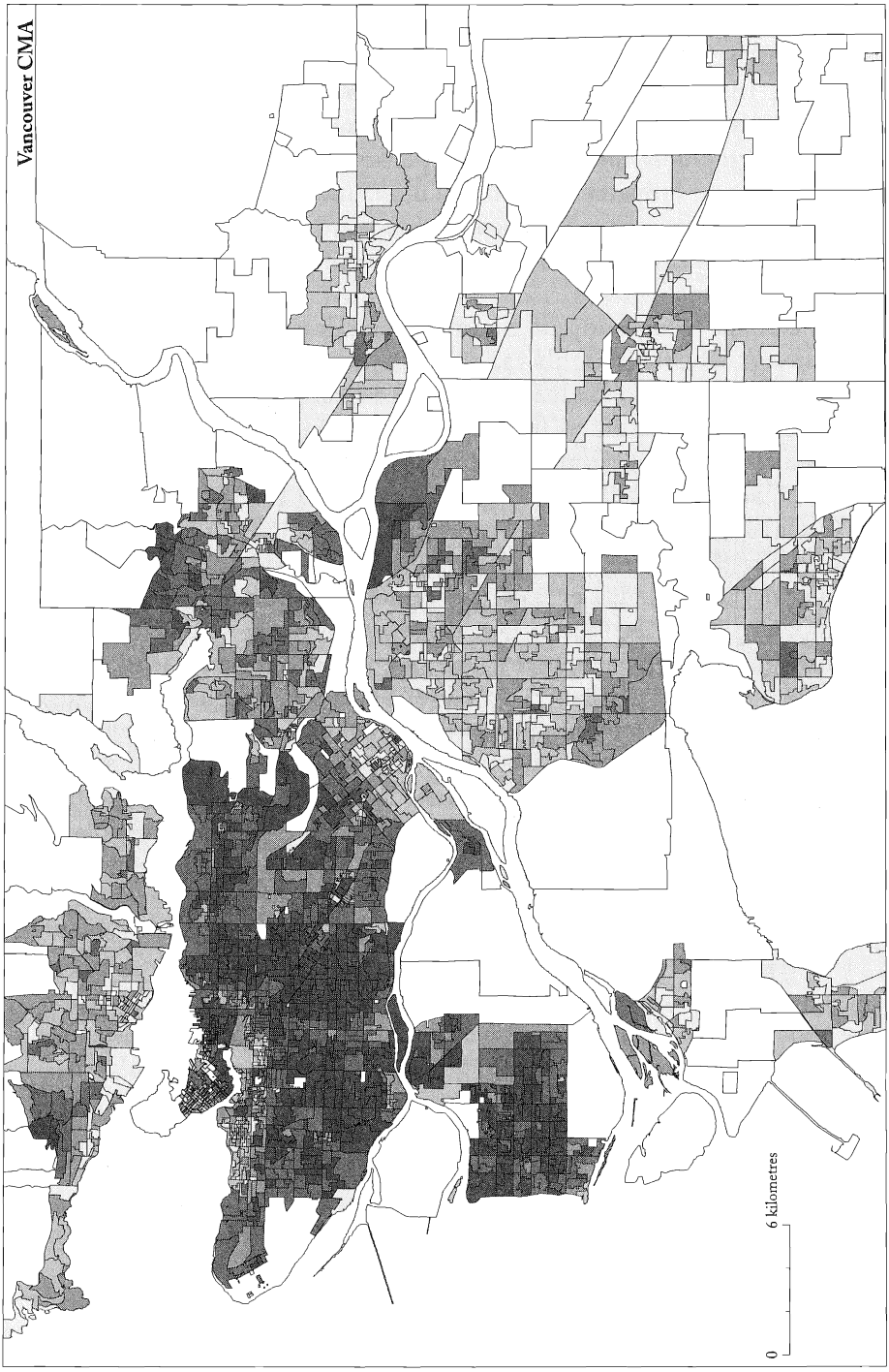
The twin processes of suburbanization and concentration can be seen in the clearest terms in the case of the Indo-Canadian community (Figure 6). Between 1971 and 1996, the proportion of this group living in the City of Vancouver fell from over 60 per cent to around 20 per cent. Within the city, Indo-Canadians lived almost exclusively in the southeast quadrant, especially (as before) between Main Street south and the gurdwara on Ross Street. The same level of concentration was evident in the periphery, with substantial Indo-Canadian settlement in East Richmond (Chinese-Canadians mainly chose West Richmond), the border zone between New Westminster and Richmond and, particularly, Northwest Surrey/Northeast Delta. In fact, some 50,000 Indo-Canadians (based on the Population Group question) lived in Surrey by 1996. As before, the residential concentration of Indo-Canadians reflected their occupational profile, especially

with respect to agricultural and forestry-related pursuits (Hiebert 1997). But by the 1990s this was no longer a unidirectional relationship; that is, Indo-Canadian entrepreneurs had become sufficiently important within several sectors of the metropolitan economy to affect their geographical distribution. In particular, Greater Vancouver's transportation industry has become more and more associated with Surrey, and the same type of convergence may be developing between the residential construction industry, Sikh entrepreneurs, and Surrey (see Walton 1996).

The social geography of the many smaller minority groups in Greater Vancouver is highly variable. The situation for some of these groups is difficult to analyze, given their small populations and the way they are represented in the census. As seen earlier, the Black population is an important case in point. On one level, the category "Black," which has a large enough population to analyze statistically, is essentially meaningless in the context of lived experience. On another level, though, while individual groups, such as people of Somali or Jamaican descent, may be coherent ethnic communities, their small numbers mean that segregation indices and other statistical procedures are suspect because the ratio of population to census tracts is so low. A map of the Black population as a whole (not included here) reveals a highly scattered pattern of settlement, with one relatively weak cluster around the southern and eastern shores of False Creek.

Similarly, Greater Vancouver's Latin American-origin population is a collection of many groups that (mostly) share a common linguistic and general cultural heritage. According to participants of focus groups (discussed in Hiebert et al. 1998), however, there is little sense of commonality between people from different Latin American countries who live in the metropolitan area. Certainly, this appears true from a geographical perspective, as the only identifiable congregation of Latin Americans is modest: in 1996, Latin Americans accounted for around 5 per cent of the population in the Grandview-Woodland district. Beyond that area, people of Latin American descent were widely scattered.

The Filipino-origin population, a much more coherent ethnocultural category, was also widely distributed across the metropolitan area. While there were few Filipinos in the City of Vancouver's Westside, they resided in most of the neighbourhoods in the Eastside, especially between Main and Knight Streets (but, even there, Filipinos represented, at most, around 10 per cent of the population of indi-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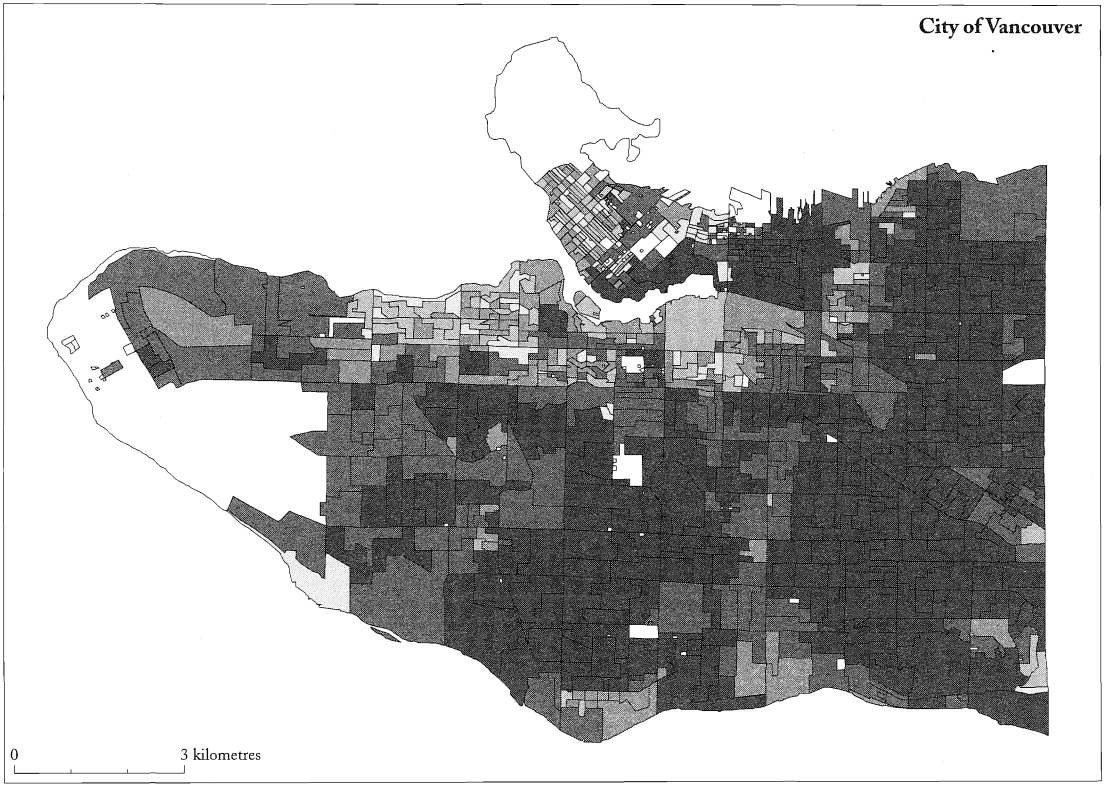
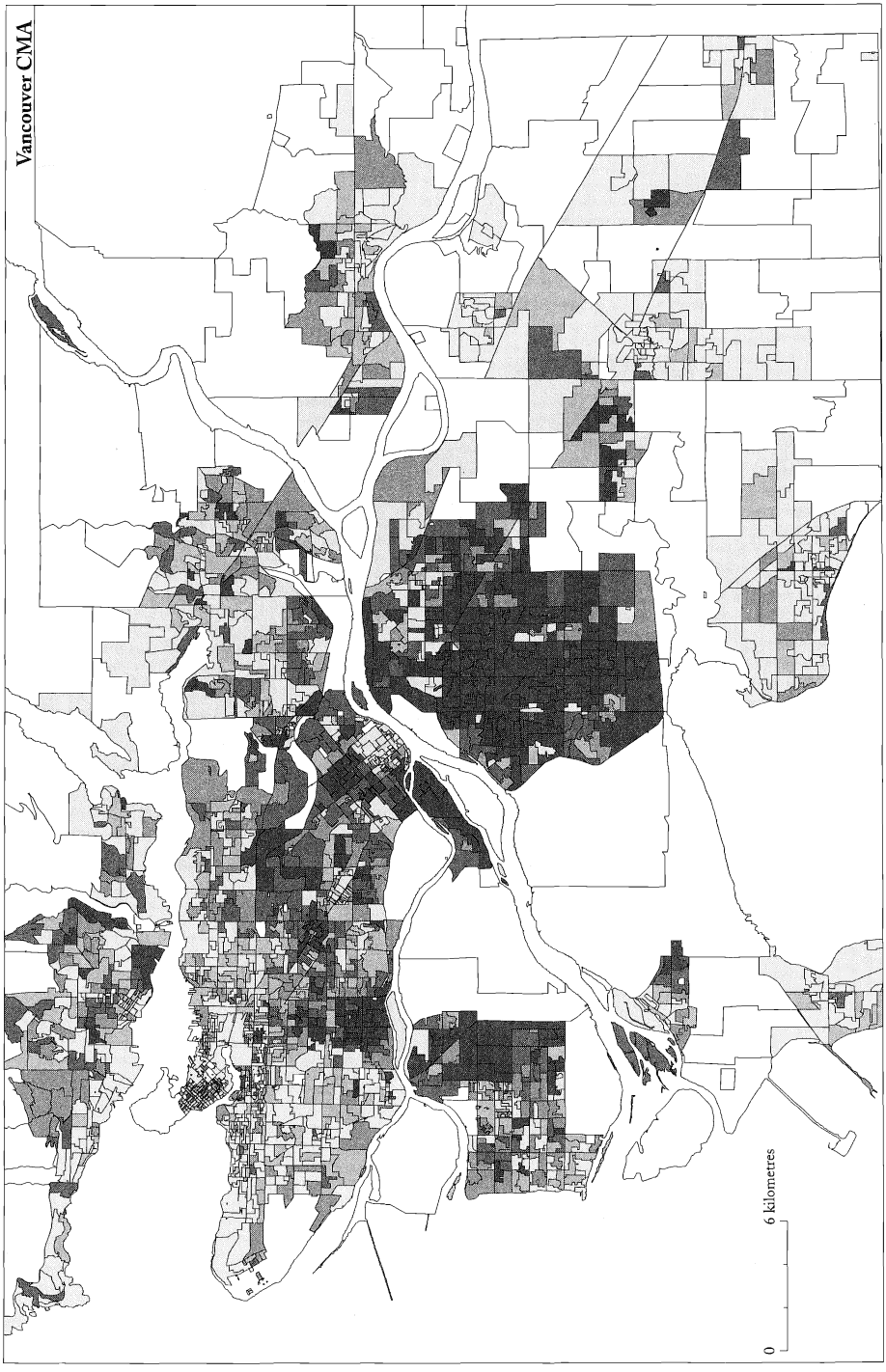


Figure 5: Chinese ethnic origin (single) population by enumeration area (EA), Vancouver CMA, 1996.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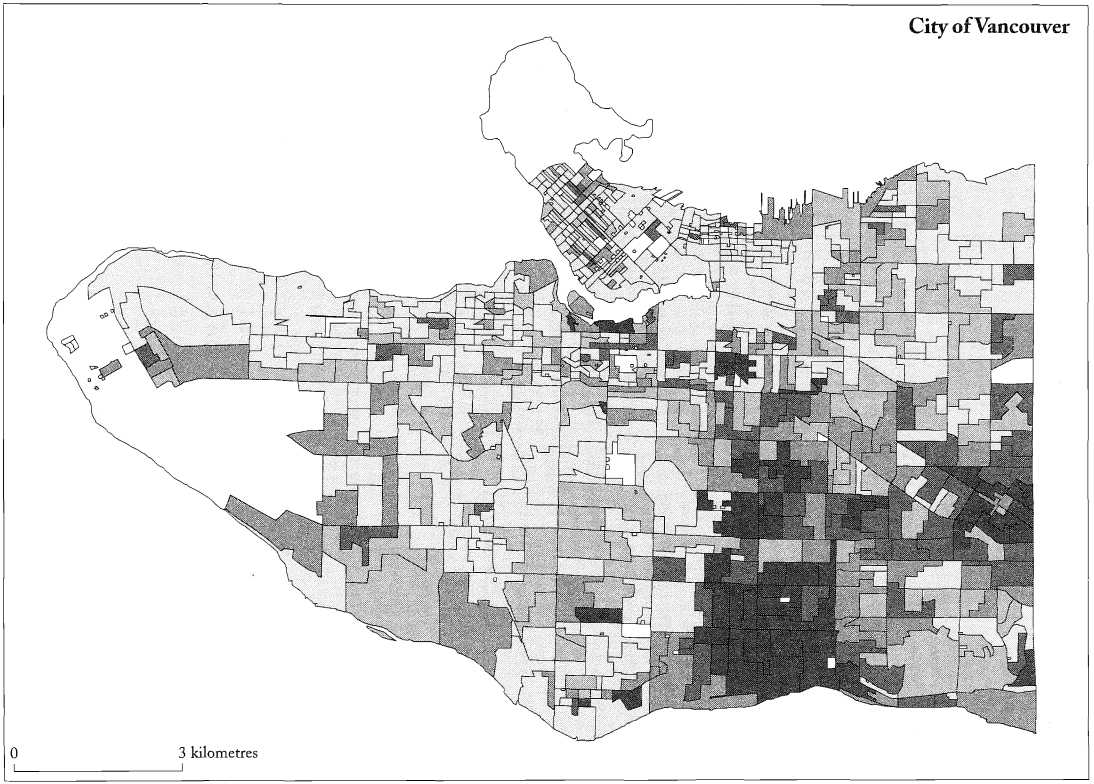

Figure 6: South Asian ethnic origin (single) population by enumeration area (EA), Vancouver CMA, 1996.

vidual enumeration areas). Beyond the city, Filipinos lived in a scattered pattern that included all of the major municipalities of Greater Vancouver. Given this spread, immigrant–serving agencies must be hard pressed to provide adequate coverage for this substantial population. The lack of an identifiable Filipino-Canadian enclave is noteworthy, given the size of its population. Most residents of Greater Vancouver know of Chinatown (east of downtown) and the Punjabi Market on Main Street, for example, and many smaller ethnocultural groups have developed commercial centres linked with residential landscapes. Despite the small size of the Latin American population and its spread across the metropolitan area, there is a visible Hispanic presence along Commercial Drive, with distinctive shops, restaurants, immigrant service agencies, and, of course, spoken Spanish on the sidewalks. Other even smaller groups, such as Koreans, Thais, Malaysians, and Ethiopians, have gained a foothold in the restaurant sector of Vancouver.[18] For reasons no one has explored in any detail, none of this has occurred among those of Filipino ancestry, who numbered over 40,000 in 1996 (according to the population group question) – the third-largest visible-minority group in Greater Vancouver.

Finally, two of Vancouver's smaller visible-minority groups lived in more clustered patterns but in very different contexts. Vietnamese-origin residents are the most concentrated of all the large immigrant groups, with nearly three-quarters of the population living in Eastside neighbourhoods centred around the intersection of Kingsway and Main Street. While there is a significant Vietnamese presence in Surrey, few live in other municipalities. Little research has been published on this group in Vancouver, and the causes for its concentration need further investigation.[19] Conversely, people of Iranian background have focused on Vancouver's Westside and also on the North Shore municipalities, especially North Vancouver, where they form, by a substantial margin, the largest recent immigrant community. Again, evidence is weak on this point, but the North Shore Persian-origin cluster appears to be a classic example of a chain-migration process, with newcomers influenced in their residential decision by those who have settled in the recent past. Members of service-providing organizations who have participated in focus groups (see Hiebert et al. 1998) commented that the small but growing Persian group in the Tri-

[18] The number of restaurants specializing in cuisine from the Philippines is tiny, especially given the size of the potential market.

[19] See Pfeifer (1998) for a discussion of the social geography of Vietnamese-Canadians in Toronto.

Cities is, in effect, a spill-over population from North Vancouver. They believe that Iranians locate in the Tri-Cities when they are unable to find affordable housing in North Vancouver.

In sum, while the combined suburbanization-concentration process was not evident for all minority groups, it was for most (Moghaddam 1994; Germain 1997; and Ray 1998, show similar developments in Toronto and Montreal). As immigration gained momentum in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the social geography of Greater Vancouver has increasingly come to display two tendencies that appear, at first glance, contradictory. On the one hand, the distribution of recent immigrant groups is far more extensive than it was twenty-five years ago. Immigrant landscapes, and the need for settlement services, special education programs, and so on, are now nearly as likely to be found in North Vancouver and Surrey-Delta as in the City of Vancouver. Moreover, these landscapes are sometimes largely group-specific (e.g., Surrey) and sometimes contain a mix of groups with different forms of cultural expression, different economic positions, and therefore different social needs (e.g., Burnaby). On the other hand, with important exceptions, we appear to be witnessing the emergence of a somewhat more segmented multicultural metropolis, with a tendency towards an ethnocultural "sorting"; that is, several European-origin groups have, in moving to the most distant periphery of Greater Vancouver (e.g., Langley), distanced themselves from the process of active immigrant reception, while the largest immigrant groups (those of Chinese and South Asian descent), as well as several of more modest size (Persians, Vietnamese), have developed new "congregations" inside the city and beyond it.

CONCLUSION

The pattern of immigrant settlement in Greater Vancouver has followed a curious cycle over the past century, from a time when immigrants from Asia formed a significant portion of the population, through a sixty–year period during which people of Asian background were discouraged – often prohibited – from coming to Vancouver, and back to an era of substantial Asian immigrant settlement in the latter years of the twentieth century. The past twenty-five years, particularly, have seen the rise of a multicultural Vancouver dominated (numerically) by individuals of British, Chinese, and South Asian descent but also including a host of other minority communities from a variety of origins. In the 1990s, about half of the students in a typical

school in Greater Vancouver will have been born outside Canada, and at least a dozen languages will be spoken in the schoolyard. In parts of East Vancouver, Richmond, and Surrey, the proportion of immigrant children in local schools approaches 100 per cent. Given the relatively modest immigration program of the 1960s and the straightforward social geography of Greater Vancouver in 1971, this outcome would have been impossible to foresee. It is worth emphasizing that the transformation of metropolitan Vancouver's ethnocultural landscape in the last quarter century has occurred in the context of two other profound changes: economic restructuring and the redefinition of gender and family relationships. These factors have also had substantial implications for the distribution of people across metropolitan space (see Davies and Murdie 1993, 1995; Kobayashi and Peake 1997).

Immigrants in the 1990s, therefore, enter a much different urban landscape than did their predecessors a generation ago. If the experience of integration to a new society is related to the characteristics of the local setting (i.e., the context of school, the availability of services, interaction with neighbours, etc.), then this experience must have altered considerably. Certainly, organizations that serve immigrants have had to broaden their scope, both geographically and in terms of the number of linguistic and cultural groups with which they work. Thinking more broadly, the emerging ethnocultural landscape has brought virtually every resident of Greater Vancouver face to face with globalization; surely there can be no more tangible evidence of time–space compression[20] than life on a street with neighbours born in a variety of distant countries.[21]

The emerging residential landscape reveals a deeper set of social changes that Canadians – both old and new – are only beginning to appreciate. In the early sections of this article, I made an effort to describe in some detail the social geography of European as well as non-European groups. In the section dealing with post–1986 patterns, however, I concentrated almost exclusively on the situation of non-European groups. This shift in the way I chose to describe the changing social geography of Greater Vancouver reflects what I believe – both

[20] This term has been coined by geographers to refer to the fact that, while the physical size of the Earth is constant, our perception of distances between places is shrinking as they become more accessible within shorter and shorter amounts of time. See, for example, Harvey (1989) and Gregory (1994).

[21] Germain (1997, 20) discusses the increasing multi-ethnic character of many of Montreal's neighbourhoods and notes that there is "a significant correlation between frequency of contact and relative tolerance."

as a resident of the metropolitan area and as a researcher – is an important new reality. In the past, non-European groups entered Vancouver as "exotic" "other" people who were different and apart from the cultural mainstream. Frequently, they were unwanted and marginalized. Since its inception as a nation state, Canada has been both a White society and an immigrant society, meaning that European-origin immigrants have established the socio-economic parameters of this part of the world.[22] Until recently, Greater Vancouver has shared both these characteristics, but perhaps it will not do so for very much longer. As far as we know, targets for immigration to Canada will remain around 200,000 per annum for the foreseeable future, and Greater Vancouver will continue to receive a significant share of this total. Given the experience of the recent past, where immigrants account for nearly all of the net growth of the metropolitan population (as they did between 1991 and 1996), at some point in the not-too-distant future, terms like "visible *minority*" and "mainstream" will be less salient than they are now, simply because they will no longer be numerically accurate. Already, non-European groups play a fundamental role in the economic and political systems of Greater Vancouver; they do not just *fit in* to what is here but participate in the process of *defining* what is here. It is no longer appropriate, for example, to think of the metropolitan land market without considering the role that recent immigrants play in determining property values and the directions that development takes (see Tutchener 1998). Much the same point can be made about elections, from the local to the federal scale, and even about the general economic trajectory of the region.

To a significant extent, the meaning of Canadian multiculturalism is being defined in places like metropolitan Vancouver, where groups from around the world interact in the local economy and in the neighbourhoods they create. Changes in these local settings, therefore, have considerable significance and, ultimately, affect the larger "project" of multiculturalism at the national level. In this article, I have offered a glimpse of how the neighbourhoods of Greater Vancouver are evolving – in some cases towards cultural homogeneity, in others towards pronounced diversity – as the socio-economic composition of immigrant and minority populations becomes more variegated. The suburbs are playing a greater role in the processes of settlement and cultural interaction than ever before. The statistical and carto-

[22] In this process, the original inhabitants of Canada have been marginalized – a point beyond the scope of this article.

graphic portrait presented in this article is limited, though, and provides clues, rather than definitive answers, about the nature of cultural accommodation in the new landscapes of immigrant settlement. We therefore need research that explores the relationship between the changing social and cultural characteristics of neighbourhoods and the dynamics of integration.

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