

Ethno-Racial Inequality in the City of Toronto: An Analysis of the 1996 Census

prepared by
Michael Ornstein
Director of the Institute for Social Research
York University

for the
Access and Equity Unit
Strategic and Corporate Policy Division
Chief Administrator's Office

in co-operation with
Public Health Services
Social Development
of the
Community and Neighbourhood Services Department

and the
Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement (CERIS)



Project Steering Committee for the Study on Ethno Racial Inequality - 1996 Census

City of Toronto

Department of Community and Neighbourhood Services

Wendy Kwong, Public Health Services

Diane Patychuck, Public Health Services

Harvey Low, Social Development

Alan Meisner, Social Development

Chief Administrator's Office

Tim Rees, Access and Equity Unit (Project Leader)

Ceta Ramkhalawansingh, Interim Manager, Access and Equity Unit

**Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement
(CERIS)**

Ted Richmond

United Way of Greater Toronto

Dianne Hill

Access and Equity Unit

Strategic and Corporate Policy Division

Chief Administrator's Office

6th Floor -- 55 John Street

Toronto, ON M5V 3C6

Telephone/Multilingual Line (416) 338-0338

TTY (416) 338-0089

Fax (416) 397-0888

e-mail: accessandequity@city.toronto.on.ca

www.city.toronto.on.ca/accessandequity

Ethno-Racial Inequality in Toronto: Analysis of the 1996 Census

Michael Ornstein
Institute for Social Research
York University

March 2000

WEB VERSION

Disclaimer: PDF Version Created from source electronic files & scanned hardcopy.
Every effort has been made to preserve the fidelity of the document.
In case of discrepancies, the printed version from the City of Toronto shall prevail. 08/2001

Executive Summary

This *Report* provides detailed descriptions of the socio-economic situations of 89 ethno-racial groups with at least 2,500 members in the City of Toronto. Using the 1996 Canadian Census, the goal is to identify groups experiencing significant disadvantage in education, employment and income. For education, the focus is on the educational attainment of adults between 25 and 64 and on the attainment and school enrollment of youth. For employment, the measures include the rates of labour force participation and unemployment, the percentage of part-time work, the extent of and income from self-employment, the distribution of occupations, and the median employment income, with separate figures for women and men and for youth and adult unemployment. The incidence of poverty and median incomes of families and of individuals living on their own are used to measure the standard of living of ethno-racial groups.

On each index of socio-economic condition there is enormous ethno-racial variation. The rates of child poverty, for example, range from under 10 percent, for the groups in the best position, to over 60 percent for the poorest. The percentage of adults who have not completed high school ranges from under 10 percent to nearly 70 percent, and of university graduates from under 4 percent to more than 50 percent. Unemployment rates varied from under 6 percent to over 40 percent. Of course, every group includes some people with almost no education and some with graduate degrees; some living in poverty and some who are prosperous, but there are very large ethno-racial differences in the *average* levels of education, jobs and income.

The characterization of socio-economic polarization in Toronto as a division between a European majority and a visible minority community is correct, but also an oversimplification. Especially for economic outcomes, there is a large gap between the European ethno-racial groups and *all* other ethno-racial groups, though there is evidence of economic difficulty among some European groups with high levels of recent immigration. Combining all the non-European groups, the family poverty rate is 34.3 percent, more than twice the figure for the Europeans and Canadians. Non-European families make up 36.9 percent of all families in Toronto, but account for 58.9 percent of all poor families.

For families from East and Southeast Asian and the Pacific, the *least* disadvantaged non-European region, the incidence of poverty is *twice* as high as for European-origin families, 29.6 versus 14.4 percent. For Latin American ethno-racial groups, the incidence of family poverty is 41.4 percent, for Africans, Blacks and Caribbeans it is 44.6 percent and for Arabs and West Asians it is 45.2 percent – all roughly *three* times the European average. The figures for Aboriginal persons in Toronto, 32.1 percent, and South Asians, 34.6 percent are also very high.

There is also wide variation in the circumstances of ethno-racial groups *within* global regions. For East and Southeast Asia and Pacific origins, for example, the incidence of poverty among the Vietnamese is greater *by a factor of five* than among Torontonians of Japanese origin – and the Japanese are among the most privileged groups in the city.

The most severe disadvantage in our community affects the African ethno-racial groups: Ethiopians, Ghanaians, Somalis and the combined category for “other African nations.” They suffer extremely high levels of poverty. About 70 percent of their children live in families whose income are below Statistics Canada’s “low income cut-off” (or LICO). This poverty reflects high levels of unemployment and a concentration of employment in lower skill jobs. These groups do not lack basic (high school) education, though the proportion of university graduates is low. Only one other ethno-racial group, the Afghans, lives in comparably difficult circumstances.

A number of other groups suffer very high levels of poverty, accompanied by high levels of unemployment, over-representation in low-skill jobs, low education and high school drop-out rates. These groups, experiencing severe disadvantage relative to the larger community, include the Vietnamese, Iranians, Tamils, Sri Lankans, and “Other Arabs and West Asians” (made up of groups from countries without sufficient numbers to be analyzed separately).

Other ethno-racial groups experience significant disadvantage, but not so severely or as consistently across the different measures of socio-economic position as the groups mentioned so far. These include Aboriginal people, Africans and Blacks, Central Americans, Jamaicans, West Indians, and people with multiple South Asian heritage. These groups have family poverty rates around 50 percent, as well as high levels of unemployment and low skill employment.

Visible minorities are prominently represented among the most disadvantaged groups in the City of Toronto, but the situations of people from Latin America and Iran, cannot be explained in this way. Nor is there reason to think that the Vietnamese, who are seriously disadvantaged, are more visible than the Japanese, who are among the groups with the highest education and income. Thus ethno-racial inequalities found in the analysis do not derive from “essential” differences among cultures, but reflect particular historical processes including the period in which non-Aboriginal groups came to Canada and the circumstances of their migration.

There are also important differences in the demographic characteristics of ethno-racial groups in Toronto. European ethno-racial groups tend to have fewer young and more older people than the non-Europeans: European-origin groups account for half the population under the age of 20, but three-quarters of the population over 64. Aboriginal people and Torontonians of Black, African and Caribbean

origin, South Asians, Arab and West Asian groups and Latin Americans – *all* the regional groupings except for East and Southeast Asia and the Pacific – have younger than average age profiles. Thus some ethno-racial groups face the dilemmas of an aging population; but others have had many years to adjust to declining fertility and increased numbers of elderly. Instead they have high proportions of relatively young adults and children and must be primarily concerned with caring for their children. They are faced with a broad economic context in which there has been a steady decline in poverty among the elderly relative to poverty among young people and children.

Considering the number of immigrants to Toronto and especially the number of recent immigrants, it is significant that only 6.1 percent of the population say that they do not speak English. The *number* of non-English speakers, about 145,000, is more imposing. Though non-English speakers are concentrated in particular ethno-racial groups, in every single group, the great majority of people indicate they speak English. The highest percentage and largest numerical concentration of non-English speakers is among the Chinese, where they constitute 22.8 percent of the entire group, an estimated 48,525 or roughly 30 percent all non-English speakers in the City.

Acknowledgements

This Report could not have been written without the efforts of Mr. Tim Rees of the City of Toronto. I thank him for his constant encouragement. Mr. Rees and his colleagues provided helpful feedback on an earlier draft.

I thank Dr. Douglas Norris of Statistics Canada for arranging my access to the Census data. Without his support, this analysis would be much inferior. Also at Statistics Canada, Mr. Derrick Thomas provided indispensable guidance and assistance with the data analysis.

I thank Anne Oram and John Pollard, colleagues at the Institute for Social Research, for editorial assistance.

The opinions expressed in this *Report* are mine only, and I am responsible for any errors.

MO
Toronto, 12 March 2000

This project has been a cooperative venture. The Access and Equity Unit, Strategic and Corporate Policy Division, Chief Administrator's Office of the City of Toronto wishes to acknowledge the financial contributions and expertise provided by the Department of Public Health, the Social Development and Administrative Division of the Community and Neighbourhood Services Division of the Community and Neighbourhood Services Department of the City of Toronto, and the Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement

Table of Contents

Executive Summary	i
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Methodological Notes.....	3
1. Defining Ethno-Racial Groups and their Demographic Characteristics.....	5
Defining Ethno-Racial Groups from the 1996 Census	5
Comparison to the Question used in the 1991 Census.....	10
The Ethno-Racial Composition of Toronto	11
The Age Distributions of Ethno-Racial Groups	17
Immigration and Ethnicity	25
Ability to Speak English	27
Languages Spoken at home	32
2. Education	35
Educational Attainment of Adults	41
Enrollment in Full-Time Education for 20-24 Year Olds.....	44
Adult Education and Schooling of Young People	50
3. Employment.....	52
Unemployment, Labour Force Participation, and Part- versus Full-Time Work	52
Earnings, Occupations and Self-Employment	61
4. Poverty and Individual and Family Income.....	85
Introduction to the Tables	87
Poverty and Income	97
Home Ownership	116
5. Conclusion: Single and Multi-Dimensional Disadvantage.....	119
Comparison to 1991	123
Further Research	128

Index of Tables and Charts

Table 1	Ethno-Racial Groups in Toronto, by Size and Age.....	12
Table 2	Percentage and Number of Immigrants and Year of Arrival in Canada by Ethno-Racial Group	22
Table 3	Knowledge of English and Language Spoken at Home by Ethno-Racial Group	28
Table 4	Highest Level of Education, for Persons 25-64 Years of Age, by Ethno- Racial Group	36
Chart 1	Ethno-Racial Groups with the Fewest High School Graduates	39
Chart 2	Ethno-Racial Groups with the Fewest University Graduates.....	40
Table 5	School Attendance and Educational Attainment for Persons Age 20-24..... by Ethno-Racial Group	46
Chart 3	Ethno-Racial Groups with the Most Young Non-High School Graduates	49
	Out of School	
Table 6	Labour Force Characteristics by Ethno-Racial Group	54
Chart 4	Ethno-Racial Groups with High Youth Unemployment	57
Chart 5	Ethno-Racial Groups with High Adult (Age 25-64) Unemployment	58
Table 7	Income from Employment by Ethno-Racial Group	62
Table 8a	Occupations of Women by Ethno-Racial Group.....	66
Table 8b	Occupations of Men by Ethno-Racial Group.....	69
Chart 6	Ethno-Racial Groups with High Proportions of Women in Low Skill Jobs	72
Chart 7	Ethno-Racial Groups with High Proportions of Men in Low Skill Jobs	73
Table 9	Incidence of Self Employment and Amount of Income from Self- Employment Income by Ethno-Racial Group	76
Table 10	Incidence of Poverty for Families by Ethno-Racial Group.....	88
Chart 8	Ethno-Racial Groups with the Most Poor Families	91
Table 11	Incidence of Child Poverty by Family Type by Ethno-Racial Group.....	92
Chart 9	Ethno-Racial Groups with the Highest Rates of Child Poverty	95
Table 12	Incidence of Poverty of Non-Family Persons by Ethno-Racial Group.....	100
Table 13	Median Family Income by Ethno-Racial Group	104
Chart 10	Ethno-Racial Groups with the Lowest Median Family Income.....	107
Table 14	Median Individual Incomes of Non-Family Persons by Ethno-Racial Group	108
Chart 11	Ethno-Racial Groups with the Lowest Median Income for Non-Family Persons	111
Table 15	Home Ownership of Couples and Lone Parents by Ethno-Racial Group	118
Summary Table	for Different Dimensions of Disadvantage in 1996	124
Summary Table	for Different Dimensions of Disadvantage in 1991	128

Introduction

This *Report* provides detailed descriptions of the socio-economic situations of 89 ethno-racial groups with at least 2,500 members in the City of Toronto. Using the 1996 Canadian Census, the goal is to identify groups experiencing significant disadvantage in education, employment and income. For education, the focus is on the attainment of adults between 25 and 64 and on the attainment and school enrollment of youth. For employment, the measures include the rates of labour force participation and unemployment, the percentage of part-time work, the extent of and income from self-employment, the distribution of occupations, and the median employment income, with separate figures for women and men and for youth and adult unemployment. The incidence of poverty and median incomes, for families and for individuals living on their own, are used to measure the standard of living of ethno-racial groups.

Chapter 1 shows how ethno-racial groups were identified from the 1996 Census. This is not straightforward because the Census allows ethno-racial groups to be defined in a variety of ways and because it is necessary to classify the large number of people, about one third of the population, who give more than one answer to the Census question about their ancestry. This chapter also provides the demographic characteristics of ethno-racial groups in Toronto, including their age distributions, the proportion of immigrants and when they came to Canada, knowledge of English and French, and the language spoken at home.

The next three chapters deal with education, employment and income. Periods of high unemployment and rapid industrial restructuring may have weakened the link between educational credentials and good jobs, but formal education is still a good predictor of occupational success, even if some employers use educational qualifications only as a short-cut to avoid assessing the skills of applicants. In the absence of a large-scale direct study of literacy in Toronto, formal education also provides a useful, albeit imperfect, measure of literacy. It is likely that the success of ethno-racial groups in obtaining resources partly depends on the organizational resources and leadership provided by their more highly educated members.

Additional analysis focusses on the levels of post-secondary school enrollment of young people between 20 and 24 and on the educational attainment of those no longer in school.

Although many people return to school after working for some time, a person's education at the time when she or he first enters the labour force is a strong predictor of later occupational success.

Chapter 3 deals with two aspects of employment: *having* work is measured by the rate of "labour force participation," the rate of unemployment and the extent of part- and full-time work; and the *quality* of work is measured by the distribution of occupations, self-employment and employment income. Since every aspect of employment is affected by gender, separate figures are presented for women and men.

Chapter 4 deals with the incomes of families and individuals living on their own. Living arrangements strongly affect a person's standard of living, mainly because most individuals do not earn enough to live well on their own. Lone parents must care for themselves and their children, often on one income. For this reason, separate income figures are reported for different types of families, for children in different types of families, and for "unattached" individuals living on their own, with unrelated people and with relatives. The tables and charts give the incidence of poverty, using Statistics Canada's "low income cut-off" or LICO, and median income levels.

In the concluding chapter, the analyses of education, employment and income are combined, in order to identify ethno-racial groups in Toronto experiencing the most serious disadvantage. Also addressed is the question of which ethno-racial *categories* are appropriate for understanding patterns of socio-economic differentiation, and especially serious deprivation. The key issue is how to draw lines that avoid crude distinctions, for example between *a* majority and *a* "visible minority," while still generalizing beyond individual ethno-racial groups with unique histories. The Chapter also provides a brief comparison of these 1996 data to the results of an earlier analysis of the 1991 Census, though changes in the questions used in the Census (detailed in the next Chapter) make exact comparisons impossible. The improvement in overall economic conditions between 1991 and 1996 is not likely to have favoured particular ethno-racial groups. But we can hope for an improvement in the positions of ethno-racial groups whose situation in 1991 appeared to reflect traumatic circumstances, particularly arrival from a country at war or experiencing economic distress. The chapter concludes with suggestions for further research using the 1996 Census.

Methodological Notes

This *Report* provides a detailed *description* of ethno-racial groups in Toronto, but it is not an analysis of the *causes* of inequality. Using regression models it is possible to take systematic account of the effects of demographic factors such as age and immigration on the situations of ethno-racial groups. Such further investigation would be very worthwhile, but would not discount the evidence of ethno-racial inequality and deprivation presented here. For example, finding that a high level of poverty among the elderly in a particular ethno-racial group is “explained” by their low education or lack of facility in English would not alleviate the condition, though it should draw attention to their need for services in their own language.

Because of its descriptive orientation and limits of the data, this *Report* is also not a study of discrimination, which require the use of “statistical controls,” particularly for age, that are usually “held constant” in studies of the impact of ethnicity. Even with these controls, though, there is no consensus among social researchers that a database such as the Census can be used to measure discrimination.

In focussing on comparisons between ethno-racial groups in the *Report*, there is a risk of ignoring the diversity *within* groups. Every group includes some people with almost no education and some with graduate degrees; some living in poverty and some who are prosperous, but there are still very large ethno-racial differences in average levels of education, jobs and income.

Although this *Report* is not directly a study of immigrants or immigrant settlement in Toronto, the effects of immigration and settlement are visible in the statistical descriptions. The ethno-racial groups described in this study also differ dramatically in their proportions of immigrants, and in the time period and circumstances of their arrival in Canada. Settling in Canada at a time of relative prosperity is a big advantage, though migrants whose arrival is occasioned by political, economic or natural disaster are likely to be seriously disadvantaged, more so if they do not speak English. Since the Census was conducted in 1996, the most recent immigrants are not included in these data.

This text is not long enough to describe fully the mountain of information in the tables. Moreover, with so much data, even the most neutral description of the results requires some interpretation and choices about which findings to emphasize. The curious or skeptical reader can find *all* the material on which the *Report* is based in the accompanying tables and charts, which also allow a detailed examination of the situation of each of the 89 ethno-racial groups in this study.

Chapter 1

Defining Ethno-Racial Groups and their Demographic Characteristics

This Chapter begins with a description of how the Census data were used to identify ethno-racial groups in Toronto. The task was complicated by the number of different questions dealing with Aboriginal identity, ethnicity and race in the Census, because the answers are recorded in very fine detail, and because many people see themselves as sharing two or more ethno-racial origins. As a result, ethno-racial groups could be defined in a number of different ways. Indeed, the number of details required in any procedure for making the Census answers into a useable classification of ethno-racial categories is such that every reader may have some argument with what was done. The presentation is therefore designed to show that a sensible classification was developed, though it was not the only one possible.

The Chapter then provides a description of the demographic characteristics of the ethno-racial groups in Toronto, beginning with their size and age distributions, and then examining the proportion of immigrants and when they came to Canada, knowledge of English and French, and the language spoken at home. The idea is to set the stage for the analysis of socio-economic conditions in the next three chapters.

Defining Ethno-Racial Groups from the 1996 Census

Social researchers have taken two different approaches to ethnicity, either relying on a person's demographic attributes, such as her or his birthplace, or asking individuals to indicate the group with which they identify. The two alternatives are probably better understood as different aspects of identity than as sharply different "objective" and "subjective" definitions. The question used to measure ethnicity in the 1996 Census asks:

To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's **ancestors** belong?

For example, French, English, German, Scottish, Canadian, Italian, Irish, Chinese, Cree, Micmac, Métis, Inuit (Eskimo), Ukrainian, Dutch, East Indian, Polish, Portuguese, Jewish, Haitian, Jamaican, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Chilean, Somali, etc.

Four blank boxes are provided for the answers, along with the instruction to “Specify as many groups as applicable.” Since it refers to the respondents’ ancestors and suggests that belongingness is concrete, this appears to be “objective,” though the respondent is left to give her or his own meaning to the terms “ethnic,” “culture,” “group,” and “ancestor”. In the Census data, for each respondent up to six answers to the question were classified into 170 different categories, with very minimal use of grouped categories. In Europe, for example, only about one percent of all the answers were for nations or ethno-racial groups that were not classified separately (they are grouped into “other Europe”).

Subjectivity enters into anyone’s identification of her or his own ethnicity. People of colour who have immigrated to Toronto from Jamaica, for example, could reasonably describe themselves as Black or African or Jamaican or West Indian, or some combination of these. This Census question rightly allows respondents to describe themselves in their own terms, rather than forcing them to pick among pre-specified categories of race and ethnicity.

The question of how to deal with the unusually complex answers to the Census question is left to the analyst. Most importantly, the variety of responses must be reduced. With 170 individual categories for *each* answer, the number of potential *combinations* of two, three or more ethnic identifications is unmanageable. One could have separate categories for Hungarians, for people who are Hungarian and also Latvian, or Russian, or English, or Canadian; there could be a category for people who answer only “Black,” and for Cubans who are also Black, or South Asian, or Hispanic, or Black and Hispanic; and so on. Some of these categories mix racial and national dimensions.

New to the 1996 Census is a question about racial identification, which could be used to resolve some of the ambiguity in the answers to the question about ancestry. Because it appears on the next page of the Census form, it is not visible when the question about ancestry is answered, and will generally be completed afterward. The racial identification question just asks “Is this Person,” and then gives the respondent a choice among: White, Chinese, South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Punjabi, Sri Lankan); Black (e.g., African, Haitian, Jamaican, Somali); Arab/West Asian (e.g., Armenian, Egyptian, Iranian, Lebanese, Moroccan); Filipino, South East Asian (e.g., Cambodian, Indonesian, Laotian, Vietnamese), Latin American, Japanese and Korean. Following the pre-specified answers, there is a blank box labelled “Other - Specify.” Respondents were instructed to “Mark or specify more than one, if applicable.”

The classification of Torontonians into ethno-racial groups for this *Report* is based primarily on responses to the question about ancestry. Approximately 15 percent of the population who indicated they were *only* “Canadian” and *not* “White” were classified into general categories based on the “race”

question, described above. The “Canadian” response was disregarded for respondents who gave any other answer in addition. This reduced the number of “Canadian” responses to just 5.2 percent of the population.

Combining Groups

Although the Census is a very, very large survey, it was still necessary to set a minimum size for the ethno-racial groups to be analyzed. The questions about ethnicity and racial identification, as well as the detailed questions about education, jobs and income, are included on what is known as the “long form” of the Census questionnaire, which is distributed to every fifth dwelling; the other four fifths of dwellings receive a short questionnaire that allows the entire population to be counted and classified according to age and a few other characteristics.

Even though the long form Census collects information about 450,000 individuals, there were not enough responses to produce reliable statistics for some groups, for example people who are Nigerian, Guatemalan or Welsh. So it was necessary to combine some ethno-racial groups in larger categories, even if the result was to hide potentially interesting detail. For example, the different Central American origins were combined, even though the result is that Costa Ricans, who come to Canada from a stable and relatively prosperous nation, cannot be separated from the Guatemalans, Nicaraguans and Salvadoreans who come from much poorer countries, which have also experienced civil war.

The guideline, roughly, was to combine groups so that at least 500 Census returns were available for each group. Due to the one in five sample, these respondents speak for communities with at least 2,500 members. Among the other combined groups are: “other African nations,” which includes all African nationalities, *except* for Ethiopians, Ghanaians and Somalis (for whom there is sufficient data for separate analysis); “other Caribbean nations,” which excludes Barbadians, Guyanese, Jamaicans, (the combination of) Trinidadians and Tobagonians, and “West Indians,” a regional category used by Census respondents themselves “other East/Southeast Asian and Pacific Islanders”; and so on.

Like any sample survey, the Census results are subject to sampling error: one would *not* obtain exactly the same answers if a new sample had been selected, even at exactly the same moment as the first. For producing aggregate statistics, such as the age distribution, the minimum population of 2500 is acceptable, but for smaller ethno-racial groups the Census sample is not large enough to provide a reasonable basis for estimates of youth unemployment and other characteristics of smaller subgroups. In the Tables, three dashes are used to indicate that cannot be estimated reliably.

“Multiple” Responses

Classifying the nearly one-third of Torontonians who gave two or more answers to the question about their origins required a series of steps, which progressively cut down the number of people remaining to be classified. Most combinations of origins involve nationalities from the same global region or reflect traditional patterns of migration, such as from South Asia to the Caribbean. Only one exact combination of ancestries, for French and British origins, included enough individuals to be used as a separate category. In other cases, it was necessary to group the responses. For example, people with English and Italian ancestry were classified in the more general category for “British and other European.”

Individuals who identified themselves in terms of a “racial” group that was consistent with their national origin, such as the combination of “Spanish” and “Argentinian” or “Jamaican” and “Black” were classified with their nationality, in these cases Argentinian and Jamaican, respectively. Respondents whose responses referred to the same global region were placed in general categories for that region, such as South American and South Asian. There are also separate categories for two or more British ethnicities, such as Scottish and Irish (“Multiple British”), and for two or more Southern European nationalities (“Multiple Southern Europe”).

Individuals who reported two or more *dissimilar* origins were classified according to the *most visible* group. For example, people who were Aboriginal and French were placed in the category for “Aboriginal and British or French,” and placed with the Aboriginal ethnic groups in the Tables below; and people who were African and Indian were classified as “African and South or East Asian,” and located with the African ethno-racial groups. The order of “visibility” used to define these combined categories was: Aboriginal, African or Black, South Asian, East or Southeast Asian, Arab and West Asian, European.

A small number of respondents were reclassified on a more *ad hoc* basis. For example, people who gave their origin as “Spanish” who were born in Mexico or Central or South America were classified according in the Americas.

These principles resulted in a classification with 89 ethno-racial categories. Most refer to nationalities based on nation states or, for smaller groups, on larger global regions. A few of the categories are more “racial” in tone, such as “East Indian”; the remainder involve cross-regional combinations such as Caribbean and South Asian.

In this classification, a person who indicates that she is, say, Barbadian and in the next question indicates that she is White or (more likely) Chinese, is included in the predominantly Black category of

“Barbadians.” Likewise, people of Arabic or African origin who immigrated from Britain and call themselves “British” are not distinguished from the predominantly white members of that category, even if in the following question they check the responses for Arabic or Black. Ignoring the information about racial identification could result in misleadingly low or high estimates of the socio-economic situation of a group, but analysis of the data showed that these combinations of nationality and race were quite unusual – typically much less than 10 percent of a group – and do not significantly alter findings of ethno-racial differences.

While the classification is designed to deal with very complex combination of answers, most of the ethno-racial groups examined in the analysis are single, clearly identified groups. For groups too small for individual analysis and for the many people who gave more than one answer to the question about their ancestry, a series of conventions was adopted. The term “other”, as in “other African nations,” or “other Scandinavian,” refers to a composite category that includes two or more individual ethno-racial groups. Nigerians and Norwegians, respectively, for example, would be in the two categories. The term “multiple” refers to a category for people who have ancestry in two or more groups in the same global region. For example, a person with Iranian and Iraqi ancestry is classified in the “multiple Arab/West Asian” category. Where there are not enough individuals of any individual ancestry to be analyzed separately, such as for “Central Americans,” only one, composite category includes both single and multiple mentions.

Individuals whose ancestry includes more than one global region are classified in categories labelled with “and”, such as Arab/West Asian *and* European, British *and* other European, and Caribbean *and* East Asian. Two exceptions to this rule are “African and Black” and “Pakistani and Bangladeshi,” which refer to people who give *either* of the two responses. A slash, for example in “Aboriginal and British/French,” indicates that *either* response is given, so this group includes Torontonians who are Aboriginal and British (English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh or any combination of them) or Aboriginal and French, or Aboriginal and British and French.

Comparison to the Question used in the 1991 Census

The 1991 Census asked the same initial question as in 1996, “To which ethnic or cultural group (s) did this person’s ancestors belong?” But instead of a series of blank boxes for their answers, respondents were asked to “*Mark or specify as many as applicable*” from a list with the following entries: French, English, German, Scottish, Italian, Irish, Ukrainian, Chinese, Dutch (Netherlands), Jewish, Polish, Black, North American Indian, Métis, Inuit/Eskimo. At the bottom of the list were two additional blank spaces labelled “Other ethnic or cultural group(s) – *Specify.*”

Research on survey methods has shown that respondents tend to choose a pre-specified category over writing in an additional response. So, while it is not likely that a Vietnamese person would say that she was Chinese (because there is a pre-specified category for “Chinese”), a person who was Vietnamese *and* Chinese might *only* check the box for “Chinese” and not also write in “Vietnamese”; and a person who was Jewish and Polish might check the two boxes, but only write in “Jewish” in the blank boxes provided in 1996. Another change is that “other” responses written in by respondents were classified into about 100 categories in 1991 – for a total of 115 categories (including those listed on the form), approximately one-third less than the number used in 1996.

It turns out that one key difference between the two Censuses is that there was a pre-coded response for “Black” in 1991, but not in 1996 (when no pre-specified responses were offered). The result was a dramatic *decrease* in the number of “Black” responses; in 1996 many of the respondents who checked the box for “Black” in 1991 instead described themselves in terms of a national origin, such as Nigerian, Jamaican or West Indian. The apparent radical shift, in five years between Censuses, in the distribution of Torontonians *among* the categories for African, Black, and the Caribbean and African nations and nationalities, is due entirely to the change in the form of the Census questions.

Another change was a dramatic increase in the number of people who *only* answered “Canadian”, to about 15 percent in 1996 from 6 percent in 1991,. This is partly the result of removing the note beside the 1991 Census question that read:

While most people of Canada view themselves as Canadian, information about their ancestral origins has been collected since the 1901 Census to reflect the changing composition of the Canadian population and is needed to ensure that everyone, regardless of his/her ethnic or cultural background, has **equal opportunity** to share fully in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada. Therefore, this question refers to this person's **ancestors**.

What we do not know, unfortunately, is how this affected comparisons between the 1991 and 1996 results. The decision to reclassify non-European “Canadian” respondents in 1996, using answers to the

racial identification question, reduced the number of “Canadians” to just 5.2 percent of the population, very close to the 1996 figure. But we cannot be certain that the “Canadian” category refers to the same people in the two analyses.

The Ethno-Racial Composition of Toronto

Table 1 gives the number and age distribution of Torontonians in each ethno-racial group. There are subtotals for the global regions, and a grand total, which for convenience is repeated at the top of each page. To save space, most of the tables give percentages, such as the distribution of levels of education and the total population size (for education it is the number of people between 25 and 64), but not the number of persons in each category. Numbers do count when it comes to implementing policy. For example, to measure the need for ESL instruction and justify its cost, the key issue is likely to be *how many* people could benefit, not whether a small or large

Table 1
Toronto, by Size and Age

Ethno-Racial Group	Total Population		Age (percentage distribution)						Total
			under 15	15-24	25-44	45-64	65-74	75 or older	
	Number	Percent							
Total	2,363,870	100.0	18.0	12.5	35.3	21.4	8.0	4.8	100.0
Total: Aboriginal	21,670	0.9	25.2	15.1	41.4	15.6	1.7	0.9	100.0
Aboriginal	3,850	0.2	18.4	12.5	42.2	22.5	2.7	1.7	100.0
Aboriginal and British/French	6,990	0.3	18.7	14.7	46.1	17.9	1.7	0.9	100.0
Aboriginal and non-British/French	10,830	0.5	31.9	16.3	38.1	11.8	1.4	0.6	100.0
Total: African, Black and Caribbean	226,525	9.6	29.1	15.5	35.9	15.3	2.9	1.3	100.0
Ethiopian	7,005	0.3	22.3	12.2	61.0	3.9	0.4	0.4	100.0
Ghanaian	15,465	0.7	42.8	16.0	34.1	4.6	1.9	0.6	100.0
Somali	7,200	0.3	34.9	10.1	47.8	6.9	0.3	0.0	100.0
Other African Nations	16,910	0.7	26.3	13.5	46.6	11.3	1.8	0.6	100.0
African and South/East Asian	2,710	0.1	32.5	16.8	29.5	17.7	2.0	1.3	100.0
African and European/Arab/West Asian	4,320	0.2	30.4	17.2	35.5	13.1	1.9	1.7	100.0
African and Black	17,430	0.7	44.1	15.9	25.2	11.2	2.4	1.2	100.0
Barbadian	3,785	0.2	10.4	10.7	37.1	32.9	6.9	2.0	100.0
Guyanese	13,110	0.6	20.3	14.3	37.3	19.5	5.9	2.8	100.0
Jamaican	70,350	3.0	26.8	16.3	33.7	18.3	3.4	1.5	100.0
Trinidadian and Tobagonian	10,450	0.4	19.4	18.7	36.3	21.6	2.3	1.7	100.0
West Indian	15,720	0.7	22.8	14.9	37.5	20.0	3.3	1.5	100.0
Other Caribbean nations	8,460	0.4	18.9	16.1	42.1	18.6	3.3	0.9	100.0
Multiple Caribbean	5,340	0.2	47.8	19.3	20.8	10.6	0.8	0.8	100.0
Caribbean and South Asian	9,265	0.4	25.9	16.2	37.2	16.2	3.6	0.8	100.0
Caribbean and East Asian	3,420	0.1	34.2	15.6	32.3	13.7	2.0	1.9	100.0
Caribbean & European/Arab/Latin American	15,585	0.7	36.7	15.2	30.8	12.8	2.5	1.9	100.0
Total: South Asian	197,960	8.4	25.3	14.2	37.5	17.5	4.1	1.3	100.0
Indian	127,890	5.4	23.8	14.3	36.4	19.4	4.5	1.6	100.0
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	10,280	0.4	30.0	15.8	40.0	11.7	2.1	0.4	100.0
Sri Lankan	20,395	0.9	27.3	12.3	42.9	13.8	3.2	0.5	100.0
Tamil	13,500	0.6	27.8	11.8	42.7	13.9	3.1	0.8	100.0
Multiple South Asian	15,130	0.6	24.9	14.9	38.4	16.5	4.5	0.9	100.0
South Asian and East Asian	2,050	0.1	40.2	18.0	25.9	11.0	3.7	1.0	100.0
South Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	8,715	0.4	29.9	17.0	31.9	15.3	4.6	1.4	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 1, continued
Ethno-Racial Groups in Toronto, by Size and Age

Ethno-Racial Group	Total Population		Age (percentage distribution)						Total
			under	15-24	25-44	45-64	65-74	75 or older	
	Number	Percent	15	15-24	25-44	45-64	65-74	75 or older	
Total	2,363,870	100.0	18.0	12.5	35.3	21.4	8.0	4.8	100.0
Total: East & Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander	360,930	15.3	19.5	14.5	37.7	19.1	6.1	3.1	100.0
Chinese	212,485	9.0	17.4	14.0	37.2	20.6	7.2	3.6	100.0
Filipino	59,850	2.5	20.1	12.3	42.7	18.4	4.3	2.2	100.0
Vietnamese	25,020	1.1	27.1	14.6	44.2	9.9	3.2	1.0	100.0
Japanese	10,580	0.4	7.3	9.9	34.1	25.4	15.7	7.6	100.0
Korean	21,770	0.9	16.4	22.7	30.0	23.5	4.2	3.3	100.0
Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	6,785	0.3	23.9	19.3	37.3	15.9	2.2	1.3	100.0
Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	9,920	0.4	25.0	19.8	38.0	12.8	3.0	1.5	100.0
East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	14,520	0.6	43.2	16.7	27.5	9.8	1.8	0.8	100.0
Total: Arab and West Asian	69,725	2.9	24.6	14.8	40.0	15.1	3.8	1.8	100.0
Afghan	5,890	0.2	35.3	18.6	34.6	9.1	1.8	0.6	100.0
Armenian	6,345	0.3	16.0	13.0	31.6	23.9	9.9	5.8	100.0
Egyptian	5,260	0.2	25.6	12.3	35.6	20.4	4.3	1.7	100.0
Iranian	19,395	0.8	20.7	13.7	48.8	12.9	2.9	1.1	100.0
Lebanese	6,600	0.3	22.7	15.0	38.0	16.4	5.8	2.3	100.0
Turkish	2,840	0.1	21.0	16.2	39.6	18.7	2.6	1.9	100.0
Other Arab/West Asian	14,355	0.6	26.2	15.1	40.3	14.1	2.8	1.5	100.0
Multiple Arab/West Asian	3,490	0.1	20.8	15.6	39.5	18.1	4.7	1.3	100.0
Arab/West Asian and European	5,550	0.2	38.0	17.0	31.4	10.8	1.7	1.0	100.0
Total: Latin American origins	66,425	2.8	25.9	15.9	38.0	15.8	3.2	1.2	100.0
South American and Mexican	59,030	2.5	24.9	15.8	38.2	16.4	3.4	1.3	100.0
Central American	7,395	0.3	34.1	16.7	36.3	10.8	1.7	0.5	100.0
Canadian	122,770	5.2	23.1	12.5	35.3	17.9	6.7	4.4	100.0
Total: European	1,297,870	54.9	13.2	10.9	33.7	24.8	10.6	6.9	100.0
Total: British	592,345	25.1	13.3	9.8	34.6	24.3	10.4	7.6	100.0
English	163,890	6.9	9.1	7.7	29.7	26.5	14.5	12.4	100.0
Irish	46,835	2.0	5.9	7.2	34.3	28.2	14.4	10.0	100.0
Scottish	56,220	2.4	5.1	5.9	32.0	29.3	16.0	11.7	100.0
Multiple British	150,895	6.4	11.1	9.7	36.6	26.7	9.8	6.2	100.0
British and French	44,895	1.9	15.7	12.4	40.8	22.6	5.6	3.1	100.0
British and other European	129,610	5.5	26.7	14.3	37.8	15.7	3.7	1.9	100.0
Total: French	35,855	1.5	11.2	9.6	44.1	24.2	6.9	4.0	100.0
French	24,975	1.1	6.8	8.4	43.3	28.2	8.3	4.9	100.0
French and other European	10,880	0.5	21.3	12.3	45.8	15.0	3.8	1.8	100.0
American, Australian, New Zealander	2,415	0.1	17.4	10.6	33.3	28.4	5.8	4.6	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 1, continued
Ethno-Racial Groups in Toronto, by Size and Age

Ethno-Racial Group	Total Population		Age (percentage distribution)					75 or older	Total
			under 15	15-24	25-44	45-64	65-74		
	Number	Percent							
Total	2,363,870	100.0	18.0	12.5	35.3	21.4	8.0	4.8	100.0
Total: Northern Europe and Scandinavia	72,815	3.1	7.8	7.3	35.8	28.5	13.3	7.4	100.0
Austrian	2,900	0.1	2.9	5.7	25.7	33.3	21.7	10.7	100.0
Dutch	9,720	0.4	5.6	8.3	43.7	25.7	11.0	5.8	100.0
German	30,065	1.3	3.7	5.1	32.4	32.5	17.5	8.8	100.0
Other/Multiple Northern European	5,540	0.2	7.9	9.5	39.8	28.3	10.3	4.2	100.0
Finnish	3,925	0.2	5.0	7.4	24.7	34.3	15.8	12.9	100.0
Other Scandinavian	4,230	0.2	3.9	5.7	32.3	34.2	13.6	10.5	100.0
Northern Europe/Scandinavian & other Europe	16,435	0.7	19.0	10.5	41.4	19.2	5.9	4.0	100.0
Total: Baltic and Eastern Europe	134,975	5.7	11.6	9.0	34.0	22.2	13.8	9.4	100.0
Estonian	4,500	0.2	4.1	4.8	21.6	18.9	21.4	29.2	100.0
Latvian	3,840	0.2	6.1	5.7	20.7	19.7	27.1	20.6	100.0
Lithuanian	3,525	0.1	6.4	3.4	23.7	22.1	24.0	20.4	100.0
Czech	4,430	0.2	5.4	9.5	29.7	32.2	15.3	7.8	100.0
Hungarian	13,915	0.6	6.1	8.2	29.7	29.5	17.9	8.6	100.0
Polish	51,075	2.2	15.3	10.7	37.5	19.9	10.1	6.6	100.0
Romanian	7,475	0.3	16.8	11.8	45.1	17.9	5.7	2.7	100.0
Russian	7,270	0.3	16.6	9.2	37.6	19.5	9.3	7.7	100.0
Slovak	2,475	0.1	4.8	9.3	28.1	36.2	13.3	8.1	100.0
Ukrainian	27,040	1.1	8.6	6.3	30.7	21.6	19.5	13.4	100.0
Multiple Baltic/Eastern European	9,430	0.4	12.6	11.7	38.5	25.2	7.6	4.5	100.0
Total: Southern Europe	347,290	14.7	13.1	13.9	32.1	26.8	9.9	4.1	100.0
Croatian	8,230	0.3	9.7	13.3	31.8	32.7	9.2	3.3	100.0
Macedonian	10,940	0.5	9.9	13.0	30.0	28.2	13.3	5.5	100.0
Serbian	8,430	0.4	17.4	11.8	41.8	20.9	5.8	2.3	100.0
Slovenian	3,285	0.1	5.2	7.9	33.8	27.5	20.4	5.2	100.0
Yugoslavian	5,025	0.2	14.7	10.0	42.0	23.7	7.2	2.6	100.0
Greek	47,575	2.0	10.0	17.3	30.6	30.5	7.8	3.7	100.0
Italian	163,135	6.9	9.9	12.1	30.9	28.8	12.9	5.4	100.0
Maltese	4,470	0.2	7.8	13.1	30.6	35.7	9.8	3.0	100.0
Portuguese	78,535	3.3	18.8	16.6	34.5	21.9	5.8	2.3	100.0
Spanish	3,470	0.1	25.8	12.4	24.5	25.6	8.8	3.0	100.0
Other Southern Europe	5,070	0.2	15.3	13.1	40.8	20.6	6.8	3.3	100.0
Multiple Southern Europe	9,125	0.4	37.8	15.1	26.5	14.6	3.9	2.0	100.0
Total: Jewish and Israeli	104,345	4.4	17.8	11.7	27.5	22.8	10.4	9.8	100.0
Jewish	70,325	3.0	16.9	10.9	25.9	22.5	11.9	11.9	100.0
Jewish and European	34,020	1.4	19.8	13.3	30.7	23.6	7.1	5.5	100.0
All others Europe only	7,830	0.3	27.0	16.2	35.8	14.6	4.0	2.4	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

percentage of a group has the need. The population totals in the tables can be used to convert the percentages into numbers of people. For simplicity, the population figures reported below are rounded to the nearest 100; numbers in the tables are rounded to the nearest five in order to preserve confidentiality. Each one percent of the population represents about 23,500 people.

EUROPEAN ORIGINS

Taking the 54.9 percent of the population with European nationalities and the 5.2 percent who are “Canadian” and “White”, Table 1 shows that roughly three fifths of Torontonians are of European origin. Combined, Torontonians of British origin, including the English (combined with Welsh), Irish and Scottish groups, still constitute the largest ethno-racial group in the City, accounting for 17.7 percent of the population; and an additional 1.9 percent are British and French and 5.5 percent have British and another European origin besides French. Taking the British groups separately, however, the 6.9 percent of Torontonians who are English *only* are outnumbered by the Chinese, who account for 9.0 percent of the Toronto population, and are tied with the Italians, at 6.9 percent; and there are nearly as many people (5.4 percent) of Indian origin.

After the British, the next largest contingent of Europeans, 14.7 percent of the population, is from Southern Europe, including the 6.9 percent Italians, 3.3 percent Portuguese, and 2.0 percent Greeks, representing communities of about 163,100, 78,500 and 47,600 persons, respectively. Another 1.5 percent of the population are from the former Yugoslavia. Next largest is the Eastern European and Baltic region, which accounts for 5.7 percent of the population, the two largest groups are the Poles, with 2.2 percent, and Ukrainians, 1.1 percent. The Jews, 4.4 percent of the total population, are the next largest European group (Jews and Israelis with non-European heritage are too small in number to be analyzed separately). Next largest, 3.1 percent of Torontonians are from Northern Europe and Scandinavia; Germans, 1.3 percent of the population, are the largest single group. Just 1.1 percent of Torontonians describe themselves as French *only*, though another 1.9 percent give French and one or more British origins and 0.5 percent indicate they are French and also give one or more other European origins.

EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN ORIGINS

After the Europeans, the largest regional category, 15.3 percent of the total population, is made up of East and Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders, the last consisting almost entirely of Filipinos. By far the largest group are the 9.0 percent of all Torontonians, about 212,500 people, who are Chinese. Next largest are the Filipinos, 2.5 percent, Vietnamese, 1.1 percent, and Koreans, 0.9 percent.

AFRICAN, BLACK AND CARIBBEAN ORIGINS

Nearly 10 percent of Torontonians describe their ancestry as African, Black, or Caribbean. Jamaicans, 3.0 percent of the Toronto population, are by far the largest individual group. The remaining 6.6 percent are divided among many origins, including 0.7 percent who are Ghanaian and 0.7 percent from “other African nations,” which refers to the combination of African nationalities and ethno-racial groups with populations too small to consider separately (Nigerian, Tanzanian, Ugandan, etc.). There are sufficient numbers of Ghanaians in the City, about 15,500, and Ethiopians and Somalis, 7,000 and 7,200 respectively, for analysis. Four groups from the Caribbean, Jamaicans, Guyanese, Trinidadian and Tobagonians (combined), and Barbadians, with approximately 70,400, 13,100, 10,500 and 3,800 members respectively, can also be considered individually. About 17,400 people say they are “African” or “Black” and 15,700 describe themselves as “West Indian.”

In addition, about 2,700 Torontonians describe themselves as African or Black and also South or Southeast Asian and another 4,300 say that they are African or Black and European or Arabic or West Asian. Another 9,300 describe their origins as Caribbean and also South or Southeast Asian; 3,400 are Caribbean and East Asian, and 15,600 are Caribbean and European, Arabic, West Asian or Latin American.

SOUTH ASIAN ORIGINS

Almost 200,000 South Asians in Toronto make up 8.4 percent of the total population. The majority, 5.4 percent, corresponding to 127,900 people, are of Indian origin, including significant numbers of Bengalis, Gujaratis and Punjabis (but these are not analyzed separately). Sri Lankans, Tamils and Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (combined), with populations of about 20,400, 13,500 and 10,300 respectively, account for most of the other South Asians. An additional 2,000 people say they are South Asian and East Asian, and 8,700 are South Asian and European, Arabic or West Asian.

ARAB AND WEST ASIAN ORIGINS

Approximately 69,000, or 2.9 percent of Torontonians, have Arab or West Asian origins (West Asians include Afghans, Armenians and Turks). Iranians, numbering about 19,400, are the largest single group, and there are also sufficient numbers of Afghans, Armenians, Egyptians and Lebanese, all about 6,000, and Turks, about 2,800, to describe separately.

LATIN AMERICAN ORIGINS

Approximately 66,000 people in Toronto, 2.8 percent of the population, have Latin American origins. About 59,000 are South American or Mexican and 7,400 are from Central America. Both categories are very heterogeneous, combining nations at different levels of economic development, with strikingly different histories, and with widely varying patterns of immigration to Canada.

ABORIGINAL ORIGINS

Nearly 21,700 people in Toronto have North American Aboriginal ancestry, although only 3,800 did *not* also describe themselves as having non-Aboriginal ancestry. There are not sufficient numbers of Métis people, “treaty Indians” or “band members” living in Toronto to describe them separately. Of the 17,800 Aboriginal people who also indicate a non-Aboriginal origin, about 7,000 are also French or British, while 10,800 have another European origin.

The Age Distributions of Ethno-Racial Groups

The first row of Table 1 shows the age distribution of the entire population. Children under 15 make up 18.0 percent of the population and seniors, 65 or older, account for 12.8 percent; approximately 70 percent are between 15 and 64. The relatively low average fertility is shown by the greater proportion of people between 25 and 44 than under the age of 25, 35.3 versus 30.5 percent. The “aging” of Toronto’s population is evident from the greater number of 45-64 year old people relative to those 65 and older, 21.4 versus 12.8 percent. At present about one-third of the population over 65 is 75 years or older, when concerns about health and self sufficiency start to become more acute.

Certainly there is increasing public interest in the effects of a changing age structure, and particularly the increasing proportion of older people. Here the concern is not with the general pattern, but with whether ethno-racial groups have different age distributions. A key question is whether

population ageing is a general or ethnically-specific phenomenon. More broadly, the question is whether the groups exhibit different age structures – so that generalizations about, say, the impending effects of population ageing, said to represent a “typical” condition, do not accurately describe large parts of the population, as differentiated into ethno-racial groups.

The interpretation of ethno-racial demographic patterns is complicated by the possibility that an individuals’ ethno-racial identity can change over time. Especially, the ethno-racial identity of children, initially reported by their parents, can shift when the children become young adults, establish households and fill out the Census forms themselves. For example, it is not credible, as Table 1 seems to suggest, that Estonians have such a low fertility rate that 29.2 percent of their population is 75 years or older but only 4.2 percent are under the age of 15. Many of the children of elderly Estonians must report a different ethnicity, either because one Estonian parent has a non-Estonian partner or because the children have a different identity, perhaps Canadian.

In examining the ethno-racial groups, what is particularly important is the proportion of children and elderly relative to the working-age adult population, and also the relative sizes of *adjacent* age groups. Large *discontinuities* between age groups, which foretell changing community needs, are likely to pose more acute problems for communities with fewer resources or where linguistic and cultural barriers limit access to mainstream programs.

Before considering the groups in more detail, it is interesting to look at one group whose age profile is almost stable. In the Jewish community, 17.8 percent of the population is under 15 and 11.7 percent are between 15 and 24 – very close to the population average and suggesting (neglecting immigration) a gentle decline in total population. Then, among Jewish adults, 27.5, 22.8 and 20.2 percent, respectively, are in the 25-44, 45-64, and 65 and over age groups. Nearly half the over-65 population is over 75. This distribution is quite close to a stable equilibrium. The large proportion of aged people represents a community that has already adjusted its resources to the needs of seniors; and the age profile does not suggest a dramatic increase in the number of aged people. Jewish immigration (in Table 2, considered below) is also very low. Scanning the age profiles in Table 1 one sees ethno-racial differences that are certainly large enough to affect their structure, concerns and needs.

EUROPEAN ORIGIN GROUPS TEND TO BE OLDER

The European ethno-racial groups tend to have fewer young people and more older people than the non-Europeans. European-origin groups account for half the population under the age of 20, but three-quarters of the population over 64. There are also dramatic age differences among the nearly 30 groups of European origin. The English and French, along with the ethnic groups established by large-scale immigration before the First World War – Finns, Estonians, Ukrainians, and so on – have fewer young people and many more elderly. For these groups, only about 5 percent are under 15 years of age, compared to the population average of 18.0 percent. These figures probably result from relatively low fertility, but the dramatically larger number of older people in these groups must also reflect the tendency of their children to report a different ethno-racial membership than their parents. Perhaps they think of themselves as “Canadian” or perhaps their parents were often from two different ethno-racial groups, so their children report more than one ancestry in the Census.

The Polish, Romanian and Russian groups, presumably because their numbers are supplemented by post-Soviet immigration, have younger populations with an age distribution similar to the City average. The Portuguese community, on the other hand, has a high proportion of young people, 18.8 percent, under 15, and relatively few members, 8.1 percent, 65 or older.

A number of the Southern European ethno-racial groups have much higher proportions of people between 45 and 64 than over 64, suggesting a large, coming increase in the proportion of elderly. Among all Europeans, 24.8 percent are 45-64 and 17.5 percent are 65 and older. For Greeks, the corresponding proportions are 30.5 and 11.5 percent; for Croatians, 31.8 and 12.5 percent, and for Maltese 5.7 and 12.8 percent, and for the Portuguese 21.9 and 8.1 percent.

NON-EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES, EXCEPT FOR EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIANS, ARE YOUNGER

Table 1 shows that Aboriginal people and Torontonians of Black, African and Caribbean origin, South Asians, Arab and West Asian groups and Latin Americans – *all* the non-Europeans except the East and Southeast Asians – have younger than average age profiles. In some of the regional groups, the averages conceal a great deal of variation, primarily in the balance among very young people, young adults, and middle-aged adults, as the proportions over the age of 64 are low and relatively uniform. For example, there are many more young children in the “African and Black” group, 44.1 percent under the age of 15, than among Jamaicans, with only 26.8 percent under 15; and 42.8 percent of Ghanaians are under 15, compared to 22.3 percent of Ethiopians.

In part, these differences in the age distributions must reflect the way that people choose to fill out the Census questionnaire. Perhaps parents who have immigrated from Caribbean nations and whose own identity is “national” (Jamaican, Barbadian, etc.) tend to describe their children, especially if they are born in Canada, as “Black”. At the same time, to the extent that parents have different ancestries and report their children as sharing both their heritage, we should find that multiple-origin groups tend to be younger. Thus the table shows that about 18.5 percent of the people whose heritage is entirely Aboriginal or Aboriginal and English or French are under the age of 15, compared to 31.9 percent of people who are Aboriginal and also report another origin besides French and English. This suggests an increasing tendency towards marriage between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals outside the Anglo and French “charter” groups.

The Arab and West Asian groups exhibit a number of different demographic patterns: the Afghan population is the youngest, with over one third are under 15; the “West Asian *and European*” group is similar to the European profile; and the Armenians, whose experience is quite different from the others in this regional grouping, is the oldest group, with only 16.0 percent under of 15 and 15.5 percent of its members 65 and older. All the other groups, Egyptians, Iranians, Lebanese, Turks, “Other Arabs and West Asians” and the “Multiple Arab and West Asian” group are quite similar, with an age distribution somewhat younger than average.

EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIANS

The age structure of the combination of East and Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders is close to the general population, though a bit younger. The proportions between 65 and 74 and over 75 are 6.1 and 3.1 percent, respectively, compared to 8.0 and 4.8 percent for the Toronto population. This similarity reflects mainly the numerical predominance of the Chinese, who account for about 60 percent of the East and Southeast Asians, and whose age structure is very close to the population average. The Vietnamese tend to be younger, 27.1 percent are under 15 and the Japanese older, only 7.3 percent are under 15.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL POLICY

Two general arguments about social policy follow from this evidence. First, to the extent that caring for young children requires resources, groups vary significantly in the demands placed upon them. Remember that since the total of all the age groups must equal one hundred percent, groups with more young people generally have fewer adults to care for them – especially if the percentage of elderly is still quite small.

The key question involves the numbers of young people relative to the numbers *and resources* of the adults. The social consequence of the age distributions is also a function of the economic resources of the parents. This concern should be most acute for ethno-racial groups with the highest proportions of children. Thirty percent or more of the following groups are under the age of 15: Aboriginal *and* non-British/French, Ghanaian, Somali, African *and* South/East Asian, African and European/West Asian, African or Black, Multiple Caribbean, Caribbean and East Asian, Caribbean *and* European/Arabic/Latin American, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, South Asian and East Asian, East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian, Afghan, West Asian *and* European, Central American, Multiple Southern European. As we will see in Chapter 4 (see Table 10), many of these groups are experiencing acute child poverty.

Table 2

Percentage and Number of Immigrants and Year of Arrival in Canada by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Arrival in Canada (number)						Arrival in Canada (percentage distribution)					
	Born in Canada	Arrived Before 1976	Arrived 1976-85	Arrived 1986-93	Arrived 1994-96	Total	Born in Canada	Arrived Before 1976	Arrived 1976-85	Arrived 1986-93	Arrived 1994-96	Total
Total	1,198,605	437,120	371,825	182,585	132,890	2,323,025	51.6	18.8	16.0	7.9	5.7	100.0
Total: Aboriginal	20,950	305	280	25	45	21,605	97.0	1.4	1.3	0.1	0.2	100.0
Aboriginal	3,810	10	25	0	0	3,845	99.1	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.0	100.0
Aboriginal and British/French	6,780	85	75	10	5	6,955	97.5	1.2	1.1	0.1	0.1	100.0
Aboriginal and non-British/French	10,360	210	180	15	40	10,805	95.9	1.9	1.7	0.1	0.4	100.0
Total: African, Black and Caribbean	80,055	38,395	56,285	27,755	16,105	218,595	36.6	17.6	25.7	12.7	7.4	100.0
Ethiopian	1,005	65	3,000	1,865	820	6,755	14.9	1.0	44.4	27.6	12.1	100.0
Ghanaian	3,350	70	1,885	4,865	2,385	12,555	26.7	0.6	15.0	38.7	19.0	100.0
Somali	1,770	215	1,435	1,885	1,505	6,810	26.0	3.2	21.1	27.7	22.1	100.0
Other African Nations	4,160	1,565	4,585	3,055	2,045	15,410	27.0	10.2	29.8	19.8	13.3	100.0
African and South/East Asian	925	490	910	185	130	2,640	35.0	18.6	34.5	7.0	4.9	100.0
African and European/Arab/West Asian	2,235	685	735	345	175	4,175	53.5	16.4	17.6	8.3	4.2	100.0
African and Black	11,840	1,650	2,210	940	525	17,165	69.0	9.6	12.9	5.5	3.1	100.0
Barbadian	1,085	1,525	775	190	135	3,710	29.2	41.1	20.9	5.1	3.6	100.0
Guyanese	3,190	2,280	5,240	1,285	1,030	13,025	24.5	17.5	40.2	9.9	7.9	100.0
Jamaican	23,475	15,210	20,045	7,330	3,460	69,520	33.8	21.9	28.8	10.5	5.0	100.0
Trinidadian and Tobagonian	3,145	2,965	2,165	1,050	835	10,160	31.0	29.2	21.3	10.3	8.2	100.0
West Indian	5,015	3,680	4,170	1,420	1,100	15,385	32.6	23.9	27.1	9.2	7.1	100.0
Other Caribbean nations	2,190	1,885	2,210	1,160	620	8,065	27.2	23.4	27.4	14.4	7.7	100.0
Multiple Caribbean	3,525	735	695	210	135	5,300	66.5	13.9	13.1	4.0	2.5	100.0
Caribbean and South Asian	2,780	1,675	2,920	1,055	685	9,115	30.5	18.4	32.0	11.6	7.5	100.0
Caribbean and East Asian	1,585	910	720	90	110	3,415	46.4	26.6	21.1	2.6	3.2	100.0
Caribbean & European/Arab/Latin American	8,780	2,790	2,585	825	410	15,390	57.1	18.1	16.8	5.4	2.7	100.0
Total: South Asian	44,590	23,765	54,130	37,680	31,800	191,965	23.2	12.4	28.2	19.6	16.6	100.0
Indian	30,495	19,425	39,045	19,710	16,730	125,405	24.3	15.5	31.1	15.7	13.3	100.0
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	2,150	800	2,220	2,465	2,350	9,985	21.5	8.0	22.2	24.7	23.5	100.0
Sri Lankan	3,065	325	4,555	5,945	5,175	19,065	16.1	1.7	23.9	31.2	27.1	100.0
Tamil	1,860	75	2,525	4,505	3,550	12,515	14.9	0.6	20.2	36.0	28.4	100.0
Multiple South Asian	2,420	885	3,630	4,200	3,200	14,335	16.9	6.2	25.3	29.3	22.3	100.0
South Asian and East Asian	955	385	415	140	140	2,035	46.9	18.9	20.4	6.9	6.9	100.0
South Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	3,645	1,870	1,740	715	655	8,625	42.3	21.7	20.2	8.3	7.6	100.0

Note: excludes non-permanent residents, numbering approximately 40,855

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 2, continued

Percentage and Number of Immigrants and Year of Arrival in Canada by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Arrival in Canada (number)						Arrival in Canada (percentage distribution)					Total
	Born in Canada	Arrived Before 1976	Arrived 1976-85	Arrived 1986-93	Arrived 1994-96	Total	Born in Canada	Arrived Before 1976	Arrived 1976-85	Arrived 1986-93	Arrived 1994-96	
Total	1,198,605	437,120	371,825	182,585	132,890	2,323,025	51.6	18.8	16.0	7.9	5.7	100.0
Total: East & Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander	79,720	41,750	127,390	57,015	45,300	351,175	22.7	11.9	36.3	16.2	12.9	100.0
Chinese	40,980	26,880	77,455	34,870	27,265	207,450	19.8	13.0	37.3	16.8	13.1	100.0
Filipino	10,400	6,770	18,645	11,690	11,270	58,775	17.7	11.5	31.7	19.9	19.2	100.0
Vietnamese	4,985	385	13,080	4,480	1,925	24,855	20.1	1.5	52.6	18.0	7.7	100.0
Japanese	6,945	1,165	660	230	370	9,370	74.1	12.4	7.0	2.5	3.9	100.0
Korean	4,145	4,120	6,845	2,930	2,140	20,180	20.5	20.4	33.9	14.5	10.6	100.0
Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	1,260	515	3,080	865	725	6,445	19.6	8.0	47.8	13.4	11.2	100.0
Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	2,380	540	4,965	1,085	755	9,725	24.5	5.6	51.1	11.2	7.8	100.0
East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	8,625	1,375	2,660	865	850	14,375	60.0	9.6	18.5	6.0	5.9	100.0
Total: Arab and West Asian	14,200	5,960	20,775	14,450	10,000	65,385	21.7	9.1	31.8	22.1	15.3	100.0
Afghan	1,090	35	1,850	1,590	880	5,445	20.0	0.6	34.0	29.2	16.2	100.0
Armenian	1,500	1,765	2,350	460	255	6,330	23.7	27.9	37.1	7.3	4.0	100.0
Egyptian	940	780	1,215	920	1,230	5,085	18.5	15.3	23.9	18.1	24.2	100.0
Iranian	1,660	205	6,575	5,375	3,290	17,105	9.7	1.2	38.4	31.4	19.2	100.0
Lebanese	1,600	525	2,450	1,420	520	6,515	24.6	8.1	37.6	21.8	8.0	100.0
Turkish	445	615	500	685	520	2,765	16.1	22.2	18.1	24.8	18.8	100.0
Other Arab/West Asian	2,540	1,190	3,775	3,225	2,650	13,380	19.0	8.9	28.2	24.1	19.8	100.0
Multiple Arab/West Asian	675	280	1,395	565	370	3,285	20.5	8.5	42.5	17.2	11.3	100.0
Arab/West Asian and European	3,750	565	665	210	285	5,475	68.5	10.3	12.1	3.8	5.2	100.0
Total: Latin American origins	14,980	9,535	21,960	11,735	4,935	63,145	23.7	15.1	34.8	18.6	7.8	100.0
South American and Mexican	13,430	9,400	19,090	9,645	4,510	56,075	24.0	16.8	34.0	17.2	8.0	100.0
Central American	1,550	135	2,870	2,090	425	7,070	21.9	1.9	40.6	29.6	6.0	100.0
Canadian	120,425	1,370	645	180	115	122,735	98.1	1.1	0.5	0.1	0.1	100.0
Total: European	823,680	316,050	90,360	33,750	24,580	1,288,420	63.9	24.5	7.0	2.6	1.9	100.0
Total: British	495,160	72,550	16,105	3,420	2,925	590,160	83.9	12.3	2.7	0.6	0.5	100.0
English	122,845	29,215	7,550	1,865	1,580	163,055	75.3	17.9	4.6	1.1	1.0	100.0
Irish	35,145	9,075	1,895	270	245	46,630	75.4	19.5	4.1	0.6	0.5	100.0
Scottish	38,930	15,260	1,570	200	110	56,070	69.4	27.2	2.8	0.4	0.2	100.0
Multiple British	136,555	11,300	1,995	365	365	150,580	90.7	7.5	1.3	0.2	0.2	100.0
British and French	42,865	1,290	465	65	115	44,800	95.7	2.9	1.0	0.1	0.3	100.0
British and other European	118,820	6,410	2,630	655	510	129,025	92.1	5.0	2.0	0.5	0.4	100.0
Total: French	31,135	2,600	1,025	380	405	35,545	87.6	7.3	2.9	1.1	1.1	100.0
French	22,370	1,285	575	205	300	24,735	90.4	5.2	2.3	0.8	1.2	100.0
French and other European	8,765	1,315	450	175	105	10,810	81.1	12.2	4.2	1.6	1.0	100.0
American, Australian, New Zealander	1,235	670	290	50	75	2,320	53.2	28.9	12.5	2.2	3.2	100.0

Note: excludes non-permanent residents, numbering approximately 40,855

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 2, continued

Percentage and Number of Immigrants and Year of Arrival in Canada by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Arrival in Canada (number)						Arrival in Canada (percentage distribution)					
	Born in Canada	Arrived Before 1976	Arrived 1976-85	Arrived 1986-93	Arrived 1994-96	Total	Born in Canada	Arrived Before 1976	Arrived 1976-85	Arrived 1986-93	Arrived 1994-96	Total
Total	1,198,605	437,120	371,825	182,585	132,890	2,323,025	51.6	18.8	16.0	7.9	5.7	100.0
Total: Northern Europe and Scandinavia	36,600	30,030	3,725	915	785	72,055	50.8	41.7	5.2	1.3	1.1	100.0
Austrian	1,090	1,645	115	10	25	2,885	37.8	57.0	4.0	0.3	0.9	100.0
Dutch	5,205	3,755	525	95	75	9,655	53.9	38.9	5.4	1.0	0.8	100.0
German	12,295	15,665	1,210	245	265	29,680	41.4	52.8	4.1	0.8	0.9	100.0
Other/Multiple Northern European	3,310	1,645	295	95	55	5,400	61.3	30.5	5.5	1.8	1.0	100.0
Finnish	1,630	1,950	220	85	25	3,910	41.7	49.9	5.6	2.2	0.6	100.0
Other Scandinavian	1,965	1,745	335	75	35	4,155	47.3	42.0	8.1	1.8	0.8	100.0
Northern Europe/Scandinavian & other Europe	11,105	3,625	1,025	310	305	16,370	67.8	22.1	6.3	1.9	1.9	100.0
Total: Baltic and Eastern Europe	45,065	38,345	25,650	13,950	9,700	132,710	34.0	28.9	19.3	10.5	7.3	100.0
Estonian	1,235	2,985	75	165	20	4,480	27.6	66.6	1.7	3.7	0.4	100.0
Latvian	1,200	2,435	95	70	35	3,835	31.3	63.5	2.5	1.8	0.9	100.0
Lithuanian	1,220	1,920	175	145	45	3,505	34.8	54.8	5.0	4.1	1.3	100.0
Czech	1,050	2,135	950	170	105	4,410	23.8	48.4	21.5	3.9	2.4	100.0
Hungarian	3,635	7,170	2,135	535	340	13,815	26.3	51.9	15.5	3.9	2.5	100.0
Polish	13,215	10,530	16,335	8,465	2,165	50,710	26.1	20.8	32.2	16.7	4.3	100.0
Romanian	680	440	2,085	1,610	2,450	7,265	9.4	6.1	28.7	22.2	33.7	100.0
Russian	1,580	1,060	980	915	2,000	6,535	24.2	16.2	15.0	14.0	30.6	100.0
Slovak	865	900	425	160	105	2,455	35.2	36.7	17.3	6.5	4.3	100.0
Ukrainian	15,035	7,345	1,440	1,020	1,650	26,490	56.8	27.7	5.4	3.9	6.2	100.0
Multiple Baltic/Eastern European	5,350	1,425	955	695	785	9,210	58.1	15.5	10.4	7.5	8.5	100.0
Total: Southern Europe	142,020	152,105	32,515	10,910	6,975	344,525	41.2	44.1	9.4	3.2	2.0	100.0
Croatian	2,665	3,805	940	370	385	8,165	32.6	46.6	11.5	4.5	4.7	100.0
Macedonian	4,345	5,065	705	530	210	10,855	40.0	46.7	6.5	4.9	1.9	100.0
Serbian	1,085	1,735	1,155	2,115	2,200	8,290	13.1	20.9	13.9	25.5	26.5	100.0
Slovenian	1,380	1,725	100	40	25	3,270	42.2	52.8	3.1	1.2	0.8	100.0
Yugoslavian	1,220	1,520	500	785	970	4,995	24.4	30.4	10.0	15.7	19.4	100.0
Greek	21,130	22,430	3,115	405	290	47,370	44.6	47.4	6.6	0.9	0.6	100.0
Italian	76,145	80,385	4,830	535	355	162,250	46.9	49.5	3.0	0.3	0.2	100.0
Maltese	2,020	2,140	265	15	10	4,450	45.4	48.1	6.0	0.3	0.2	100.0
Portuguese	23,955	28,900	19,625	4,415	770	77,665	30.8	37.2	25.3	5.7	1.0	100.0
Spanish	1,560	1,250	335	160	105	3,410	45.7	36.7	9.8	4.7	3.1	100.0
Other Southern Europe	710	1,055	545	1,100	1,320	4,730	15.0	22.3	11.5	23.3	27.9	100.0
Multiple Southern Europe	5,805	2,095	400	440	335	9,075	64.0	23.1	4.4	4.8	3.7	100.0
Total: Jewish and Israeli	66,825	18,670	10,645	3,860	3,350	103,350	64.7	18.1	10.3	3.7	3.2	100.0
Jewish	45,155	12,425	7,525	2,470	2,050	69,625	64.9	17.8	10.8	3.5	2.9	100.0
Jewish and European	21,670	6,245	3,120	1,390	1,300	33,725	64.3	18.5	9.3	4.1	3.9	100.0
All others Europe only	5,640	1,080	405	265	365	7,755	72.7	13.9	5.2	3.4	4.7	100.0

Note: excludes non-permanent residents, numbering approximately 40,855

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

A second policy concern involves the elderly. Their numbers also vary dramatically among ethno-racial groups, especially in the 75 and older category, who tend to have greater needs for social support than the “young old” between 65 and 74. For some very young ethno-racial groups, such as the Africans, the challenges of an aging population are far off, but many other groups with few elderly have large proportions of people in late middle age. One way to see the extent of this demographic concern is to compare the proportions of a group between 45 and 64 and over the age of 65. In the “mature” European groups, whose fertility is near the replacement level, there are about four people in the 45-64 group for each three people 65 and over. Compare this to the Koreans, with 23.5 and 7.5 percent in the two groups, respectively. The Chinese population, with 20.6 percent and 10.8 percent, respectively, between 45 and 64 and 65 and older, will shortly have a substantially larger elderly population. A number of Southern European groups also face large increases in their retirement age populations in the next few years. Ageing will also affect Africans, Blacks and Caribbeans, there are 15.3 percent aged 45-64, compared to only 4.2 percent 65 or older.

Immigration and Ethnicity

As Table 2 shows, ethno-racial groups vary dramatically in the proportion of immigrants, and the differences would be even larger if young children born in Canada were excluded. At the extremes, 99.1 percent of Aboriginal people are born in Canada (the small remaining number are US-born), whereas more than one fifth of the Somalis, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, Sri Lankans, Tamils, Egyptians, Romanians, Russians and Serbians who answered the Census in May 1996 had arrived since 1994.

RECENT ARRIVALS

The Table divides immigrants into four categories of arrival in Canada: before 1976, 1976-1985, 1986-1993 and 1994-1996. There were a number of groups in which 15 percent or more of the population arrived between 1994 and the Census reporting date in May 1996, including: Ghanaians, Somalis, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (combined), Sri Lankans, Tamils and people with multiple South Asian origins, Filipinos, Afghans, Egyptians, Iranians, Turks, people from “other” Arab and West Asian nations, Romanians and Russians, Serbians, Yugoslavs and “other” Southern European nations. These very recent immigrants make up 5.7 percent of the Toronto population. This number can be compared to the 7.9 percent of the Toronto population who said they came to Toronto in the *eight* previous years between 1986 and 1994.

ARRIVALS BETWEEN 1976 AND 1993

A number of groups experienced high levels of immigration between 1986 and 1993. Ethno-racial groups with 25 percent or more of their population arriving in this period include the Ethiopians, Ghanaians, Somalis, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, Sri Lankans, Tamils, the multiple South Asian group; Afghans, Lebanese, Iranians, Turks, other Arabs and West Asians; Central Americans, Romanians, Serbians and “other” Southern Europeans. Many of the 1986-93 immigrants will have Canadian-born children, so that more than 25 percent of the adults would have arrived during this period.

More than one-quarter of the entire African, Black and Caribbean, South Asian, East and Southeast Asian, and Latin American populations in Toronto arrived between 1976 and 1985; indeed 16.0 percent of *all* Torontonians came to Canada in this period. Individual groups have even more sharply-defined periods of arrival. For example, 44.4 percent of the Ethiopians arrived between 1976 and 1985, along with 40.2 percent of the Guyanese, 52.6 percent of Vietnamese, and 47.8 percent of the “other” East and Southeast Asians (including Cambodians and Laotians), 51.1 percent of people with two or more East and Southeast Asian origins, and 40.6 percent of the Central Americans. One sees immediately the correlation between these figures and civil wars during that period.

ARRIVALS BEFORE 1976

About one fifth of all Torontonians were born outside Canada, but arrived at least 20 years ago. These include a very large number of Europeans, 24.5 percent of whom were immigrants arriving before 1976. More than 40 percent of Northern Europeans (excluding British and French) and Southern Europeans immigrated to Canada before 1976. In a number of cases, these immigrants account for more than half the population: 57.0 percent of Austrians, 49.9 percent of Finns, 66.6 percent of Estonians, 63.5 percent of Latvians, 54.8 percent of Lithuanians, 51.9 percent of Hungarians, along with more than 45 percent of the Croatians, Macedonians, Slovenians, Greeks, Italians, and Maltese.

NON-NATIONAL, “RACIAL” AND MULTIPLE ORIGINS

More than ninety-eight percent of “Canadians”, defined for our purposes as people who said their ancestry was Canadian only *and* were “white”, are born in Canada. Also, 69.0 percent of Torontonians who describe themselves as “African” or “Black”, but do not give a further national origin are born in Canada. To some extent this demonstrates a “racialization” of identity as the children of visible minority immigrants are “Canadianized” and start to lose touch with their parents’ distinct national identities. Note also that the multiple origin groups include far *fewer* immigrants than the individual nationalities. Nearly one-quarter of the Torontonians with a single British ethnicity are born outside of Canada, compared to 9.3 percent of people with two or more British origins; about 80 percent of people with Arab or West Asian origin *only* are immigrants, compared to just 31.5 percent of people with Arab or West Asian *and European* heritage.

Ability to Speak English

Table 3 gives the answers to the Census questions dealing with the ability to speak English and on the language spoken in a person’s home. Since individuals could indicate that they speak two or more languages at home the answers we categorized as: only English; English and any other; French and any other language besides English (to avoid overlap with the second category); and neither English nor French. The asymmetry in the treatment of the official languages is intended to reflect the predominance of English in Toronto. The single question about the ability to speak English on the Census provides only a crude division of a wide range of ability, but it can certainly be used to locate sizeable concentrations of people without minimal skills in English.

Considering the number of immigrants to Toronto and especially the number of recent immigrants, it is noteworthy that only 6.1 percent of the population say that they do not speak English. The *number* of non-English speakers, about 145,000, is more imposing. While there is considerable variation in the percentage of non-English speakers, in every single group, the great

Table 3

Knowledge of English and Language Spoken at Home by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Do Not Speak English		Language Spoken in the Home (percentage distribution)				Total
	Number	Percent of Total	Only English	English and any other	French, and any other but English	Neither English nor French	
Total	144,980	6.1	66.3	4.3	0.5	28.8	100.0
Total: Aboriginal	20	0.1	97.4	1.0	1.3	0.3	100.0
Aboriginal	10	0.3	96.1	2.3	0.5	1.0	100.0
Aboriginal and British/French	5	0.1	97.3	0.8	1.7	0.1	100.0
Aboriginal and non-British/French	5	0.0	97.9	0.7	1.2	0.2	100.0
Total: African, Black and Caribbean	3,950	1.7	85.6	2.7	0.6	11.2	100.0
Ethiopian	390	5.6	24.8	12.6	0.1	62.4	100.0
Ghanaian	2,320	15.0	18.0	9.9	0.2	71.8	100.0
Somali	105	1.5	47.5	14.2	0.0	38.3	100.0
Other African Nations	430	2.5	62.8	7.2	3.8	26.3	100.0
African and South/East Asian	40	1.5	81.9	6.1	0.6	11.4	100.0
African and European/Arab/West Asian	100	2.3	82.7	4.2	1.6	11.4	100.0
African and Black	140	0.8	94.8	1.1	0.2	3.8	100.0
Barbadian	5	0.1	99.5	0.3	0.0	0.1	100.0
Guyanese	15	0.1	99.1	0.5	0.0	0.4	100.0
Jamaican	25	0.0	99.5	0.3	0.0	0.2	100.0
Trinidadian and Tobagonian	0	0.0	99.7	0.1	0.0	0.1	100.0
West Indian	35	0.2	98.9	0.2	0.0	0.9	100.0
Other Caribbean nations	265	3.1	87.2	1.8	4.5	6.4	100.0
Multiple Caribbean	5	0.1	98.8	0.7	0.0	0.5	100.0
Caribbean and South Asian	5	0.1	99.1	0.4	0.1	0.4	100.0
Caribbean and East Asian	0	0.0	98.1	1.3	0.0	0.6	100.0
Caribbean & European/Arab/Latin American	70	0.4	96.6	1.1	0.4	1.8	100.0
Total: South Asian	14,010	7.1	45.1	8.4	0.2	46.3	100.0
Indian	8,185	6.4	52.7	7.9	0.2	39.3	100.0
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	795	7.7	24.4	15.0	0.1	60.6	100.0
Sri Lankan	1,865	9.1	22.9	8.6	0.0	68.6	100.0
Tamil	1,455	10.8	17.5	10.4	0.0	72.0	100.0
Multiple South Asian	1,520	10.0	21.3	9.8	0.1	68.7	100.0
South Asian and East Asian	45	2.2	86.3	4.6	0.0	9.0	100.0
South Asian and European/Arab/West Asia	145	1.7	85.1	4.0	0.3	10.4	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 3, continued

Knowledge of English and Language Spoken at Home by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Language Spoken in the Home (percentage distribution)						
	Do Not Speak English		Language Spoken in the Home				Total
	Number	Percent of Total	Only English	English and any other	French, and any other but English	Neither English nor French	
Total	144,980	6.1	66.3	4.3	0.5	28.8	100.0
Total: East & Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander	60,155	16.7	27.1	7.4	0.1	65.5	100.0
Chinese	48,525	22.8	19.3	4.9	0.1	75.7	100.0
Filipino	825	1.4	40.6	17.7	0.0	41.7	100.0
Vietnamese	4,560	18.2	11.5	5.6	0.1	82.8	100.0
Japanese	505	4.8	70.7	3.0	0.0	26.2	100.0
Korean	3,495	16.1	26.8	4.5	0.0	68.7	100.0
Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	595	8.8	34.4	10.3	0.0	55.2	100.0
Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	1,505	15.2	30.2	10.9	0.0	58.9	100.0
East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	145	1.0	74.6	8.0	0.7	16.8	100.0
Total: Arab and West Asian	6,520	9.4	31.6	9.0	1.0	58.3	100.0
Afghan	1,045	17.7	10.0	9.4	0.0	80.6	100.0
Armenian	600	9.5	28.4	8.9	0.2	62.6	100.0
Egyptian	285	5.4	41.2	12.7	1.8	44.2	100.0
Iranian	1,670	8.6	25.7	7.7	0.3	66.4	100.0
Lebanese	535	8.1	35.2	12.5	0.9	51.3	100.0
Turkish	315	11.1	30.5	5.3	0.2	64.1	100.0
Other Arab/West Asian	1,680	11.7	27.1	8.8	1.7	62.3	100.0
Multiple Arab/West Asian	290	8.3	32.4	12.0	1.3	54.6	100.0
Arab/West Asian and European	100	1.8	77.8	6.1	3.7	12.3	100.0
Total: Latin American origins	7,330	11.0	33.1	10.2	0.2	56.5	100.0
South American and Mexican	6,405	10.9	34.9	10.2	0.2	54.8	100.0
Central American	925	12.5	19.1	10.1	0.1	70.7	100.0
Canadian	30	0.1	97.9	0.7	0.7	0.6	100.0
Total: European	52,865	4.1	77.2	3.0	0.6	19.2	100.0
Total: British	330	0.1	99.1	0.3	0.2	0.4	100.0
English	95	0.1	99.1	0.3	0.1	0.6	100.0
Irish	15	0.0	99.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	100.0
Scottish	10	0.0	99.8	0.1	0.1	0.1	100.0
Multiple British	10	0.0	99.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	100.0
British and French	45	0.1	97.8	0.7	1.4	0.1	100.0
British and other European	155	0.1	98.2	0.6	0.2	1.0	100.0
Total: French	485	1.4	80.0	3.2	14.9	1.8	100.0
French	355	1.4	76.5	3.3	19.6	0.5	100.0
French and other European	130	1.2	88.1	3.2	4.0	4.8	100.0
American, Australian, New Zealander	0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 3, continued
 Knowledge of English and Language Spoken at Home by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Do Not Speak English		Language Spoken in the Home (percentage distribution)				Total
	Number	Percent of Total	Only English	English and any other	French, and any other but English	Neither English nor French	
Total	144,980	6.1	66.3	4.3	0.5	28.8	100.0
Total: Northern Europe and Scandinavia	395	0.5	86.7	3.3	0.3	9.6	100.0
Austrian	15	0.5	85.2	4.5	0.3	10.0	100.0
Dutch	10	0.1	93.4	2.5	0.1	4.1	100.0
German	140	0.5	84.5	4.3	0.1	11.1	100.0
Other/Multiple Northern European	20	0.4	90.4	2.7	2.2	4.8	100.0
Finnish	85	2.2	72.1	2.5	0.3	25.2	100.0
Other Scandinavian	0	0.0	92.1	2.1	0.5	5.3	100.0
Northern Europe/Scandinavian & other Eur	125	0.8	88.1	2.6	0.1	9.2	100.0
Total: Baltic and Eastern Europe	7,140	5.3	46.6	5.5	0.2	47.7	100.0
Estonian	85	1.9	47.2	5.7	0.1	47.0	100.0
Latvian	60	1.6	50.7	6.3	0.1	43.0	100.0
Lithuanian	95	2.7	50.8	7.5	0.0	41.6	100.0
Czech	95	2.1	60.8	5.4	0.0	33.7	100.0
Hungarian	360	2.6	57.7	5.0	0.4	36.9	100.0
Polish	3,815	7.5	34.8	6.2	0.2	58.8	100.0
Romanian	470	6.3	30.0	6.4	0.5	63.2	100.0
Russian	510	7.0	37.6	6.3	0.2	56.0	100.0
Slovak	45	1.8	67.2	3.6	0.0	29.1	100.0
Ukrainian	1,305	4.8	57.9	4.1	0.1	37.9	100.0
Multiple Baltic/Eastern European	300	3.2	67.2	3.8	0.1	29.0	100.0
Total: Southern Europe	42,345	12.2	46.7	6.9	0.1	46.3	100.0
Croatian	400	4.9	45.8	6.1	0.0	48.1	100.0
Macedonian	800	7.3	41.3	7.5	0.1	51.0	100.0
Serbian	660	7.8	21.0	6.3	0.1	72.6	100.0
Slovenian	25	0.8	54.0	8.2	0.0	37.7	100.0
Yugoslavian	330	6.6	45.3	4.5	0.4	49.8	100.0
Greek	3,470	7.3	42.3	9.8	0.1	47.8	100.0
Italian	19,710	12.1	54.7	6.0	0.1	39.2	100.0
Maltese	35	0.8	82.8	2.8	0.0	14.5	100.0
Portuguese	16,040	20.4	32.7	7.4	0.1	59.8	100.0
Spanish	205	5.9	47.3	7.2	0.7	44.8	100.0
Other Southern Europe	360	7.1	30.5	6.9	0.5	62.1	100.0
Multiple Southern Europe	310	3.4	68.6	7.3	0.1	24.0	100.0
Total: Jewish and Israeli	2,055	2.0	85.4	1.8	0.4	12.5	100.0
Jewish	1,580	2.2	84.8	1.9	0.2	13.0	100.0
Jewish and European	475	1.4	86.5	1.5	0.6	11.3	100.0
All others Europe only	115	1.5	83.3	3.2	0.2	13.2	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

majority of people speak English. The highest percentage and largest numerical concentration of non-English speakers is among the Chinese: 22.8 percent do not speak English. The estimated 48,525 Chinese who do not speak English constitute about 30 percent all non-English speakers in the City. The proportions are also high for the Vietnamese and Koreans, 18.2 and 16.1 percent respectively, corresponding to 4,560 and 3,495 individuals.

The next largest concentration of people who do not speak English, who account for 29.2 percent of all non-English speakers or 42,345 persons, is in the Southern European category. The highest concentrations are among the Italians and Portuguese, with 12.1 and 20.4 percent non-English speakers respectively, corresponding to 19,710 and 16,040 individuals. These numbers are significant because the Italian and Portuguese groups actually include very few recent immigrants: just 0.5 percent of Italians and 6.7 percent of the Portuguese had been in Canada for less than *ten years* in 1996, when the Census was conducted. These numbers are subject to some error, and people can change: even after ten years in Canada individuals can still learn to speak English, and perhaps some people with modest, but serviceable English say they do not speak the language; but these are likely to be outnumbered by people who report they speak English but have difficulty when more complex language skills are needed. So there will be a continuing need for medical and other services in Italian and Portuguese. Significant proportions of a number of the smaller Baltic and Southern European groups also do not speak English.

Eleven percent of Latin Americans, an estimated 7,330 people, do not speak English. Among all Arabs and West Asians, 9.4 percent, representing 6,520 persons, do not speak English; with the 17.7 percent non-English-speaking Afghans standing out. About seven percent of the South Asians, 14,010 persons, do not speak English. Concentrations of non-English speakers are found for particular groups within regions. For example, although less than 2 percent of the entire “African, Black, Caribbean” group do not speak English, the rate is 15.0 percent for Ghanaians, 5.6 percent for Ethiopians, and 1.5 percent of Somalis.

Though groups with more recent immigration from non-English-speaking nations have more non-English speakers, almost every immigrant in every ethno-racial group in Toronto learns English. Learning the language is intimately connected to economic and social integration. There are social niches, however, which dramatically lessen the incentive to learn English, even if the long term cost of living without English is high. In Toronto it is possible to find work and conduct everyday transactions without knowing English. Thus the Jewish, Polish and Ukrainian communities include some elderly individuals, especially women, who have spent decades in Canada without learning English or whose English is limited. More recently, this phenomenon affects the Italian, Portuguese, Vietnamese and

Chinese communities. But, it is not hard to make the case that the inability to speak English is a significant form of personal dis-empowerment, for women and men, of all ages. For the elderly it can be a serious impediment to finding quality social and health services. It would be worthwhile, therefore, to use the Census data to examine more closely individuals who do not speak English but are *not* recent immigrants.

Languages Spoken at home

As Table 3 shows, many people who can speak English do not do so at home. While 93.9 percent of Torontonians speak English, at home 66.3 percent speak only English, another 4.3 percent use English and another language, 0.5 percent speak French (or French and another language besides English) and 28.8 percent speak a language or languages other than English and French. There is far greater variation in these figures and in the ability of members of different ethno-racial groups to speak English. Thus while 89.0 percent of Latin Americans speak English, just 33.1 percent speak *only* English at home, and 56.5 percent do not use English at home.

The language used in the home reflects the individuals' cultures and trajectories of immigration of ethno-racial groups. There is considerable variation *within* the regional categories. For example, 52.7 percent of Indians speak only English at home, compared to 24.4 percent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, 22.9 percent of Sri Lankans and 17.5 percent of Tamils. Among individuals with *both* South Asian and European or West Asian background, however, 85.1 percent speak only English at home; and for the combination of South and East or Southeast Asian the figure is 86.3 percent. Similarly, there are large differences in the use of English at home for the other regional groups – Serbians 21.0 percent, Slovenians 54.0 percent, Romanians 30.0 percent, Slovaks 67.2 percent, and so on.

Fully 96.1 percent of Torontonians who identify themselves as *only* Aboriginal speak only English in their homes and another 2.3 percent speak some English at home. For the considerably larger number of people who describe themselves as having both Aboriginal and another, European origin English is even more prevalent.

Among the African, Black and Caribbean groups, less than 25 percent of Ethiopians and Ghanaians speak only English at home, compared to 47.5 percent of Somalis and 62.8 percent of people from “other African nations”; the percentage rises to over 80 percent for individuals with an African *and* non-African origin. Nearly 95 percent of Torontonians who say that they are African or Black speak only English at home.

Among East and Southeast Asians, 65.5 percent do *not* speak English or French at home, though there is also considerable variation: 75.7 percent of the Chinese, 82.8 percent of the Vietnamese and 68.7 percent of the Koreans do not speak English or French at home, compared to 26.2 percent of the Japanese and 41.7 percent of Filipinos. Members of the British groups speak English virtually entirely; and just over 75 percent of the French also speak only English; just 19.6 percent of people whose origin is French (*only*) speak only French at home. Among the non-British, non-French Northern Europeans and Jews, about 85 percent speak only English at home. For groups from the Baltic region, Eastern Europe and Southern Europe, an average of about 50 percent of speak only English, though there is considerable variation among the individual ethno-racial groups.

With such large differences in the age distributions of ethno-racial groups we must question the demographic generalities that seem to drive debates about social policy. Some ethno-racial groups do now face the dilemmas of an aging population; but others have had many years to adjust to declining fertility and increased numbers of elderly. More striking, however, for many ethno-racial groups concerns about the effects of aging are many years off. Instead they have high proportions of relatively young adults and children and must be primarily concerned with caring for their children. They are faced with a broad economic context in which there has been a steady decline in poverty among the elderly relative to poverty among young people and children. In comparison, the large number of immigrants in our City and historical shifts in their origins are well known. What we can add, again, is that the

changing immigrant population is also correlated with their demographic composition. For new immigrants, the key policy issues involve schooling, post-secondary education and the experience of young people, more than they do aging.

Chapter 2

Education

If educational credentials are no longer sufficient to assure steady, pleasant and remunerative employment, education remains a critical aspect of human capital. While individuals with little formal education may be highly literate, *on average* people with more formal education obtain better jobs, earn more and have higher family incomes. Rapid technological change, moreover, is likely to increase the income differential between jobs requiring high and low levels of education. There is also a critical inter-generational aspect to education, in that parents with less formal education are disadvantaged in dealing with their children's schools and providing advice to their children.

In this Chapter, the main focus is on the overall distribution of education for people between 25 and 64 years of age, given in Table 4. The age limits are designed to exclude most people who are still in school and also people who are likely to have retired. Table 5 provides information on the educational attainment and enrollment of young people, between 20 and 24 years of age. This is the critical age period when most of the individuals who will ever do so, complete their post-secondary education, either at a community college or university. Those who have left full-time education without a post-secondary qualification, especially if they have not completed high school, have significantly lower occupational and financial prospects.

To help identify the ethno-racial groups who are most educationally disadvantaged, Charts 1 and 2 show the ethno-racial groups with the highest percentages of adults who have not completed high school and with the lowest percentages of university graduates. Similarly, Chart 3 shows the groups with the highest percentages of young people who have not graduated from high school and are no longer in school. The groups with the lowest levels of education, shown in the charts, are also listed in the summary table in Chapter 5, which collates the findings of the three chapters dealing with education, occupations and income.

Table 4

Highest Level of Education, for Persons 25-64 Years of Age, by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Highest Level of Education (percentage distribution)								Total	Number of Persons 25-64
	No High School	Some High School	High School Graduate	Trade School Graduate	College Graduate	Some University	University Graduate	M.A. Degree & Higher		
Total	14.1	16.4	22.0	7.9	14.0	2.9	17.2	5.5	100.0	1,642,135
Total: Aboriginal	7.3	20.3	25.5	10.0	17.2	2.0	13.4	4.2	100.0	12,940
Aboriginal	14.8	27.8	25.5	11.3	13.5	1.1	5.1	0.9	100.0	2,665
Aboriginal and British/French	7.0	19.8	26.0	9.5	16.5	1.9	14.1	5.0	100.0	4,660
Aboriginal and non-British/French	3.9	17.2	25.1	9.9	19.4	2.5	16.9	5.0	100.0	5,615
Total: African, Black and Caribbean	8.5	18.2	26.6	12.5	21.1	2.4	8.6	2.1	100.0	125,450
Ethiopian	7.0	16.8	35.5	8.3	16.0	3.3	9.6	3.5	100.0	4,590
Ghanaian	16.8	14.9	38.1	4.4	10.0	3.4	9.6	2.7	100.0	6,380
Somali	4.7	18.1	31.5	16.1	18.5	2.8	5.4	3.0	100.0	3,955
Other African Nations	5.2	13.1	25.7	11.6	18.6	4.7	16.1	5.1	100.0	10,190
African and South/East Asian	9.8	8.7	18.5	11.3	29.5	3.6	16.0	2.2	100.0	1,375
African and European/Arab/West Asian	3.3	11.3	23.9	11.1	18.6	3.3	20.8	7.5	100.0	2,260
African and Black	9.6	22.9	25.8	12.0	19.2	2.2	6.2	2.2	100.0	6,965
Barbadian	3.9	19.8	20.8	13.6	28.1	2.5	9.0	2.0	100.0	2,985
Guyanese	12.1	24.3	25.7	11.1	17.6	1.9	6.1	1.2	100.0	8,585
Jamaican	10.4	23.1	25.1	13.9	20.6	1.2	4.8	0.9	100.0	40,075
Trinidadian and Tobagonian	6.3	13.1	26.2	15.8	23.9	2.5	10.1	2.2	100.0	6,470
West Indian	7.9	18.0	29.2	14.5	22.3	1.8	5.4	0.9	100.0	9,800
Other Caribbean nations	6.5	16.1	27.0	14.1	24.3	1.7	8.4	1.9	100.0	5,495
Multiple Caribbean	4.0	12.2	26.9	9.6	31.7	2.0	11.9	1.7	100.0	1,765
Caribbean and South Asian	10.2	15.5	22.4	12.3	22.5	4.8	10.3	2.1	100.0	5,365
Caribbean and East Asian	2.0	9.6	25.1	9.3	29.4	2.6	19.0	2.9	100.0	1,715
Caribbean & European/Arab/Latin American	4.1	11.5	23.8	11.8	27.3	4.0	14.6	3.0	100.0	7,480
Total: South Asian	11.5	20.7	24.0	7.2	12.3	3.4	15.5	5.4	100.0	119,720
Indian	13.2	18.3	22.1	7.7	12.6	3.3	16.7	6.1	100.0	79,075
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	9.7	13.4	24.8	6.2	9.1	5.6	22.4	9.0	100.0	5,575
Sri Lankan	8.2	33.6	30.9	5.8	10.5	2.8	7.1	1.0	100.0	12,320
Tamil	7.1	34.3	31.5	5.2	9.8	2.0	8.5	1.6	100.0	8,160
Multiple South Asian	9.4	23.8	24.7	6.2	11.4	3.6	15.5	5.5	100.0	9,110
South Asian and East Asian	6.5	11.2	27.1	9.4	22.9	5.3	11.8	5.9	100.0	850
South Asian and European/Arab/West Asia	5.8	9.3	21.6	9.4	20.0	5.2	21.4	7.3	100.0	4,630

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 4, continued
 Highest Level of Education, for Persons 25-64 Years of Age, by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Highest Level of Education (percentage distribution)								Total	Number of Persons 25-64
	No High School	Some High School	High School Graduate	Trade School Graduate	College Graduate	Some University	University Graduate	M.A. Degree & Higher		
Total	14.1	16.4	22.0	7.9	14.0	2.9	17.2	5.5	100.0	1,642,135
Total: East & Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander	16.6	14.5	21.1	5.2	12.4	4.6	21.4	4.3	100.0	
Chinese	20.6	15.9	20.2	4.1	11.9	3.3	18.8	5.2	100.0	145,785
Filipino	5.9	5.4	21.4	9.3	16.3	8.9	31.3	1.6	100.0	40,470
Vietnamese	23.8	30.1	22.6	4.3	8.3	2.8	7.1	1.1	100.0	14,580
Japanese	5.5	14.6	22.4	6.8	15.6	4.3	26.4	4.3	100.0	8,765
Korean	5.8	9.8	29.4	3.4	7.2	7.6	30.8	6.0	100.0	13,265
Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	19.6	19.2	16.6	7.1	11.5	4.4	16.5	5.2	100.0	3,855
Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	25.3	21.8	19.3	3.8	8.9	3.4	15.0	2.6	100.0	5,480
East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	3.9	6.1	19.5	7.7	17.8	6.3	33.4	5.4	100.0	5,815
Total: Arab and West Asian	11.2	11.6	24.8	6.6	11.1	4.5	23.1	7.1	100.0	42,260
Afghan	17.3	18.1	32.8	4.6	4.6	4.1	14.9	3.3	100.0	2,710
Armenian	19.0	10.1	22.7	8.9	14.1	3.4	16.4	5.5	100.0	4,510
Egyptian	3.1	4.6	11.0	4.0	8.1	7.4	54.4	7.7	100.0	3,265
Iranian	4.8	8.1	30.9	7.9	12.6	5.1	22.6	7.9	100.0	12,730
Lebanese	12.4	19.0	25.3	5.3	11.1	2.7	19.3	5.1	100.0	4,115
Turkish	23.0	13.2	19.6	4.5	9.5	2.8	16.8	10.4	100.0	1,785
Other Arab/West Asian	16.8	15.2	22.8	5.6	9.8	5.0	19.0	5.7	100.0	8,430
Multiple Arab/West Asian	11.7	11.0	24.8	7.9	10.8	5.0	18.7	10.1	100.0	2,220
Arab/West Asian and European	3.8	9.2	17.2	6.8	15.2	1.8	34.1	12.0	100.0	2,495
Total: Latin American origins	13.0	17.4	27.0	9.7	16.6	4.0	10.1	2.4	100.0	38,680
South American and Mexican	12.6	17.5	27.0	9.6	16.5	4.0	10.3	2.5	100.0	35,040
Central American	17.0	16.6	26.6	9.9	17.6	3.4	7.8	1.1	100.0	3,640
Canadian	8.2	25.0	25.5	7.1	13.1	2.1	14.8	4.2	100.0	79,010
Total: European	15.2	15.5	20.8	8.0	13.8	2.5	17.8	6.4	100.0	986,065
Total: British	5.5	18.2	23.3	7.4	15.7	2.6	20.6	6.8	100.0	455,260
English	8.7	24.2	23.6	8.3	13.6	2.5	14.6	4.6	100.0	136,240
Irish	7.5	20.8	24.3	8.3	14.6	2.7	16.5	5.2	100.0	40,665
Scottish	6.1	22.9	25.6	8.9	14.8	2.4	14.6	4.6	100.0	50,045
Multiple British	3.2	14.6	23.0	6.7	16.6	2.9	24.6	8.4	100.0	119,570
British and French	4.7	14.2	22.8	7.2	17.8	2.6	23.5	7.3	100.0	32,305
British and other European	2.1	10.3	21.3	5.6	18.1	2.5	29.8	10.3	100.0	76,435
Total: French	8.9	17.3	21.1	8.2	16.4	3.0	18.6	6.5	100.0	28,395
French	10.3	19.2	20.9	8.6	15.2	3.0	16.9	6.0	100.0	21,165
French and other European	4.6	11.8	21.9	7.1	19.8	3.3	23.6	8.0	100.0	7,230
American, Australian, New Zealander	1.4	10.3	20.6	4.6	13.5	2.0	28.9	18.9	100.0	1,745

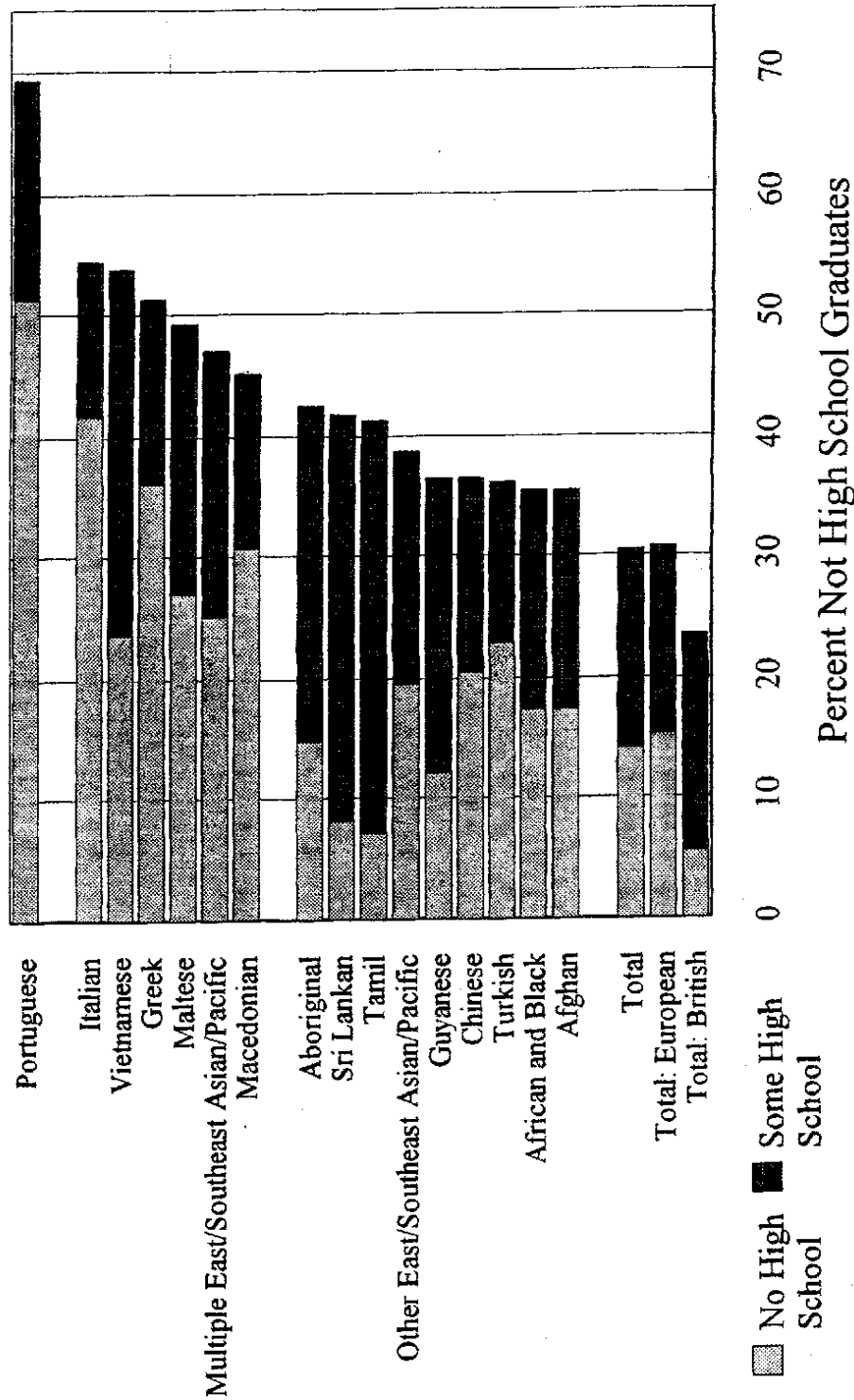
Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ormstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 4, continued
 Highest Level of Education, for Persons 25-64 Years of Age, by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Highest Level of Education (percentage distribution)								Total	Number of Persons 25-64
	No High School	Some High School	High School Graduate	Trade School Graduate	College Graduate	Some University	University Graduate	M.A. Degree & Higher		
Total	14.1	16.4	22.0	7.9	14.0	2.9	17.2	5.5	100.0	1,642,135
Total: Northern Europe and Scandinavia	7.6	12.0	19.9	13.3	18.0	3.4	18.9	6.9	100.0	61,865
Austrian	10.6	11.8	22.0	17.3	19.0	3.4	11.9	4.0	100.0	2,652
Dutch	5.4	10.0	19.6	9.8	21.2	3.4	22.9	7.7	100.0	8,370
German	9.2	13.2	20.6	17.2	16.0	2.8	14.9	5.9	100.0	27,409
Other/Multiple Northern European	3.6	10.2	19.9	7.9	20.9	3.7	24.2	9.6	100.0	4,583
Finnish	14.8	17.6	21.7	10.7	16.3	2.6	12.3	4.0	100.0	3,439
Other Scandinavian	5.6	14.3	16.3	11.5	17.3	4.1	21.6	9.4	100.0	3,827
Northern Europe/Scandinavian & other Eurc	4.7	9.1	18.6	9.0	19.9	4.5	25.7	8.6	100.0	11,585
Total: Baltic and Eastern Europe	11.9	12.3	21.0	10.3	15.6	3.1	16.2	9.6	100.0	107,150
Estonian	12.3	12.1	24.8	7.6	13.3	3.0	20.4	6.6	100.0	4,100
Latvian	7.1	11.1	24.9	9.0	16.9	4.3	20.7	6.1	100.0	3,380
Lithuanian	15.4	12.4	21.4	7.9	14.3	3.3	19.7	5.8	100.0	3,175
Czech	4.5	9.2	14.9	13.1	20.7	4.0	20.8	13.0	100.0	3,770
Hungarian	10.0	13.7	21.0	15.1	17.3	2.9	13.2	6.8	100.0	11,920
Polish	11.7	12.7	23.7	11.3	17.1	2.7	10.8	10.0	100.0	37,785
Romanian	5.2	5.5	14.6	10.9	11.2	2.6	27.6	22.3	100.0	5,335
Russian	8.1	9.1	15.1	7.8	13.9	6.4	24.2	15.6	100.0	5,395
Slovak	7.3	11.6	22.2	9.2	16.0	3.8	20.0	9.9	100.0	2,120
Ukrainian	18.4	15.1	19.1	7.9	13.2	2.9	17.4	6.0	100.0	23,020
Multiple Baltic/Eastern European	9.0	8.7	20.1	8.3	15.9	3.6	21.9	12.7	100.0	7,150
Total: Southern Europe	39.5	13.9	17.1	7.8	9.1	1.4	9.4	1.9	100.0	253,635
Croatian	20.2	10.7	18.4	15.4	13.5	3.2	16.1	2.6	100.0	6,340
Macedonian	30.7	14.5	21.0	9.1	9.5	1.1	11.9	2.2	100.0	8,440
Serbian	9.2	5.5	18.9	10.3	10.1	6.7	34.6	4.7	100.0	5,975
Slovenian	23.6	10.9	17.9	10.5	15.1	2.3	16.1	3.9	100.0	2,855
Yugoslavian	12.8	9.0	22.6	12.8	12.5	5.3	20.6	4.5	100.0	3,785
Greek	36.1	15.3	17.6	8.0	10.1	1.3	9.6	2.1	100.0	34,585
Italian	41.8	12.7	16.8	7.8	9.1	1.1	9.1	1.7	100.0	127,340
Maltese	27.2	22.2	20.7	9.1	10.3	1.4	7.4	1.7	100.0	3,535
Portuguese	51.4	18.0	15.4	5.2	6.0	0.4	3.1	0.5	100.0	50,710
Spanish	15.6	14.7	21.9	13.8	11.7	4.0	14.0	4.9	100.0	2,145
Other Southern Europe	11.2	8.7	20.9	8.5	14.3	5.8	20.5	10.3	100.0	3,630
Multiple Southern Europe	24.6	10.1	18.2	8.6	13.7	2.6	18.9	3.5	100.0	4,295
Total: Jewish and Israeli	6.4	12.1	18.3	4.9	10.6	3.1	30.4	14.1	100.0	73,570
Jewish	7.7	14.0	19.4	4.7	9.6	3.1	28.8	12.8	100.0	50,810
Jewish and European	3.6	8.1	15.9	5.5	12.8	3.2	34.1	17.0	100.0	22,760
All others Europe only	5.4	7.9	22.8	9.0	16.0	3.4	27.0	8.7	100.0	4,445

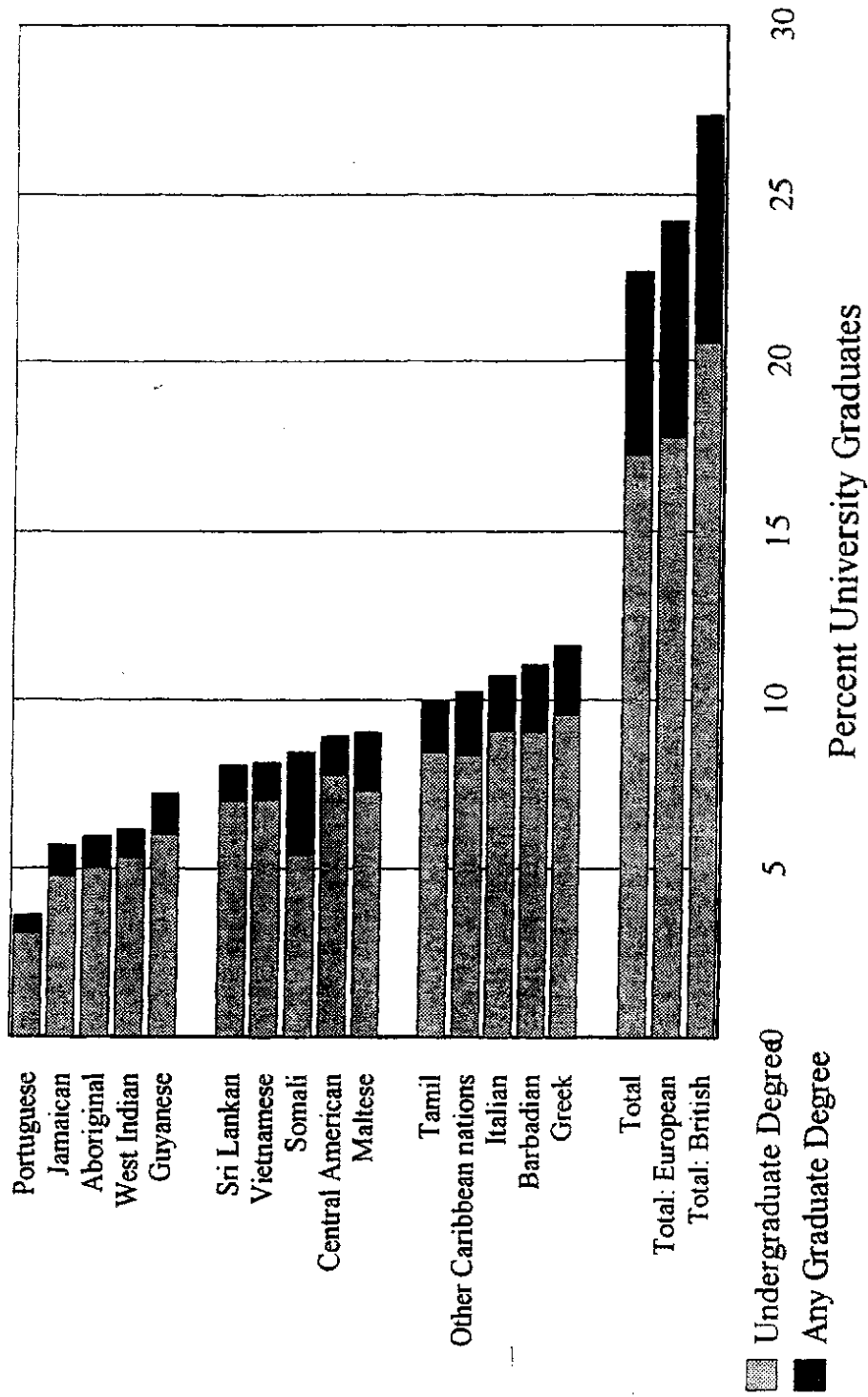
Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Chart 1
Ethno-Racial Groups with the Fewest High School Graduates



Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Chart by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Chart 2
Ethno-Racial Groups with the Fewest University Graduates



Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Chart by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Educational Attainment of Adults

About 30 percent of Torontonians between 25 and 64 have not completed high school, and about 15 percent have only primary school education. Almost one-quarter of the population, 22.7 percent, are university graduates, and 5.5 percent have a Master's or higher degree. In addition 7.9 percent are trade school graduates and 14.0 percent are college graduates. Ethno-racial groups cannot only be characterized in terms of "more" or "less" education. A group may have a high level of basic literacy, measured by the proportion of high school graduates, but relatively few university graduates, restricting access to jobs requiring high qualifications and offering high pay. Interestingly, there is relatively little variation in the educational attainment of the broad global regions into which group the individual ethno-racial groups, but considerable variation between groups within the regions.

ABORIGINAL ORIGIN

Among Aboriginals, there are slightly *fewer* non-high school graduates than in the total population and nearly as many university graduates, the figures are 27.6 versus 30.5 percent, respectively. Three components of this category, however, are strikingly different: 42.6 percent of Torontonians who are only Aboriginal have not graduated from high school and just 6.0 percent are university graduates; while people with Aboriginal and any other background have considerably more education, so their educational profile is close to the average for Toronto.

AFRICAN, BLACK AND CARIBBEAN ORIGIN

Similar variation is found within the "African, Black and Caribbean" category. In total, 26.7 percent have not completed high school and 10.7 percent are university graduates, compared to 30.5 percent non-high school graduates and 22.7 percent university graduates in the population. The lowest percentages of non-high school graduates, above 30 percent, are found among the Ghanaians, Guyanese and Jamaicans, and the "African and Black" group. Relatively few university graduates, below 9 percent, are found in the Somali, the "African and Black," Guyanese, Jamaican, and "West Indian" groups. Torontonians with African, Black or Caribbean ancestry and *also* European, Arabic, West Asian or East Asian background have relatively high levels of education.

SOUTH ASIAN ORIGIN

On average, the educational attainment of the entire South Asian community is similar to the total population, with 67.8 and 20.9 percent, respectively, high school and university graduates. The Pakistanis and Bangladeshis have the highest education – 31.4 percent are university graduates and nearly a third of those have higher degrees. Of the Sri Lankans and Tamils (many from Sri Lanka), however, more than 40 percent are not high school graduates and the percentage of university graduates is less than half the population average.

EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN ORIGIN

In terms of formal education, the East and Southeast Asians break into three distinct groups. The Chinese and the categories for “other East and Southeast Asian and Pacific” and “multiple East and Southeast Asian and Pacific” have similar distributions, with somewhat high levels of *non*-high school graduates (45 percent for the last mentioned) but close to the average proportion of university graduates. The Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, and the East and Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders with European, Arab or West Asian heritage have much higher than average education, with very low proportions of *non*-high school graduates and high proportions of university graduates. The Vietnamese have the lowest levels of education: more than half of the adults 25 years of age and older, 53.9 percent, have *not* completed high school, and 23.8 percent have not attended high school at all; and just 8.2 percent are university graduates.

ARAB AND WEST ASIAN ORIGIN

None of the Arab and West Asians groups has notably low education and there is relatively little inter-group variance. In terms of higher education, the Egyptians stand out, with more than 60 percent university graduates, as does the “West Asian *and* European” group. The Egyptians, Iranians and the West Asian *and* European group have very few non-high school graduates.

LATIN AMERICAN ORIGIN

The Latin Americans have a distribution of educational attainment close to the average for Toronto, except that there are fewer university graduates, 12.5 percent versus the average of 22.7 percent.

EUROPEAN ORIGIN

Among Europeans, educational attainment is distinctly lower for the Southern European groups and unusually high for the Jews, with about 44.5 percent university graduates, and the (combination of) Americans, Australians and New Zealanders, 47.8 percent. Excluding the Southern Europeans, the proportion of non-high school graduates is relatively low, around 20 percent of the population between 20 and 64, but there are not exceptionally more university graduates than in the total population. Multiple-origin groups tend to have more education. Even the group with two or more British origins (the “multiple British” category), has about 10 percent more university graduates than the British, Irish and Scottish ethno-racial groups. In Northern Europe, the Austrian and German groups include unusually high proportions of trade school graduates. In the Baltic and Eastern Europe, the Romanian and Russian groups have very high proportions of university graduates, over 40 percent, probably reflecting recent immigration by highly educated people.

The lowest levels of education in Toronto – especially important since very large segments of the population are involved – are for people with Southern European ancestry. Almost seventy percent of the Portuguese aged 25 and older have *not* graduated from high school and more than half have not attended high school at all; less than half the members of the Italian and Greek groups have graduated from high school. University graduates account for 3.6, 9.1, 10.8, and 11.7 percent, respectively, of the Portuguese, Maltese, Italian and Greek groups. While the other groups have significant numbers of university graduates, though less than the Toronto average, the situation of the Portuguese involves a unique combination of a high proportion of non-high school graduates and very few university graduates. A number of other groups from Southern Europe, especially those with high levels of recent immigration, such as the Serbians and Yugoslavs, have very levels of education.

The profiles of educational attainment data reflect the histories of individual ethno-racial groups and the remarkable persistence of the circumstances in which (non-Aboriginal) groups came to Canada. The involuntary displacement of the Vietnamese and some other ethno-racial groups has long term, negative effects, while groups from Eastern and Southern European reflect the educational levels in their countries of origin. Ethno-racial groups originating in poorer countries are not necessarily less educated. The communities of Egyptians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in Toronto report very high levels of education, that results from the regulation of the immigration process. People who give two or more answers to the question about their ancestry, even if the combination involves similar nationalities, tend to have higher

levels of education. Probably, this reflects the social circumstances that give rise to ethno-racial intermarriage, and likely an environment that provides more privileged and educated people with more diverse social contacts.

Enrollment in Full-Time Education for 20-24 Year Olds

In Table 5 the young people in each ethno-racial group, between the ages of 20 and 24, are divided into four categories. The first category includes full-time students, whose education is not complete – they are almost entirely in post-secondary educational institutions. Then the non-students are divided into three additional categories according to whether they have not graduated from high school, are high school graduates, or are university graduates. This is superior to examining who attends school, because some of the people who are out of school have not completed high school, while others, by the age of 24, are university graduates; and is better than focussing on educational attainment alone, young people with less education may still be in school. Youth between the ages of 20 and 24 years who have not graduated from high school are at a significant disadvantage in the labour market. Unfortunately, the smaller ethno-racial groups do not include enough individuals to permit reliable analysis of the 20-24 age group; and differentiating by sex would make this problem even more acute.

GENERATIONAL CHANGE

That young people in Toronto are getting more education than their parents is immediately apparent. In Toronto, 48.0 percent of the 20-24 year age cohort are full-time students. The remainder, who are not in school, include 12.8 percent who have not graduated from high school, 24.1 percent who are high school but not university graduates, and 15.1 percent who are university graduates. The proportion between 20 and 24 who are not high school graduates is less than half the 30.5 percent in the population aged 25 and older. Comparison between this and the last Table suggests that groups whose adults have more education tend to have more young people in post-secondary schooling and lower proportions of non-high school graduates, but the ethno-racial differences in education among young people tend to be smaller than the differences in the older population.

GROUPS WITH HIGHER PROPORTIONS OF NON-HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES NO LONGER IN SCHOOL

The regional ethno-racial categories with higher percentages of young people who have not graduated from high school include the Aboriginals, the “African, Black and Caribbean” group, Latin Americans and the “Canadians”. There is considerable variation within the global categories. About one-fifth of Ethiopian youth and nearly a quarter of Ghanaians between 20 and 24 are out of school and do not have a high school diploma, compared to just 6.6 percent of Trinidadians and Tobagonians and 3.8 percent for the young people with Caribbean *and* East Asian ethnicity. For groups from East and Southeast Asia, 23.1 percent of Vietnamese youth have not completed high school, compared to 5.6 percent of Filipinos, 5.0 percent of Japanese and a minuscule 2.8 percent of Koreans; and among the Arabs and West Asians, the Afghans have 20.4 percent who have not completed high school. The Central and South Americans, respectively, have 29.3 and 20.1 percent young high school leavers.

Among the European groups, the Portuguese have a strikingly high proportion of young people who are not in school and not high school graduates, 29.0 percent. This contrasts to the two other large Southern European groups, the Greeks and Italians, who have about 10 percent of their young people out of school without a high school diploma.. On the optimistic side, many of the ethno-racial groups whose adult populations have relatively low education have younger

Table 5

School Attendance and Educational Attainment for Persons Age 20-24 by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Whether in School and School Attainment (percentage distribution)					Total	Number of Persons Age 20-24
	In School Full-time	----- Not in School Full-Time-----			University Graduate		
		Not High School Graduate	High School Graduate				
Total	48.0	12.8	24.1	15.1	100.0	162,480	
Total: Aboriginal	34.6	21.9	29.8	13.7	100.0	1,965	
Aboriginal	---	---	---	---	---	335	
Aboriginal and British/French	28.0	17.6	35.2	19.2	100.0	625	
Aboriginal and non-British/French	38.3	21.9	28.4	11.4	100.0	1,005	
Total: African, Black and Caribbean	46.7	15.0	28.7	9.7	100.0	18,185	
Ethiopian	58.1	21.9	16.2	4.8	100.0	525	
Ghanaian	43.4	26.6	28.7	1.4	100.0	1,430	
Somali	---	---	---	---	---	255	
Other African Nations	49.8	17.8	25.1	7.7	100.0	1,235	
African and South/East Asian	---	---	---	---	---	265	
African and European/Arab/West Asian	---	---	---	---	---	410	
African and Black	50.6	16.7	25.3	7.4	100.0	1,345	
Barbadian	---	---	---	---	---	230	
Guyanese	38.8	19.6	35.6	6.4	100.0	1,095	
Jamaican	46.3	14.6	29.6	9.4	100.0	5,690	
Trinidadian and Tobagonian	55.1	6.6	29.1	9.7	100.0	980	
West Indian	40.1	14.0	31.5	14.4	100.0	1,285	
Other Caribbean nations	45.9	7.4	39.3	7.4	100.0	675	
Multiple Caribbean	44.1	14.7	30.4	11.8	100.0	510	
Caribbean and South Asian	42.1	15.9	24.4	17.7	100.0	820	
Caribbean and East Asian	66.0	3.8	9.4	22.6	102.0	265	
Caribbean & European/Arab/Latin American	47.9	8.1	27.4	16.2	100.0	1,170	
Total: South Asian	49.9	14.6	23.7	11.9	100.0	15,090	
Indian	46.6	14.6	25.0	13.9	100.0	9,860	
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	50.6	14.0	23.6	11.8	100.0	890	
Sri Lankan	56.1	18.2	20.4	5.2	100.0	1,345	
Tamil	61.1	17.4	17.4	4.2	100.0	835	
Multiple South Asian	52.5	14.9	22.7	9.8	100.0	1,275	
South Asian and East Asian	---	---	---	---	---	180	
South Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	61.7	7.8	19.9	9.9	100.0	705	

Note: Due to excess sampling error, no estimates are given for groups with less than 500 persons aged 20-24

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 5, continued

School Attendance and Educational Attainment for Persons Age 20-24 by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Whether in School and School Attainment (percentage distribution)					Total	Number of Persons Age 20-24
	In School Full-time	----- Not in School Full-Time-----			University Graduate		
		Not High School Graduate	High School Graduate				
Total	48.0	12.8	24.1	15.1	100.0	162,480	
Total: East & Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander	62.6	9.4	15.6	12.4	100.0	27,270	
Chinese	66.7	9.4	12.3	11.7	100.0	15,640	
Filipino	49.6	5.6	27.6	17.2	100.0	3,465	
Vietnamese	51.7	23.1	18.6	6.8	100.0	1,905	
Japanese	58.2	5.0	14.2	22.7	100.0	705	
Korean	74.3	2.8	12.9	10.3	100.0	2,680	
Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	51.1	19.8	18.3	10.7	100.0	655	
Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	52.9	14.4	19.8	12.3	100.0	935	
East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	54.5	7.0	21.0	17.1	100.0	1,285	
Total: Arab and West Asian	53.3	12.1	21.6	12.8	100.0	5,310	
Afghan	49.6	20.4	23.9	5.3	100.0	565	
Armenian	---	---	---	---	---	470	
Egyptian	---	---	---	---	---	340	
Iranian	60.3	7.1	21.8	10.5	100.0	1,195	
Lebanese	47.6	8.7	20.4	23.3	100.0	515	
Turkish	---	---	---	---	---	220	
Other Arab/West Asian	46.3	18.9	26.2	9.0	100.0	1,220	
Multiple Arab/West Asian	---	---	---	---	---	275	
Arab/West Asian and European	64.7	4.9	17.6	11.8	100.0	510	
Total: Latin American origins	40.6	21.1	29.2	9.0	100.0	5,115	
South American and Mexican	40.4	20.1	30.2	9.4	100.0	4,535	
Central American	42.2	29.3	21.6	6.0	100.0	580	
Canadian	36.8	18.9	29.1	15.2	100.0	8,795	
Total: European	44.7	11.7	25.3	18.4	100.0	87,135	
Total: British	42.7	12.3	25.6	19.4	100.0	34,145	
English	36.7	16.2	26.9	20.3	100.0	7,530	
Irish	36.3	12.6	30.7	20.4	100.0	2,135	
Scottish	34.8	16.4	30.0	19.1	100.0	2,200	
Multiple British	44.8	10.7	24.5	20.0	100.0	8,820	
British and French	43.6	11.5	26.7	18.2	100.0	3,350	
British and other European	48.2	10.1	23.1	18.5	100.0	10,110	
Total: French	35.4	13.1	26.7	24.7	100.0	2,285	
French	32.1	14.1	25.9	27.9	100.0	1,450	
French and other European	41.3	11.4	28.1	19.2	100.0	835	
American, Australian, New Zealander	---	---	---	---	---	160	

Note: Due to excess sampling error, no estimates are given for groups with less than 500 persons aged 20-24
Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 5, continued

School Attendance and Educational Attainment for Persons Age 20-24 by Ethno-Racial Group

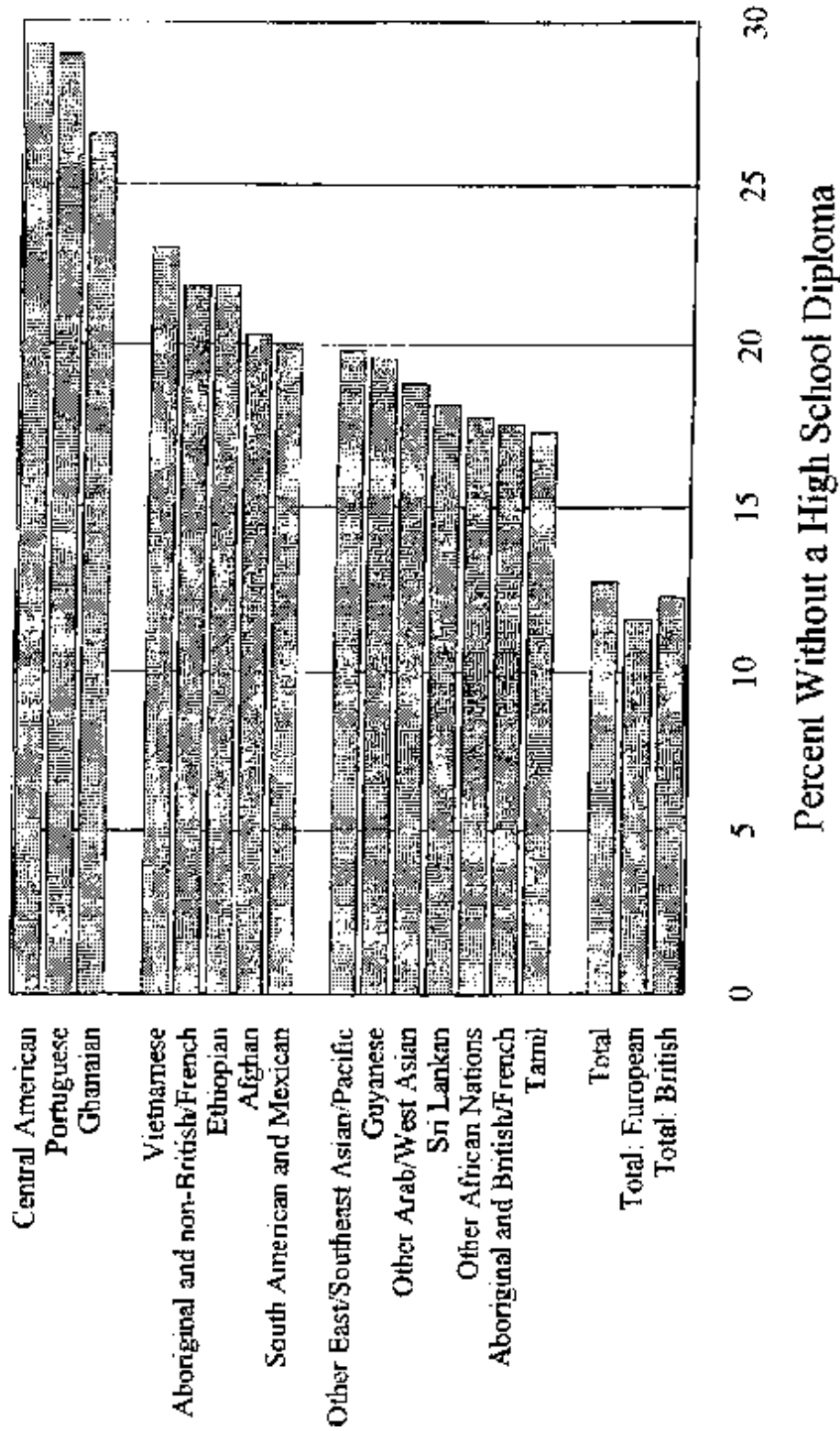
Ethno-Racial Group	Whether in School and School Attainment (percentage distribution)				Total	Number of Person Age 20-24
	In School Full-time	----- Not in School Full-Time-----				
		Not High School Graduate	High School Graduate	University Graduate		
Total	48.0	12.8	24.1	15.1	100.0	162,480
Total: Northern Europe and Scandinavia	42.9	7.8	25.0	24.0	100.0	3,600
Austrian	---	---	---	---	---	105
Dutch	38.0	4.7	28.7	27.9	100.0	645
German	40.4	7.5	24.4	28.2	100.0	1,065
Other/Multiple Northern European	---	---	---	---	---	335
Finnish	---	---	---	---	---	215
Other Scandinavian	---	---	---	---	---	190
Northern Europe/Scandinavian & other Euro	45.9	7.7	23.4	23.0	100.0	1,045
Total: Baltic and Eastern Europe	54.5	6.1	24.4	15.0	100.0	6,120
Estonian	---	---	---	---	---	95
Latvian	---	---	---	---	---	115
Lithuanian	---	---	---	---	---	45
Czech	---	---	---	---	---	275
Hungarian	46.3	9.8	30.1	13.8	100.0	615
Polish	56.2	7.8	25.3	10.6	100.0	2,490
Romanian	49.0	8.2	32.7	11.2	102.0	490
Russian	---	---	---	---	---	330
Slovak	---	---	---	---	---	130
Ukrainian	55.7	2.2	21.3	20.8	100.0	915
Multiple Baltic/Eastern European	54.8	6.5	18.5	20.2	100.0	620
Total: Southern Europe	42.2	14.3	27.4	16.2	100.0	40,520
Croatian	50.4	5.7	23.4	20.6	100.0	705
Macedonian	47.8	13.5	24.7	13.5	100.0	890
Serbian	56.8	2.5	22.0	18.6	100.0	590
Slovenian	---	---	---	---	---	155
Yugoslavian	---	---	---	---	---	235
Greek	51.3	8.9	24.2	15.5	100.0	4,805
Italian	42.5	10.1	28.1	19.4	100.0	12,070
Maltese	---	---	---	---	---	350
Portuguese	30.8	29.0	30.0	10.2	100.0	6,595
Spanish	---	---	---	---	---	245
Other Southern Europe	---	---	---	---	---	390
Multiple Southern Europe	48.6	10.1	24.3	17.6	100.0	740
Total: Jewish and Israeli	62.5	3.8	14.4	19.3	100.0	6,070
Jewish	63.9	2.9	13.8	19.4	100.0	3,795
Jewish and European	60.2	5.3	15.4	19.1	100.0	2,275
All others Europe only	54.1	10.7	18.0	18.0	100.0	610

Note: Due to excess sampling error, no estimates are given for groups with less than 500 persons aged 20-24

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Chart 3

Ethno-Racial Groups with the Most Young Non-High School Graduates Out of School
Ethno-Racial Groups with the Most Young Non-High School Graduates Out of School



Note: Due to excess sampling error, no estimates are given for groups with less than 500 persons aged 20-24
 Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census, Chart by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

populations in which almost everyone completes high school. There are also some groups where the percentage of young non-high school graduates is grounds for concern.

POST-SECONDARY ENROLLMENT AND GRADUATION

Ethno-racial groups with greater numbers of young people who are not high school graduates and no longer in school tend to include fewer university graduates and fewer people still in school. For example, 10.2 percent of Portuguese are university graduates and 30.8 percent attend school full-time, compared to 15.1 and 48.0 percent, respectively, for the total population. At the opposite extreme, an astonishing 74.3 percent of young Koreans are full-time students, and another 10.2 percent between the ages of 20 and 24 are already university graduates. Especially low rates of enrollment in full-time schooling, below 35 percent, are found for Aboriginal, French, Scottish, and Portuguese young people, though the lower figures for the Scottish and French groups correspond to the exceptionally high proportions with a university degree already.

A number of groups also exhibit a pattern of relatively high enrollment in full-time education with rather small numbers of university graduates. Since most young people who complete high school without returning to school after dropping out have done so by age 20, these are groups with high enrollment in non-university post-secondary education, primarily colleges. The groups exhibiting this pattern include the Vietnamese (51.7 percent full-time students, 6.8 percent university graduates), Ethiopians and Ghanaians, the African and Black group, West Indians, Jamaicans, Trinidadians and Tobagonians, Sri Lankans and Tamils.

Adult Education and Schooling of Young People

The patterns of youth education are similar to the profiles of adults in the same ethno-racial groups, but not identical. The variation in educational attainments seems somewhat smaller among young adults and the patterns of disadvantage are somewhat different. Even the groups with large proportions of high school drop-outs have relatively high levels of post-secondary enrollment. There are qualitative differences in post-secondary education and the figures in Table 5 suggest that some ethno-racial groups are much more likely to attend college than university when they go on to post-secondary education. At the same time, young people in some groups whose older members have relatively low levels of education have at least average levels of university graduation and post-secondary attendance.

Of most concern are the small number of groups with unusually large numbers of young people who are not in school and not high school graduates, particularly the Vietnamese, Portuguese, Ethiopians and Ghanians, Afghans and Central and South Americans. With nearly 30 percent of young people who have not graduated from high school and are no longer in school full-time, the Central Americans and Portuguese stand out. There are also ethno-racial groups in which virtually everyone completes high school. The percentage of young people who have left school without a high school diploma is less than five percent for the Caribbean *and* East Asian group (“Indo-Caribbeans”), the Japanese, Koreans, the West Asian *and* European groups, Germans, Ukrainians and Jews.

Chapter 3

Employment

Because most personal income, directly and through pensions, derives from employment, the labour market plays *the* central role in economic inequality. More education leads to better jobs *on average*, but the labour market is not just a mechanism that converts educational credentials into income: age and gender strongly affect employment; family composition, and particularly raising children, affect labour force participation; unionization affects pay levels; and industrial transformation affects the demand for different skills. Although the modern corporate economy seems to be increasingly dominated by rational, bureaucratic employers, there is also strong evidence of “ethnic economies” in large cities with continuing high levels of immigration, such as Toronto. Ethno-racial groups continue to find industrial niches that offer employment to their members, sheltering them from discrimination and providing a more hospitable work environment, but also potentially limiting their mobility into higher-paying jobs in the wider labour market.

Table 6 gives the key labour force characteristics for the ethno-racial groups, including the levels of youth and adult unemployment, male and female labour force participation rates, and the proportions of part- and full-time work. Charts 4 and 5 show the ethno-racial groups with the highest levels of youth and adult unemployment, respectively. Tables 7, 8 and 9 deal with income from employment, the distribution of occupations and the prevalence of self-employment. Because of the high degree of occupational segregation and the economic disadvantage of women in employment, separate figures are given for women and men. Charts 6 and 7, for women and men respectively, show the groups with the highest proportions of people in lower skill occupations.

Unemployment, Labour Force Participation, and Part- versus Full-Time Work

In May 1996 the unemployment rate in Toronto was 10.8 percent, 19.6 percent for young people between 15 and 24 and 9.4 percent for people between 25 and 64 (for convenience, the two figures are referred to as *youth* and *adult* unemployment). The unemployment rate is calculated only on the basis of labour force “participants”, who are employed (even if only for a few hours a week) or trying to find work. Limiting the adult age range to 64 reflects the conventional mandatory retirement age of 65. Beyond that age continuing employment increasingly reflects particular aspects of the labour market, for example the ability of self-employed people to set their own retirement age.

Not counted as unemployed are “discouraged workers,” who are not looking for work because they believe they cannot find a job, and “under-employed” workers, who work for fewer hours than they wish or have jobs that do not make use of their skills. Discouraged workers lower the labour force participation rate of a group, so it is useful to see whether groups with high unemployment also have unusually low participation. But many other factors affect labour force participation. Because labour force participation begins to decline around age 55, well before the usual mandatory retirement age of 65, older ethno-racial groups are likely to have lower labour force participation. Women’s participation is strongly affected by the presence of young children and by cultural differences in attitudes towards work, as well as by economic necessity.

For ethno-racial groups whose overall unemployment is not unusually high or low, the youth unemployment rate is about twice the adult rate. The major exception is groups with very low adult unemployment, where the youth rate tends to be more than twice the adult rate, presumably reflecting more general, *not* ethnically-specific, aspects of the labour market for young people.

AFRICAN, BLACK AND CARIBBEAN ORIGINS

Among the regional groupings, unemployment is highest among Africans, Blacks and Caribbeans, with average rates of 32.3 and 16.5 percent, respectively, for young people and adults. The overall rate of 19.0 percent is nearly twice the Toronto average. Except for the Barbadians, Guyanese and some of the multiple-origin groups, unemployment is very high in all the African, Black and Caribbean groups. Worst off are the Ethiopians, Ghanaians, Somalis, and the “other African nations,” with overall unemployment rates, respectively, of 24.4, 46.8, 23.6 and 23.0 percent. The Ghanaians, but not the other three groups, also exhibit very low participation rates; just 30.7 percent of Ghanaian adult women and 72.1 percent of Ghanaian men are in the labour force, compared to average labour force participation rates of 73.3 and 84.5

Table 6
Labour Force Characteristics by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Percent Unemployed			Number Unemployed			Percent of Employed who Work Full-Time			Percent in the Labour Force, Age 25-64	
	15-24	25-64	Total	15-24	25-64	Total	15-24	25-64	Total	Women	Men
Total	19.6	9.4	10.8	32,360	97,725	130,085	50.0	87.4	82.8	71.1	84.2
Total: Aboriginal	22.2	10.9	12.9	440	1,035	1,475	56.3	85.2	80.7	70.1	83.7
Aboriginal	---	19.1	22.6	120	290	410	---	89.4	86.5	51.6	71.6
Aboriginal and British/French	18.0	7.5	9.2	120	265	385	64.2	86.2	83.1	73.9	84.5
Aboriginal and non-British/French	19.6	10.9	12.5	200	480	680	48.8	83.1	77.2	75.7	88.5
Total: African, Black and Caribbean	32.3	16.5	19.0	5,455	14,960	20,415	47.4	83.9	79.1	73.3	84.5
Ethiopian	---	23.3	24.4	115	770	885	---	74.4	73.6	57.9	84.4
Ghanaian	52.6	45.5	46.8	350	1,350	1,700	---	74.3	71.8	30.7	72.1
Somali	---	22.3	23.6	85	705	790	---	87.8	86.9	71.3	87.0
Other African Nations	35.6	21.4	23.0	340	1,590	1,930	48.0	81.8	78.6	68.9	81.7
African and South/East Asian	---	10.6	12.2	50	115	165	---	83.4	76.4	80.3	89.6
African and European/Arab/West Asian	---	12.5	15.8	120	210	330	---	81.7	78.5	76.0	85.3
African and Black	38.0	17.6	21.6	435	825	1,260	45.8	84.9	78.8	71.3	76.3
Barbadian	---	12.1	13.1	50	265	315	---	87.3	83.3	81.0	84.9
Guyanese	18.3	12.6	13.5	195	755	950	51.7	88.1	83.0	74.9	87.2
Jamaican	38.0	16.8	20.1	2,080	4,890	6,970	46.2	81.8	77.4	76.4	84.7
Trinidadian and Tobagonian	37.4	11.4	15.9	385	565	950	41.1	84.5	78.9	77.9	87.2
West Indian	24.7	13.2	14.9	310	960	1,270	47.6	85.8	80.8	77.3	85.3
Other Caribbean nations	23.3	14.0	15.3	155	590	745	47.1	85.2	80.5	77.9	87.7
Multiple Caribbean	28.3	9.6	15.3	170	135	305	---	90.5	76.4	78.5	90.6
Caribbean and South Asian	19.3	11.7	13.1	170	475	645	47.2	89.8	82.7	75.0	90.3
Caribbean and East Asian	---	9.5	14.7	125	135	260	---	86.4	82.1	88.5	92.7
Caribbean & European/Arab/Latin American	23.3	10.9	13.3	320	625	945	44.5	86.1	78.9	81.1	88.2
Total: South Asian	26.0	15.7	17.2	3,455	12,480	15,935	54.5	82.0	85.0	60.9	82.1
Indian	24.2	13.5	15.1	2,230	7,280	9,510	55.2	90.2	85.6	65.8	85.3
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	27.1	21.6	22.5	180	760	940	---	87.3	81.9	42.5	85.2
Sri Lankan	29.6	19.6	20.7	250	1,420	1,670	53.8	90.0	86.7	44.8	79.6
Tamil	32.7	23.9	24.7	170	1,115	1,285	---	86.2	83.8	41.2	78.6
Multiple South Asian	36.3	22.4	24.4	365	1,335	1,700	60.9	86.7	83.5	57.0	84.7
South Asian and East Asian	---	12.9	14.0	40	80	120	---	88.9	78.2	80.5	85.9
South Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	27.8	14.4	16.9	220	490	710	40.4	88.0	80.2	79.3	86.1

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 6, continued

Labour Force Characteristics by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Percent Unemployed			Number Unemployed			Percent of Employed who Work Full-Time			Percent in the Labour Force, Age 25-64	
	15-24	25-64	Total	15-24	25-64	Total	15-24	25-64	Total	Women	Men
Total	19.6	9.4	10.8	32,360	97,725	130,085	50.0	87.4	82.8	71.1	84.2
Total: East & Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander	21.5	10.3	11.7	4,500	15,505	20,005	47.4	89.1	84.6	68.1	80.2
Chinese	23.5	10.3	11.7	2,505	8,975	11,480	48.3	89.3	85.5	64.5	78.4
Filipino	16.9	8.0	9.0	630	2,460	3,090	43.5	88.4	83.9	82.3	86.5
Vietnamese	26.0	19.7	20.6	375	1,725	2,100	65.7	92.2	88.7	52.2	77.3
Japanese	---	4.9	6.1	90	240	330	---	87.2	83.6	69.4	88.5
Korean	20.5	10.1	12.1	415	830	1,245	39.6	87.6	79.1	63.6	79.7
Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	---	14.7	16.5	115	370	485	---	87.6	84.7	63.6	76.9
Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	21.4	11.9	13.9	220	465	685	43.8	91.7	82.6	71.3	84.3
East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	13.0	9.9	10.5	150	440	590	45.5	87.1	78.8	79.1	86.4
Total: Arab and West Asian	23.4	17.2	18.1	1,085	4,370	5,455	48.7	83.2	78.3	50.6	78.2
Afghan	---	26.3	27.1	115	305	420	---	75.4	70.4	24.0	62.2
Armenian	8.4	6.3	6.7	45	170	215	---	88.9	79.7	64.6	88.0
Egyptian	---	16.8	18.3	95	370	465	---	84.7	80.7	62.7	83.4
Iranian	27.0	20.6	21.3	255	1,565	1,820	52.2	77.3	74.8	48.9	74.5
Lebanese	---	10.5	12.3	105	260	365	---	85.3	79.3	52.6	82.8
Turkish	---	20.2	21.1	45	225	270	---	94.4	86.6	45.2	82.7
Other Arab/West Asian	26.7	22.4	23.1	270	1,090	1,360	63.5	85.9	82.2	40.8	77.3
Multiple Arab/West Asian	---	15.1	16.9	70	215	285	---	81.7	75.4	53.6	82.2
Arab/West Asian and European	---	9.0	10.7	85	170	255	---	84.8	77.4	75.3	85.3
Total: Latin American origins	24.7	15.9	17.2	1,300	4,585	5,885	54.6	85.6	81.3	61.5	83.8
South American and Mexican	23.9	14.3	15.9	1,130	3,470	4,600	54.2	85.5	80.9	65.8	85.2
Central American	32.7	23.9	24.7	170	1,115	1,285	---	86.2	83.8	41.2	78.6
Canadian	17.5	7.5	9.1	1,680	3,890	5,570	53.7	88.2	83.3	73.0	85.2
Total: European	15.7	6.9	8.1	15,153	44,963	60,115	49.7	87.4	82.8	74.1	85.5
Total: British	16.1	5.7	6.9	6,280	16,390	22,670	53.6	87.7	84.0	78.5	86.7
English	18.0	6.3	7.4	1,440	4,590	6,030	56.7	88.0	85.2	74.0	84.3
Irish	15.6	6.4	7.3	380	1,515	1,895	55.8	88.4	85.6	77.7	83.1
Scottish	14.2	5.5	6.2	350	1,525	1,875	59.2	89.3	87.0	76.0	85.2
Multiple British	15.9	5.1	6.3	1,615	4,065	5,680	54.8	87.4	84.1	79.7	87.9
British and French	17.8	6.6	8.2	685	1,585	2,270	49.4	88.2	83.4	81.2	87.9
British and other European	15.0	5.2	6.8	1,810	3,110	4,920	50.2	86.7	81.1	82.6	90.3
Total: French	15.8	6.8	7.8	390	1,375	1,765	58.5	86.2	85.6	79.0	86.2
French	13.6	6.8	7.5	205	995	1,200	59.0	89.7	87.0	77.9	85.3
French and other European	19.2	6.8	8.6	185	380	565	57.7	85.8	82.2	81.5	88.8
American, Australian, New Zealander	---	5.5	7.8	40	70	110	---	90.4	89.2	79.6	90.9

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 6, continued

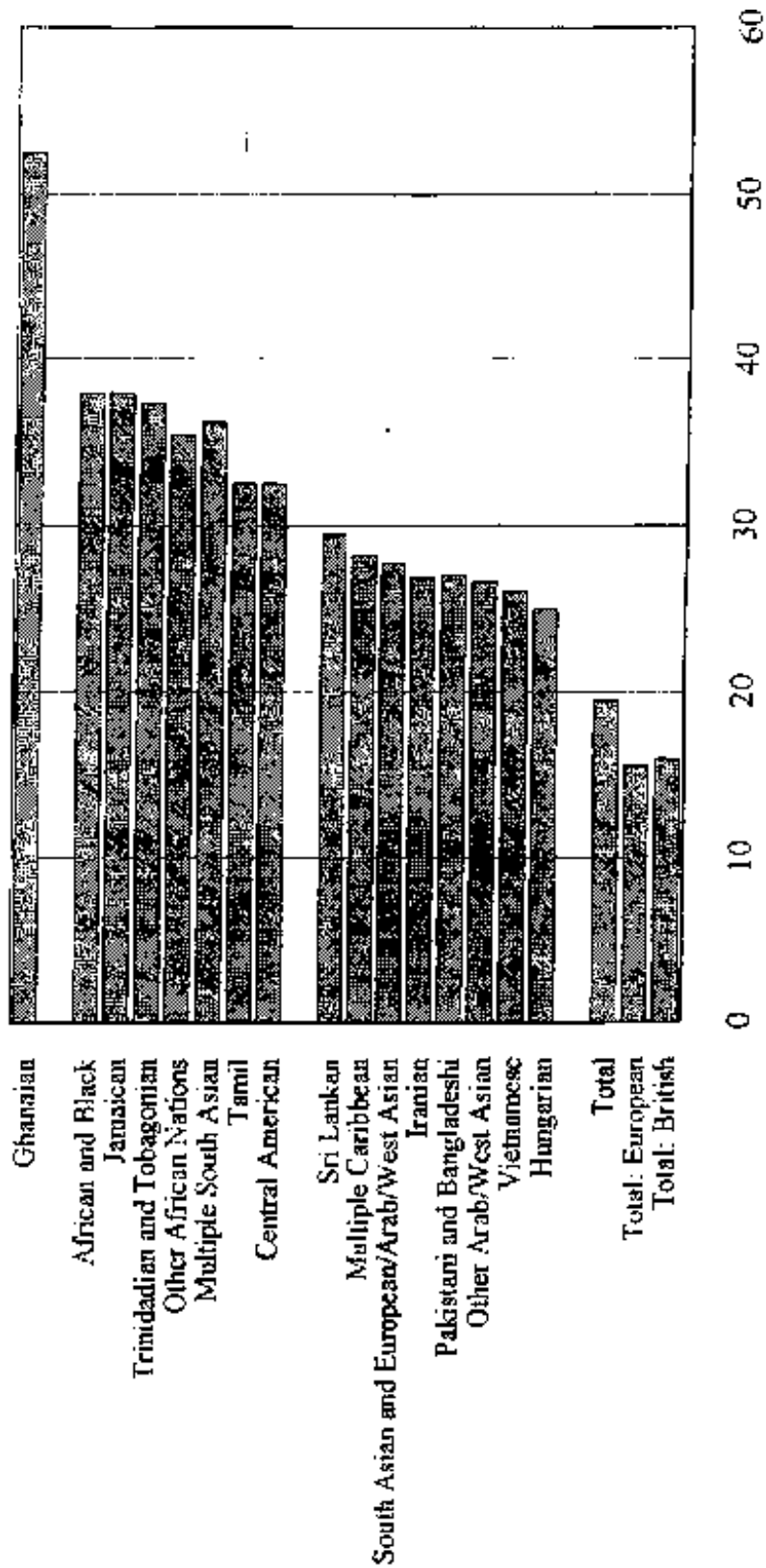
Labour Force Characteristics by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Percent Unemployed			Number Unemployed			Percent of Employed who Work Full-Time			Percent in the Labour Force, Age 25-64	
	15-24	25-64	Total	15-24	25-64	Total	15-24	25-64	Total	Women	Men
Total	19.6	9.4	10.8	32360	97725	130,085	50.0	87.4	82.8	71.1	84.2
Total: Northern Europe and Scandinavia	14.4	6.0	6.8	1,840	8,870	10,710	61.0	86.3	84.3	76.9	87.6
Austrian	---	7.0	9.0	35	95	130	---	83.7	82.8	71.9	85.1
Dutch	9.6	5.0	5.5	65	290	355	74.8	85.5	84.5	81.0	90.7
German	13.8	6.9	7.4	150	1,070	1,220	61.2	86.8	85.2	73.0	85.6
Other/Multiple Northern European	---	4.3	4.9	35	140	175	---	85.8	83.2	81.8	89.7
Finnish	---	5.5	5.7	15	100	115	---	85.5	83.2	73.6	84.8
Other Scandinavian	---	4.7	5.4	25	105	130	---	85.7	84.6	72.9	87.5
Northern Europe/Scandinavian & other Europe	17.9	6.1	7.5	200	525	725	52.7	87.0	83.5	82.7	90.4
Total: Baltic and Eastern Europe	18.3	10.5	11.3	1,230	6,300	7,530	46.3	86.6	82.8	72.5	85.7
Estonian	---	4.8	6.5	35	75	110	---	85.8	84.1	84.2	86.6
Latvian	---	8.1	10.3	40	100	140	---	87.6	85.7	75.4	83.3
Lithuanian	---	5.4	5.9	10	70	80	---	86.1	84.8	75.8	83.9
Czech	---	5.6	6.4	40	130	170	---	86.8	83.9	80.8	89.3
Hungarian	25.0	9.8	11.3	170	610	780	49.0	85.1	82.1	68.4	82.3
Polish	15.6	12.4	12.7	430	2,835	3,265	43.3	86.6	82.1	70.6	86.7
Romanian	---	13.2	14.3	110	505	615	---	90.9	86.1	73.6	88.7
Russian	---	19.3	19.7	80	575	655	---	83.4	79.8	62.2	82.6
Slovak	---	7.4	9.3	35	95	130	---	81.6	79.2	77.9	85.1
Ukrainian	17.5	7.8	8.7	185	880	1,065	44.3	87.9	84.5	74.2	84.9
Multiple Baltic/Eastern European	14.8	8.5	9.2	95	425	520	48.6	85.3	81.4	79.2	86.9
Total: Southern Europe	13.9	8.4	9.4	4,635	12,445	17,080	45.2	88.7	81.1	64.0	81.4
Croatian	10.5	10.9	10.8	75	425	500	50.0	86.8	81.1	70.9	76.5
Macedonian	21.1	7.9	10.2	220	395	615	40.0	88.4	81.0	71.8	84.7
Serbian	20.9	13.7	14.6	120	560	680	---	86.5	81.8	68.8	84.1
Slovenian	---	5.6	5.8	15	85	100	---	85.8	80.7	73.6	78.0
Yugoslavian	---	14.7	15.7	70	355	425	---	88.6	84.1	67.2	79.4
Greek	12.8	7.5	8.6	720	1,610	2,330	39.0	85.3	76.1	66.4	80.9
Italian	13.1	7.9	8.7	1,855	5,490	7,345	44.4	89.4	82.1	62.6	80.9
Maltese	---	6.1	7.4	60	135	195	---	88.9	83.2	67.0	80.8
Portuguese	14.7	8.3	9.7	1,305	2,650	3,955	51.4	90.7	82.6	61.1	82.6
Spanish	---	6.5	8.7	50	85	135	---	89.7	82.7	65.9	82.8
Other Southern Europe	---	17.6	17.3	50	410	460	---	82.3	77.5	67.9	81.3
Multiple Southern Europe	10.9	8.3	8.9	95	245	340	38.5	87.8	76.7	73.2	83.7
Total: Jewish and Israeli	19.3	5.6	7.3	1,235	2,515	3,750	43.5	82.9	78.6	79.8	90.9
Jewish	18.5	5.6	7.1	725	1,590	2,315	45.8	83.1	79.1	78.2	90.0
Jewish and European	20.5	5.7	7.7	510	925	1,435	39.7	82.6	77.7	82.6	92.7
All others Europe only	20.8	8.2	10.6	160	270	430	49.2	87.6	81.2	79.4	88.6

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

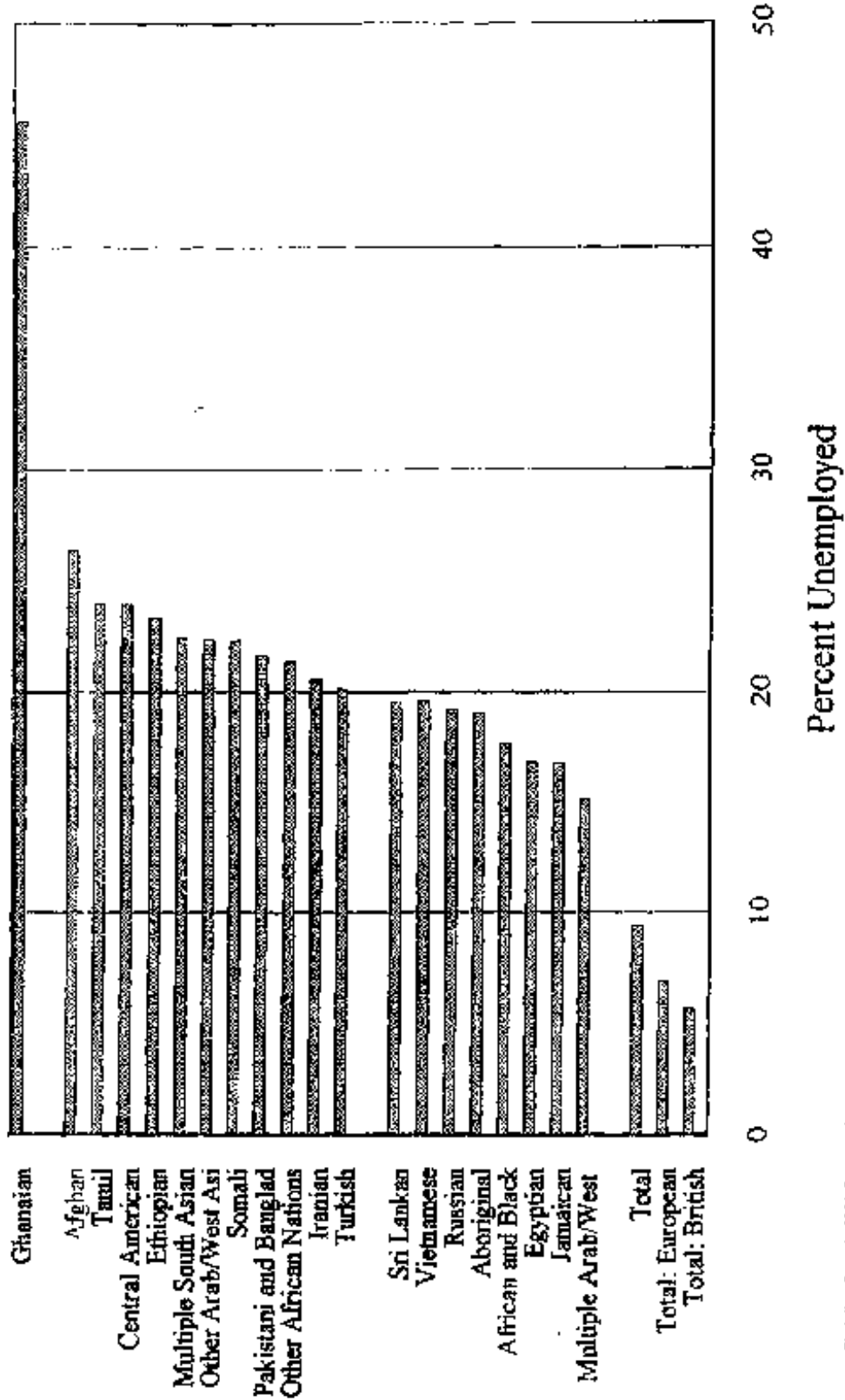
Ethno-Racial Groups with High Youth Unemployment

Chart 4



Note: Due to excess sampling error, no estimates are given for groups with less than 500 persons aged 20-24
 Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census, Chart by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Chart 5
Ethno-Racial Groups with High Adult (Age 25-64) Unemployment



Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Chart by Michael Ombreit, Institute for Social Research, York University

percent for the African, Black and Caribbean groups combined, and 71.1 and 84.2 percent for women and men overall.

Three groups with extremely high youth unemployment rates but somewhat lower adult rates are the “Africans and Blacks,” with 38.0 percent youth unemployment and 17.6 percent adult unemployment, the Jamaicans, 38.0 and 16.8 percent, and the Trinidadians and Tobagonians, 37.4 and 11.4 percent. These figures cannot represent difficulties of settlement, for nearly 70 percent of the African and Black group are born in Canada and another 10 percent arrived before 1976. Unemployment is a major economic threat to these communities, and youth unemployment is frighteningly high. Tempering this assessment somewhat is the earlier finding that a large proportion of the 20-24 year old population is still in school, and so is not counted in these figures.

ABORIGINAL ORIGINS

Unemployment among Aboriginals is just slightly above the average, though, as observed for education, there is a very big difference between people who describe themselves as Aboriginal *only* and those who say they also have some European ancestry. For Torontonians who are *only* Aboriginal, the adult unemployment rate is 39.7 percent (the population between 15 and 24 is too small to provide an estimate of youth unemployment), *twice* the Toronto average; for people with both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal origins the unemployment rates are only *half* as large and not different from the Toronto average. The Aboriginals exhibit another symptom of difficulty in the labour market, their female and male participation rates for persons 25-64 years of age are 51.6 and 71.7 percent, respectively, compared to the population averages of 71.1 and 84.2 percent.

SOUTH ASIAN ORIGINS

The total unemployment rate of South Asians is 17.2 percent, considerably higher than the Toronto average of 10.8 percent. While all seven South Asian ethno-racial groups have above average unemployment, the Indians, the group with South Asian *and* East Asian ancestry, and the group with South Asian *and* European or Arab/West Asian ancestry have about 15 percent unemployment, while the Pakistani and Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, Tamil and “Multiple South Asian” groups have unemployment rates above 20 percent. The latter four groups also have very low female participation rates: just over 40 percent of Pakistani and Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, and Tamil women are in the labour force.

EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN ORIGINS

Unemployment for the East and Southeast Asians is close to the average for Toronto. This mainly reflects the experience of the Chinese who make up a very large proportion of this category. There is evidence of serious difficulty in the Vietnamese community, with youth and adult unemployment rates of 26.0 and 19.7 percent, respectively; and low labour force participation rates, 52.2 and 77.2 percent for women and men, respectively. The Japanese and Filipinos, on the other hand, have below average unemployment.

ARAB AND WEST ASIAN ORIGINS

Among Arabs and West Asians in Toronto, total unemployment is 18.1 percent, more than seven percent above the Toronto average, and the adult rate is 17.2 percent, compared to the Toronto average of 9.4 percent. The Afghan community stands out, with a 27.1 percent unemployment rate, coupled with an extremely low labour force participation rates, just 24.0 percent for women aged 25-64 and 62.2 percent for men. Unemployment is also above 20 percent for the Iranians, Turks, and the “single other West Asian” group which includes Iraqis and a number of other groups. Except for the Armenians, the Egyptians and the Arabs and West Asians with some European heritage, female labour force participation rates are notably low. With an unusually low unemployment, only 6.7 percent, the Armenians are different from all the other Arab and West Asian groups, partly because they are very long established in Canada and include very few recent immigrants. Table 2 showed that about 11 percent of Armenians had been in Canada for less than 10 years, compared to an average of 40 percent for the other West Asian groups.

LATIN AMERICAN ORIGINS

The two Latin American groups have unemployment rates, for both youth and adults, about five percent above the Toronto average; and their average unemployment rate is 15.9 percent, compared to 10.8 percent for the entire population.

EUROPEAN ORIGINS

The European groups' average adult unemployment rate is 6.9 percent, compared to 12.5 percent for non-Europeans, approximately *80 percent higher* than the European rate. For youth unemployment, the European/non-European differential is still larger, 15.7 versus 23.6 percent, but there is no corresponding difference in the rates of part-time work or participation.

Relative to the very large demographic and educational variation among the European groups, there is relatively little variation in unemployment. Despite very low levels of education and school enrollment, for example, unemployment among younger and adult Portuguese is *not* unusually high. Indeed, for the European ethno-racial groups there seems to be very little correlation between educational attainment and unemployment. There is a tendency for groups with large scale recent immigration to experience more unemployment. So the British, French, Northern European and Scandinavian, most Baltic and Jewish ethno-racial groups have adult unemployment rates between 5 and 7 percent, and the Greek, Italian and Portuguese groups are around 8 percent. Higher levels of unemployment, though not close to the severe problems of a number of the non-European groups described above, are found among the Poles, Romanians, Russians, Serbians, Yugoslavs and the "other Southern European" groups.

Earnings, Occupations and Self-Employment

Employment earnings, occupations and self-employment are described in Tables 7, 8 and 9, separately for women and men. The population covered by Tables 6 and 8 is larger and different from the population for which income is measured. The measures of unemployment, part-time work, labour force participation and occupations involve Torontonians' statuses at the time of the Census, May 1996, and so cover all respondents. But immigrants to Canada who arrived in 1995 and 1996 could not report on a full-year's employment *in Canada*, and their employment

Table 7
Income from Employment by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Median Employment Income in 1995					
	Women			Men		
	All Workers	Full-time Workers	Full-Time Full-Year Workers	All Workers	Full-time Workers	Full-Time Full-Year Workers
Total	22,000	27,000	30,000	27,600	31,000	35,000
Total: Aboriginal	21,400	24,000	30,100	28,000	30,000	34,700
Aboriginal	21,000	20,000	29,500	25,000	24,000	30,500
Aboriginal and British/French	24,000	26,000	32,000	30,000	30,000	34,700
Aboriginal and non-British/French	20,000	24,000	30,700	28,000	30,000	35,500
Total: African, Black and Caribbean	15,000	18,000	25,000	21,400	23,000	26,000
Ethiopian	9,000	15,000	16,400	13,000	19,200	21,000
Ghanaian	10,000	14,100	20,500	15,000	18,000	22,400
Somali	15,000	19,000	21,300	17,000	22,000	25,000
Other African Nations	14,700	20,000	25,000	20,200	25,000	28,300
African and South/East Asian	16,400	20,000	26,000	24,000	24,100	29,600
African and European/Arab/West Asian	20,000	22,000	30,000	25,600	30,000	32,700
African and Black	20,000	19,200	28,000	25,500	25,000	30,000
Barbadian	25,000	27,000	28,500	28,000	30,000	32,000
Guyanese	19,000	22,000	25,000	24,000	25,000	27,000
Jamaican	18,000	20,000	25,000	24,000	25,000	28,000
Trinidadian and Tobagonian	22,000	22,000	28,000	26,000	27,000	30,000
West Indian	21,000	24,000	27,000	25,000	27,000	29,000
Other Caribbean nations	19,500	21,000	25,000	23,000	25,900	28,300
Multiple Caribbean	19,000	19,800	29,600	26,000	27,000	30,000
Caribbean and South Asian	20,000	22,000	28,000	25,000	27,000	30,000
Caribbean and East Asian	20,100	26,000	32,900	29,900	30,000	32,900
Caribbean & European/Arab/Latin American	20,700	21,000	28,400	26,800	29,000	31,000
Total: South Asian	16,000	21,000	25,000	21,000	25,000	27,900
Indian	17,700	22,300	25,000	22,000	25,700	30,000
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	11,100	18,000	21,000	16,900	20,000	23,000
Sri Lankan	14,000	20,000	23,000	18,000	22,000	24,000
Tamil	10,000	18,000	19,000	14,000	20,000	22,500
Multiple South Asian	12,000	20,000	23,000	16,000	23,000	25,000
South Asian and East Asian	25,000	14,200	30,000	29,000	28,700	32,500
South Asian and European/Arab/West Asia	21,000	21,900	31,000	28,000	26,200	30,000

Note: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 7, continued
Income from Employment by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Median Employment Income in 1995					
	Women			Men		
	All Workers	Full-time Workers	Full-Time Full-Year Workers	All Workers	Full-time Workers	Full-Time Full-Year Workers
Total	22,000	27,000	30,000	27,600	31,000	35,000
Total: East & Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander	18,000	22,000	25,000	21,500	26,000	30,000
Chinese	18,500	22,000	26,000	22,300	26,000	30,000
Filipino	18,000	22,300	22,000	20,000	25,200	28,000
Vietnamese	15,000	23,000	20,800	18,400	25,000	27,000
Japanese	26,800	40,000	35,000	32,000	45,000	47,200
Korean	12,100	15,000	20,000	18,000	20,000	25,000
Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	16,600	23,000	22,000	20,000	26,000	27,000
Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	15,000	22,000	21,600	20,000	25,000	27,000
East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	19,000	21,000	28,000	25,000	30,000	34,000
Total: Arab and West Asian	15,000	19,200	27,000	23,000	25,000	28,300
Afghan	6,000	8,000	12,000	10,000	15,000	19,000
Armenian	18,700	24,700	29,000	25,500	28,800	30,000
Egyptian	17,000	27,500	27,400	24,000	30,200	35,600
Iranian	10,000	16,000	27,000	21,000	21,800	26,000
Lebanese	17,300	21,600	27,500	24,000	25,000	30,000
Turkish	9,600	26,000	19,000	14,400	30,000	32,000
Other Arab/West Asian	15,000	18,000	25,000	22,000	22,000	24,900
Multiple Arab/West Asian	15,400	20,500	24,400	23,600	25,000	27,600
Arab/West Asian and European	20,000	23,000	32,000	30,000	33,000	39,000
Total: Latin American origins	15,000	22,000	24,000	20,000	25,000	28,000
South American and Mexican	15,000	22,000	24,000	20,000	25,000	28,800
Central American	11,200	20,400	22,100	20,000	24,000	25,000
Canadian	25,000	30,000	32,000	30,000	35,000	38,000
Total: European	25,000	30,000	32,200	30,000	35,000	39,000
Total: British	28,000	33,800	35,000	32,500	38,300	42,000
English	26,100	33,900	33,000	30,400	38,000	41,000
Irish	30,000	35,000	36,000	34,000	39,000	40,900
Scottish	29,000	35,000	34,000	32,000	39,000	42,000
Multiple British	29,100	35,000	36,600	33,700	40,000	44,200
British and French	28,000	30,000	36,000	32,700	35,500	40,000
British and other European	26,700	30,800	36,000	33,000	37,000	42,000
Total: French	28,900	33,000	34,000	32,000	36,000	39,000
French	29,900	35,000	34,600	32,300	36,900	39,700
French and other European	25,000	30,000	33,700	30,000	35,000	38,000
American, Australian, New Zealander	32,000	40,000	38,000	35,000	40,000	45,000

Note: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 7, continued
Income from Employment by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Median Employment Income in 1995					
	Women			Men		
	All Workers	Full-time Workers	Full-Time Full-Year Workers	All Workers	Full-time Workers	Full-Time Full-Year Workers
Total	22,000	27,000	30,000	27,600	31,000	35,000
Total: Northern Europe and Scandinavia	27,000	34,800	35,000	32,400	38,000	40,500
Austrian	29,300	35,000	37,000	35,000	42,100	45,000
Dutch	26,000	35,000	35,000	32,700	38,400	41,000
German	28,000	35,000	35,000	33,000	38,000	41,200
Other/Multiple Northern European	28,000	34,000	35,900	32,500	36,000	40,000
Finnish	26,300	28,800	33,200	32,400	32,000	38,000
Other Scandinavian	26,500	39,000	35,000	32,400	43,000	48,000
Northern Europe/Scandinavian & other Eurc	26,300	34,000	35,000	32,000	38,000	40,000
Total: Baltic and Eastern Europe	21,100	28,800	31,000	28,400	32,700	37,000
Estonian	25,200	35,700	35,000	32,400	40,000	44,000
Latvian	32,000	31,600	45,000	43,000	40,000	47,000
Lithuanian	30,400	39,900	40,000	39,500	43,000	45,000
Czech	24,400	35,000	30,000	28,900	40,000	42,000
Hungarian	24,600	29,000	32,000	30,000	34,000	39,000
Polish	17,400	25,000	28,000	24,900	29,000	32,000
Romanian	18,300	25,400	25,000	22,700	31,900	37,800
Russian	16,300	20,200	29,700	23,000	28,000	33,000
Slovak	21,100	34,700	34,000	32,000	38,600	40,000
Ukrainian	26,200	32,000	35,000	32,500	37,000	40,000
Multiple Baltic/Eastern European	22,500	32,000	34,000	30,000	38,000	42,000
Total: Southern Europe	19,200	26,000	26,400	25,000	30,000	32,500
Croatian	20,000	26,100	27,500	25,000	31,000	37,000
Macedonian	21,600	25,000	28,000	26,000	30,000	35,000
Serbian	15,600	25,000	27,500	24,000	30,000	34,000
Slovenian	24,800	29,000	32,000	31,500	34,500	40,000
Yugoslavian	20,000	25,000	27,000	25,000	27,000	31,500
Greek	16,100	21,000	25,500	24,100	26,500	30,000
Italian	21,000	28,900	28,000	26,400	31,200	35,000
Maltese	23,800	31,000	30,400	26,900	34,000	36,000
Portuguese	16,000	25,000	22,000	20,000	27,500	30,000
Spanish	20,000	29,000	25,800	24,300	30,000	35,000
Other Southern Europe	13,000	20,000	27,600	23,000	25,000	30,000
Multiple Southern Europe	17,500	23,000	29,400	25,700	30,000	33,000
Total: Jewish and Israeli	25,900	36,000	37,000	33,000	45,000	52,000
Jewish	25,000	36,400	36,500	32,500	46,200	54,000
Jewish and European	26,600	35,000	37,400	34,000	43,000	50,000
All others Europe only	22,200	29,000	34,000	31,000	36,000	40,000

Note: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

before coming to Canada likely reflected different economic conditions (and the conversion of income into Canadian currency is likely a source of significant measurement error). For this reason, 1995 and 1996 immigrants are excluded from tables describing employment income.

How much a person works strongly affects her or his employment income. So Tables 7 and 9 exclude people with no employment income and give separate figures for: everyone with any *positive* employment income in 1995, for full-time workers (the Census question just asks if people worked “mainly” full- or part-time during the year), and for full-time full-year workers (who worked mainly full-time and reported 40 weeks or more of employment 1995). In the Census, a small number of people who are self-employed report that their 1995 income was negative. These respondents are excluded from the analysis because it is not possible to account for the effects of accounting practices and determine their effective standard of living.

MEDIAN INCOME

Table 7 gives the *median* employment income for 1995. The median is the level of income in the middle of the distribution; by definition, half the members of a group have an income below the median and half have an income above. In dealing with variables such as income, the value of housing and measures of wealth, statisticians prefer to use the median instead of the mean (or average) to indicate the middle of the distribution because it is unaffected by the presence of unusually high values. The *median* de-emphasizes the high, positive “tail” of the distribution and so yields *smaller* gender and ethno-racial differences than would a comparison of *mean* incomes. Incomes are reported to the nearest \$100, in order to cut down the distraction of highly detailed figures that provide little additional information (except for the largest groups, the sampling error far exceeds the \$100). The median employment incomes for all women with positive income, for full-time workers, and for full-time, full-year workers are, respectively, \$22,000, \$27,000 and \$30,000; for men the corresponding medians are \$27,600, \$31,000 and \$35,000.

As used here, “employment income” refers to the sum of income from wages and salaries, income from self-employment and farm income (very few respondents in Toronto reported anything in this last category). Most earners have only wage and salary income, but many self-employed people also have some wages and salary income.

Table 8a
Occupations of Women by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Occupation (percentage distribution)							Total	Total Employed
	High- Level Manager	Middle Manager	Profess- ional	Higher Non- Manual	Skilled manual & super- visors	Lower Non- Manual	Lower Manual		
Total	0.6	6.1	18.5	20.9	1.1	44.8	8.0	100.0	610,115
Total: Aboriginal	0.8	5.4	17.2	22.5	1.1	48.8	4.2	100.0	5,990
Aboriginal	0.0	3.6	13.7	20.2	2.4	56.0	4.8	100.0	840
Aboriginal and British/French	1.8	3.9	19.4	21.4	0.9	48.2	4.4	100.0	2,170
Aboriginal and non-British/French	0.3	7.0	16.6	23.8	0.8	47.3	3.9	100.0	2,980
Total: African, Black and Caribbean	0.2	2.6	13.0	14.0	1.2	55.6	13.3	100.0	55,845
Ethiopian	0.0	1.2	7.3	10.5	0.4	71.4	9.7	100.0	1,240
Ghanaian	0.0	1.7	11.4	17.1	1.7	58.3	10.3	100.0	875
Somali	0.0	0.8	6.6	12.4	2.5	33.1	44.2	100.0	1,210
Other African Nations	0.1	3.1	16.2	11.7	1.3	58.0	9.8	100.0	3,425
African and South/East Asian	0.7	5.9	10.3	24.3	0.7	55.1	2.9	100.0	680
African and European/Arab/West Asian	0.9	3.7	19.7	18.3	0.5	53.2	3.2	100.0	1,090
African and Black	0.3	3.3	9.8	20.3	0.8	58.1	7.3	100.0	3,160
Barbadian	0.0	1.5	16.4	19.3	0.7	56.7	5.5	100.0	1,375
Guyanese	0.0	4.5	10.6	15.4	1.5	54.5	13.5	100.0	3,640
Jamaican	0.1	2.6	10.5	16.0	0.7	58.6	11.5	100.0	19,495
Trinidadian and Tobagonian	0.3	1.8	15.1	22.1	0.1	53.9	6.5	100.0	3,375
West Indian	0.1	2.6	12.4	17.4	1.3	55.4	10.8	100.0	4,690
Other Caribbean nations	0.2	1.6	14.8	17.8	1.1	55.9	8.5	100.0	2,775
Multiple Caribbean	0.4	4.9	8.1	20.2	0.0	62.3	4.0	100.0	1,115
Caribbean and South Asian	0.0	5.5	13.9	19.0	1.8	49.6	10.2	100.0	2,550
Caribbean and East Asian	0.0	6.4	11.9	22.9	0.5	56.9	0.9	100.0	1,090
Caribbean & European/Arab/Latin American	0.1	3.7	19.7	21.7	0.5	50.5	3.8	100.0	4,060
Total: South Asian	0.2	3.5	12.4	16.2	1.4	46.7	19.7	100.0	38,155
Indian	0.2	3.5	12.5	16.7	1.3	45.4	20.4	100.0	28,125
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	0.0	4.3	11.3	13.9	1.7	55.8	12.6	100.0	1,155
Sri Lankan	0.0	1.9	8.0	13.6	1.7	50.8	24.0	100.0	2,685
Tamil	0.0	0.7	9.2	8.9	2.2	53.5	25.5	100.0	1,355
Multiple South Asian	0.2	4.1	12.3	11.4	2.4	47.8	21.6	100.0	2,320
South Asian and East Asian	0.0	8.1	20.2	12.1	1.0	55.6	3.0	100.0	495
South Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	0.0	5.0	17.8	25.2	0.7	45.3	6.2	100.0	2,020

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 8a, continued
Occupations of Women by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Occupation (percentage distribution)							Total Employed	
	High- Level Manager	Middle Manager	Profess- ional	Higher Non- Manual	Skilled manual & super- visors	Lower Non- Manual	Lower Manual		
Total	0.6	6.1	18.5	20.9	1.1	44.8	8.0	100.0	610,115
Total: East & Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander	0.3	5.0	14.0	16.3	1.3	48.3	14.8	100.0	94,135
Chinese	0.4	4.9	16.1	18.0	1.5	40.4	18.8	100.0	50,810
Filipino	0.1	2.2	9.5	13.6	0.6	68.3	5.7	100.0	23,370
Vietnamese	0.2	2.2	6.9	11.5	3.4	35.7	40.3	100.0	4,010
Japanese	0.5	7.9	23.5	25.1	0.8	40.0	2.3	100.0	3,085
Korean	0.1	19.0	15.1	12.3	0.4	48.9	4.2	100.0	5,455
Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	0.0	4.5	8.3	16.6	1.7	42.1	27.2	100.0	1,450
Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	0.4	5.2	8.6	10.4	2.4	48.6	24.4	100.0	2,500
East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	0.3	4.2	16.9	19.8	0.4	53.4	4.8	100.0	3,455
Total: Arab and West Asian	0.3	6.9	18.1	20.5	2.2	46.9	5.1	100.0	10,640
Afghan	0.0	2.5	4.9	14.8	0.0	71.6	4.9	100.0	405
Armenian	1.0	6.6	20.0	19.7	2.6	45.9	4.3	100.0	1,525
Egyptian	0.5	4.8	26.6	21.3	0.0	43.6	2.7	100.0	940
Iranian	0.0	6.9	17.3	23.0	2.8	47.0	2.8	100.0	2,810
Lebanese	0.0	8.5	17.9	24.8	1.3	43.6	3.8	100.0	1,170
Turkish	0.0	6.8	12.2	24.3	1.4	36.5	17.6	100.0	370
Other Arab/West Asian	0.0	6.3	15.1	17.9	1.3	50.0	10.1	100.0	1,590
Multiple Arab/West Asian	0.8	4.7	11.6	12.4	6.2	55.0	8.5	100.0	645
Arab/West Asian and European	0.4	10.5	24.9	19.8	2.5	39.7	2.5	100.0	1,185
Total: Latin American origins	0.2	3.4	8.1	16.6	1.8	55.5	14.3	100.0	14,715
South American and Mexican	0.3	3.6	8.3	17.1	1.9	54.7	14.2	100.0	13,445
Central American	0.0	2.0	6.3	11.4	0.8	64.2	15.0	100.0	1,270
Canadian	0.8	7.1	17.8	22.3	0.8	46.2	5.0	100.0	29,665
Total: European	0.8	7.2	21.7	23.1	1.1	41.2	4.9	100.0	358,785
Total: British	1.0	8.1	24.8	24.5	0.8	38.3	2.6	100.0	174,870
English	0.9	7.4	20.4	24.3	0.9	42.1	4.1	100.0	41,695
Irish	1.1	8.5	24.4	24.0	0.7	38.6	2.7	100.0	13,280
Scottish	0.8	8.2	21.1	25.4	0.7	40.5	3.2	100.0	15,080
Multiple British	1.1	8.6	27.2	25.5	0.6	35.1	1.9	100.0	50,095
British and French	0.9	7.7	26.4	23.9	1.0	37.5	2.6	100.0	15,290
British and other European	0.9	8.2	27.4	23.4	0.7	37.7	1.8	100.0	39,430
Total: French	0.9	7.6	25.4	22.6	0.9	39.0	3.5	100.0	12,100
French	0.8	7.4	25.3	22.5	1.0	39.0	4.1	100.0	8,305
French and other European	1.2	8.0	25.6	22.8	0.8	39.3	2.2	100.0	3,795
American, Australian, New Zealander	3.9	9.9	29.6	16.4	2.6	32.9	4.6	100.0	760

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 8a, continued
Occupations of Women by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Occupation (percentage distribution)							Total	Total Employed
	High- Level Manager	Middle Manager	Profess- ional	Higher Non- Manual	Skilled manual & super- visors	Lower Non- Manual	Lower Manual		
Total	0.6	6.1	18.5	20.9	1.1	44.8	8.0	100.0	610,115
Total: Northern Europe and Scandinavia	0.8	8.1	24.7	24.6	1.0	38.0	2.8	100.0	22,450
Austrian	0.7	10.4	16.7	35.4	1.4	30.6	4.9	100.0	720
Dutch	1.2	8.7	29.5	24.3	0.9	33.4	2.1	100.0	3,335
German	0.7	8.7	22.0	23.4	1.1	40.9	3.2	100.0	8,660
Other/Multiple Northern European	1.0	8.0	27.1	25.0	1.3	33.8	3.9	100.0	1,940
Finnish	0.9	7.1	19.9	26.5	1.3	40.7	4.0	100.0	1,130
Other Scandinavian	0.8	7.2	29.4	21.5	1.1	37.7	2.3	100.0	1,325
Northern Europe/Scandinavian & other Europe	0.7	6.9	26.0	25.6	0.7	38.2	1.8	100.0	5,340
Total: Baltic and Eastern Europe	0.6	5.9	20.7	22.4	1.2	42.5	6.7	100.0	34,435
Estonian	1.0	8.7	27.6	21.4	3.1	35.7	3.1	100.0	980
Latvian	0.6	11.3	34.0	23.3	0.0	28.9	1.9	100.0	795
Lithuanian	0.7	8.7	29.0	29.7	0.0	31.2	1.4	100.0	690
Czech	0.4	7.9	22.2	26.6	0.8	39.3	2.4	100.0	1,260
Hungarian	0.6	7.6	19.8	21.7	1.0	44.9	4.5	100.0	3,555
Polish	0.4	4.5	14.8	20.2	1.3	47.0	11.7	100.0	13,040
Romanian	0.0	2.2	28.0	19.7	1.0	42.8	6.6	100.0	2,055
Russian	0.9	2.4	26.5	22.0	2.1	41.3	4.5	100.0	1,660
Slovak	0.0	6.7	28.0	25.3	0.7	38.7	0.7	100.0	750
Ukrainian	0.9	7.5	23.9	25.1	1.1	38.3	3.2	100.0	6,720
Multiple Baltic/Eastern European	1.4	6.5	22.7	24.6	0.7	40.8	3.4	100.0	2,930
Total: Southern Europe	0.4	5.3	10.7	19.8	1.8	51.5	10.6	100.0	86,460
Croatian	0.0	6.5	12.0	21.5	1.9	44.3	13.7	100.0	2,370
Macedonian	0.0	5.7	8.9	20.7	1.6	46.3	17.0	100.0	2,875
Serbian	0.0	3.5	22.0	19.0	1.5	47.3	6.6	100.0	1,975
Slovenian	1.0	6.2	26.4	20.7	2.1	35.8	8.3	100.0	965
Yugoslavian	0.7	4.8	15.4	20.5	0.4	47.6	11.0	100.0	1,365
Greek	0.3	7.1	8.5	17.1	1.7	56.5	8.9	100.0	12,760
Italian	0.5	5.5	13.0	22.5	1.8	48.0	8.6	100.0	40,270
Maltese	0.0	3.0	9.5	25.0	2.6	52.2	7.8	100.0	1,160
Portuguese	0.3	3.6	4.2	15.3	2.0	58.4	16.3	100.0	18,900
Spanish	0.7	3.6	15.8	20.9	1.4	54.0	2.9	100.0	695
Other Southern Europe	0.4	3.9	20.9	16.5	1.7	48.3	8.7	100.0	1,150
Multiple Southern Europe	0.5	6.1	13.4	19.2	0.5	54.2	5.8	100.0	1,975
Total: Jewish and Israeli	1.4	8.1	33.6	25.2	0.6	29.9	1.2	100.0	27,710
Jewish	1.6	7.8	33.0	26.4	0.6	29.2	1.3	100.0	17,475
Jewish and European	1.1	8.7	34.4	23.1	0.4	31.1	1.1	100.0	10,235
All others Europe only	1.1	7.7	22.8	24.8	0.7	41.2	1.6	100.0	2,195

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ormstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 8b
Occupations of Men by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Occupation (percentage distribution)							Total	Total Employed
	High- Level Manager	Middle Manager	Profess- ional	Higher Non- Manual	Skilled manual & super- visors	Lower Non- Manual	Lower Manual		
Total	1.8	9.6	17.9	15.1	11.3	27.1	17.3	100.0	665,845
Total: Aboriginal	0.8	8.1	16.5	15.4	11.9	27.5	20.0	100.0	5,895
Aboriginal	0.0	4.5	11.6	16.2	11.6	30.3	25.8	100.0	990
Aboriginal and British/French	0.5	8.9	15.3	14.4	13.5	25.9	21.7	100.0	2,185
Aboriginal and non-British/French	1.5	8.6	19.1	15.8	10.7	27.8	16.5	100.0	2,720
Total: African, Black and Caribbean	0.4	4.7	11.0	11.0	8.6	36.0	28.3	100.0	51,100
Ethiopian	0.5	3.4	7.3	11.6	6.8	42.3	28.4	100.0	2,200
Ghanaian	0.0	3.4	6.6	9.4	5.5	47.0	27.8	100.0	1,905
Somali	0.0	2.7	7.9	6.4	14.8	20.0	48.5	100.0	2,030
Other African Nations	0.8	4.8	13.7	13.4	8.2	35.0	24.4	100.0	4,595
African and South/East Asian	0.0	15.6	11.9	8.9	10.4	38.5	14.8	100.0	675
African and European/Arab/West Asian	0.5	6.2	21.0	12.9	6.2	37.1	15.7	100.0	1,050
African and Black	0.4	5.8	10.4	14.8	10.6	32.5	25.6	100.0	2,835
Barbadian	1.8	4.1	13.1	16.7	11.7	32.9	20.3	100.0	1,110
Guyanese	0.1	4.7	7.7	11.3	14.6	32.5	29.1	100.0	3,590
Jamaican	0.2	3.0	5.9	14.0	13.9	33.5	29.7	100.0	14,870
Trinidadian and Tobagonian	0.5	6.4	10.7	14.5	16.3	33.6	18.0	100.0	2,800
West Indian	0.0	4.8	8.1	13.0	15.7	33.2	25.2	100.0	3,885
Other Caribbean nations	0.0	5.7	8.1	12.2	15.0	37.5	21.2	100.0	2,095
Multiple Caribbean	0.0	4.9	13.6	15.2	8.7	42.9	15.2	100.0	920
Caribbean and South Asian	0.2	6.5	11.4	13.6	13.8	31.2	23.4	100.0	2,455
Caribbean and East Asian	2.0	8.1	12.1	18.8	6.0	35.6	17.4	100.0	745
Caribbean & European/Arab/Latin American	0.1	7.2	15.7	14.7	8.8	35.0	18.6	100.0	3,340
Total: South Asian	0.7	7.0	12.8	13.3	9.2	32.8	24.2	100.0	55,005
Indian	0.8	7.2	14.0	12.3	10.2	30.8	24.6	100.0	36,690
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	0.4	7.7	12.7	15.3	7.5	38.1	18.4	100.0	2,805
Sri Lankan	0.1	5.5	7.4	17.0	7.6	35.0	27.3	100.0	5,105
Tamil	0.0	4.6	7.9	16.7	7.1	38.2	25.8	100.0	3,590
Multiple South Asian	0.6	6.3	9.8	11.5	7.0	38.5	26.3	100.0	4,140
South Asian and East Asian	0.0	7.5	15.0	12.5	10.0	38.8	16.3	100.0	400
South Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	0.9	11.4	18.5	17.1	6.4	33.4	12.5	100.0	2,275

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 8b, continued
Occupations of Men by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Occupation (percentage distribution)							Total	Total Employed
	High- Level Manager	Middle Manager	Profess- ional	Higher Non- Manual	Skilled manual & super- visors	Lower Non- Manual	Lower Manual		
Total	1.8	9.6	17.9	15.1	11.3	27.1	17.3	100.0	610,115
Total: East & Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander	1.0	9.4	17.4	18.3	7.8	28.1	18.0	100.0	89,445
Chinese	1.1	10.3	20.8	21.4	6.8	25.0	14.7	100.0	54,120
Filipino	0.2	2.4	8.5	12.9	8.7	44.0	23.4	100.0	13,770
Vietnamese	0.2	3.6	7.5	11.5	15.6	18.4	43.3	100.0	6,100
Japanese	5.8	17.1	27.1	19.9	6.6	16.0	7.6	100.0	3,040
Korean	1.0	23.0	14.7	12.6	5.1	36.2	7.5	100.0	5,560
Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	0.3	7.3	10.5	13.4	8.3	26.5	33.2	100.0	1,565
Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	0.6	5.1	12.2	12.0	12.2	27.0	30.9	100.0	2,540
East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	0.5	7.5	21.1	18.7	7.8	31.6	12.7	100.0	2,750
Total: Arab and West Asian	1.4	12.2	15.6	14.3	11.7	29.2	15.5	100.0	20,010
Afghan	0.0	10.9	2.7	15.0	11.4	37.3	22.3	100.0	1,100
Armenian	1.3	12.4	15.0	15.5	20.9	22.2	12.4	100.0	1,935
Egyptian	1.5	9.5	26.3	16.8	4.6	34.3	7.0	100.0	1,635
Iranian	1.2	12.8	16.5	15.3	9.9	29.6	14.6	100.0	5,735
Lebanese	2.5	15.7	13.6	14.6	13.9	25.8	14.1	100.0	1,980
Turkish	0.5	11.7	21.3	8.1	14.2	20.8	22.8	100.0	985
Other Arab/West Asian	1.4	10.3	10.8	12.7	12.7	30.2	21.9	100.0	4,210
Multiple Arab/West Asian	1.9	12.4	17.1	10.5	12.4	33.8	12.4	100.0	1,050
Arab/West Asian and European	2.5	14.5	23.2	16.7	6.2	29.3	8.3	100.0	1,380
Total: Latin American origins	0.5	4.4	8.5	12.3	15.3	30.3	28.8	100.0	17,735
South American and Mexican	0.5	4.6	8.8	12.9	15.1	30.1	28.1	100.0	15,930
Central American	0.0	2.5	5.8	7.5	17.2	32.1	34.6	100.0	1,805
Canadian	1.8	9.8	16.3	14.8	10.7	28.3	18.3	100.0	35,115
Total: European	2.4	10.7	20.5	15.1	12.1	24.7	14.6	100.0	389,535
Total: British	2.9	11.6	23.6	16.4	8.4	24.8	12.4	100.0	178,170
English	3.0	11.7	21.3	15.8	9.0	24.5	14.7	100.0	47,150
Irish	2.8	10.8	19.9	15.6	10.6	25.2	15.1	100.0	15,000
Scottish	2.9	11.5	19.9	17.4	11.6	23.2	13.5	100.0	17,935
Multiple British	3.3	12.0	26.2	16.5	7.2	24.0	10.7	100.0	46,975
British and French	1.8	11.1	23.4	16.0	8.0	27.7	12.1	100.0	13,845
British and other European	2.4	11.4	26.6	16.8	6.9	25.9	10.0	100.0	37,265
Total: French	2.0	9.6	20.4	16.8	10.7	25.3	15.0	100.0	11,565
French	2.1	9.7	20.1	16.3	11.4	24.1	16.3	100.0	8,445
French and other European	1.8	9.6	21.3	18.1	8.8	28.7	11.5	100.0	3,120
American, Australian, New Zealander	4.8	11.7	35.2	16.6	4.8	18.6	9.7	100.0	725

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ormstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

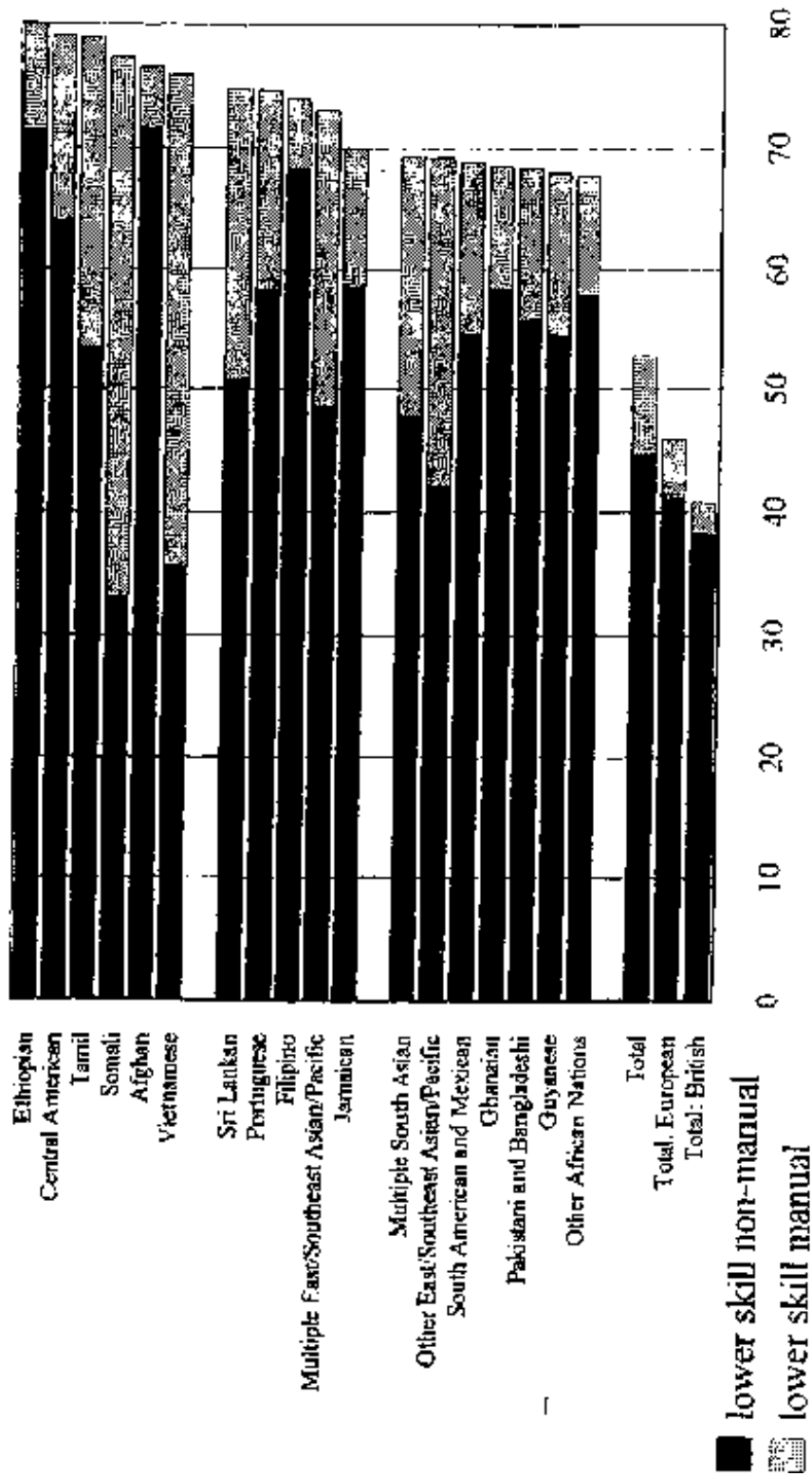
Table 8b, continued
Occupations of Men by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Occupation (percentage distribution)							Total	Total Employed
	High- Level Manager	Middle Manager	Profess- ional	Higher Non- Manual	Skilled manual & super- visors	Lower Non- Manual	Lower Manual		
Total	1.8	9.6	17.9	15.1	11.3	27.1	17.3	100.0	665,845
Total: Northern Europe and Scandinavia	2.8	11.8	23.1	16.6	13.7	20.6	11.3	100.0	23,570
Austrian	2.8	17.4	14.6	18.5	17.4	18.0	11.2	100.0	890
Dutch	4.4	9.8	24.2	18.2	9.9	22.8	10.8	100.0	3,620
German	3.3	11.9	20.6	15.5	16.8	19.9	12.0	100.0	9,640
Other/Multiple Northern European	2.6	13.3	28.1	16.1	8.6	23.2	8.1	100.0	1,920
Finnish	1.9	10.1	13.9	12.5	14.4	22.6	24.5	100.0	1,040
Other Scandinavian	2.2	15.8	26.7	19.8	9.9	17.6	7.7	100.0	1,365
Northern Europe/Scandinavian & other Europe	1.2	10.9	27.7	17.5	12.7	20.2	10.1	100.0	5,095
Total: Baltic and Eastern Europe	1.9	9.2	21.4	14.9	14.7	21.1	16.8	100.0	37,295
Estonian	4.1	7.1	35.0	20.3	6.6	18.3	8.1	100.0	985
Latvian	3.9	14.3	26.6	16.9	10.4	18.8	8.4	100.0	770
Lithuanian	3.5	10.5	24.6	21.1	7.0	18.1	15.2	100.0	855
Czech	1.3	14.1	25.0	17.5	11.9	18.8	11.6	100.0	1,600
Hungarian	2.1	10.1	20.1	17.3	18.7	19.2	12.6	100.0	4,125
Polish	1.2	7.6	14.1	12.1	17.6	22.6	24.8	100.0	14,100
Romanian	0.6	5.7	31.6	17.1	12.4	22.1	10.3	100.0	2,375
Russian	2.5	12.5	30.0	13.6	12.5	18.1	10.8	100.0	1,800
Slovak	2.7	9.3	34.0	12.7	12.0	20.7	10.0	102.0	750
Ukrainian	2.7	9.9	24.1	16.6	12.2	21.8	12.8	100.0	6,940
Multiple Baltic/Eastern European	1.8	11.4	26.4	15.0	12.9	19.7	12.7	100.0	2,995
Total: Southern Europe	0.9	8.9	9.0	12.5	19.6	28.2	20.9	100.0	106,680
Croatian	1.0	7.5	12.3	14.9	20.2	22.4	21.4	100.0	2,525
Macedonian	1.4	10.5	12.2	16.7	11.0	27.1	21.0	100.0	3,470
Serbian	0.2	6.4	26.5	15.0	13.7	22.3	15.9	100.0	2,735
Slovenian	1.0	8.3	15.5	12.4	22.3	24.9	16.1	100.0	965
Yugoslavian	1.0	8.7	18.3	12.8	13.1	29.1	17.0	100.0	1,445
Greek	1.2	13.5	8.4	14.9	14.0	33.8	14.3	100.0	15,865
Italian	1.2	9.4	9.8	13.3	20.2	26.7	19.4	100.0	49,680
Maltese	0.9	9.8	9.2	12.1	17.5	27.5	23.1	100.0	1,690
Portuguese	0.2	4.8	3.0	7.5	25.2	28.9	30.3	100.0	23,770
Spanish	1.0	10.5	12.0	9.9	23.0	28.3	15.2	100.0	955
Other Southern Europe	0.7	7.5	18.6	14.9	16.9	21.4	20.0	100.0	1,475
Multiple Southern Europe	1.4	10.5	12.8	16.6	11.6	34.2	12.8	100.0	2,105
Total: Jewish and Israeli	4.8	13.1	38.2	15.2	3.7	19.8	5.2	100.0	31,530
Jewish	4.8	12.9	38.7	15.0	3.7	19.4	5.4	100.0	20,875
Jewish and European	4.8	13.4	37.2	15.6	3.8	20.5	4.7	100.0	10,655
All others Europe only	1.3	9.8	25.3	17.8	11.0	25.0	10.0	100.0	2,000

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Ethno-Racial Groups with High Proportions of Women in Low Skill Jobs (over 65% in low skill non-manual and manual jobs)

Chart 6

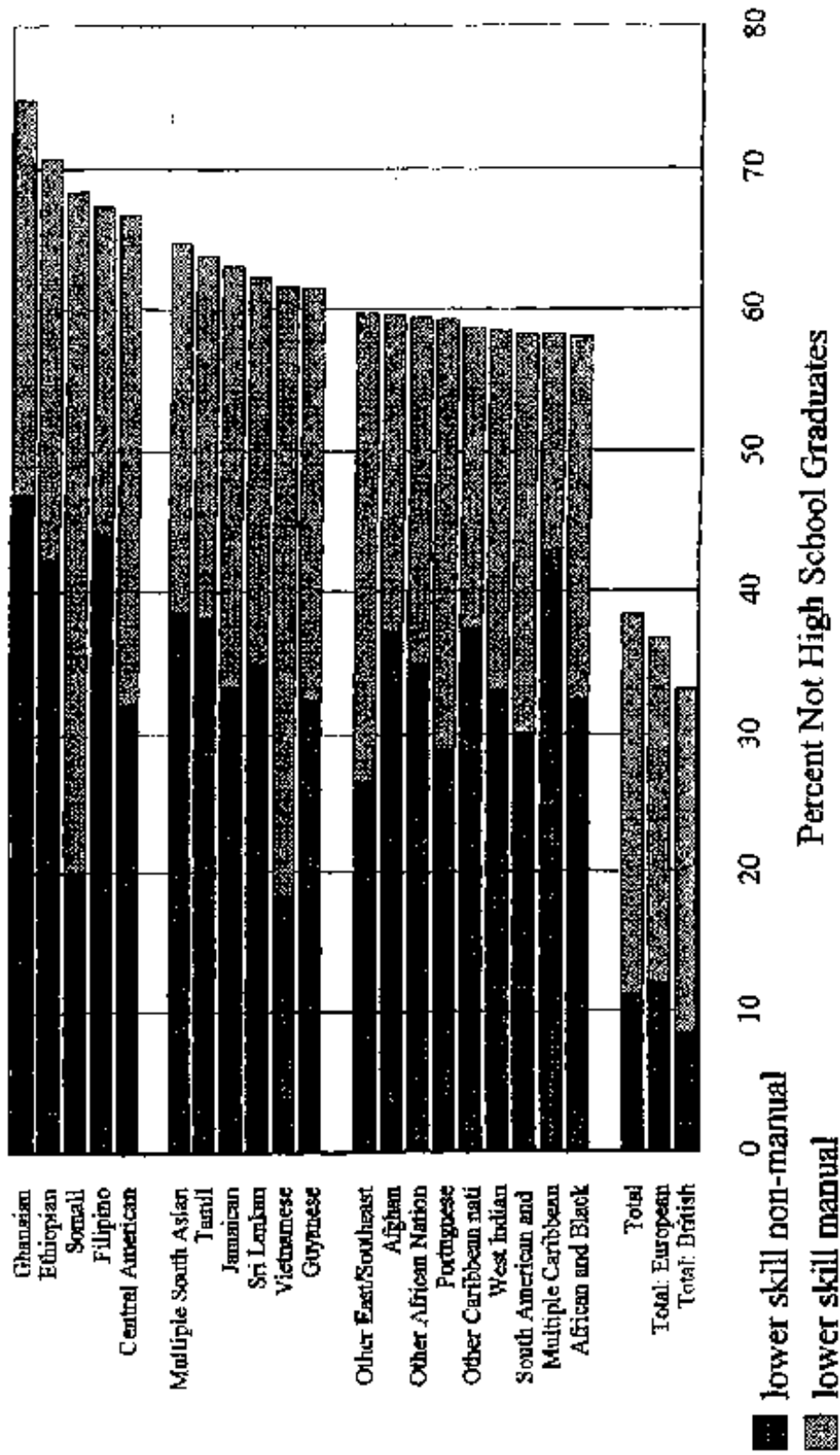


Percent Not High School Graduates

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Chart by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Chart 7

Ethno-Racial Groups with High Proportions of Men in Low Skill Jobs (over 55% in low skill non-manual and manual jobs)



Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Chart by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

MEASURING UNEMPLOYMENT, PARTICIPATION AND OCCUPATIONS

The occupational distributions in Tables 8a and 8b are based on Statistics Canada's *National Occupational Classification*, which divides all occupations into about 400 categories. The subsequent grouping of these into just seven categories is based on a classification into fifteen categories, designed to examine occupational differences between women and men. Women and men have quite different occupational distributions, even using the very crude seven-category classification.

Tables 8a and 8b show that 1.8 percent of men are high level managers and 9.6 percent are middle managers, compared to 0.6 and 6.1 percent of women. There are nearly equal proportions of professionals, 18.5 and 17.9 percent of women and men respectively, though this aggregate category masks the concentration of women in lower-paying professions, such as nursing. In the four non-managerial, non-professional categories, men largely dominate the skilled and supervisory manual jobs, which include 11.3 percent of men and 1.1 percent of women, and lower skill manual workers, which include 17.3 percent of men and 8.0 percent of women. The opposite is true for non-manual jobs, with 20.9 and 44.8 percent of women, respectively, holding higher- and lower-skill jobs, compared to 15.1 and 27.1 percent of men. Unlike Tables 7 and 9, which pertain to income from jobs in the 1995 calendar year, the occupation measured here refers to a person's employment in May 1996, the time of the Census. Charts 4 and 5 show the proportions of women and men in lower skill non-manual and manual jobs for the ethno-racial groups with the largest representation in these occupations.

MEASURING SELF-EMPLOYMENT

In Table 9 self-employed people are differentiated into four groups. The first figure gives the proportion of the population with any income from self-employment in 1995 (again excluding 1995 and 1996 immigrants). The next figure gives the percent of people whose self-employment income was greater than their income from wages and salary, the idea being to identify people who actually depend on their self-employment for their living. The next two columns give the percentages of the employed population with income from self-employment of \$10,000 or more and of \$25,000 or more – counting only people whose self-employment income was greater than their income from wages and salary.

The number of people who are self-employed considerably exceeds the number who earn a satisfactory income in this manner. Nearly one tenth of all Torontonians who worked in 1995 – 7.9 percent of women workers and 12.3 percent of men – made some money from self-employment. About one third less, 5.2 percent of women and 8.8 percent of men, made more from self-employment than from

being an employee; just 3.2 percent of women and 6.3 percent of men made \$10,000 or more in 1995, and 1.6 percent of women and 3.8 percent of men made \$25,000 or more (and also had more self employment income than wages or salary). To put this in perspective, 45,880 women and 76,970 men had some employment income in 1996, but only 9,295 women and 23,965 men had \$25,000 or more income from self-employment and more self-employment than employee earnings. These figures have implications for efforts to promote the welfare of disadvantaged groups by emphasizing self-employment. Only a fraction of the many thousands of self-employed Torontonians earn a good living, and many do so by virtue of their professional credentials from university rather than from being business proprietors.

ABORIGINAL ORIGINS

The occupational statistics in these tables are consistent with the previous findings that persons who describe themselves as Aboriginal *only* are disadvantaged, while those who also give a European origin are not much different from the average for Toronto. Aboriginal men are at a greater disadvantage than women, with about \$4,200 lower median income. Aboriginal women and men are under-represented in managerial and professional occupations and among the self-employed, and particularly among the self-employed with higher incomes. Still, this disadvantage is a matter of degree: 4.5 percent of Aboriginal men and 3.6 percent of women are in middle management and more than 10 percent of each gender are in professional occupations. Their exclusion from gainful self-employment is more acute; the estimates are that *no* Aboriginal women and just one percent of Aboriginal men had a 1995 income of \$25,000 or more from self-employment.

Table 9

Incidence of Self Employment and Amount of Income from Self-Employment Income by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Percent of all Persons with Any Employment Income										
	Women					Men				Number with Any Self-Employment Income	
	Any Self-Employment Income	Self-Employment Income Greater than Wage Income			Self-Employment Income Greater than Wage Income			Income	Total		
		Total	S-E Income \$10,000 or more	S-E Income \$25,000 or more	Income	Total	S-E Income \$10,000 or more			S-E Income \$25,000 or more	Women
Total	7.9	5.2	3.2	1.6	12.3	8.8	6.3	3.8	45,880	76,970	
Total: Aboriginal	9.1	5.1	2.7	1.0	12.0	8.3	4.4	2.9	515	670	
Aboriginal	4.3	2.5	0.6	0.0	7.2	5.0	2.2	1.1	35	65	
Aboriginal and British/French	10.1	4.7	3.0	1.5	11.1	7.8	4.3	2.6	205	235	
Aboriginal and non-British/French	9.6	6.1	3.2	0.9	14.3	9.8	5.2	3.7	275	370	
Total: African, Black and Caribbean	4.1	2.5	1.5	0.6	9.2	6.7	3.9	1.5	300	1,000	
Ethiopian	1.9	1.4	1.4	1.0	8.9	6.8	3.9	2.1	20	170	
Ghanaian	1.5	1.5	0.0	0.0	5.7	4.1	1.9	0.0	10	90	
Somali	2.2	1.6	0.5	0.0	8.4	4.6	2.9	1.7	20	145	
Other African Nations	3.5	1.7	1.0	0.7	11.5	8.8	5.4	2.0	105	465	
African and South/East Asian	8.7	7.1	3.9	0.0	9.9	7.6	4.6	0.8	55	65	
African and European/Arab/West Asian	8.8	4.4	3.4	1.5	6.7	4.6	2.1	1.0	90	65	
African and Black	3.0	2.4	1.4	0.5	6.5	5.0	3.5	1.1	85	175	
Barbadian	2.7	1.5	1.1	0.8	6.2	2.9	1.9	1.4	35	65	
Guyanese	2.6	2.2	1.6	0.4	4.2	2.6	1.8	1.2	90	140	
Jamaican	3.8	1.9	1.2	0.3	6.9	5.1	3.1	1.6	670	955	
Trinidadian and Tobagonian	4.7	3.4	1.6	1.3	6.5	4.9	4.1	1.8	145	165	
West Indian	3.3	2.2	1.2	0.6	5.0	3.6	2.6	1.0	140	175	
Other Caribbean nations	4.1	2.8	0.4	0.2	7.1	5.3	3.7	1.3	105	135	
Multiple Caribbean	1.5	1.5	0.0	0.0	6.4	4.0	2.3	1.2	15	55	
Caribbean and South Asian	5.1	3.4	1.9	0.4	7.3	5.3	4.0	1.3	120	165	
Caribbean and East Asian	5.7	4.3	1.9	0.5	11.8	5.6	3.5	2.8	60	85	
Caribbean & European/Arab/Latin American	4.7	3.3	2.1	0.9	12.2	8.9	6.8	3.9	180	375	
Total: South Asian	4.6	3.3	1.6	0.8	7.2	4.9	3.3	1.5	1,605	3,465	
Indian	4.6	3.3	1.7	0.8	7.6	5.2	3.5	1.6	1,180	2,475	
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	5.9	4.9	2.9	1.0	11.5	9.3	7.1	1.5	60	260	
Sri Lankan	3.4	3.0	0.2	0.0	4.2	2.5	1.7	0.7	80	185	
Tamil	2.5	2.1	0.8	0.0	4.5	2.5	1.2	0.8	30	135	
Multiple South Asian	5.2	3.7	1.9	1.2	5.5	3.8	2.6	1.2	110	190	
South Asian and East Asian	6.9	3.4	1.1	0.0	7.1	2.9	0.0	0.0	30	25	
South Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	6.0	3.4	2.1	1.3	9.2	6.4	3.8	2.1	115	195	

Note: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 9, continued

Incidence of Self Employment and Amount of Income from Self-Employment Income by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Percent of all Persons with Any Employment Income										
	Women					Men				Number with Any Self-Employment Income	
	Any Self-Employment Income	Self-Employment Income Greater than Wage Income			Income	Self-Employment Income Greater than Wage Income					
		Total	S-E Income \$10,000 or more	S-E Income \$25,000 or more		Total	S-E Income \$10,000 or more	S-E Income \$25,000 or more	Women	Men	
Total	7.9	5.2	3.2	1.6	12.3	8.8	6.3	3.8	45,880	76,970	
Total: East & Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander	7.0	5.1	2.8	1.1	10.8	8.1	5.4	2.7	6,030	8,780	
Chinese	7.4	5.2	2.7	1.2	11.7	8.5	5.5	2.9	3,445	5,785	
Filipino	2.6	1.4	0.8	0.2	4.1	2.9	2.0	1.1	530	505	
Vietnamese	5.0	4.5	1.7	1.0	5.1	4.0	2.8	1.1	180	295	
Japanese	10.1	5.0	3.2	0.9	12.3	7.8	5.6	3.1	285	360	
Korean	23.8	22.4	14.4	3.9	27.7	25.2	17.9	6.5	1,150	1,345	
Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	4.2	3.8	1.1	0.8	9.1	6.6	4.2	2.4	55	130	
Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	4.3	3.6	1.5	0.9	4.0	3.0	2.3	1.7	100	95	
East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	8.7	4.9	2.7	1.5	10.3	7.4	4.9	2.9	285	265	
Total: Arab and West Asian	8.7	6.4	3.8	1.5	14.8	11.8	8.2	4.3	815	2,545	
Afghan	3.6	3.6	0.0	0.0	12.5	10.8	4.0	1.1	10	110	
Armenian	9.9	8.2	4.8	1.4	16.6	13.9	9.0	4.9	145	305	
Egyptian	11.7	6.7	3.7	3.1	15.4	13.6	11.7	8.1	95	210	
Iranian	8.5	6.5	3.0	0.6	16.3	12.8	9.5	4.0	210	780	
Lebanese	7.4	5.6	4.6	0.9	15.8	12.5	7.9	3.5	80	290	
Turkish	6.6	4.9	3.3	1.6	12.9	9.4	7.1	5.3	20	110	
Other Arab/West Asian	8.6	6.0	3.4	1.9	12.2	9.5	7.1	3.8	115	430	
Multiple Arab/West Asian	4.6	2.8	0.9	0.0	15.6	12.3	7.8	3.9	25	140	
Arab/West Asian and European	10.6	7.8	6.5	3.7	13.7	9.6	6.4	4.8	115	170	
Total: Latin American origins	5.9	4.0	2.3	0.7	7.7	5.4	3.7	2.4	775	1,220	
South American and Mexican	6.3	4.2	2.5	0.7	8.0	5.8	4.1	2.5	755	1,140	
Central American	1.8	1.3	0.4	0.4	5.0	2.5	0.9	0.9	20	80	
Canadian	6.7	4.3	3.0	1.9	10.4	7.1	5.2	3.4	1,925	3,530	
Total: European	9.2	6.0	3.7	2.0	14.2	10.0	7.4	4.8	32,245	53,245	
Total: British	9.5	5.8	3.6	2.0	13.9	9.3	6.8	4.6	16,145	24,125	
English	8.3	5.5	3.6	1.8	13.4	9.3	7.0	4.7	3,365	6,170	
Irish	7.0	4.6	2.4	1.6	12.1	8.6	6.1	4.3	915	1,765	
Scottish	7.7	5.0	3.3	1.7	12.5	8.8	6.4	4.2	1,145	2,205	
Multiple British	10.0	6.1	3.9	2.3	15.0	9.7	7.1	4.8	4,950	6,895	
British and French	10.5	6.6	4.2	2.5	14.1	8.9	6.7	4.6	1,560	1,890	
British and other European	11.1	6.3	3.6	1.9	14.4	9.3	6.4	4.4	4,210	5,200	
Total: French	9.0	5.5	3.7	2.3	11.7	8.2	6.4	4.2	1,045	1,310	
French	7.4	4.5	3.3	1.9	11.2	8.2	6.5	4.4	595	920	
French and other European	12.5	7.6	4.4	3.3	12.9	8.1	6.1	3.6	450	390	
American, Australian, New Zealander	14.9	10.1	7.4	3.4	15.6	11.1	7.4	4.4	110	105	

Note: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 9, continued

Incidence of Self Employment and Amount of Income from Self-Employment Income by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Percent of all Persons with Any Employment Income								Number with Any Self-Employment Income	
	Women				Men					
	Any Self-Employment Income	Self-Employment Income Greater than Wage Income		S-E Income \$10,000 or more	S-E Income \$25,000 or more	Income	Self-Employment Income Greater than Wage Income		S-E Income \$10,000 or more	S-E Income \$25,000 or more
		Total						Total		
Total	7.9	5.2	3.2	1.6	12.3	8.8	6.3	3.8	45,880	76,970
Total: Northern Europe and Scandinavia	10.6	6.8	4.0	2.2	14.9	10.4	7.5	4.5	2,315	3,370
Austrian	11.1	8.9	5.9	3.0	16.1	10.9	8.0	4.6	75	140
Dutch	10.7	7.1	2.7	1.7	16.2	10.6	7.6	5.2	355	565
German	10.2	6.4	3.7	2.0	12.8	9.4	7.2	4.0	865	1,185
Other/Multiple Northern European	10.7	6.5	5.7	3.4	14.7	10.4	7.5	5.1	205	275
Finnish	8.3	5.3	2.2	0.9	15.7	13.7	8.1	3.6	95	155
Other Scandinavian	13.0	8.4	4.6	2.7	16.9	11.5	8.4	5.0	170	220
Northern Europe/Scandinavian & other Europe	10.7	7.2	4.8	2.3	17.1	11.1	7.3	4.9	550	830
Total: Baltic and Eastern Europe	11.1	7.7	4.5	2.3	16.8	12.2	8.5	4.7	3,540	5,725
Estonian	10.4	6.7	3.6	0.5	24.9	17.7	11.0	8.3	100	225
Latvian	16.4	10.7	8.2	3.8	25.3	19.5	11.7	5.8	130	195
Lithuanian	15.9	12.3	5.1	2.9	12.4	10.1	8.3	2.4	110	105
Czech	12.6	8.1	4.5	3.6	22.3	13.3	8.0	4.7	155	335
Hungarian	12.6	8.6	5.0	2.6	20.9	15.8	9.2	4.9	415	830
Polish	9.2	6.9	3.5	2.0	14.6	10.8	8.2	4.7	1,140	1,910
Romanian	11.4	9.5	7.3	2.8	14.1	7.6	6.2	1.9	180	260
Russian	15.4	11.9	8.3	3.2	20.6	18.4	11.6	5.6	195	275
Slovak	10.5	7.0	3.5	1.4	21.2	17.1	14.4	7.5	75	155
Ukrainian	10.8	6.0	3.6	2.0	15.3	11.4	7.7	4.3	690	990
Multiple Baltic/Eastern European	12.8	8.6	6.1	3.5	16.3	11.0	8.2	5.9	350	445
Total: Southern Europe	5.2	3.7	2.3	0.8	10.1	7.9	5.8	2.9	4,370	10,275
Croatian	5.5	3.5	2.6	1.5	10.9	9.2	6.3	2.9	125	260
Macedonian	4.8	2.2	0.7	0.4	12.5	9.6	6.5	3.3	130	410
Serbian	10.8	7.0	4.4	0.9	14.7	10.5	6.8	2.0	185	335
Slovenian	5.4	2.7	1.1	0.5	11.3	10.2	7.5	5.4	50	105
Yugoslavian	6.4	4.4	2.4	0.4	10.5	8.1	6.5	4.0	80	130
Greek	7.7	6.2	3.9	1.4	14.8	12.5	9.5	4.2	955	2,235
Italian	4.6	3.2	2.1	0.8	10.1	7.6	5.7	2.9	1,795	4,795
Maltese	7.0	3.7	2.3	0.9	7.0	4.9	4.3	0.9	75	115
Portuguese	3.7	2.6	1.5	0.5	5.6	4.3	3.5	2.2	675	1,280
Spanish	10.9	7.8	3.1	0.8	13.4	10.8	5.9	4.8	70	125
Other Southern Europe	8.4	4.7	2.6	0.5	16.9	12.3	7.4	3.3	80	205
Multiple Southern Europe	7.9	5.5	3.2	1.1	14.0	10.0	5.3	2.5	150	280
Total: Jewish and Israeli	17.0	11.0	7.8	5.1	27.0	19.7	15.9	12.6	4,515	8,060
Jewish	16.8	11.0	8.2	5.3	28.3	20.9	17.1	13.3	2,820	5,585
Jewish and European	17.5	10.9	7.2	4.8	24.4	17.4	13.6	11.1	1,695	2,475
All others Europe only	9.8	6.2	4.1	2.9	14.2	9.8	8.0	5.9	205	275

Note: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

AFRICAN, BLACK AND CARIBBEAN ORIGINS

Although there is considerable variation among the individual groups, Africans, Blacks and Caribbeans in Toronto experience significant disadvantage in employment. For full-time, full-year workers, the median employment incomes of women and men are \$25,000 and \$26,000, respectively, compared to \$30,000 and \$35,000 for the population. In the most difficult position are the Torontonians of African origin. Nearly half of all the Somali men *and women* are in lower skill manual occupations, 48.5 and 44.2 percent, respectively; and more than 80 percent of the Ethiopian women and 70 percent of Ethiopian men are in lower skill manual or non-manual occupations, and the figures are similar for Ghanaians. About 7 percent of the members of these two groups are professionals and 4 percent are managers.

Among African, Black and Caribbean men, there are approximately as many skilled trades-persons and supervisors as in the population, but more lower skill manual workers and only about half the average proportion of managers and two-thirds the proportion of professionals. African, Black and Caribbean women are heavily concentrated in lower skill non-manual occupations, with roughly 55.6 percent in such jobs, but there are also about 13.0 percent in professional occupations and somewhere near the population average of 14.0 percent in higher skill non-manual occupations.

Table 9 shows that 4.1 percent of African, Black and Caribbean women and 9.2 percent of men have some self-employment income, but only 1.5 and 3.9 percent of women and men, respectively, earn \$10,000 or more a year from it – around half the City average. Three groups have quite high levels of self-employment, the “other African nations,” and the Caribbean and East Asian group, and the group with Caribbean and European or Arabic or Latin American heritage.

SOUTH ASIAN ORIGINS

The median incomes of South Asian women and men who are full-time, full-year workers are \$25,000 and \$27,900, respectively, compared to population figures of \$30,000 and \$35,000. There is a difference between the Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (combined), Sri Lankans, Tamils and the “multiple South Asian” group, with male median annual incomes of \$23,000, \$24,000, \$22,500 and \$25,000, respectively; and the Indians, with a median income of \$30,000/year. The medians for the multiple origin South Asian/East Asian and the South Asian/European or West Asian groups are even higher. Similar patterns are found for the incomes of South Asian women, and when non-full-year workers are considered. To some extent, this pattern of income differences is reflected in the occupational distributions in Table 8. Among men, the Sri Lankans, Tamils and multiple South Asian groups include relatively high proportions of less skilled manual and non-manual workers and fewer professionals and managers. The fairly large income difference between Indians and Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, however, does not clearly reflect a difference in their occupational distributions.

EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN ORIGINS

The median incomes of East and Southeast Asian women and men are approximately \$5,000 below the population average. Standing out from all the other groups are the Japanese, whose female and male median incomes are, respectively, \$35,000 and \$47,200 – \$5,000 above the population median for women, and \$12,500 higher for men. All the other East and Southeast Asian groups had medians below the population, though only by a small amount for the group with East or Southeast Asian and European or West Asian background. The Chinese, with female and male median incomes of \$26,000 and \$30,000, respectively, have higher incomes than the other groups. For the Filipinos, Vietnamese, Koreans and “other” and “multiple” East Asians the female and male median incomes, for full-time, full-year workers are about \$21,000 and \$26,000, respectively, each about \$9,000 below the population value.

From the occupational distributions it is easy to account for the higher incomes of the Japanese: 5.8 percent of Japanese men are high level managers, 17.1 percent are middle managers, and 27.1 percent are professionals; the corresponding figures for Japanese women are 0.5, 7.9, and 23.5 percent. Similarly, the Chinese have larger proportions of managers and professionals than other East and Southeast Asian groups, though fewer than the Japanese.

A glance at the occupational distributions in Tables 8a and 8b and the figures for self-employment in Table 9 provides a dramatic demonstration of the way that different occupational distributions may

result in similar levels of income. Koreans have astonishingly high levels of self-employment: 23.8 percent of Korean women who rely on income from self-employment, *four* times the average rate for women and the highest figure of any group, by a wide margin. With 25.2 percent of men dependent on income from self-employment, Korean men also have the highest level of self-employment. The self-employment largely involves ownership of small businesses, rather than professional practices, which is why 19.1 and 24.0 percent of Korean women and men, respectively, are in managerial occupations. The Koreans' very high level of self-employment, however, does not translate into high incomes; the only group with a comparable level of self-employment, the Jews, have far higher income.

Although their median incomes are very close to the Koreans', the Filipinos and Vietnamese have very low levels of self-employment, though their occupational distributions differ radically: 68.3 percent of Filipino women are in lower skill *non*-manual occupations and just 5.7 percent are in lower skill manual occupations; for Vietnamese women, the corresponding figures are 35.7 and 40.3 percent; respectively, and there is a similar difference for men. The lower levels of education among the Vietnamese lead them into manual, rather than non-manual, lower skill jobs. The question is why the Filipinos, who tend to work in lower skill non-manual occupations that pay no more than manual jobs, are so under-represented in higher skill non-manual jobs.

ARAB AND WEST ASIAN ORIGINS

Although the incomes of the nine Arab and West Asian groups vary considerably, their overall median (full-time full-year) annual incomes of \$27,000 for women and \$28,300 for men, are considerably below the average figures for Toronto. Again the Afghan stand out as extremely disadvantaged, with the median incomes of full-time workers are only \$12,000 and \$19,000 for women and men respectively. Remember that this combines with very low labour force participation rates (observed in Table 6). The concentration of Afghans in lower paying occupations is immediately apparent in Table 8; just 2.7 percent of men and 4.9 percent of Afghan women are in professional occupations, compared to 17.9 and 18.5 percent of men and women in the population.

Among the eight other Arab and West Asian groups, the median incomes of male Iranians and "other Arabs and West Asians" group are quite low, \$26,000 and \$24,900 respectively; and both figures are lower than the medians for women in these groups. The low incomes of Iranian men cannot be explained by their occupational distribution, which is similar to the population. Two exceptions are the West Asian *and* European group, whose median income is above the overall figure for Toronto, and the Egyptians (male median \$35,600). For the other Arab and West Asian groups the median incomes are

about \$30,000 for men and about \$27,000 for women. These rather low incomes do not reflect an occupational distribution skewed towards lower paying occupations. The levels of self-employment for women and men are close to the Toronto average..

LATIN AMERICAN ORIGINS

The (full-time, full-year) median incomes of Latin American women and men are respectively \$24,000 and \$28,800 for South Americans, and \$22,100 and \$25,000 for Central Americans – compared to Toronto population figures of \$30,000 and \$35,000. This lower income is partially explained by reference to the occupational distributions in Table 8. Of Latin American women, 3.6 are managers and 8.1 percent are professionals, compared to 6.7 and 18.5 percent for the population; for men the figures are 4.9 and 8.5 percent, compared to population averages of 11.4 and 17.9 percent. More than one quarter of Latin American men work in lower skill manual occupations, and unusually large proportions of Latin American women are in lower skill non-manual and manual occupations.

EUROPEAN ORIGINS

Among the European groups there is a considerable variation in income and occupations, though the pattern of inequality among these groups is much easier to describe than the intra-regional differences outside Europe. Partly this is because many of the European groups have relatively low levels of recent immigration, but it is also because of the relative economic and cultural similarity – if the scale is global – of European nations. Because the Europeans are not visible minorities, even groups with little initial facility in English are not easily singled out for discrimination. For these reasons, differences in income among European ethno-racial groups are easily tied to their representation in higher (managerial and professional) and lower (especially the lower skill manual and non-manual) level occupations.

In terms of male incomes there is a definite regional hierarchy among the European groups, with median male incomes (for full-time, full-year workers) of \$52,000 for Jews, \$45,000 for Americans, Australians and New Zealanders (combined), \$42,000 for the British, \$40,500 for the Northern Europeans and Scandinavians, \$39,000 for the French, \$37,000 for the Baltic and Eastern European groups, and \$32,500 for the Southern Europeans. For women the corresponding medians are *much less* differentiated: \$37,000, \$38,000, \$35,000, \$35,000, \$34,000, \$31,000 and \$26,400, respectively. There is a strong, but not perfect, similarity in the ranking of the incomes of women and men from the different parts of Europe, though the ethno-racial differences are clearly not as large for women.

Among the individual ethno-racial groups in the regions of Europe, there is very little variation. For example, the range of median incomes among the British groups is only from \$33,000 to \$36,500 for women and from \$40,000 to \$44,200 for men. In Northern Europe and Scandinavia there is little variation among women, but the “all other Scandinavian” group, which excludes only the Finns, has an unusually high median income of \$48,000. Among the Baltic and Eastern European groups, the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian men have very high median incomes, around \$45,000, while the Poles and Russians, around \$32,500, have unusually low incomes. Also, Latvian and Lithuanian women have unusually high median incomes of \$45,000 and \$40,000 respectively, while Polish, Romanian and Russian women have unusually low incomes.

In the last Chapter, the Southern European groups were found to have the lowest educational attainment levels in Europe, with Portuguese having extremely low levels of education. This accounts for the relatively low median income of the Portuguese, just 3.0 percent of whom are in professional occupations, and 5.0 percent in managerial occupations, both less than one-third the Toronto average. The incomes of Greeks, Italians, and Serbians are very similar, though the first two groups have much less education.

Moving from education to labour force characteristics to jobs, one comes closer to the social and economic processes directly affecting poverty and the overall economic position of ethno-racial groups. Having higher skill, better paying jobs is the means to a middle class life, but low levels of unemployment are better security against poverty. Still, there is a strong relationship between low rates of unemployment and higher levels of income.

The pattern of disadvantage and inequality that emerges from the figures on employment has three layers. At the broadest level, in a way that was *not* seen in the analysis of education, European ethno-racial groups experience less unemployment and have better jobs than non-Europeans. There are exceptions to this generalization, but it describes a strong pattern. Next, there are *some* systematic differences among the regional categories of ethno-racial groups; but, surprisingly, these are not very large or consistent. For example, East and Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders experience low unemployment, but do not seem to have much higher incomes. Finally, at the most detailed level there are large differences between ethno-racial groups *within* the regional categories, which are clearly

associated with unique historical experiences, with different patterns of immigration to Canada, and with cultural differences. At the extremes, the groups with very high unemployment and poor jobs are extremely vulnerable to poverty, the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Poverty and Individual and Family Income

The difference between individual and family incomes is that family income can combine two or more earners and family expenditures result in a common standard of living. Family members need not share their income equally, but they live under the same roof and tend to have food, clothing and leisure activities of a similar standard. Since few children have any income, child disadvantage and privilege makes sense only in relation to the incomes of the adults who care for them. For people living on their own there is no distinction between individual and “family” income. A bit awkwardly, following Statistics Canada, they are called “non-family persons.”

In measuring family income, Statistics Canada counts “census families,” consisting of co-residing parents and their children. Census families are differentiated according to whether they are headed by an opposite-sex couple, a female lone parent, or male lone parent. Families headed by lone parents must include a child, but a (not necessarily legally married) couple constitutes a “census family,” whether or not they have a child present. In this context, a “child” is not restricted in age; he or she could be an adult living with an aged parent. To distinguish children who are likely to be dependent, we follow the Statistics Canada’s convention taking children 18 years and younger. We will also make use of the “economic family,” defined more broadly than a census family as a group of people who share a dwelling and are related by blood, marriage or adoption. A member of an economic family need not be living in a census family.

Though family income is a sensible measure of economic well-being, ethnicity is a characteristic of individuals, not families. Members of a couple may belong to different ethno-racial groups; and children need not have the same ethnicity as either of their parents, usually because the child’s parents have different ethnicities. With 89 individual categories, there are many thousands of combinations of two ethno-racial groups, so analysing couples characterized by *pairs* of ethno-racial categories would not be easy. Instead, we analyze the individuals. This is simple enough for lone parent families, but families headed by couples would be counted twice, once for each partner. The remedy is to “weight” the data so that the ethnicity of each parent is counted as half the couple’s ethnicity.

Two summary measures of the income of ethno-racial groups are considered in this Chapter: the percentage of the group with income below Statistics Canada’s *low income cut-off*, or LICO, and the group’s median income. The figures include income from all sources in 1995, aggregated for families, but not for non-family members. In the text, families and individuals with incomes below the LICO are

sometimes referred to as “poor” or “living in poverty.” This usage is not intended as an entry into the debate over how to measure poverty; throughout this *Report*, disadvantage is understood in relative terms, whether referring to education, employment or income. The median income is used in preference to the average, because it is not subject to the undue influence of small numbers of very high values (a common feature of income distributions). Immigrants to Canada in 1995 and 1996 are excluded from the entire analysis, because they will not have been in Canada to earn income in all of 1995.

Table 10 gives the proportion of families in each ethno-racial group whose 1995 income was below the LICO, differentiating couples and female and male lone parents, and families with and without a child under 19; Table 13 gives the median family incomes of the six types of families. Table 11 shows the proportion of children under 19 below the LICO, again differentiating according to type of family. Tables 12 and 14 give the proportion under the LICO and the median *individual* incomes for *non-family* persons, separating women and men who live alone, live with non-family members, and who are members of “economic families” but not “census families.” To more sharply identify the ethno-racial groups experiencing the greatest disadvantage, Charts 8 and 9, respectively, show the groups with the highest proportions of families and of non-family persons below the LICO. Charts 10 and 11 are similar, but give the groups with the lowest annual median incomes.

The analyses of families and children give similar but not identical results, because families in the different ethno-racial groups have different numbers of children and also because parents and children can have different ethno-racial identifications. To understand the distribution of income, it makes sense to think of the incomes of the units – families – for which income is defined. But in order to measure the *impact* of family incomes on children each child should be given equal weight. The family and child figures diverge to the extent that families with different numbers of children live in different economic circumstances: if families with children are more likely to be poor, there will be more child poverty than poor households.

The discussion of the income of ethno-racial groups information from all five tables is combined in a single narrative. Considering the many hundreds of figures in the tables, the text offers a somewhat sketchy and synthetic interpretation of the patterns. Curious readers may want to combine reading the next few pages with a more detailed examination of the Tables. Before examining the incomes of the ethno-racial groups, a general summary of the extent of poverty and distribution of income is helpful.

Introduction to the Tables

The first row of Table 10 shows that 22.7 percent, about 135,900 out of a total of about 600,000 Toronto families lived in poverty in 1996. The incidence of poverty is very strongly related to type of family: for families with at least one child under 19 the figures are 22.3 percent of couples, 59.7 percent of female lone parents and 38.4 percent of male lone parents; for families without a child under 19, the corresponding figures are much lower: 13.3, 23.5 and 19.8 percent, respectively. While we are accustomed to the idea that lone parents are poor, all kinds of families with dependent children are disproportionately poor. Having a child under 19 increases the likelihood of having an income level below the LICO by 67 percent for couples, by nearly 100 percent for male lone parents and by more than 150 percent for female lone parents. These startling differences mainly reflect the cost of caring for younger children, whether in terms of the foregone income of family caregivers or the cost of purchasing childcare. But there is also an effect of the age of parents. Average personal income rises steadily with age, until about 55, so younger children tend to have parents with lower incomes, because the parents are younger.

The most striking figure is for female lone parents of young children; three out of five live in poverty. Although just 2.6 percent of all families are headed by a *male* lone parent, about three-fifths of which include a child under 19, male and female lone parents are not combined in this analysis because the male lone parents of younger children are substantially less likely than female lone parents to be poor. For many of the ethno-racial groups there are too few male lone parents to provide for reliable estimates of their poverty level.

Table 10
Incidence of Poverty for Families by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Percentage Below Low Income Cut-Off (LICO)								Percentage Distribution of Types of Families							
	Incidence of Poverty		With One or More Children			Without a Child Under 19			With One or More Children			Without a Child Under 19			Total	Number
	Percent- age	Number of Poor Families	Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents	Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents	Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents	Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents		
Total	22.7	135,920	22.3	59.7	38.4	13.3	23.5	19.8	37.7	10.7	1.5	43.3	5.7	1.1	100.0	599,980
Total: Aboriginal	32.1	1,515	21.5	69.2	38.5	13.1	50.9	---	32.1	24.1	2.8	34.8	5.6	0.6	100.0	4,715
Aboriginal	47.7	420	34.9	77.6	---	20.4	---	---	24.4	33.0	2.3	30.7	8.0	1.7	100.0	880
Aboriginal and British/French	24.6	430	17.0	63.2	---	8.7	---	---	32.1	19.5	3.2	39.5	5.2	0.6	100.0	1,745
Aboriginal and non-British/French	31.8	665	20.9	68.3	---	14.7	47.6	---	35.4	24.2	2.6	32.5	5.0	0.2	100.0	2,090
Total: African, Black and Caribbean	44.6	23,455	34.9	70.8	51.6	21.5	29.7	32.0	31.6	34.5	3.5	20.4	8.9	1.1	100.0	52,540
Ethiopian	69.7	990	67.9	89.8	---	54.4	---	---	49.3	20.8	2.8	23.9	2.1	1.1	100.0	1,420
Ghanaian	87.3	2,480	81.9	96.1	75.0	54.3	---	---	32.0	54.2	3.5	6.2	3.3	0.7	100.0	2,840
Somali	62.7	1,010	53.6	89.2	53.6	43.2	---	---	46.9	28.9	8.7	13.7	0.9	0.9	100.0	1,610
Other African Nations	52.2	1,895	47.9	79.5	54.8	31.3	45.7	---	42.3	25.5	4.3	22.0	4.8	1.1	100.0	3,630
African and South/East Asian	30.6	170	22.9	62.5	---	21.4	---	---	43.2	21.6	0.9	25.2	7.2	1.8	100.0	555
African and European/Arab/West Asian	35.7	280	23.5	76.3	---	22.2	---	---	32.5	24.2	1.9	34.4	7.0	0.0	100.0	785
African and Black	48.7	1,350	38.7	77.5	---	21.7	30.4	---	27.1	36.8	3.1	21.7	10.1	1.3	100.0	2,770
Barbadian	24.7	275	14.3	57.7	---	10.1	33.1	---	25.9	21.6	2.4	31.2	16.1	2.9	100.0	1,105
Guyanese	30.6	1,065	23.2	58.9	39.0	22.5	23.0	---	38.1	20.3	3.5	27.5	9.7	0.9	100.0	3,485
Jamaican	47.6	8,860	32.5	70.7	53.0	19.9	32.1	46.1	23.2	42.9	4.2	17.9	10.9	1.0	100.0	18,615
Trinidadian and Tobagonian	28.7	755	24.2	51.2	---	11.9	15.9	---	34.2	29.6	1.7	22.4	10.6	1.5	100.0	2,620
West Indian	34.1	1,345	25.4	56.7	---	20.5	29.3	---	35.4	29.4	1.7	23.6	8.8	1.2	100.0	3,945
Other Caribbean nations	40.5	940	27.3	65.4	60.6	17.9	32.0	---	31.4	34.5	4.5	20.4	8.5	0.7	100.0	2,325
Multiple Caribbean	36.4	270	21.8	66.3	---	4.0	---	---	30.9	39.3	0.0	16.9	11.5	1.4	100.0	740
Caribbean and South Asian	28.1	640	21.7	58.8	---	19.4	7.5	---	51.3	19.2	1.8	22.7	4.7	0.3	100.0	2,270
Caribbean and East Asian	18.3	125	12.5	37.0	---	17.5	---	---	36.8	24.1	1.8	25.4	10.3	1.6	100.0	675
Caribbean & European/Arab/Latin American	32.0	1,010	20.3	62.9	---	9.3	24.4	---	27.4	32.4	3.0	24.0	12.2	1.0	100.0	3,155
Total: South Asian	34.6	15,950	35.5	58.7	38.6	25.1	33.3	33.8	59.1	8.1	1.7	26.4	3.9	0.8	100.0	46,130
Indian	28.7	8,935	27.9	54.6	36.3	22.3	28.4	28.6	57.7	8.1	1.8	27.7	3.9	0.8	100.0	31,150
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	53.8	1,175	56.9	51.2	---	40.8	---	---	68.0	9.8	0.7	16.2	3.7	1.6	100.0	2,185
Sri Lankan	51.0	2,315	51.9	78.5	---	36.0	41.7	---	63.0	10.2	1.7	20.8	4.0	0.3	100.0	4,540
Tamil	53.5	1,555	57.5	84.4	---	36.6	---	---	64.4	5.5	1.7	24.4	2.8	1.2	100.0	2,905
Multiple South Asian	44.1	1,535	44.3	70.7	---	37.7	40.0	---	64.2	5.9	1.1	24.0	3.6	1.1	100.0	3,480
South Asian and East Asian	27.6	80	31.3	---	---	---	---	---	55.2	8.6	1.7	32.8	1.7	0.0	100.0	290
South Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	22.5	355	30.9	33.3	---	10.9	13.0	---	43.0	8.5	2.5	37.7	7.3	0.9	100.0	1,580

Note: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996
Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 10, continued

Incidence of Poverty for Families by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Incidence of Poverty Among All Families		Percentage Below Low Income Cut-Off (LICO)						Percentage Distribution of Types of Families						Total	Number
	Percentage	Number of Poor Families	With One or More Children Under 19			Without a Child Under 19			With One or More Children Under 19			Without a Child Under 19				
			Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents	Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents	Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents	Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents		
Total	22.7	135,920	22.3	59.7	38.4	13.3	23.5	19.8	37.7	10.7	1.5	43.3	5.7	1.1	100.0	599,980
Total: East & Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander	29.6	25,545	27.1	60.2	39.7	24.9	29.8	28.5	50.7	8.8	1.3	33.5	4.8	0.9	100.0	86,345
Chinese	29.4	15,530	28.0	52.6	39.8	27.2	29.5	27.1	51.1	6.1	1.2	35.8	4.8	1.0	100.0	52,795
Filipino	22.5	3,095	17.7	51.5	27.8	16.9	24.2	---	53.2	13.1	1.3	26.5	5.4	0.5	100.0	13,780
Vietnamese	47.3	2,845	37.1	84.9	54.8	25.9	49.0	---	50.6	23.2	2.6	18.3	4.2	1.2	100.0	6,020
Japanese	9.1	270	10.3	55.0	---	6.3	10.3	---	27.8	3.4	0.7	62.1	4.9	1.2	100.0	2,965
Korean	42.9	2,210	41.2	73.3	---	39.2	51.3	---	50.5	5.8	1.0	38.2	3.8	0.8	100.0	5,150
Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	36.4	570	32.3	76.9	---	27.1	---	---	53.4	12.5	1.6	27.2	5.1	0.3	100.0	1,565
Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	29.4	605	25.8	65.5	---	17.4	---	---	58.4	13.4	1.9	20.9	4.6	0.7	100.0	2,055
East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	20.8	420	16.6	52.5	---	11.7	---	---	44.9	15.1	3.0	31.8	4.2	1.0	100.0	2,015
Total: Arab and West Asian	45.2	6,885	48.9	74.1	58.8	29.3	35.6	34.4	55.0	9.6	1.7	27.7	4.9	1.1	100.0	15,220
Afghan	78.4	910	86.0	67.9	---	42.9	---	---	70.7	12.1	2.2	12.1	3.0	0.0	100.0	1,160
Armenian	20.2	345	19.0	---	---	17.6	25.0	---	46.3	4.1	1.2	39.9	7.0	1.5	100.0	1,705
Egyptian	32.2	375	32.1	---	---	23.4	---	---	56.2	6.4	2.6	27.5	5.2	2.1	100.0	1,165
Iranian	53.5	2,315	55.6	75.2	---	39.3	37.8	---	53.6	13.5	1.6	25.9	4.3	1.2	100.0	4,330
Lebanese	39.8	645	40.8	75.0	---	25.5	---	---	53.7	9.9	0.6	29.0	5.2	1.5	100.0	1,620
Turkish	35.0	245	40.5	---	---	14.9	---	---	56.4	5.0	2.9	33.6	2.1	0.0	100.0	700
Other Arab/West Asian	50.4	1,520	53.9	82.2	---	35.6	45.2	---	60.0	7.5	1.8	24.7	5.1	0.8	100.0	3,015
Multiple Arab/West Asian	45.6	340	45.3	---	---	41.7	---	---	50.3	8.7	1.3	32.2	6.7	0.7	100.0	745
Arab/West Asian and European	24.4	190	23.5	68.2	---	7.4	---	---	43.6	14.1	1.9	34.6	5.1	0.6	100.0	780
Total: Latin American origins	41.4	6,770	36.9	75.4	40.8	21.6	43.5	36.4	50.1	19.2	2.2	22.2	5.7	0.7	100.0	16,370
South American and Mexican	40.2	5,885	35.9	73.9	41.0	21.5	42.9	36.4	49.4	18.8	2.1	23.4	5.6	0.8	100.0	14,655
Central American	51.6	885	44.5	85.9	---	24.4	47.8	---	55.7	22.7	2.9	12.0	6.7	0.0	100.0	1,715
Canadian	18.6	5,100	12.8	66.0	34.3	8.6	24.1	10.1	31.6	12.8	1.8	46.7	5.7	1.4	100.0	27,380
Total: European	14.4	50,685	13.0	47.7	30.7	10.0	18.0	15.3	31.7	7.3	1.1	52.8	5.8	1.3	100.0	351,295
Total: British	11.4	17,330	8.1	46.8	26.0	6.3	15.3	13.3	29.8	7.9	1.1	53.9	6.1	1.3	100.0	152,695
English	13.5	6,225	10.3	57.3	26.0	7.7	19.8	12.5	23.8	8.4	1.1	58.8	6.5	1.3	100.0	46,035
Irish	11.0	1,505	8.3	46.6	28.6	6.8	14.8	8.7	25.6	7.3	1.6	57.4	6.6	1.5	100.0	13,690
Scottish	9.2	1,580	7.1	39.1	34.9	6.3	12.8	12.7	23.7	5.9	1.0	61.5	6.1	1.7	100.0	17,160
Multiple British	9.1	3,675	6.1	39.0	23.9	4.6	12.1	22.1	30.7	9.3	0.9	51.1	7.1	0.9	100.0	40,165
British and French	13.3	1,450	9.4	46.8	30.0	6.8	12.6	14.3	29.7	12.3	1.4	49.2	6.2	1.3	100.0	10,930
British and other European	11.7	2,900	7.9	45.5	20.6	5.8	15.9	4.7	33.7	11.5	1.4	47.7	4.8	0.9	100.0	24,715
Total: French	16.2	1,560	13.6	52.9	---	8.3	15.8	20.0	30.1	11.8	1.0	51.2	4.9	1.0	100.0	9,650
French	15.8	1,135	12.4	57.8	---	8.5	14.9	---	28.2	10.7	0.8	53.9	5.2	1.2	100.0	7,165
French and other European	17.1	425	16.4	42.5	---	7.4	19.0	---	35.6	14.7	1.4	43.5	4.2	0.6	100.0	2,485
American, Australian, New Zealander	9.3	60	8.5	---	---	7.1	---	---	35.6	14.7	1.4	43.5	4.2	0.6	100.0	645

Note: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ormstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 10, continued

Incidence of Poverty for Families by Ethno-Racial Group

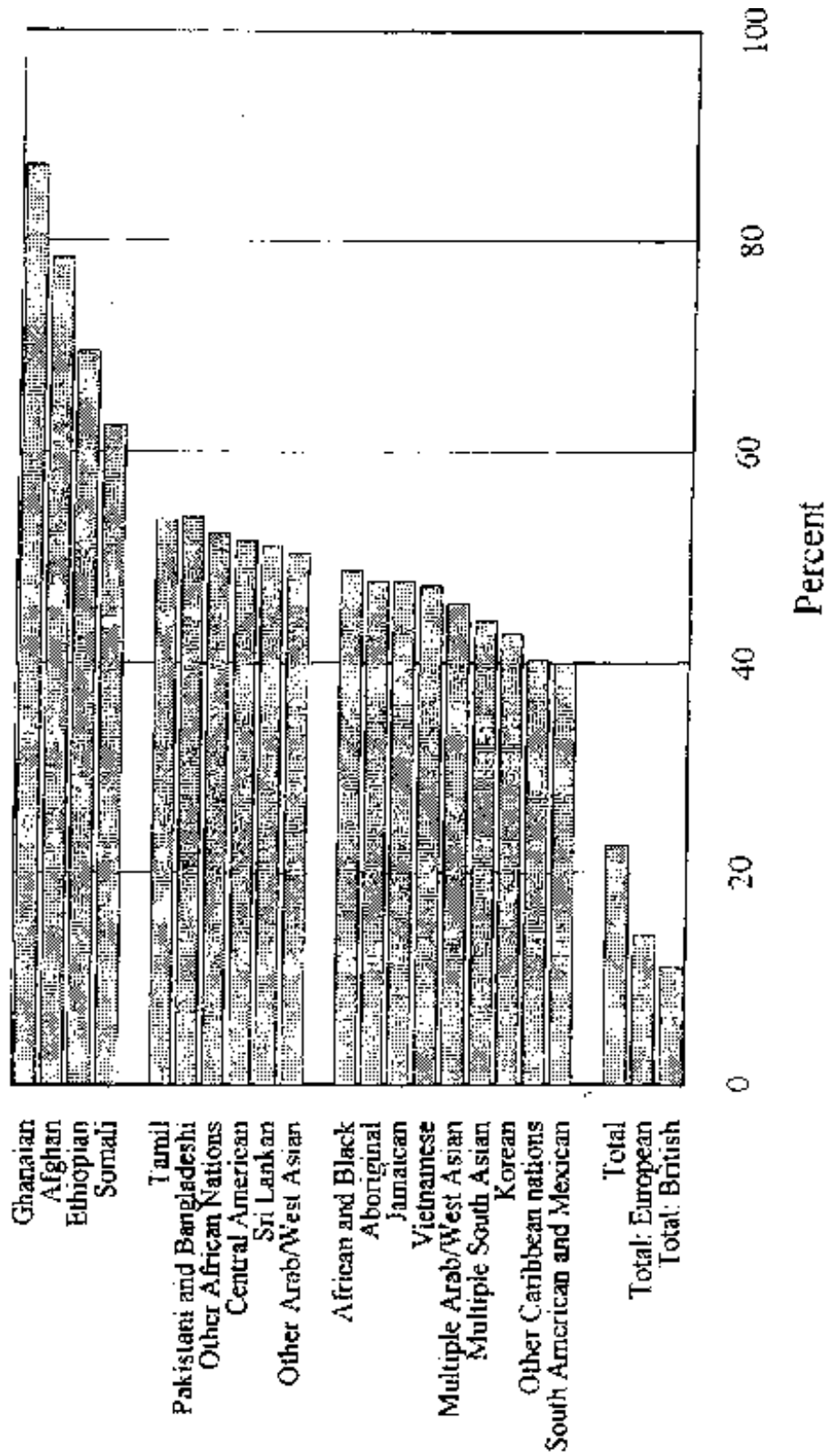
Ethno-Racial Group	Incidence of Poverty Among All Families		Percentage Below Low Income Cut-Off (LICO)						Percentage Distribution of Types of Families						Total	
			With One or More Children Under 19			Without a Child Under 19			With One or More Children Under 19			Without a Child Under 19				
			Couples	Female Lone Parents		Couples	Female Lone Parents		Couples	Female Lone Parents		Couples	Female Lone Parents			
				Male Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents		Male Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents		Male Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents					
Total	22.7	135,920	22.3	59.7	38.4	13.3	23.5	19.8	37.7	10.7	1.5	43.3	5.7	1.1	100.0	599,980
Total: Northern Europe and Scandinavia	10.3	2,175	7.8	40.8	21.1	7.8	11.9	18.0	24.4	5.8	0.8	62.1	5.4	1.4	100.0	21,120
Austrian	6.3	60	13.9	---	---	4.8	---	---	19.0	2.6	1.6	66.1	10.1	0.5	100.0	945
Dutch	9.2	270	7.4	36.7	---	6.8	19.0	---	32.1	5.1	0.3	58.0	3.6	0.9	100.0	2,930
German	10.7	1,000	8.0	42.2	---	8.4	14.2	14.3	21.3	5.4	0.6	65.1	5.7	1.9	100.0	9,380
Other/Multiple Northern European	8.0	125	11.7	26.9	---	4.6	---	---	24.5	8.3	0.3	62.1	4.1	0.6	100.0	1,570
Finnish	12.4	150	6.8	---	---	9.4	---	---	18.3	5.0	1.7	66.4	7.9	0.8	100.0	1,205
Other Scandinavian	8.2	105	4.2	---	---	7.8	---	---	28.0	3.9	1.2	59.9	3.5	3.5	100.0	1,285
Northern Europe/Scandinavian & other Euro	12.2	465	6.7	48.6	---	9.0	10.3	---	33.4	9.2	1.7	49.7	5.1	0.9	100.0	3,805
Total: Baltic and Eastern Europe	20.1	7,730	21.8	59.8	40.4	12.2	22.0	23.3	33.6	7.7	1.2	49.0	7.1	1.5	100.0	38,440
Estonian	10.6	150	2.0	---	---	5.9	23.8	---	17.7	6.7	0.7	66.3	7.4	1.1	100.0	1,410
Latvian	8.2	95	6.8	---	---	4.5	---	---	19.0	5.2	0.4	66.7	6.5	2.2	100.0	1,155
Lithuanian	12.1	135	10.9	---	---	6.9	4.0	---	20.6	4.5	0.9	58.7	11.2	4.0	100.0	1,115
Czech	11.4	155	15.6	---	---	7.4	---	---	28.2	5.1	1.1	59.3	4.8	1.5	100.0	1,365
Hungarian	17.8	725	18.7	54.8	---	13.2	12.0	---	23.7	7.6	1.3	59.4	6.1	1.8	100.0	4,080
Polish	25.1	3,695	24.3	69.8	55.0	14.7	26.7	34.2	40.5	8.9	1.4	41.1	6.9	1.3	100.0	14,695
Romanian	25.2	465	21.9	62.5	---	20.4	33.3	---	43.4	8.7	1.1	41.2	5.7	0.0	100.0	1,845
Russian	38.7	660	46.9	62.9	---	22.6	40.0	---	42.5	10.3	0.3	40.2	5.9	0.9	100.0	1,705
Slovak	7.2	55	11.4	---	---	3.4	---	---	23.0	5.3	0.7	58.6	9.2	3.3	100.0	760
Ukrainian	15.1	1,185	16.7	40.0	---	11.0	19.4	16.7	25.5	4.8	1.2	56.4	9.9	2.3	100.0	7,865
Multiple Baltic/Eastern European	16.8	410	17.1	50.0	---	10.2	27.3	---	38.2	7.4	1.0	46.2	6.7	0.4	100.0	2,445
Total: Southern Europe	18.2	18,370	16.7	46.6	32.4	16.1	22.4	14.7	38.3	4.8	0.9	49.9	4.9	1.2	100.0	100,800
Croatian	17.4	405	16.7	37.0	---	16.1	17.1	---	33.5	5.8	0.4	50.8	7.5	1.9	100.0	2,325
Macedonian	15.5	505	15.4	27.3	---	14.2	21.2	---	33.9	3.4	0.3	56.0	5.1	1.4	100.0	3,260
Serbian	29.1	615	34.7	65.0	---	18.3	---	---	47.9	4.7	2.1	41.5	2.6	1.2	100.0	2,110
Slovenian	9.8	100	6.3	---	---	9.3	19.0	---	23.5	1.0	0.5	63.2	10.3	1.5	100.0	1,020
Yugoslavian	28.0	395	29.9	38.2	---	23.0	30.4	---	37.9	12.1	0.4	40.1	8.2	1.4	100.0	1,410
Greek	20.2	2,740	18.8	57.3	43.5	17.0	27.5	21.9	36.6	4.1	0.8	51.4	5.9	1.2	100.0	13,565
Italian	16.1	8,045	13.4	39.9	27.7	15.5	20.3	12.3	32.3	3.8	0.9	56.3	5.2	1.5	100.0	50,045
Maltese	14.2	185	14.0	---	---	11.0	---	---	33.1	5.4	0.4	55.8	2.3	3.1	100.0	1,300
Portuguese	20.2	4,475	17.5	50.2	24.4	17.6	25.7	---	54.1	7.1	0.9	34.2	3.2	0.4	100.0	22,175
Spanish	18.3	140	19.0	---	---	11.0	---	---	27.5	8.5	1.3	53.6	7.2	2.0	100.0	765
Other Southern Europe	32.2	415	34.4	---	---	23.1	---	---	47.3	7.0	1.2	35.3	5.8	3.5	100.0	1,290
Multiple Southern Europe	22.8	350	19.3	52.0	---	17.4	---	---	37.1	8.1	2.0	46.9	4.2	1.6	100.0	1,535
Total: Jewish and Israeli	12.1	3,220	10.6	39.1	33.3	9.4	17.9	9.5	34.2	5.6	1.1	53.6	4.3	1.2	100.0	26,565
Jewish	12.1	2,195	11.1	38.1	18.8	9.7	20.5	15.8	33.2	4.6	0.9	56.2	4.0	1.0	100.0	18,205
Jewish and European	12.3	1,025	9.7	40.3	52.0	8.7	13.3	0.0	36.4	7.7	1.5	48.0	5.0	1.5	100.0	8,360
All others Europe only	17.4	240	17.8	---	---	11.3	---	---	36.6	6.2	0.4	51.4	4.0	1.4	100.0	1,380

Note: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Chart 8

Ethno-Racial Groups with the Most Poor Families



Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Chart by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 11
Incidence of Child Poverty by Family Type by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Children in Poverty		Incidence of Poverty (percent)			Type of Household (percentage distribution)			Total Number of Children	
	Percent-age	Number	Couple	Female	Male	Couple	Female	Male		
				Lone Parent	Lone Parent		Lone Parent	Lone Parent		
Total	33.9	167,480	25.1	66.7	40.8	77.4	20.3	2.3	100.0	493,695
Total: Aboriginal	41.7	2,535	23.4	66.3	---	55.5	41.0	3.5	100.0	6,085
Aboriginal	71.8	535	---	---	---	34.9	59.7	5.4	100.0	745
Aboriginal and British/French	42.1	610	19.7	---	---	50.7	45.9	3.4	100.0	1,450
Aboriginal and non-British/French	35.7	1,390	21.2	61.4	---	61.2	35.6	3.2	100.0	3,890
Total: African, Black and Caribbean	58.9	41,550	40.0	77.0	56.4	46.8	49.6	3.7	100.0	70,530
Ethiopian	79.0	1,280	73.1	---	---	70.1	29.0	0.9	100.0	1,620
Ghanaian	91.0	5,745	86.1	96.4	---	39.4	57.9	2.8	100.0	6,315
Somali	70.0	1,690	57.1	90.3	---	56.9	38.5	4.6	100.0	2,415
Other African Nations	63.0	2,975	51.5	84.9	---	62.5	33.1	4.4	100.0	4,720
African and South/East Asian	32.7	325	21.8	---	---	73.9	23.1	3.0	100.0	995
African and European/Arab/West Asian	40.9	610	23.0	---	---	58.4	39.6	2.0	100.0	1,490
African and Black	63.2	5,120	43.2	78.7	---	41.0	54.8	4.2	100.0	8,095
Barbadian	---	170	---	---	---	53.8	42.9	3.3	100.0	455
Guyanese	42.3	1,210	27.4	65.4	---	58.0	37.4	4.5	100.0	2,860
Jamaican	64.5	13,230	39.1	78.1	59.6	32.6	62.7	4.7	100.0	20,505
Trinidadian and Tobagonian	41.5	1,015	27.5	58.3	---	53.6	44.2	2.2	100.0	2,445
West Indian	43.3	1,685	30.8	59.9	---	56.2	41.3	2.4	100.0	3,895
Other Caribbean nations	57.8	1,115	35.0	73.6	---	42.2	52.1	5.7	100.0	1,930
Multiple Caribbean	49.5	1,360	32.8	69.0	---	52.8	45.9	1.3	100.0	2,745
Caribbean and South Asian	37.4	1,025	23.3	71.5	---	70.4	27.6	2.0	100.0	2,740
Caribbean and East Asian	25.1	305	12.6	---	---	62.1	35.0	2.9	100.0	1,215
Caribbean & European/Arab/Latin American	44.2	2,690	21.5	68.6	---	50.9	46.2	2.9	100.0	6,090
Total: South Asian	42.9	23,060	40.0	67.0	38.7	87.5	10.8	1.7	100.0	53,735
Indian	36.4	12,285	32.9	64.9	36.0	87.3	10.8	1.9	100.0	33,760
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	62.2	1,875	61.7	---	---	89.6	9.8	0.7	100.0	3,015
Sri Lankan	61.8	3,415	58.6	84.6	---	85.6	12.9	1.4	100.0	5,530
Tamil	65.2	2,390	63.6	---	---	89.2	9.7	1.1	100.0	3,665
Multiple South Asian	53.8	2,090	52.0	---	---	91.6	7.1	1.3	100.0	3,885
South Asian and East Asian	27.1	245	21.1	---	---	84.0	13.8	2.2	100.0	905
South Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	25.5	760	23.9	---	---	84.4	13.3	2.4	100.0	2,975

Note: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 11, continued

Incidence of Child Poverty by Family Type by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Children in Poverty		Incidence of Poverty (percent)			Type of Household (percentage distribution)			Total Number of Children	
	Percent- age	Number	Couple	Female	Male	Couple	Female	Male		
				Lone Parent	Lone Parent		Lone Parent	Lone Parent		
Total	33.9	167,480	25.1	66.7	40.8	77.4	20.3	2.3	100.0	493,695
Total: East & Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander	34.5	28,125	29.1	70.1	47.0	86.0	12.3	1.7	100.0	81,630
Chinese	33.6	14,690	30.5	65.7	39.7	89.9	8.6	1.6	100.0	43,680
Filipino	25.3	3,235	18.7	59.4	---	83.4	14.8	1.8	100.0	12,765
Vietnamese	59.7	4,605	46.7	87.2	---	66.3	31.0	2.7	100.0	7,715
Japanese	22.5	215	17.3	---	---	90.6	8.9	0.5	100.0	955
Korean	45.3	2,090	42.3	---	---	89.6	8.7	1.7	100.0	4,610
Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	49.1	920	38.0	---	---	79.2	18.4	2.4	100.0	1,875
Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	35.1	1,080	29.1	---	---	86.0	13.0	1.0	100.0	3,075
East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	18.5	1,290	14.0	---	---	86.5	11.7	1.8	100.0	6,955
Total: Arab and West Asian	56.6	10,805	53.7	75.8	---	85.3	12.8	2.0	100.0	19,080
Afghan	86.5	1,930	88.5	---	---	86.1	11.2	2.7	100.0	2,230
Armenian	20.9	260	19.1	---	---	92.4	4.8	2.8	100.0	1,245
Egyptian	44.4	595	41.6	---	---	90.7	7.5	1.9	100.0	1,340
Iranian	64.4	2,885	60.8	78.7	---	78.0	19.9	2.1	100.0	4,480
Lebanese	62.2	1,055	57.2	---	---	84.1	14.5	1.5	100.0	1,695
Turkish	52.2	355	50.8	---	---	92.6	4.4	2.9	100.0	680
Other Arab/West Asian	64.3	2,635	61.6	---	---	89.3	9.5	1.2	100.0	4,100
Multiple Arab/West Asian	58.4	555	53.1	---	---	85.3	13.7	1.1	100.0	950
Arab/West Asian and European	22.7	535	19.1	---	---	83.3	14.4	2.3	100.0	2,360
Total: Latin American origins	51.7	10,325	42.4	79.5	---	72.8	25.0	2.2	100.0	19,980
South American and Mexican	50.3	8,600	41.0	78.5	---	73.2	24.6	2.2	100.0	17,100
Central American	59.9	1,725	51.0	84.6	---	70.5	27.1	2.4	100.0	2,880
Canadian	24.1	7,800	12.7	67.8	37.7	78.0	19.4	2.6	100.0	32,420
Total: European	20.6	43,280	14.3	52.0	29.0	82.0	15.9	2.2	100.0	210,270
Total: British	18.0	17,125	9.4	51.3	25.9	77.8	19.6	2.6	100.0	95,065
English	30.8	5,525	16.5	66.7	28.4	69.2	27.6	3.2	100.0	17,960
Irish	23.8	860	8.8	57.9	---	65.9	28.0	6.1	100.0	3,610
Scottish	19.8	700	8.4	---	---	67.6	28.1	4.2	100.0	3,535
Multiple British	14.5	3,010	7.0	45.9	---	79.4	18.5	2.1	100.0	20,785
British and French	19.1	1,615	11.1	47.2	---	76.5	21.8	1.7	100.0	8,465
British and other European	13.3	5,415	7.7	43.2	25.4	83.0	14.7	2.3	100.0	40,710
Total: French	28.8	1,355	14.1	61.5	---	68.5	28.1	3.4	100.0	4,710
French	40.1	825	17.0	70.1	---	56.0	40.6	3.4	100.0	2,055
French and other European	20.0	530	12.5	---	---	78.2	18.5	3.4	100.0	2,655
American, Australian, New Zealander	---	---	---	---	---	90.5	9.5	0.0	100.0	475

Note: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 11, continued

Incidence of Child Poverty by Family Type by Ethno-Racial Group

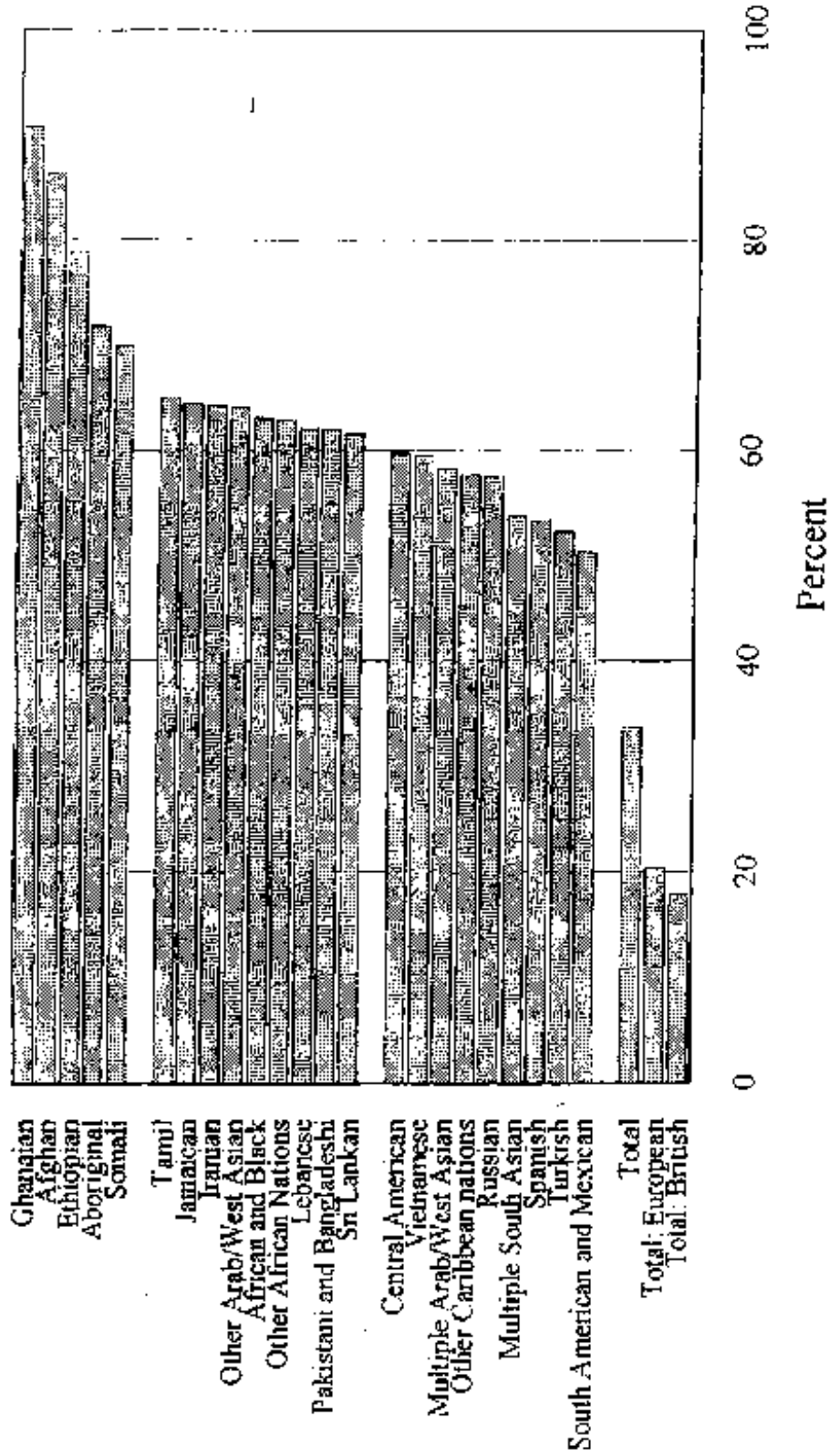
Ethno-Racial Group	Children in Poverty		Incidence of Poverty (percent)			Type of Household (percentage distribution)				Total Number of Children
	Percent- age	Number	Couple	Female	Male	Couple	Female	Male	Total	
				Lone Parent	Lone Parent		Lone Parent	Lone Parent		
Total	33.9	167,480	25.1	66.7	40.8	77.4	20.3	2.3	100.0	493,695
Total: Northern Europe and Scandinavia	17.7	1165	9.8	48.8	28.6	78.8	19.1	2.1	100.0	6,590
Austrian	---	---	---	---	---	92.0	8.0	0.0	100.0	125
Dutch	6.5	40	5.4	---	---	90.3	8.9	0.8	100.0	620
German	28.2	375	17.7	---	---	61.7	35.7	2.6	100.0	1,330
Other/Multiple Northern European	13.6	75	---	---	---	78.2	19.1	2.7	100.0	550
Finnish	---	---	---	---	---	73.9	19.6	6.5	100.0	230
Other Scandinavian	---	---	---	---	---	84.6	7.7	7.7	100.0	195
Northern Europe/Scandinavian & other Europe	16.4	580	8.9	---	---	82.8	15.7	1.6	100.0	3,540
Total: Baltic and Eastern Europe	33.6	6,200	26.9	65.2	---	81.3	16.6	2.1	100.0	18,435
Estonian	---	---	---	---	---	78.9	19.3	1.8	100.0	285
Latvian	---	---	---	---	---	82.5	17.5	0.0	100.0	315
Lithuanian	---	---	---	---	---	80.4	17.6	2.0	100.0	255
Czech	---	---	---	---	---	83.3	15.2	1.5	100.0	330
Hungarian	37.3	440	30.5	---	---	69.5	25.8	4.7	100.0	1,180
Polish	36.1	3555	29.3	69.7	---	82.1	15.8	2.1	100.0	9,840
Romanian	28.3	330	22.2	---	---	79.4	18.0	2.6	100.0	1,165
Russian	57.7	600	52.4	---	---	81.7	17.8	0.5	100.0	1,040
Slovak	---	---	---	---	---	81.8	18.2	0.0	100.0	165
Ukrainian	25.3	640	18.6	---	---	82.0	15.0	3.0	100.0	2,530
Multiple Baltic/Eastern European	24.8	330	19.9	---	---	85.0	14.7	0.4	100.0	1,330
Total: Southern Europe	23.0	13,775	19.6	51.5	32.6	88.2	10.3	1.4	100.0	59,775
Croatian	21.3	215	18.3	---	---	86.6	12.9	0.5	100.0	1,010
Macedonian	19.4	285	18.2	---	---	91.5	7.8	0.7	100.0	1,470
Serbian	44.5	685	40.2	---	---	89.6	7.8	2.6	100.0	1,540
Slovenian	---	---	---	---	---	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	245
Yugoslavian	33.1	275	32.6	---	---	79.5	19.9	0.6	100.0	830
Greek	25.4	1855	21.9	---	---	90.5	8.1	1.4	100.0	7,295
Italian	17.2	3730	14.2	41.8	---	88.4	9.6	2.0	100.0	21,675
Maltese	12.5	65	---	---	---	83.7	16.3	0.0	100.0	520
Portuguese	24.6	4790	20.5	58.9	---	88.5	10.5	0.9	100.0	19,495
Spanish	53.3	525	42.9	---	---	60.4	37.6	2.0	100.0	985
Other Southern Europe	49.7	415	45.1	---	---	86.2	12.6	1.2	100.0	835
Multiple Southern Europe	23.1	895	21.6	---	---	88.9	9.7	1.4	100.0	3,875
Total: Jewish and Israeli	14.5	3,290	11.0	41.4	---	87.0	11.1	1.9	100.0	22,675
Jewish	13.9	2,010	11.3	40.6	---	89.3	8.8	1.9	100.0	14,450
Jewish and European	15.6	1,280	10.3	42.3	---	82.9	15.1	2.0	100.0	8,225
All others Europe only	13.6	345	9.8	---	---	82.5	14.9	2.6	100.0	2,545

Note: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Ethno-Racial Groups with the Highest Rates of Child Poverty

Chart 9



Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Chart by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

The overall rate of poverty in each ethno-racial group reflects the poverty levels of the six types of families and also the distribution of family types. Of course, ethno-racial groups with more lone parent families tend to be poorer, but the impact of family types on ethno-racial inequality depends on whether there is much difference between groups. As Tables 10 and 11 show, there is actually dramatic variation in the proportion of families headed by female lone parents with children under 19 varies, from about 5 percent to over 40 percent.

But there is also wide variation in the incomes of ethno-racial groups, comparing families of the same type. Taking the figures for couples, for example, poverty levels range from around 5 percent to over 50 percent. And, while in *every* ethno-racial group female lone parents are more likely to be poor than couples, the difference in the poverty levels of couples and female lone parents with children ranges from about 20 percent to over 50 percent.

Table 11 gives the proportion of children living with couples, female lone parents, and male lone parents, the percentage of children living in poverty levels for each type of family, and the overall percentage and total number of poor children. More than one-third *of all the children* in Toronto live in families with incomes below the poverty level and *two-thirds* of children in female lone parent families are poor. The children of couples are better off, but they still have a one in four chance of living in poverty. There is enormous ethno-racial variation in the rates of child poverty, from under 10 percent to over 60 percent.

Table 12 gives the proportions of non-family persons living in poverty, for women and men in three different living arrangements. More than one-third, 36.9 percent, of all non-family persons have incomes below the LICO, half again as many as the 22.7 percent of families below the poverty line. The overall extent of poverty is a function of the proportions of the population in the six combinations of gender and family type, and the different poverty rates in the six categories. But there is less variation in the income levels of single people with different living arrangements than among different types of families. For women and men living alone 40.8 and 35.6 percent, respectively, have incomes below the poverty line, compared to 48.5 and 44.3 percent for women and men living with non-relatives, and compared to 22.8 and 24.1 percent for women and men in economic but not census families. Being in an economic family and so having one's income pooled with a related couple (with or without children) or lone parent, effectively protects single people from poverty. Women are more likely to live alone than men, in part because of their longer life expectancy.

The ethno-racial pattern of median income figures in Tables 13 and 14 is similar to the percentages of families and individuals below the LICO, in Tables 10 and 12 (the medians for children in the various

types of families are not an intuitive measure and are not considered). The median figures describe the typical situation of members of a group. Table 13 shows starkly the disadvantage of female lone parent families with at least one child under 19. Their *median* income is just \$20,700, compared to \$57,700 for couples and \$34,800 for male lone parents. For families with no child under 19, the medians are much closer: \$42,100 for female lone parents, \$48,000 for male lone parents and \$56,800 for couples (who need not have any child in the family).

Poverty and Income

EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN ETHNO-RACIAL ORIGINS

In terms of poverty and income, the situations of ethno-racial groups and the regional groupings are effectively summarized by the figures in the first column of Table 10, giving the percentage of families below the LICO: 14.4 percent of all the European groups, 29.6 percent for the East and Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders, 32.1 percent of Aboriginals, 34.6 percent for South Asians, 41.4 percent for Latin Americans, 44.6 percent of Africans, Blacks and Caribbeans, and 45.2 percent of Arabs and West Asians.

Combining all the non-European groups, the family poverty rate is 34.3 percent, more than twice the figure for the Europeans and Canadians. Non-European families make up 36.9 percent of all families, but account for 58.9 percent of all poor families. The distinction may be crude, but it is no exaggeration to describe this as a startling gap between Europeans and non-Europeans in Toronto.

The median income figures in Table 13 extend but do not alter this picture. In each of the six categories of families, Torontonians of European origin have the highest median incomes. For families with a child under 19, the median income of couples is \$68,900, for female lone parents \$25,500 and for male lone parents \$40,400; for families without a child under 19, the corresponding medians are \$59,900, \$45,700 and \$52,800. The figures for couples with a child under 19 are fairly indicative of the overall ethno-racial differences. Compared to the European median of \$68,900, the figure for Africans, Blacks and Caribbeans is \$31,000, for Arabs and West Asians \$33,800, for South Asians \$44,300, for East and Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders \$51,600 and for Aboriginals \$59,100.

The absolute disadvantage of female lone parents is clear from their median incomes, which are between one-half and one-third the figures for couples. The median income of African, Black and Caribbean female lone parent families with a child under 19 is just \$14,000, for Latin Americans \$17,000, for Arabs and West Asians, \$17,300, for Aboriginals \$17,300, for East and Southeast Asians and Pacific

Islanders \$19,800, and for South Asians \$22,100. These figures are not remarkably lower than the median income for European female lone parents, \$25,500, but at such low levels of income, a few thousand dollars has a very big impact on a family's standard of living. The Census, remember, does not count homeless people, or people who have left Toronto because the cost of living, particularly housing, has forced them out. The variation in the median incomes of lone parents is much less than that of two-parent households, and the order of ethno-racial groups is not exactly the same. Comparing two-parent families, South Asians have less income than East/Southeast Asian and Pacific Islanders and much less income than Aboriginals, but South Asian female lone parents are better off than Aboriginal lone parents, by nearly \$5000 in median income.

In terms of poverty levels, the difference between couples and lone parents is much greater for families with a child under 19 than for families only with older children (or for couples, who may not have a child living with them). This is because older children may contribute to the income of lone parent families, and also because older children have older parents, whose average income is higher. For lone parent families the likelihood of living in poverty is more than doubled if there is at least one child under the age of 19. A consequence of this pattern is that ethno-racial disparities among families with children under 19, and so among children, are much greater than the disparities among families.

Turning to the data for children in Table 11 (which, remember, differ somewhat from the corresponding figures for *families* with children under 19, in Table 10), about one-fifth of all children of European origin, 20.6 percent, corresponding to 43,280 children, are below the LICO, compared to 34.5 percent for the East and Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders, 41.7 percent of the Aboriginals, 42.9 percent of the South Asians, 51.7 percent of the Latin Americans, 56.6 percent of the Arabs and West Asians and 58.9 percent of the Africans, Blacks and Caribbeans.

There is no magic about the figure 50 percent, but it is remarkable that *most* of the children of families in Toronto from four global regions live in poverty. The numbers involved are not small: the 1996 estimates are 41,560 African, Black and Caribbean children, 10,805 Arab and West Asian children, 10,325 Latin American children, and 23,060 South Asian children live in poverty

With 25.1 percent of children in two-parent families below the LICO, compared to 66.7 percent of the children of female lone parents and 40.8 percent of the children of male lone parents below the line, the distribution of family types is a critical determinant of child poverty levels. In practice, the proportion of male lone parents can be ignored, since they are the resident parents – as counted in the Census – for only 2.3 percent of all children. Table 11 shows enormous variation in these figures: just 10.8 percent of South Asian children under 19 years of age, 12.3 percent of East and South Asian and Pacific Islanders'

children and 12.8 percent of Arab/West Asian children live in female lone parent families, compared to 49.6 percent of African, Black and Caribbean children and 41.0 percent of Aboriginal children (in these two groups the percentage of male lone parents is also highest, but there are not enough to have much effect on the overall poverty levels). Respectively, 25.0 and 15.9 percent of female lone parent families with Latin American and European children are below the poverty line.

The overall child poverty rates of the Arab and West Asian groups African, Black and Caribbean groups are about equal, although the Arabs and West Asians have about *one-quarter* as many lone parents. Thus, while the proportion of lone parents strongly affects the child poverty in ethno-racial groups, there are also large differences in the overall poverty rates that cannot be attributed to family types.

Relative to the differences among families and children, there is relatively little ethno-racial variation in the incomes of persons not living with their families. As Table 12 shows, 33.0 percent of European non-family persons have incomes below the LICO, compared to 40.8 percent of South Asians, 43.5 percent of Latin Americans, 46.1 percent of Aboriginals, 43.2 percent of East and

Table 12

Incidence of Poverty of Non-Family Persons by Ethno-Racial Group

	Incidence of Poverty Among All Non- Family Persons		Percentage Below Low Income Cut-Off (LICO)						Percentage of Persons not in Census Families						Total	Number
			Living Alone		Living with Non- Relatives		In Economic, Not Census Families		Living Alone		Living with Non- Relatives		In Economic, Not Census Families			
			Percentage	Number	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men		
Total	171,680	171,680	40.8	35.6	48.5	44.3	22.8	24.1	31.7	21.9	10.1	13.4	13.3	9.5	100.0	464,845
Total: Aboriginal	2,710	2,710	44.3	45.2	58.2	51.2	21.1	32.9	27.0	22.4	16.1	21.8	6.0	6.7	100.0	5,880
Aboriginal	760	760	60.6	57.4	62.2	62.3	---	45.0	27.2	23.4	17.2	20.3	4.2	7.7	100.0	1,305
Aboriginal and British/French	955	955	41.0	46.9	54.8	50.0	36.0	31.3	25.0	23.3	14.8	23.3	6.0	7.6	100.0	2,100
Aboriginal and non-British/French	995	995	38.7	36.5	58.5	46.7	5.7	25.9	28.7	21.0	16.6	21.2	7.1	5.5	100.0	2,475
Total: African, Black and Caribbean	21,785	21,785	53.4	48.9	63.2	58.1	39.5	39.0	22.8	20.3	9.0	13.0	19.8	15.1	100.0	44,420
Ethiopian	1,575	1,575	93.1	67.5	84.0	64.1	66.2	52.0	15.9	36.6	5.5	8.6	17.0	16.5	100.0	2,270
Ghanaian	2,580	2,580	90.0	79.8	89.2	77.1	84.6	74.5	7.8	16.3	10.2	20.5	22.4	22.7	100.0	3,190
Somali	560	560	61.9	45.1	---	54.4	---	53.3	10.2	24.9	8.8	38.5	2.9	14.6	100.0	1,025
Other African Nations	2,305	2,305	62.2	60.1	71.4	68.3	40.0	43.7	18.7	33.8	8.0	15.2	11.4	13.0	100.0	3,960
African and South/East Asian	115	115	60.0	---	---	---	---	---	28.2	22.5	11.3	12.7	15.5	9.9	100.0	355
African and European/Arab/West Asian	440	440	32.0	56.5	50.0	58.6	37.5	---	25.5	23.5	15.3	14.8	12.2	8.7	100.0	980
African and Black	1,430	1,430	50.0	53.1	43.5	54.9	40.0	40.2	22.4	15.8	7.6	16.8	20.6	16.8	100.0	3,035
Barbadian	315	315	33.8	46.3	---	47.6	3.1	---	36.8	20.4	8.0	10.4	15.9	8.5	100.0	1,005
Guyanese	1,120	1,120	63.2	41.5	59.5	52.5	32.4	25.3	26.9	19.0	8.5	8.1	22.4	15.2	100.0	2,475
Jamaican	6,650	6,650	54.2	41.1	66.1	58.7	43.7	38.7	25.3	18.9	8.4	11.4	21.5	14.4	100.0	13,645
Trinidadian and Tobagonian	730	730	41.3	42.0	51.4	52.1	17.0	18.2	26.5	19.7	8.5	11.7	22.9	10.7	100.0	2,055
West Indian	1,295	1,295	50.0	43.6	59.0	50.0	30.4	28.2	21.7	15.0	9.7	11.5	25.7	16.4	100.0	3,135
Other Caribbean nations	790	790	51.8	29.7	47.4	61.7	34.4	28.3	29.8	17.3	10.3	12.7	17.3	12.5	100.0	1,845
Multiple Caribbean	300	300	59.4	24.1	---	---	28.2	39.1	21.8	19.7	8.2	8.2	26.5	15.6	100.0	735
Caribbean and South Asian	380	380	49.2	40.0	50.0	---	14.3	20.0	26.9	8.5	10.3	6.8	23.9	23.5	100.0	1,170
Caribbean and East Asian	135	135	31.0	---	---	---	2.8	---	22.5	10.9	10.1	14.0	27.9	14.7	100.0	645
Caribbean & European/Arab/Latin American	1,065	1,065	37.2	38.2	62.0	40.4	26.2	24.4	26.9	17.6	12.3	9.8	17.8	15.5	100.0	2,895
Total: South Asian	8,450	8,450	53.2	40.3	72.2	57.4	28.2	29.2	14.8	14.3	6.2	14.4	26.9	23.4	100.0	20,725
Indian	5,045	5,045	53.6	38.2	67.3	53.0	24.0	25.7	17.7	15.9	5.7	10.4	28.7	21.7	100.0	13,520
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	390	390	---	47.2	---	51.4	43.6	33.3	6.6	19.9	2.8	19.3	21.5	29.8	100.0	905
Sri Lankan	1,065	1,065	52.2	36.0	86.7	64.8	41.2	36.4	5.5	6.0	10.8	25.1	24.4	28.2	100.0	2,090
Tamil	805	805	---	---	---	67.1	59.6	43.3	3.3	5.5	6.2	31.1	20.9	33.0	100.0	1,365
Multiple South Asian	615	615	---	63.0	---	63.0	30.4	28.4	4.8	10.0	5.9	20.0	29.3	30.0	100.0	1,350
South Asian and East Asian	35	35	---	---	---	---	---	---	13.3	15.6	6.7	2.2	42.2	20.0	100.0	225
South Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	495	495	48.6	42.3	---	43.2	23.8	24.2	29.1	20.5	6.3	14.6	16.5	13.0	100.0	1,270

Note: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 12, continued

Incidence of Poverty of Non-Family Persons by Ethno-Racial Group

	Percentage Below Low Income Cut-Off (LICO)								Percentage of Persons not in Census Families							
			Living Alone		Living with Non-Relatives		In Economic, Not Census Families		Living Alone		Living with Non-Relatives		In Economic, Not Census Families		Total	Number
	Number	Number	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men		
Total	171,680	171,680	40.8	35.6	48.5	44.3	22.8	24.1	31.7	21.9	10.1	13.4	13.3	9.5	100.0	464,845
Total: East & Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander	21,820	21,820	55.0	47.0	62.1	59.0	25.6	27.1	18.1	11.6	15.7	11.5	27.7	15.4	100.0	50,480
Chinese	11,920	11,920	57.4	47.6	65.1	62.5	27.1	30.9	18.9	13.4	9.7	11.4	30.0	16.7	100.0	27,150
Filipino	3,675	3,675	41.4	23.8	58.8	48.5	17.7	14.0	15.2	3.1	33.7	4.9	31.6	11.4	100.0	10,075
Vietnamese	1,735	1,735	70.0	53.8	70.7	53.9	36.7	25.6	5.3	12.2	10.0	29.3	19.7	23.5	100.0	3,740
Japanese	940	940	38.9	34.8	58.6	46.9	2.1	8.3	35.0	22.3	16.9	9.5	9.3	7.0	100.0	2,575
Korean	1,940	1,940	83.8	72.1	77.2	84.3	49.6	50.0	30.0	12.2	14.2	9.2	23.9	10.4	100.0	2,780
Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	430	430	---	46.4	69.6	62.8	27.3	17.2	10.9	16.0	13.1	24.6	18.9	16.6	100.0	875
Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	500	500	56.5	---	69.4	41.9	22.0	22.5	8.2	6.8	12.9	11.1	32.5	28.6	100.0	1,400
East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	680	680	33.3	45.8	46.3	53.6	14.3	23.8	16.7	15.6	21.2	14.9	20.4	11.1	100.0	1,885
Total: Arab and West Asian	5,175	5,175	59.3	54.8	52.0	67.6	39.2	31.9	14.4	27.6	5.0	20.3	14.6	18.1	100.0	10,050
Afghan	330	330	---	78.3	---	85.7	---	44.4	3.0	22.8	0.0	20.8	17.8	35.6	100.0	505
Armenian	345	345	58.9	40.0	---	---	19.0	17.4	30.6	19.1	4.4	10.4	23.0	12.6	100.0	915
Egyptian	220	220	60.0	36.6	---	---	29.2	---	16.8	34.5	3.4	11.8	20.2	13.4	100.0	595
Iranian	2,125	2,125	72.5	61.5	69.4	75.8	51.6	40.0	10.1	30.0	5.3	26.0	13.3	15.4	100.0	3,420
Lebanese	340	340	55.0	29.7	---	52.9	34.4	17.6	21.6	20.0	4.3	18.4	17.3	18.4	100.0	925
Turkish	155	155	---	58.1	---	---	---	---	11.4	44.3	2.9	8.6	8.6	24.3	100.0	350
Other Arab/West Asian	1,055	1,055	62.9	65.3	---	65.2	45.0	32.0	9.0	24.3	3.1	22.8	15.3	25.6	100.0	1,955
Multiple Arab/West Asian	250	250	---	43.8	---	77.3	---	---	15.0	29.9	9.3	20.6	9.3	15.9	100.0	535
Arab/West Asian and European	355	355	46.5	46.4	45.0	48.0	---	---	25.3	32.9	11.8	14.7	5.9	9.4	100.0	850
Total: Latin American origins	4,060	4,060	54.3	45.1	59.1	49.1	33.1	28.0	16.6	17.4	9.1	20.1	20.1	16.6	100.0	9,345
South American and Mexican	3,710	3,710	54.2	44.8	59.9	49.0	31.6	28.2	17.3	17.9	9.2	19.5	19.4	16.7	100.0	8,570
Central American	350	350	---	50.0	---	50.0	44.2	25.0	9.0	12.9	9.0	25.8	27.7	15.5	100.0	775
Canadian	10,505	10,505	40.2	33.9	47.3	41.5	18.8	19.1	29.8	23.8	11.1	18.3	8.2	8.8	100.0	29,085
Total: European	97,155	97,155	37.8	31.9	41.1	37.4	13.5	15.6	37.8	24.2	9.7	12.7	9.3	6.4	100.0	294,850
Total: British	52,285	52,285	33.4	29.9	37.1	35.3	12.1	15.5	39.0	24.2	9.8	12.9	8.3	5.8	100.0	170,140
English	17,985	17,985	42.5	34.5	37.6	36.2	16.9	19.3	41.5	24.2	8.3	12.9	7.8	5.4	100.0	49,790
Irish	4,545	4,545	33.6	33.2	33.7	37.6	10.1	12.7	37.6	25.2	9.4	12.8	9.7	5.3	100.0	14,830
Scottish	5,445	5,445	38.8	27.2	30.7	35.2	8.3	12.7	40.2	24.5	8.3	13.3	7.8	5.8	100.0	17,610
Multiple British	12,030	12,030	27.1	27.2	37.5	32.6	8.4	13.8	41.7	23.3	10.8	12.6	6.9	4.7	100.0	44,510
British and French	3,645	3,645	27.9	29.0	40.5	33.6	8.6	10.9	36.0	23.3	13.2	16.0	6.4	5.0	100.0	12,725
British and other European	8,635	8,635	25.0	26.6	38.1	37.3	14.5	16.6	34.3	25.0	14.3	15.7	5.2	5.6	100.0	30,675
Total: French	3,875	3,875	38.6	31.2	43.9	33.9	13.1	19.5	32.4	24.4	13.7	19.1	5.4	5.0	100.0	11,300
French	3,010	3,010	42.0	30.0	44.2	33.6	16.5	22.5	33.1	25.4	12.2	19.0	5.0	5.2	100.0	8,515
French and other European	865	865	27.2	35.6	43.1	34.6	5.4	8.3	30.3	21.2	18.3	19.2	6.6	4.3	100.0	2,785
American, Australian, New Zealander	205	205	45.2	22.7	---	40.9	---	---	30.3	21.2	18.3	19.2	6.6	4.3	100.0	560

Note: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 12, continued

Incidence of Poverty of Non-Family Persons by Ethno-Racial Group

	Percentage Below Low Income Cut-Off (LICO)								Percentage of Persons not in Census Families							
	Number		Living Alone		Living with Non-Relatives		In Economic, Not Census Families		Living Alone		Living with Non-Relatives		In Economic, Not Census Families		Total	Number
			Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men			Women	Men	Women	Men		
Total	171,680	171,680	40.8	35.6	48.5	44.3	22.8	24.1	31.7	21.9	10.1	13.4	13.3	9.5	100.0	464,845
Total: Northern Europe and Scandinavia	6,805	6,805	35.5	30.2	39.8	32.2	16.5	14.7	40.6	24.7	10.1	13.8	6.8	3.9	100.0	21,210
Austrian	250	250	35.1	29.3	---	---	---	---	48.1	25.6	5.0	10.6	7.5	3.1	100.0	800
Dutch	810	810	29.9	28.0	35.9	25.0	29.0	0.0	34.4	22.6	13.3	19.1	5.3	5.3	100.0	2,925
German	3,005	3,005	36.9	30.8	37.6	37.1	13.0	14.1	41.8	25.3	9.0	12.5	7.5	3.9	100.0	9,175
Other/Multiple Northern European	415	415	22.7	30.4	43.9	20.4	---	---	37.7	25.0	13.0	17.1	6.0	1.3	100.0	1,580
Finnish	495	495	51.3	41.7	---	53.8	---	---	49.1	20.9	7.0	11.3	7.8	3.9	100.0	1,150
Other Scandinavian	455	455	35.2	27.4	45.5	24.2	---	---	43.6	26.1	7.9	11.8	5.7	5.0	100.0	1,400
Northern Europe/Scandinavian & other Euro	1,375	1,375	35.2	28.9	43.0	33.0	21.6	22.2	38.0	26.1	12.8	12.7	6.1	4.3	100.0	4,180
Total: Baltic and Eastern Europe	12,880	12,880	50.3	40.9	55.2	48.3	14.4	19.8	39.9	26.1	7.5	10.3	10.7	5.4	100.0	30,300
Estonian	470	470	40.4	30.9	---	---	17.2	---	54.1	20.4	6.3	5.6	10.7	3.0	100.0	1,350
Latvian	470	470	50.0	43.3	---	---	9.5	---	46.2	28.3	5.2	8.0	9.9	2.4	100.0	1,060
Lithuanian	315	315	38.9	37.0	---	---	---	---	48.9	29.3	5.4	3.8	8.2	4.3	100.0	920
Czech	395	395	40.3	33.3	50.0	32.0	8.3	---	33.2	31.0	10.3	10.8	10.3	4.3	100.0	1,160
Hungarian	1,855	1,855	51.4	49.0	55.4	49.3	16.7	21.2	41.8	30.4	7.1	9.0	7.6	4.2	100.0	3,960
Polish	4,515	4,515	57.3	41.4	65.5	51.3	17.5	22.2	36.9	24.7	7.4	12.3	11.4	7.4	100.0	9,790
Romanian	440	440	52.8	41.7	---	60.0	10.0	---	28.0	31.7	7.9	15.9	10.6	5.8	100.0	945
Russian	745	745	58.4	55.4	48.0	---	28.9	---	43.0	25.4	8.6	6.5	13.1	3.4	100.0	1,455
Slovak	215	215	38.3	33.3	---	---	21.7	---	36.2	25.4	4.6	13.1	17.7	3.1	100.0	650
Ukrainian	2,635	2,635	48.0	36.3	47.2	47.8	7.7	15.7	42.3	23.2	7.8	10.0	11.4	5.2	100.0	6,770
Multiple Baltic/Eastern European	825	825	41.5	37.3	59.6	31.0	10.9	15.4	36.6	26.3	11.6	9.4	10.3	5.8	100.0	2,240
Total: Southern Europe	14,120	14,120	54.1	39.1	53.8	44.8	14.4	14.6	26.7	21.0	6.8	9.8	21.4	14.2	100.0	39,260
Croatian	585	585	53.4	40.7	40.7	54.1	6.5	9.5	30.3	29.7	9.3	12.8	10.7	7.2	100.0	1,450
Macedonian	540	540	55.7	49.0	80.0	---	19.2	13.7	21.9	18.3	9.0	6.1	26.3	18.3	100.0	1,390
Serbian	510	510	47.3	45.1	---	73.7	20.6	---	24.6	31.7	3.6	17.0	15.2	8.0	100.0	1,120
Slovenian	185	185	31.9	40.5	---	---	---	---	36.7	28.9	8.6	5.5	13.3	7.0	100.0	640
Yugoslavian	305	305	42.0	39.5	---	42.9	---	---	31.3	26.9	10.0	17.5	11.9	2.5	100.0	800
Greek	1,870	1,870	57.6	42.0	59.6	49.6	15.2	14.8	24.3	20.7	5.2	11.9	21.7	16.2	100.0	5,000
Italian	6,525	6,525	53.9	37.5	50.4	41.7	13.0	13.8	29.9	19.9	6.6	8.5	21.3	13.9	100.0	18,575
Maltese	225	225	45.2	31.5	---	31.0	---	12.5	19.3	33.5	6.2	18.0	8.1	14.9	100.0	805
Portuguese	2,240	2,240	60.0	37.6	56.0	38.9	12.7	11.6	20.6	17.7	6.5	8.9	28.6	17.7	100.0	7,050
Spanish	315	315	61.1	29.7	---	---	50.0	---	25.5	26.2	12.8	7.1	17.0	11.3	100.0	705
Other Southern Europe	470	470	72.7	53.7	---	66.7	---	45.0	21.0	26.1	12.1	19.1	8.9	12.7	100.0	785
Multiple Southern Europe	350	350	33.3	39.4	45.0	41.9	25.9	42.3	27.1	17.6	10.6	16.5	14.4	13.8	100.0	940
Total: Jewish and Israeli	6,495	6,495	36.9	25.8	42.0	41.0	12.7	13.7	44.5	28.4	7.2	8.0	6.9	5.0	100.0	20,540
Jewish	4,470	4,470	38.4	28.3	38.5	39.7	10.0	14.5	45.9	29.8	5.3	6.3	7.2	5.5	100.0	13,910
Jewish and European	2,025	2,025	33.5	19.5	45.6	42.5	19.3	11.5	41.6	25.6	11.1	11.5	6.3	3.9	100.0	6,630
All others Europe only	490	490	28.4	29.3	46.5	34.2	34.4	---	35.4	24.4	14.0	12.3	10.4	3.6	100.0	1,540

Note: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders, 49.0 percent of Africans, Blacks and Caribbeans, and 51.5 percent of Arabs and West Asians. The patterns are too complex to describe in detail, but they strongly reflect ethno-racial variation in the living arrangements of non-family persons. Persons living in economic, but not “census” families, recall, are protected from poverty because their incomes are combined with a census family’s income; and people living alone tend to have higher incomes than those living with non-family members. Living arrangements affect the risk of poverty, especially since the cost of living is strongly related to the cost of accommodation. But the reverse is also true, since a person’s economic resources affect whether she or he can afford to live alone.

It is not only economic conditions, however, that affect the living arrangements of non-family persons. On average more women than men live alone, 31.7 versus 21.9 percent of non-family persons. Among Arabs and West Asians, 14.6 percent of non-family persons are women living alone, compared to 27.6 percent of men living alone, another 5.0 percent are women living with non-relatives, compared to 20.3 percent of men living with non-relatives. More than half of all South Asian non-family persons live in economic families, but less than 20 percent of the Aboriginal people.

ABORIGINAL ORIGINS

Almost one-half of the Aboriginal families, 47.7 percent, have incomes below the LICO, compared to 24.6 percent of the families of persons with Aboriginal and English or French heritage and 31.8 percent of people who are Aboriginal and European heritage, other than French and English. This difference reflects the higher rates of poverty in the different family categories and also the higher proportion of lone parents – 33.0 percent of all families that are Aboriginal only, versus 19.5 and 24.2 percent in the two other categories. As Table 13 shows, the median income of persons with Aboriginal and some other heritage is slightly *above* the Toronto average, while the median income of Aboriginal (only) couples is \$42,200, or \$13,000 below the population median. As a result 71.8 percent of children who are Aboriginal live in poverty, compared to 42.1 and 35.7 percent, for children with Aboriginal and French and/or English and with Aboriginal and any other heritage, respectively.

Table 13
Median Family Income by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Median Economic Family Income in 1995 (\$)						
	All Families	With One or More Children Under 19			Without a Child Under 19		
		Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents	Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents
Total	51,600	57,700	20,700	34,800	56,800	42,100	48,000
Total: Aboriginal	42,900	59,100	17,300	23,900	57,000	22,500	---
Aboriginal	28,400	42,200	14,500	---	44,000	---	---
Aboriginal and British/French	47,600	61,000	20,000	---	58,000	---	---
Aboriginal and non-British/French	46,000	62,100	17,000	---	57,000	25,100	---
Total: African, Black and Caribbean	23,400	31,000	14,000	20,800	35,400	32,400	31,100
Ethiopian	20,000	25,600	12,200	---	20,400	---	---
Ghanaian	15,600	19,100	13,500	---	19,200	---	---
Somali	23,600	30,100	15,500	28,300	29,900	---	---
Other African Nations	27,600	33,300	14,500	21,400	40,400	26,100	---
African and South/East Asian	41,900	57,000	21,000	---	45,700	---	---
African and European/Arab/West Asian	44,200	60,500	19,500	---	51,400	---	---
African and Black	29,000	39,800	14,300	---	39,400	41,600	---
Barbadian	47,700	58,000	18,300	---	54,700	33,800	---
Guyanese	39,500	50,100	21,700	30,700	43,400	35,400	---
Jamaican	28,400	46,200	17,900	22,900	44,300	32,500	27,100
Trinidadian and Tobagonian	38,100	49,700	26,900	---	47,500	39,800	---
West Indian	37,600	51,300	23,000	---	46,200	38,800	---
Other Caribbean nations	32,800	46,100	17,700	22,600	54,000	35,800	---
Multiple Caribbean	37,400	49,800	18,200	---	60,000	---	---
Caribbean and South Asian	46,500	55,800	21,300	---	50,500	54,800	---
Caribbean and East Asian	49,400	62,600	24,300	---	58,100	---	---
Caribbean & European/Arab/Latin American	40,400	54,600	18,600	---	58,000	38,900	---
Total: South Asian	42,500	44,300	22,100	35,700	45,900	36,700	38,400
Indian	47,300	50,100	24,000	35,900	50,100	38,600	42,400
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	30,700	30,700	31,100	---	31,600	---	---
Sri Lankan	30,000	30,900	16,800	---	32,400	31,400	---
Tamil	29,200	29,900	18,700	---	31,000	---	---
Multiple South Asian	35,700	37,800	18,200	---	35,400	35,400	---
South Asian and East Asian	54,800	53,700	---	---	---	---	---
South Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	51,700	48,300	35,100	---	65,600	54,700	---

Notes: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996; figures rounded to the nearest \$100

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael OrNSTein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 13, continued
Median Family Income by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Median Economic Family Income in 1995 (\$)						
	All Families	with One or more Children Under 19			Without a Child Under 19		
		Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents	Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents
Total	51,600	57,700	20,700	34,800	56,800	42,100	48,000
Total: East & Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander	47,500	51,600	19,800	40,100	49,200	38,700	40,900
Chinese	48,700	51,600	26,500	43,600	48,200	38,500	43,700
Filipino	50,600	57,900	24,400	43,800	50,300	41,100	---
Vietnamese	32,800	42,400	14,200	21,500	43,400	26,300	---
Japanese	65,300	77,900	---	---	64,800	61,700	---
Korean	36,500	39,500	12,200	---	37,700	22,500	---
Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	40,200	47,800	17,000	---	41,800	---	---
Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	49,700	52,200	18,300	---	56,900	---	---
East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	53,000	61,900	27,700	---	58,700	---	---
Total: Arab and West Asian	32,800	33,800	17,300	25,300	40,400	32,400	32,000
Afghan	19,600	19,300	19,600	---	28,500	---	---
Armenian	50,100	53,900	---	---	49,500	41,400	---
Egyptian	43,400	45,900	---	---	53,400	---	---
Iranian	25,400	26,100	18,300	---	30,800	27,300	---
Lebanese	37,100	39,500	19,300	---	40,400	---	---
Turkish	37,900	37,700	---	---	54,200	---	---
Other Arab/West Asian	30,400	31,900	15,400	---	31,700	22,400	---
Multiple Arab/West Asian	32,400	37,700	---	---	30,100	---	---
Arab/West Asian and European	56,200	62,400	20,000	---	62,000	---	---
Total: Latin American origins	35,400	40,900	17,000	28,600	44,800	29,800	34,500
South American and Mexican	36,300	41,400	17,000	27,300	44,900	29,800	34,500
Central American	31,500	35,800	17,000	---	42,700	29,500	---
Canadian	57,000	69,300	18,300	36,300	61,900	43,800	52,900
Total: European	58,800	68,900	25,500	40,400	59,900	45,700	52,800
Total: British	63,800	79,800	27,600	46,100	65,500	47,900	56,500
English	58,100	76,100	22,100	45,300	59,500	41,800	53,300
Irish	63,400	79,000	27,300	45,500	63,800	48,400	51,300
Scottish	61,400	77,600	30,600	39,600	60,600	48,100	56,500
Multiple British	70,100	84,200	32,500	43,100	72,800	50,500	48,000
British and French	64,000	77,600	24,300	37,200	67,300	50,300	67,700
British and other European	67,300	79,700	28,100	48,900	72,800	49,600	68,000
Total: French	58,700	71,500	23,400	---	63,000	47,700	---
French	59,600	72,900	20,200	---	63,000	46,500	---
French and other European	56,000	64,300	29,200	---	63,000	52,400	---
American, Australian, New Zealander	78,100	80,100	---	---	77,600	---	---

Notes: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996; figures rounded to the nearest \$100
Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

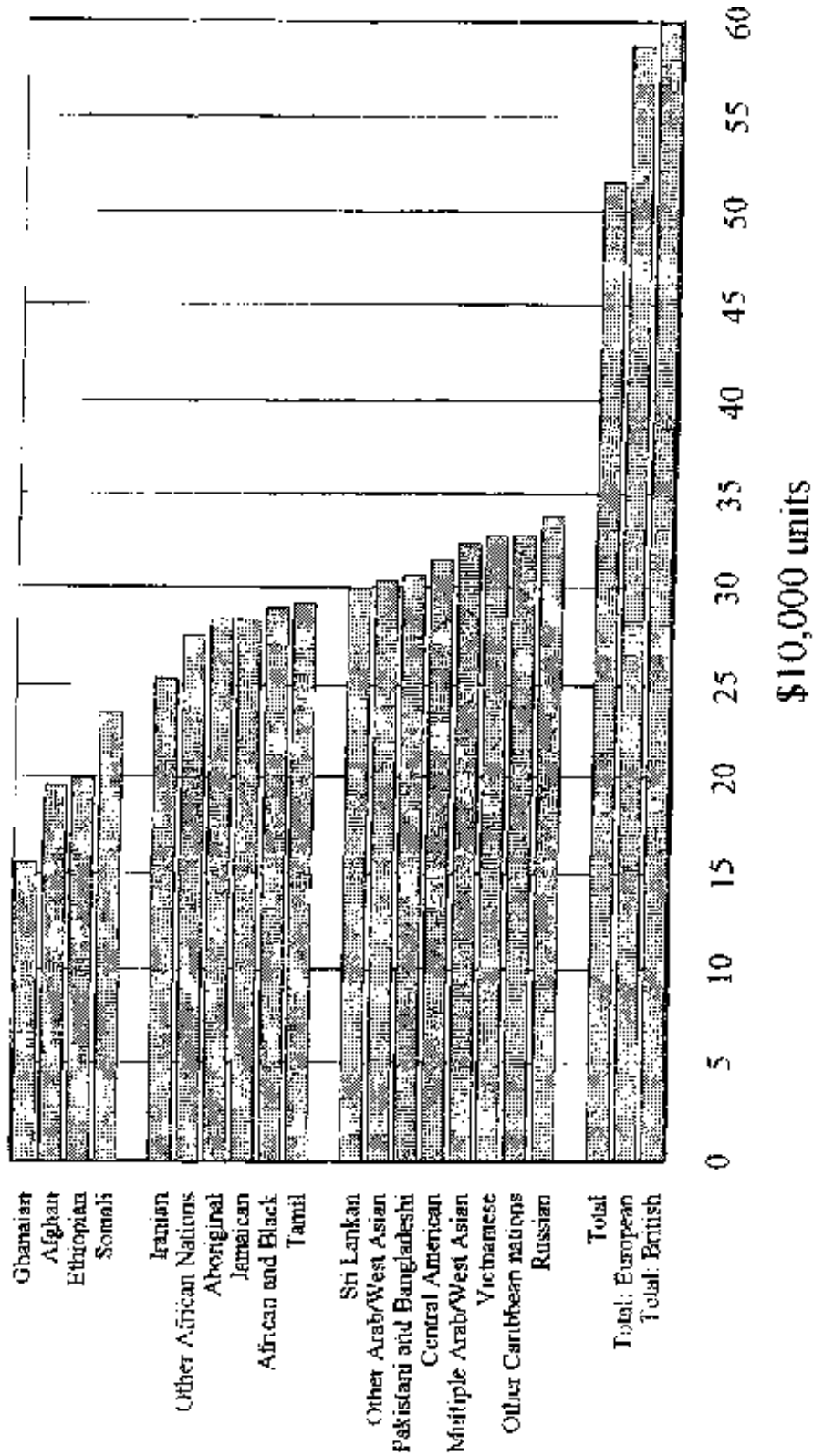
Table 13, continued
Median Family Income by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Median Economic Family Income in 1995 (\$)						
	All Families	With One or More Children Under 19			Without a Child Under 19		
		Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents	Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents
Total	51,600	57,700	20,700	34,800	56,800	42,100	48,000
Total: Northern Europe and Scandinavia	60,800	73,800	29,400	35,500	60,000	47,800	46,800
Austrian	51,900	74,200	---	---	50,100	---	---
Dutch	66,200	79,800	25,400	---	65,000	49,000	---
German	58,300	71,700	29,400	---	57,200	46,800	42,400
Other/Multiple Northern European	68,000	82,700	37,900	---	67,600	---	---
Finnish	51,600	67,700	---	---	50,400	---	---
Other Scandinavian	63,900	71,400	---	---	63,000	---	---
Northern Europe/Scandinavian & other Europe	63,500	76,500	27,100	---	65,300	51,000	---
Total: Baltic and Eastern Europe	53,000	59,800	29,200	39,800	50,700	43,100	46,500
Estonian	49,600	80,600	---	---	46,200	50,200	---
Latvian	58,500	87,700	---	---	54,200	---	---
Lithuanian	57,200	82,900	---	---	55,600	60,500	---
Czech	58,600	70,900	---	---	60,000	---	---
Hungarian	47,800	61,100	26,900	---	47,500	34,100	---
Polish	42,400	45,200	15,700	23,600	45,700	36,400	51,100
Romanian	44,100	46,200	18,500	---	47,500	43,900	---
Russian	33,900	34,700	16,700	---	43,600	---	---
Slovak	65,100	68,800	---	---	64,500	---	---
Ukrainian	53,300	65,900	31,800	---	52,000	46,600	38,000
Multiple Baltic/Eastern European	58,400	62,500	21,500	---	59,500	39,100	---
Total: Southern Europe	47,200	52,200	18,700	33,400	49,400	42,600	50,000
Croatian	52,400	54,700	29,500	---	52,700	49,300	---
Macedonian	56,400	66,500	38,500	---	53,000	52,900	---
Serbian	42,200	40,900	17,300	---	49,100	---	---
Slovenian	59,100	72,600	---	---	51,600	38,500	---
Yugoslavian	40,300	47,100	26,600	---	44,200	31,900	---
Greek	51,600	58,500	24,100	27,500	51,100	34,500	44,000
Italian	56,000	65,800	33,700	46,800	51,000	46,700	48,000
Maltese	57,500	62,400	---	---	59,100	---	---
Portuguese	50,600	54,300	26,300	46,100	48,600	35,200	---
Spanish	54,100	64,900	---	---	60,300	---	---
Other Southern Europe	37,900	38,500	---	---	40,100	---	---
Multiple Southern Europe	50,700	59,500	28,600	---	50,500	---	---
Total: Jewish and Israeli	73,200	96,300	32,700	56,400	69,800	50,300	81,200
Jewish	72,900	98,700	33,000	70,500	68,100	47,100	79,000
Jewish and European	74,000	92,200	31,100	23,900	73,900	55,100	90,600
All others Europe only	62,800	68,300	---	---	62,500	---	---

Notes: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996; figures rounded to the nearest \$100
Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Ethno-Racial Groups with the Lowest Median Family Income

Chart 10



Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Chart by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 14
Median Individual Incomes of Non-Family Persons by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Median Individual Income in 1995 (\$)						
	All Non-Family Persons	Living Alone		Living with Non-Relatives		Persons in Economic, not Census Families	
		Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Total	19,600	18,200	25,600	15,300	21,800	12,400	20,300
Total: Aboriginal	15,800	20,400	20,000	12,700	16,600	12,000	10,300
Aboriginal	11,300	11,300	11,500	7,500	12,200	---	13,200
Aboriginal and British/French	18,200	15,300	19,300	14,700	24,500	15,100	17,300
Aboriginal and non-British/French	20,100	11,600	27,300	10,200	26,500	12,400	19,200
Total: African, Black and Caribbean	10,600	12,000	12,200	7,500	11,200	8,600	9,400
Ethiopian	8,000	6,000	10,200	8,500	5,600	6,200	9,800
Ghanaian	6,400	6,400	7,700	6,200	4,800	6,500	6,300
Somali	15,100	---	18,500	10,200	14,800	---	15,300
Other African Nations	11,200	7,500	12,200	10,200	12,200	10,000	8,600
African and South/East Asian	17,900	---	---	---	13,600	---	---
African and European/Arab/West Asian	17,300	17,700	13,400	---	25,900	13,900	15,000
African and Black	14,900	20,300	16,300	12,200	17,300	11,500	12,200
Barbadian	18,900	---	18,800	12,200	25,300	12,100	---
Guyanese	13,200	15,300	19,600	12,200	12,900	11,300	16,300
Jamaican	13,700	11,100	20,300	12,200	14,800	11,500	14,800
Trinidadian and Tobagonian	17,200	15,000	23,400	9,200	20,300	13,300	18,500
West Indian	15,300	15,100	20,300	14,900	16,200	12,000	18,300
Other Caribbean nations	15,900	20,300	25,700	10,200	16,300	10,200	10,200
Multiple Caribbean	16,300	---	26,000	---	14,800	11,500	---
Caribbean and South Asian	16,500	13,800	---	18,500	17,100	10,400	---
Caribbean and East Asian	26,000	---	---	---	24,100	33,900	---
Caribbean & European/Arab/Latin American	18,400	13,300	24,600	8,600	24,500	12,700	20,600
Total: South Asian	12,200	15,600	21,700	10,000	14,200	8,900	14,200
Indian	12,800	12,100	22,500	15,300	15,300	10,100	15,900
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	14,200	---	19,300	17,300	---	2,700	18,300
Sri Lankan	8,700	5,900	20,400	14,200	18,100	5,100	11,000
Tamil	7,800	---	---	10,200	---	7,700	7,200
Multiple South Asian	9,800	---	13,200	12,200	---	7,700	16,000
South Asian and East Asian	24,300	---	---	---	---	---	---
South Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	17,100	---	22,300	22,000	18,300	11,500	19,500

Notes: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996; figures rounded to the nearest \$100

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 14, continued

Median Individual Incomes of Non-Family Persons by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Median Individual Income in 1995 (\$)						
	All Non-Family Persons	Living Alone		Living with Non-Relatives		Persons in Economic, not Census Families	
		Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Total	19,600	18,200	25,600	15,300	21,800	12,400	20,300
Total: East & Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander	12,900	14,600	20,300	14,200	14,200	11,500	13,400
Chinese	11,900	11,200	18,700	11,500	13,200	11,400	12,400
Filipino	15,700	15,500	25,600	18,700	20,300	13,200	18,500
Vietnamese	11,500	10,800	13,800	17,300	10,200	7,200	15,300
Japanese	22,700	12,900	29,700	33,200	25,100	22,500	20,300
Korean	11,000	7,200	11,600	6,200	11,500	10,200	3,100
Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	11,300	8,200	18,300	11,300	---	12,200	6,600
Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	12,200	11,200	---	15,600	16,300	8,200	18,300
East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	18,300	18,300	20,300	11,200	24,600	15,300	17,300
Total: Arab and West Asian	11,600	12,700	15,300	17,500	8,400	8,800	12,900
Afghan	6,200	---	4,700	6,200	---	---	6,200
Armenian	13,000	---	22,700	15,500	11,900	10,200	---
Egyptian	16,500	---	20,300	---	15,900	11,000	---
Iranian	8,500	9,200	11,600	12,800	10,200	3,700	7,200
Lebanese	16,300	---	27,500	14,500	14,500	11,400	16,300
Turkish	16,900	---	16,200	---	---	---	---
Other Arab/West Asian	10,800	---	12,200	12,000	11,000	9,400	9,000
Multiple Arab/West Asian	14,300	---	18,500	---	---	---	7,200
Arab/West Asian and European	20,300	20,300	25,200	---	18,700	---	19,000
Total: Latin American origins	15,000	14,600	20,000	15,500	17,600	11,300	16,000
South American and Mexican	15,100	15,300	20,000	16,000	14,600	11,300	17,600
Central American	13,500	---	---	14,400	---	9,600	16,700
Canadian	20,800	18,300	25,900	16,600	22,200	15,500	20,300
Total: European	22,700	21,100	28,300	17,500	23,500	15,000	23,800
Total: British	25,400	23,900	30,300	18,200	26,300	18,400	25,300
English	22,000	23,300	26,300	18,300	20,300	16,300	24,800
Irish	25,000	25,800	26,800	16,300	25,300	21,700	25,300
Scottish	24,800	26,500	30,300	17,500	22,400	17,900	25,300
Multiple British	28,600	23,900	33,600	19,000	30,600	20,700	26,500
British and French	26,300	21,600	29,100	18,000	30,400	17,300	25,300
British and other European	28,300	23,400	32,400	18,700	31,500	17,300	24,300
Total: French	25,300	24,900	29,500	23,000	27,400	15,500	16,900
French	25,000	25,300	28,900	16,500	22,300	14,400	26,300
French and other European	26,300	20,000	32,300	17,800	28,800	16,500	29,300
American, Australian, New Zealander	21,300	---	35,900	---	18,100	---	27,300

Notes: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996; figures rounded to the nearest \$100

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 14, continued

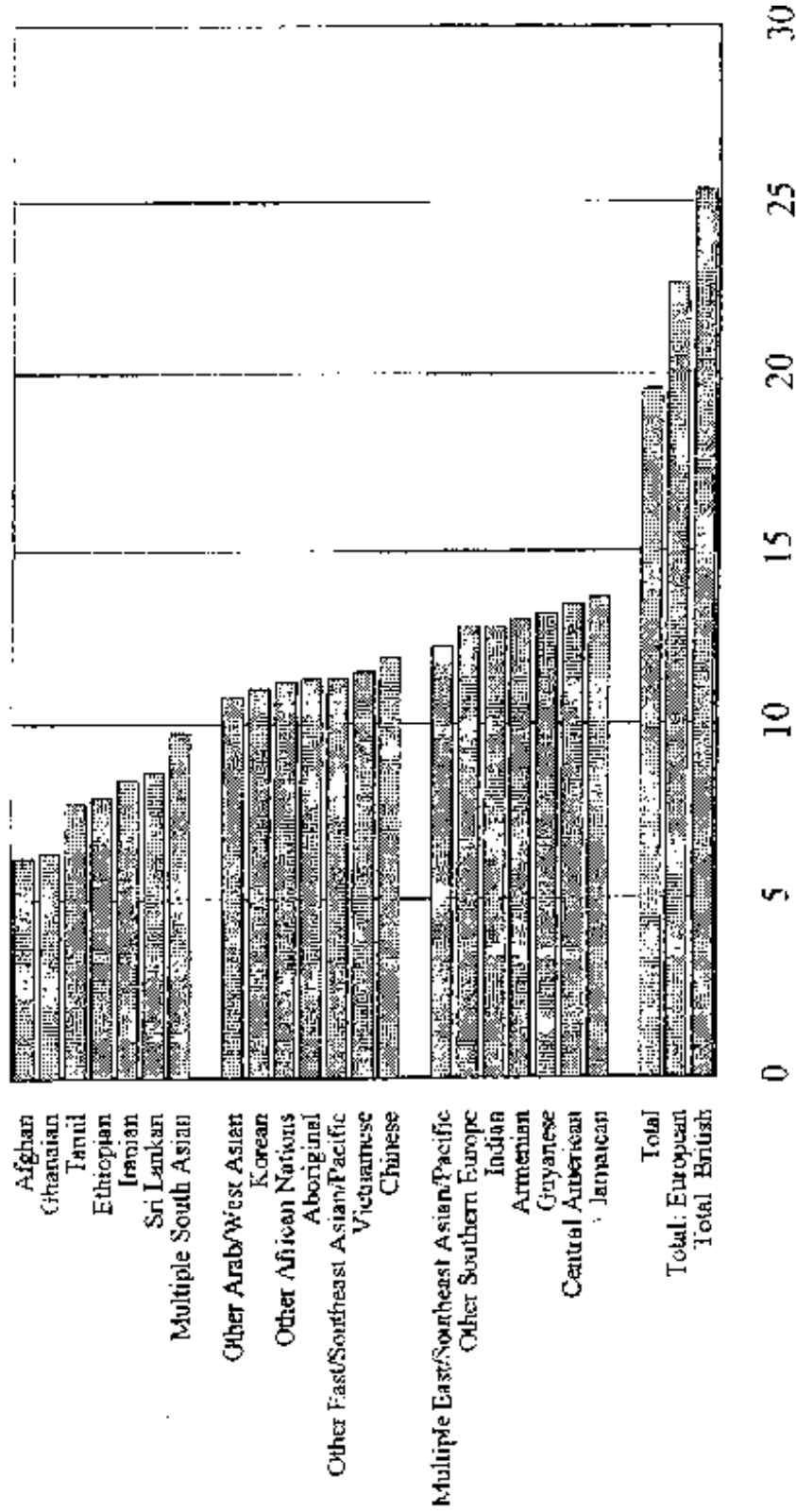
Median Individual Incomes of Non-Family Persons by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Median Individual Income in 1995 (\$)						
	All Non-Family Persons	Living Alone		Living with Non-Relatives		Persons in Economic, not Census Families	
		Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Total	19,600	18,200	25,600	15,300	21,800	12,400	20,300
Total: Northern Europe and Scandinavia	24,300	24,300	29,800	21,000	27,300	15,800	19,000
Austrian	24,000	---	30,300	---	23,400	---	---
Dutch	26,300	24,400	29,000	20,200	29,300	11,500	28,300
German	23,300	21,800	30,300	19,800	23,600	15,000	22,600
Other/Multiple Northern European	28,300	20,300	34,400	---	29,100	14,400	30,300
Finnish	18,800	---	25,300	---	16,000	---	13,900
Other Scandinavian	25,300	17,900	29,300	---	24,900	---	28,500
Northern Europe/Scandinavian & other Euro	24,400	20,300	29,200	18,700	24,800	18,300	28,500
Total: Baltic and Eastern Europe	15,800	15,600	21,900	15,400	20,300	12,500	17,800
Estonian	20,100	---	34,100	---	19,600	14,100	---
Latvian	16,400	---	20,000	---	17,000	12,700	---
Lithuanian	19,600	---	24,200	---	20,500	---	---
Czech	20,300	19,800	27,700	---	19,300	13,700	25,300
Hungarian	16,200	14,400	17,200	16,300	16,800	13,800	17,200
Polish	15,600	13,900	20,300	14,700	15,300	13,800	15,300
Romanian	15,500	---	18,100	---	15,400	---	11,900
Russian	14,400	17,800	15,300	---	14,600	11,500	---
Slovak	18,100	---	28,800	---	21,600	11,500	---
Ukrainian	18,300	22,300	24,900	15,800	17,500	15,300	17,000
Multiple Baltic/Eastern European	20,500	15,300	26,400	16,700	20,500	16,100	25,000
Total: Southern Europe	17,000	16,800	21,400	15,900	17,400	14,000	16,200
Croatian	18,300	18,900	21,900	21,300	16,600	14,400	16,000
Macedonian	14,200	11,500	18,300	18,300	15,800	12,300	---
Serbian	14,100	---	18,300	---	17,500	12,400	8,300
Slovenian	22,000	---	21,800	---	20,600	---	---
Yugoslavian	17,800	---	21,300	---	19,400	11,300	18,200
Greek	15,100	15,300	20,300	15,300	15,100	11,700	18,500
Italian	16,100	17,400	23,500	18,100	15,700	13,200	22,500
Maltese	25,100	---	29,500	32,800	18,900	---	29,700
Portuguese	14,900	14,300	23,500	18,200	12,500	11,800	21,100
Spanish	16,000	---	29,400	---	14,600	11,500	---
Other Southern Europe	12,800	---	15,900	---	14,000	---	13,000
Multiple Southern Europe	17,300	---	19,300	13,300	20,300	11,500	22,300
Total: Jewish and Israeli	24,900	20,700	33,400	16,200	24,500	16,000	21,400
Jewish	24,300	20,900	33,400	15,300	23,000	17,800	22,600
Jewish and European	26,000	19,500	33,400	18,800	26,300	14,400	20,600
All others Europe only	24,400	18,900	32,700	---	28,600	11,500	24,500

Notes: Table excludes persons who immigrated to Canada in 1995 or 1996; figures rounded to the nearest \$100

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Chart 11
Ethno-Racial Groups with the Lowest Median Income for Non-Family Persons



Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Chart by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

AFRICAN, BLACK AND CARIBBEAN ORIGINS

There is extreme variation in the economic situations of the different African, Black and Caribbean ethno-racial groups. The Barbadians, Trinidadians and Tobagonians, Guyanese and most of the categories of people with both African and non-African heritage have poverty rates and median family incomes not much different from the Toronto averages. Higher than average proportions of female lone parents – for example 42.9 percent of Barbadian children under 19 are in female lone parent families, compared to a Toronto average of 20.3 percent – decrease the overall standard of living, but not by a wide margin.

A number of African, Black and Caribbean ethno-racial groups, including Jamaicans, Africans and Blacks, and people from “other Caribbean nations” experience much more poverty and have family incomes considerably below the average for Toronto. For these three groups, respectively, 47.6, 48.7 and 40.5 percent families have incomes below the LICO. There are many more Jamaicans, 18,615 families, than members of the two other groups, which together include about 5,000 families. All three categories are characterized by very high proportions of female lone parent families and high rates of child poverty. Of all Jamaican children under 19 years of age, 62.7 percent live in lone parent families, as do 54.8 percent of children who are African and Black and 52.1 percent of children from “other Caribbean nations.” In these three groups, respectively, 64.5, 63.2 and 57.8 percent of children are below the poverty line. Non-family members in these three groups have somewhat higher than average poverty rates and lower median incomes, but their disadvantage is not as great as for families.

All four African groups, the Ethiopians, Ghanaians, Somalis and the category of “other African nations,” experience devastatingly high levels of poverty and extremely low median incomes. Respectively, 69.7, 87.3, 62.7 and 52.2 percent of families in the four groups are below the poverty line; and the median family incomes for couples with a child under 19 are \$25,600, \$19,100, \$30,100 and \$33,300. More than three-quarters of Ethiopian children under 19, 91.0 percent of Ghanaian children, 70.0 percent of Somali children and 63.0 percent of children from “other African nations” are below the poverty line. More than half the non-family persons in the four groups are below the poverty line, Table 12 shows; and more than two thirds of such Ethiopians and Ghanaians live in poverty.

SOUTH ASIAN ORIGINS

While just over one-quarter, 28.7 percent, of Indian families are below the poverty line and their median income is \$47,300, more than half of all Pakistani and Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, and Tamil families are below the LICO, and their median family incomes, respectively, are \$30,700, \$30,000 and \$29,200 – somewhat over half the figure of \$51,600 for the population. There are roughly three times as many Indian families, about 31,000, as the combined total of the Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, Sri Lankans, and Tamils. Despite the socio-economic differences among the South Asian groups, they are very similar in demographic structure. Relative to the Toronto population, the South Asian ethno-racial groups have very high proportions of two-parent families with children under 19, 59.1 percent versus the average of 37.7 percent. There are correspondingly fewer couples without a child under 19, 26.4 percent versus the average of 43.3 percent, and South Asians have relatively few lone parent families.

EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN ORIGINS

Since they account for roughly 60 percent of the approximately 86,345 East and Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders, the figures for the Chinese heavily affect the regional average. About three-tenths of Chinese families, 29.4 percent, have incomes below the LICO, compared to the population average of 22.7 percent; and the median family income for Chinese couples, \$48,700 is somewhat below the overall median of \$51,600. Because the community is so large, many Chinese families live below the poverty line, 15,530 or 11 percent of all families in poverty in the City. Just over half, 51.1 percent, of Chinese families are headed by a couple and include a child under 19, compared to 37.7 percent of the population. Also there is just over half the proportion of female lone parents compared to the population, 6.1 versus 10.7 percent, which lowers the proportion of children in poverty. As Table 11 indicates, 33.6 percent of Chinese children are below the poverty line, very close to the Toronto average of 33.9 percent.

With about 13,700 families, Filipinos are the next largest group from this region. Their family median income, \$50,600, and 22.5 percent below the LICO are very close to the population averages. The Vietnamese and Koreans, with 47.3 and 42.9 percent below the LICO and median incomes for couples with a child under 19 of \$42,400 and \$39,500, are substantially below the population average. The high incidence of poverty among Korean families, note, involves a community in which only 5.8 percent of families are headed by female lone parents and include a child under 19. The proportion of lone parents is much higher in the Vietnamese community, 23.2 percent.

ARAB AND WEST ASIAN ORIGINS

Within the Arab and West Asian ethno-racial groups, only the Armenians and persons with Arab or West Asian *and European* heritage, whose incomes are close to the population average, do not have unusually low incomes and high levels of poverty. With 78.4 percent of all families below the poverty line and a median income of just \$19,600, Afghans are among the poorest groups in the city. A startling 86.5 percent of Afghan children under 19 live in families below the LICO. Afghans who are not in Census families are in a somewhat better position, but 65.3 percent live in poverty. Significantly better off, but still experiencing serious economic disadvantage are the Iranians and the “other Arabs and West Asians,” with 53.5 and 50.4 percent, respectively, of families below the LICO and nearly two-thirds of their children under the poverty line. Their families are more than twice as likely to live in poverty as the average Toronto family. For non-family persons, 62.1 percent of Iranians and 54.0 of the “other Arabs and West Asians” are below the LICO.

The other four Arab and West Asian ethno-racial groups (except the Armenians and Arab/West Asian and European group) experience more poverty and lower incomes than the average for Toronto, but the range is quite wide. Tables 10 and 13 show that, respectively, for Egyptian, Turkish, Lebanese, and multiple Arab and West Asian families, 32.2, 35.0, 39.8 and 45.6 percent are below the LICO, and their family annual median incomes are \$43,400, \$37,900, \$37,100, and \$32,400, respectively. Again, the incidence of child poverty is greater than family poverty, as families with children under 19 are more likely to be poor than families without younger children: the range is from 44.4 percent of children who are Egyptian to 58.4 percent of children with multiple Arab and West Asian heritage.

LATIN AMERICAN ORIGINS

Due to statistical considerations, recall, people of Latin American heritage are divided only into South and Central American groups – concealing the considerable variation within these groups. Both groups are considerably worse off than the Toronto average: 40.2 percent of South American and 51.6 of Central Americans are below the LICO and their median family incomes are \$36,300 and \$31,500. Partly this reflects the high proportions of families with younger children. South and Central American families are more likely to include children, 70.3 and 81.3 percent, respectively, have a children under the age of 19, compared to the population average of 49.9 percent. The incidence of poverty among non-family persons of South and Central American origin is, respectively, 43.3 and 45.2 percent, compared to the average of 36.9 percent, and their median individual incomes are \$15,100 and \$13,500, respectively, compared to the Toronto median of \$19,600.

EUROPEAN ORIGINS

Compared to an overall incidence of poverty among Toronto families of 22.7 percent, 14.4 percent of European families are poor, and the median family income is \$58,800, compared to a population median of \$51,600. The smaller difference in incomes than in the poverty rates reflects the smaller proportion of European families with children under 19 (with fewer children, the income required to surpass the LICO is lower) and the imperfect relationship between incomes and poverty rates.

In only two of the regions of Europe does any ethno-racial group have a rate of poverty for families above the Toronto average of 22.7 percent. The average for the British groups is 11.4 percent, for French groups 16.2 percent, for Americans, Australians and New Zealanders (combined) 9.3 percent, for Northern Europeans and Scandinavians 10.3 percent and for Jews 12.1 percent (for all the “other” Europeans it is 17.4 percent and for the Canadians, 18.6 percent). Six individual European ethno-racial groups have poverty levels exceeding the population average of 22.7 percent: Poles, Romanians, Russians, Serbians, Yugoslavs and the “other Southern Europeans”; respectively, the percentages below the LICO are 25.1, 25.2, 38.7, 29.1, 28.0 and 32.2 percent. These tend to be groups with higher proportions of families with children under the age of 19 and significant very recent immigration. In the following groups, 40 percent or more of children below the LICO: the French 40.1 percent, Russians 57.5 percent, Serbians 44.5 percent, Spanish 53.3 percent, and “other Southern Europeans” 49.7 percent.

A number of the European groups with low levels of education and disproportional representation in low skill occupations are *not* among the groups with unusual economic difficulty. For example, only 24.6

percent of Portuguese children are below the poverty line, much below the 33.9 percent average for the city and just above the 20.6 percent figure for all people of European origin. This points, first, to the impact of demographic factors on the incidence of poverty, especially age, family composition and labour force participation; second, to the impact of seniority and one's particular job on personal income – over and above one's occupation; and third, to the imperfect linkage between education and unemployment, under-employment and jobs.

Home Ownership

Table 15 shows ethno-racial differences in home ownership for families. Non-family persons can also own homes, but the probabilities are much lower. Home ownership involves wealth, a “stock” of savings, unlike income, which represents a “flow” of economic resources into a family. Unless they are able to bring savings with them, immigrants are at a disadvantage in the purchase of housing, beyond any deficit that results from a potentially lower income, because they need time to accumulate savings for a down payment. This is compounded by changes in the cost of housing, so that it is now much more difficult to become a home owner than it was in the early 1980s, after which there began a rapid increase, continuing for nearly a decade, in the cost of homes in Toronto.

Both cultural differences and the family life cycle, especially having children, strongly affect home ownership. Traditionally, families purchased homes when they needed the additional space for their children. Outside the small number of houses for rent, there is very little rental accommodation in the City with more than two bedrooms. But a sharp escalation of the cost of housing in Toronto, which began in the early 1980s, was not accompanied by a corresponding rise in family incomes or any change in the relationship between age and income. As a result, families with young children have had increasing difficulty in purchasing homes in the City, though this is somewhat mitigated by the return of mortgage rates to lower levels in the 1990s.

In Toronto, 57.9 percent of families own their homes. Families *without* a child under 19 are more likely to own homes, and this is especially true for lone parents (whose families must include a child *over* 18 to be counted as such). Three-fifths, exactly 59.5 percent, of couples with a child under 19 own a home, compared to 66.5 percent of couples without a child under 19 (which includes couples with no child at home). The corresponding figures for female lone parents, whose families must include a child, are 22.6 percent and 54.1 percent, and for male lone parents, 37.3 and 58.4 percent. Clearly this is a reflection of the tendency for income and wealth to increase with age.

There are remarkable ethno-racial differences in home ownership. Homeowners account for 68.5 percent of European families, 61.3 percent of East and Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders, 40.9 percent of South Asians, 32.6 percent of Aboriginals, 28.8 percent of Arabs and West Asians, 25.0 percent of South and Central Americans, and 13.3 percent of African, Black and Caribbean families. The differences in income described above reappear in their implications for home ownership, but not exactly. Relative to their incomes, East and Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders are more likely, and Africans, Blacks and Caribbeans less likely to own homes.

Looking within the broader regional groups we see that the income differentiation is enormously multiplied by the economic and social processes that affect home ownership. So virtually none, around 5 percent, of the very poorest ethno-racial groups own homes. Among South Asians, less than one-sixth of Tamil families own their homes, compared to about a quarter of Sri Lankans and Pakistanis and Bangladeshis and about one-half of all Indians. About one third of Filipino, Vietnamese, and Korean families own homes, compared to nearly three-quarters of the Chinese and Japanese. Similarly, although South Americans have only a small economic advantage over *Central* Americans living in Toronto, they are more than twice as likely to own homes. This difference is affected by the somewhat larger proportion of South Americans born in Canada or who came to Canada some time ago. There is also evidence of distinct preferences to purchase housing, beyond the advantages conferred by higher income. Thus an astonishing 89.1

Table 15
Home Ownership of Couples and Lone Parents by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Home Owners (percent)						
	Total	with One or more Children Under 19			Without a Child Under 19		
		Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents	Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents
Total	57.9	59.5	22.6	37.3	66.5	54.1	58.5
Total: Aboriginal	32.6	47.0	7.0	19.2	38.3	32.1	---
Aboriginal	21.0	25.6	5.2	---	37.0	---	---
Aboriginal and British/French	34.1	46.4	10.3	---	37.0	---	---
Aboriginal and non-British/French	36.2	53.7	5.9	---	40.1	42.9	---
Total: African, Black and Caribbean	13.3	15.5	4.5	8.2	21.8	26.7	31.8
Ethiopian	5.9	7.3	4.7	---	4.0	---	---
Ghanaian	5.1	5.9	4.5	0.0	4.8	4.3	---
Somali	4.8	4.8	2.0	6.3	9.8	---	---
Other African Nations	18.2	19.5	5.6	9.4	25.9	42.9	---
African and South/East Asian	38.6	49.0	0.0	---	46.4	---	---
African and European/Arab/West Asian	36.4	50.0	7.5	---	44.6	---	---
African and Black	23.5	25.3	11.2	---	41.0	30.4	---
Barbadian	45.1	48.3	14.3	---	67.1	47.2	---
Guyanese	36.3	50.0	17.7	25.9	36.6	26.5	---
Jamaican	23.4	33.3	9.6	15.0	42.6	27.9	17.9
Trinidadian and Tobagonian	31.3	37.4	15.3	---	43.3	32.7	---
West Indian	36.1	45.7	16.6	---	45.2	39.7	---
Other Caribbean nations	28.0	36.1	8.5	26.1	47.7	28.2	---
Multiple Caribbean	29.1	38.3	15.3	---	42.3	---	---
Caribbean and South Asian	45.7	52.7	18.7	---	55.1	40.9	---
Caribbean and East Asian	49.6	64.0	15.6	---	60.0	---	---
Caribbean & European/Arab/Latin American	34.0	40.9	13.2	---	50.6	40.3	---
Total: South Asian	48.9	43.1	24.7	42.2	71.4	39.9	37.5
Indian	59.6	50.7	28.4	52.1	90.9	42.6	37.3
Pakistani and Bangladeshi	28.6	29.2	29.8	---	27.6	---	---
Sri Lankan	22.2	23.1	16.2	5.0	20.9	37.8	---
Tamil	15.7	18.2	0.0	---	13.5	19.0	---
Multiple South Asian	32.2	36.9	13.0	---	23.3	34.6	---
South Asian and East Asian	65.5	60.0	---	---	---	---	---
South Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	53.5	53.3	24.1	---	61.0	56.0	---

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 15, continued

Home Ownership of Couples and Lone Parents by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Home Owners (percent)						
	Total	with One or more Children Under 19			Without a Child Under 19		
		Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents	Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents
Total	57.9	59.5	22.6	37.3	66.5	54.1	58.5
Total: East & Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander	61.3	64.4	32.3	54.2	64.6	58.7	61.8
Chinese	74.2	77.2	51.3	70.2	73.9	74.7	76.3
Filipino	34.4	38.2	20.5	28.6	35.2	29.2	---
Vietnamese	32.2	41.0	11.1	37.5	36.2	22.2	---
Japanese	76.5	71.8	35.0	---	81.1	75.9	---
Korean	38.0	37.6	22.6	---	42.5	30.8	---
Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	46.4	51.9	12.2	---	53.3	---	---
Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	54.7	65.2	24.3	---	44.4	55.8	---
East Asian and European/Arab/West Asian	49.0	54.9	23.4	---	54.1	---	---
Total: Arab and West Asian	28.8	27.2	13.6	29.4	37.9	25.8	24.2
Afghan	3.9	5.0	3.3	---	0.0	---	---
Armenian	64.1	64.6	---	---	63.6	66.7	---
Egyptian	34.4	32.9	---	---	51.5	---	---
Iranian	20.6	21.6	9.5	---	25.5	14.3	---
Lebanese	29.9	25.3	17.6	---	41.0	---	---
Turkish	33.3	27.3	---	---	46.3	---	---
Other Arab/West Asian	22.4	21.1	12.2	---	29.8	17.1	---
Multiple Arab/West Asian	27.0	30.0	---	---	28.8	---	---
Arab/West Asian and European	50.6	56.4	30.4	---	52.6	---	---
Total: Latin American origins	25.0	26.9	12.1	24.7	34.2	15.3	26.1
South American and Mexican	26.4	28.6	12.8	25.4	34.9	16.9	26.1
Central American	12.9	14.0	7.1	---	22.4	4.3	---
Canadian	53.1	61.1	16.5	32.3	59.0	48.6	58.2
Total: European	68.5	71.0	31.5	43.5	73.1	63.4	66.8
Total: British	64.0	72.2	28.6	36.3	67.1	57.1	60.6
English	64.6	69.2	23.2	34.3	70.0	57.7	66.7
Irish	64.9	69.5	26.9	46.5	69.0	59.4	59.5
Scottish	65.0	70.1	28.6	29.4	68.1	58.9	51.7
Multiple British	67.5	76.8	35.6	49.3	69.5	57.6	58.7
British and French	55.6	68.9	24.0	20.0	57.3	48.1	57.1
British and other European	59.5	72.7	29.6	29.4	58.5	56.5	62.8
Total: French	65.7	60.1	16.7	---	82.8	51.6	45.0
French	69.8	58.3	13.0	---	90.8	48.6	---
French and other European	53.7	64.2	24.7	---	54.1	61.9	---
American, Australian, New Zealander	64.9	78.7	---	---	56.9	---	---

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

Table 15, continued

Home Ownership of Couples and Lone Parents by Ethno-Racial Group

Ethno-Racial Group	Home Owners (percent)						
	Total	With One or More Children Under 19			Without a Child Under 19		
		Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents	Couples	Female Lone Parents	Male Lone Parents
Total	57.9	59.5	22.6	37.3	66.5	54.1	58.5
Total: Northern Europe and Scandinavia	70.1	74.2	31.6	47.4	72.6	71.2	65.6
Austrian	83.2	80.6	---	---	84.3	---	---
Dutch	67.0	76.6	16.7	---	66.0	66.7	---
German	72.8	72.3	27.5	---	77.2	72.6	65.7
Other/Multiple Northern European	71.2	81.8	53.8	---	69.5	---	---
Finnish	72.6	72.7	---	---	76.9	---	---
Other Scandinavian	64.1	72.2	---	---	65.4	---	---
Northern Europe/Scandinavian & other Europe	63.4	73.1	31.0	---	62.2	79.5	---
Total: Baltic and Eastern Europe	56.5	45.3	24.5	32.6	68.4	62.0	71.7
Estonian	82.6	88.0	---	---	88.2	61.9	---
Latvian	81.6	84.4	---	---	83.2	---	---
Lithuanian	82.7	84.8	---	---	84.2	92.3	---
Czech	63.0	62.3	---	---	66.1	---	---
Hungarian	58.4	58.9	31.3	---	63.7	42.0	---
Polish	47.2	38.3	15.4	22.5	62.5	52.0	55.3
Romanian	21.7	15.1	2.9	---	30.3	36.4	---
Russian	32.2	22.1	9.8	---	49.0	50.0	---
Slovak	74.0	59.5	---	---	78.7	---	---
Ukrainian	74.1	63.5	45.0	40.9	81.1	79.4	88.9
Multiple Baltic/Eastern European	57.3	52.6	28.9	---	65.9	63.6	---
Total: Southern Europe	79.9	77.9	43.0	62.6	85.7	76.6	78.7
Croatian	66.2	57.8	25.9	---	77.1	65.7	---
Macedonian	83.9	78.0	54.5	---	88.6	87.9	---
Serbian	37.5	28.5	21.7	---	49.2	---	---
Slovenian	87.9	87.5	---	---	89.3	85.7	---
Yugoslavian	43.2	37.3	28.6	---	52.1	52.2	---
Greek	77.5	79.8	36.4	43.5	81.8	60.0	68.8
Italian	89.1	89.1	54.0	71.6	92.1	86.8	85.6
Maltese	80.5	81.6	---	---	84.1	---	---
Portuguese	72.8	73.4	40.7	65.9	78.9	69.4	75.0
Spanish	57.0	57.8	---	---	69.5	---	---
Other Southern Europe	38.8	33.6	17.4	---	45.0	---	---
Multiple Southern Europe	68.2	71.8	29.6	---	73.3	---	---
Total: Jewish and Israeli	68.9	75.7	43.2	49.2	68.7	59.6	55.6
Jewish	70.6	77.0	45.6	50.0	70.0	64.4	52.6
Jewish and European	65.2	73.2	40.0	48.0	65.3	51.2	60.0
All others Europe only	59.9	65.7	---	---	60.1	---	---

Source: Statistics Canada 1996 Census; Tabulation by Michael Ornstein, Institute for Social Research, York University

percent of Italian families own their homes, a much higher proportion than, say, the Jews, whose incomes are much greater. There is a very high level of home ownership among Southern European ethno-racial groups.

The flip side of being a homeowner is being a tenant, and here recent trends are very important. With the phase-out of rent controls after the 1996 Census was conducted, groups with high proportions of tenants have become much more vulnerable to the impact of the housing market, now characterized by rapidly increasing rents and insufficient supply. It requires no imagination to foresee the impact of these changes on the approximately 15 ethno-racial groups with less than 25 percent home ownership.

It is difficult here to do more than point to the gross variation in the rates of home ownership and to observe that the patterns are roughly consistent with the household income differences examined in detail. The complexities introduced by the much more rapid changes in the cost of homes relative to employment incomes and by the relationship between settlement and saving tend to magnify ethno-racial differences in income. The key problem now is not only that renters tend to have lower incomes, but that they are becoming increasingly vulnerable.

Chapter 4

Conclusion: Single and Multi-Dimensional Disadvantage

In education, employment and income, the Census data reveal pervasive inequality among ethno-racial groups in Metropolitan Toronto. The statistical evidence is complex, because there are many different groups in our City with very diverse histories and because there are many aspects of socio-economic condition and a variety of ways to measure each one. Still, this *Report* gives a coherent and consistent portrait of ethno-racial groups suffering disadvantage. No group is immune from poverty or entirely poor, but there are groups in which *more than half* of all the families are below the poverty line and others in which the figure is below 10 percent, a five-to-one ratio. Ethno-racial variation in the economic circumstances of families with younger children is even greater, because these families experience more poverty than families without children.

The characterization of socio-economic polarization in Toronto as a division between a European majority and *a* visible minority community is correct, but also something of an oversimplification. Especially in terms of economic outcomes, there is a large gap between the European ethno-racial groups and *all* other ethno-racial groups, though there is evidence of economic difficulty among some European groups with high levels of recent immigration. The incidence of poverty among East and Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders (mainly Filipino) families, who are the best off non-European region, is *twice* the incidence for Europe, 29.6 versus 14.4 percent below the poverty line. For Arabs and West Asians, the incidence of poverty is *three* times the European average.

Simultaneously, there is wide variation in the circumstances of ethno-racial groups *within* each of the global regions. In East and Southeast Asia and the Pacific, for example, the incidence of poverty among the Vietnamese is greater *by a factor of five* than among Torontonians of Japanese origin – and the Japanese are among the most privileged groups in the city. There are many additional illustrations of the co-existence of socio-economic differences *within* the different ethno-racial groups from each global region with differences between the regions categories, and of the favoured position of European groups.

The summary table can help sort out the complexity of the many findings. In more compact form, this table merely repeats information from earlier tables and charts (references are given in the first column). For each criterion of disadvantage, there are three categories, labelled “extreme”, “severe”, and “significant” disadvantage. The categories were established by examining the distributions and looking for natural divisions, and the boundaries between categories have been set at “round” numbers. Within each category, the groups are listed in order of *decreasing* disadvantage.

The most severe disadvantage affects the African ethno-racial groups: Ethiopians, Ghanaians, Somalis and the combined category for “other African nations.” Very large proportions of these African groups live in extremely difficult circumstances. They suffer extraordinary high levels of poverty; and families with children, and so the children themselves, are particularly badly off. This poverty is accompanied and partly caused by a concentration of employment in lower skill jobs. These groups, interestingly, do not lack basic (that is, high school) education, though the proportion of university graduates is low. Among all the other ethno-racial groups in the City of Toronto, only the Afghans, live in such difficult circumstances.

Moving across the somewhat arbitrary boundary between extreme and severe disadvantage, the Census data show that a fairly large number of groups suffer very high levels of poverty, with various combinations of high unemployment, over-representation in low-skill jobs, low education and high school drop-out rates. These measures are not reducible to a single criterion, but there are strong general relations among the dimensions. While it is difficult to place the groups in a precise order, a number of groups are in a very disadvantaged position, including: the Vietnamese, Iranians, Tamils, Sri Lankans, and “Other Arabs and West Asians.”

A third category of ethno-racial groups experience “significant” disadvantage, but not so severely or as consistently across the different measures of socio-economic position as the groups just mentioned. These include Aboriginal people, Africans and Blacks, Central Americans, Jamaicans, West Indians, and people with multiple South Asian heritage. These groups still have family poverty rates around 50 percent as well as high levels of unemployment and low skill employment. Finally, there are a number of groups whose socio-economic position is significantly worse than the averages for the city, who seem to have systemic and uniform disadvantage. This

Summary Table for Different Dimensions of Disadvantage in 1996

Index of Disadvantage	Extreme Disadvantage	Severe Disadvantage	Significant Disadvantage	Average
Adults 25-64 Who are <i>Not</i> High School Graduates (Table 4/chart 1)	<u>55% or more</u> Portuguese	<u>45-54.9%</u> Italian, Vietnamese, Greek, Maltese, Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific, Macedonian	<u>35-44.9%</u> Aboriginal, Sri Lankan, Tamil, Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific, Guyanese, Chinese, Turkish, African and Black, Afghan,	30.5%
Adults 25-64 Who Are University Graduates (Table 4/ Chart 2)	<u>Under 5%</u> Portuguese	<u>5-9.9%</u> Jamaican, Aboriginal, West Indian, Guyanese, Sri Lankan, Vietnamese, Somali, Central American	<u>10-11.9%</u> Tamil, Other Caribbean, Italian, Barbadian, Greek	22.7%
Non-high School Graduates Age 20-24 and Not in School Full-time (Table 5/chart 3)	<u>25% or more</u> Central American, Portuguese, Ghanaian	<u>20-24.9%</u> Vietnamese, Aboriginal and Non-English/French, Ethiopian, Afghan, South American, Mexican,	<u>17-19.9%</u> Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific, Guyanese, Other Arab/West Asian, Sri Lankan, Other African Nations, Aboriginal and English/French, Tamil	12.8%
Adult Unemployment (Table 6/Chart 4)	<u>30% or more</u> Ghanaian	<u>20-29.9%</u> Afghan, Tamil, Central American, Ethiopian, Multiple South Asian, Other Arab/West Asian, Somali, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, Other African Nations, Iranian, Turkish	<u>15-19.9%</u> Sri Lankan, Vietnamese, Russian, Aboriginal, African and Black, Egyptian, Jamaican, Multiple Arab/West Asian	9.4%
Youth (Age 20-24) Unemployment (Table 6/Chart 5)	<u>40% or more</u> Ghanaian	<u>30-39.9%</u> African and Black, Jamaican, Trinidadian and Tobagonian, Other African Nations, Multiple South Asian, Tamil, Central American	<u>25-29.9%</u> Sri Lankan, Multiple Caribbean, South Asian and European/West Asian, Iranian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, Other Arab/West Asian, Vietnamese, Hungarian	19.6%
Women in Lower Skill Jobs (Table 8a/Chart 6)	<u>75% or more</u> Ethiopian, Central American, Tamil, Somali, Afghan, Vietnamese	<u>70-74.9%</u> Sri Lankan, Portuguese, Filipino, Multiple East Asian/Southeast Asian/Pacific, Jamaican	<u>67.5-69.9%</u> Multiple South Asian, Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific, South American and Mexican, Ghanaian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, Ghanaian, Guyanese, Other African Nations	52.8%

Men in Lower Skill Jobs (Table 8b/Chart 7)	<u>65% or more</u> Ghanaian, Ethiopian, Somali, Filipino, Central American	<u>60-64.9%</u> Multiple South Asian, Tamil, Jamaican, Sri Lankan, Vietnamese, Guyanese	<u>57.5-59.9%</u> Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific, Afghan, Other African Nations, Portuguese, other Caribbean nations, West Indian, South American and Mexican, Multiple Caribbean, African and Black	38.3%
Proportion of Poor Families (Table 10/Chart 8)	<u>60% or more</u> Ghanaian, Afghan, Ethiopian, Somali	<u>50-59.9%</u> Tamil, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, Other African Nations, Central American, Sri Lankan, Other Arab/West Asian	<u>40-49.9.9%</u> African and Black, Aboriginal, Jamaican, Vietnamese Multiple Arab/West Asian, Multiple South Asian, Korean, Other Caribbean, South American and Mexican	22.7%
Child Poverty (Table 11/Chart 9)	<u>70% or more</u> Ghanaian, Afghan, Ethiopian, Aboriginal, Somali	<u>60-69.9%</u> Tamil, Jamaican, Iranian, Other Arab/West Asian, Other African Nations, African and Black, Lebanese, Pakistani/Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan	<u>50-59.9%</u> Central American, Vietnamese, Multiple Arab/West Asian, Other Caribbean, Russian, Multiple South Asian, Spanish, Turkish, South American and Mexican	33.9%
Poverty Among Non-Family Persons (Table 12)	<u>65% or more</u> Ghanaian, Korean, Ethiopian	<u>55-64.9%</u> Iranian, Other Southern European, Tamil, Aboriginal, Other African, Somali	<u>50-54.9%</u> Other Arab/West Asian, Russian, Sri Lankan	36.9%
Median Family Income (Table 13/Chart 10)	<u>Under \$25,000</u> Ghanaian, Afghan, Ethiopian, Somali	<u>\$25000-29,999</u> Iranian, Other African Nations, Aboriginal, Jamaican, African and Black, Tamil	<u>\$30,000-34,999</u> Sri Lankan, Other Arab/West Asian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, Central American, Multiple Arab/West Asian, Vietnamese, Other Caribbean, Russian	\$51,600
Median Individual Income of non-Family Persons (Table 14/Chart 11)	<u>Under \$10,000</u> Afghan, Ghanaian, Tamil, Ethiopian, Iranian, Sri Lankan, Multiple South Asian	<u>\$10,000-\$11,999</u> Other Arab/West Asian, Korean, Other African Nations, Aboriginal, Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific, Vietnamese, Chinese	<u>\$12,000-\$13,999</u> Multiple East/Southeast Asian/Pacific, Other Southern Europe, Indian, Armenian, Guyanese, Central American, Jamaican	\$19,600

latter group includes South Americans, Guyanese, West Indians and Turks.

High unemployment, higher levels of employment in lower skill jobs, and the various measures of income are quite strongly related, though family income is also related to the distribution of types of families. Groups with high proportions of dependent children and groups with many lone parents experience more poverty and have lower household income. But employment and income are much more strongly related than either is to educational attainment. Some groups with more education experience only slightly lower levels of unemployment, though groups with more education are likely to have better jobs and higher income. The three large Southern European ethno-racial groups with the least education, the Portuguese, Greeks and Italians, have higher income and a lower incidence of poverty than many better educated groups. In part, this reflects the occupational niches they have found and, especially for the Italians and Greeks, a peak period of immigration some time in the past.

Visible minorities are prominently represented among the most disadvantaged groups in the City of Toronto, but the situations of people from Latin America and Iran, cannot be explained in this way. Nor is there reason to think that the Vietnamese, who are seriously disadvantaged, are more visible than the Japanese, who are among the groups with the highest education and income. Thus ethno-racial inequalities found in the analysis do not derive from “essential” differences among cultures, but reflect particular historical processes including the period in which non-Aboriginal groups came to Canada and the circumstances of their migration. In more recent decades, immigration policies, involving both the selection of applicants and the treatment of refugees and others seeking escape from political and natural disaster and war, have had a strong impact on which individuals come to Canada.

Comparison to 1991

While changes in the Census forms and in research methodology do not permit *exact* comparisons of the situations of ethno-racial groups between 1991 and 1996, a fairly precise comparison is still possible. To facilitate this comparison, a summary table matching the 1996 table was prepared.

The most important change in methodology is that the ethno-racial groups are not defined in exactly the same way in the two years. Most likely to distort the results is the much *smaller* number of Torontonians who described themselves as African or Black and corresponding increase in the numbers from nations in the Caribbean – which resulted from the change in the question on the Census. A second change is that the 1991 category for “Specific African Nations” is divided in four in 1996, giving separate figures for Ethiopians, Ghanaians, Somalis and a “residual” category called “other African Nations,”

which included all other African national identities (with insufficient numbers for reliable statistical analysis). Separate figures for Afghans, found to be severely disadvantaged in this study, were also not available in 1991. A variety of more minor changes are described in Chapter 1, above.

The 1991 and 1996 tables also differ in terms of the boundaries between the categories, reflecting the idea that disadvantage involves the relative, rather than the absolute, positions of ethno-racial groups. One might think that the improvement in the economy between 1991 and 1996 would have improved the positions of all groups, and so the change in the categories would overlook a significant change in overall well-being. Youth unemployment, for example, drops from 14.6 to 9.4 percent over the five years. But child poverty (measured a bit differently in the two years) *rises* from 19.2 to 33.9 percent. This is evidence that the linkage between overall economic indicators and the condition of the different economic and demographic segments of the population is far from perfect.

The first two rows of the 1991 and 1996 tables give the percentage of adults who are *not* high school graduates and who are university graduates; the tables differ in that adults 25 and older were counted in 1991, but the age range was restricted to 25-64 in 1996. The Tables show that educational differentials have remained very stable over the five years. In both years, three large Southern European groups, Greeks, Italians and Portuguese, and also the Maltese, have unusually low levels of education; but do not suffer corresponding disadvantage in employment and income. Unusually low levels of education, in both years, are found among the Vietnamese and Sri Lankans and some African, Black and Caribbean groups. Notable in both years, the Africans and Afghans who so economically disadvantaged are not among the groups with the least education.

Looking next at adult unemployment, we find that the most disadvantaged group in 1991 was “Specific African Nations,” and that the next category of “severe” disadvantage included

Summary Table for Different Dimensions of Disadvantage in 1991

Index of Disadvantage	Extreme Disadvantage	Severe Disadvantage	Significant Disadvantage	Average
Adults 25 and Older Who Have <i>Not</i> Graduated From High School (Table 5/Chart A)	<u>60% or More</u> Portuguese	<u>45-59.9%</u> Italian, Greek, Maltese, Macedonian, Vietnamese	<u>40-44.9%</u> Jamaican, Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific, Aboriginal, Guyanese, Ukrainian	34.1%
Adults 25 and Older Who Are University Graduates (Table 4/ Chart C)	<u>Under 5%</u> Portuguese, Jamaican, Aboriginal, Maltese, Guyanese	<u>5-6.9%</u> Trinidadian and Tobagonian, Greek, African and Black, Italian	<u>7-9.9%</u> Vietnamese, Other Caribbean Nations, Black/African and Caribbean, Hispanic, Central American and Mexican, Sri Lankan, Black/African and other, Macedonian, South American	12.4%
Total Unemployment (Table 6/Chart D)	<u>25% or More</u> Specific African Nations	<u>20-24.9%</u> Central American and Mexican, Tamil, Iranian, Other Arab/West Asian, Vietnamese, Sri Lankan	<u>15-19.9%</u> Aboriginal, Romanian, South American, Hispanic, Jamaican, Multiple South Asian, Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific, African and Black	9.6%
Youth Unemployment (Table 6/Chart E)	<u>30% or more</u> Specific African Nations, Aboriginal	<u>25-29.9%</u> Central American and Mexican, Jamaican, Tamil, Other Arab/West Asian, Romanian	<u>20-24.9%</u> African or Black, Serbian, Vietnamese, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, South American, Latin American and Other, African/Black and Other, Iranian	14.6%
In Lower Skill Manual Occupations (Table 10)	<u>35% or more</u> Vietnamese, Other East/Southeast Asian/ Pacific	<u>25-34.9%</u> Central American and Mexican, Tamil, Specific African Nations, Portuguese, Hispanic, South American	<u>20-24.9%</u> Sri Lankan, Guyanese, Indian, Croatian	13.3%

In Lower Skill Non-Manual Occupations (Table 10)	<u>50% or more</u> Filipino	<u>45-49.9%</u> Jamaican, Multiple South Asian, African and Black	<u>40-44.9%</u> Sri Lankan, Aboriginal, African/Black and Caribbean, Trinidadian and Tobagonian, Specific African Nations, African/Black and European, Guyanese, African/Black and Other, Other Caribbean Nations, Greek, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, Tamil	34.3%
Proportion of Poor Families and Unattached Persons (combined) (Table 11/Chart 8)	<u>40% or more</u> Specific African Nations, Iranian, Central American and Mexican, Other Arab/West Asian	<u>35-39.9%</u> Tamil, Sri Lankan, Vietnamese, Aboriginal, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, Jamaican	<u>30-34.9%</u> Korean, Romanian, Hispanic, Lebanese, African and Black, South American, Latin American and Other, Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific, African/Black and Caribbean, Russian, Multiple South Asian	19.9%
Child Poverty (Table 11)	<u>50% or more</u> Specific African Nations, Central American and Mexican, Iranian, Jamaican, Other Arab/West Asian	<u>40-49.9%</u> Vietnamese, Aboriginal, Tamil, Lebanese	<u>30-39.9%</u> African and Black, Sri Lankan, African/Black and Caribbean, Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific, Hispanic, Russian, South American, Trinidadian and Tobagonian, Romanian, African/Black and Caribbean	19.2%
Mean Annual Income of Families and Unattached Persons (combined) (Table 14/Chart G)	<u>Under \$25,000</u> Tamil, Specific African Nations	<u>\$25000-29,999</u> Central American and Mexican, Jamaican, Sri Lankan, Vietnamese, Iranian, Hispanic, Aboriginal, African and Black, South American, Other East/Southeast Asian/Pacific	<u>\$30,000-34,999</u> Pakistani and Bangladeshi, African/Black and Caribbean, Guyanese, Other Arab/West Asian, African/Black and other, Korean, Trinidadian and Tobagonian, Portuguese, Multiple South Asian, Other Caribbean Nations, African/Black and European	\$50,600

Central Americans and Mexicans, Tamils, Iranians, “Other” Arabs and West Asians, Vietnamese and Sri Lankans. In the next category of “significant” disadvantage are Aborigines, Romanians, South Americans, Hispanics (who, it turns out were largely from South America), Jamaicans, Multiple South Asian, Other East/Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders, and (the combination of) Africans and Blacks.

Five years later, we find that the average unemployment levels have decreased, but Ghanaians experience the highest unemployment (over 30 percent) and in the next category, with 20-29.9 percent unemployment are the Afghans, Tamils, Central Americans, Ethiopians, Multiple South Asians, Other Arabs and West Asians, Somalis, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, people from “other African nations,” Iranians and Turks. The four ethno-racial groups into which the 1991 category for “Specific African Nations” was divided experienced either “extreme” or “severe” disadvantage in 1996. Also experiencing “significant” disadvantage in 1996 are the Sri Lankans, Vietnamese, Russians, Aborigines, Africans and Blacks, Egyptians, Jamaicans, and Multiple Arab/West Asians.

If the general pattern of ethno-racial differences does not change much between 1991 and 1996, there seem to be some real changes. In particular, four of the groups experiencing unusually high unemployment in 1991 are not listed as such in 1996: the Romanians, South Americans, Iranians and the “Multiple South Asian” category.

In both 1991 and 1996, the major difference between the unemployment of youth and adults is that youth unemployment is more heavily concentrated among Africans, Blacks and Caribbeans while for adults, unemployment tends to be higher in the Arabs and West Asians and among the South Asian ethno-racial groups.

Because the 1991 analysis did not provide separate figures for women and men, instead the summary table gives separate results for lower skill manual and non-manual *occupations*. Of course, men are concentrated in manual and women in non-manual occupations. These results are *not* equivalent to the 1996 summary results, which deal with the percentages of women in low skill manual *and* non-manual occupations and the same for men. Nevertheless, there is a very strong resemblance in the figures for the two years.

In 1991, the following groups had 25 percent or more of their total employment in less skilled manual occupations: Vietnamese, Other East/Southeast Asian and Pacific Islanders, Central Americans and Mexican, Tamil, Specific African Nations, Portuguese, Hispanics, and South Americans. Five years later, in 1996, all seven of these ethno-racial groups, including the four components of the previous “Specific African Nations,” were disadvantaged, as measured by high proportions *of men and women* in lower skill jobs, combining manual and non-manual occupations. High levels of employment in less

skilled *non*-manual occupations in 1991 were found among Filipinos, Jamaicans, Multiple-origin South Asians and for the African and Black group. In 1996 three of the four groups (but not the African and Black group, whose composition changed the most between 1991 and 1996) have high levels of women in lower skill employment. Generally, there is only a moderately strong correlation between the proportions of all workers in less skilled non-manual jobs in 1991 and the proportion of *women* in less skilled non-manual *and non_manual* jobs in 1996. Likely this is because of the change in methodology, rather than a major rearrangement of the occupational ranking of ethno-racial groups in the five years.

The measures of income used in the 1991 and 1996 research differ in a number of respects, but not so as to seriously compromise over-time comparisons. In 1991 the most economically disadvantaged were people from “Specific African Nations”; in 1996 the four components groups into which the 1991 category was subdivided, Ethiopians, Ghanaians, Somalis and the combined “other African nations” all suffered severe economic disadvantage. The extremely disadvantaged 1991 category for “other Arabs/West Asians” includes the Afghans, who exhibited extremely high levels of family and child poverty in 1996. On a positive note, the Iranian community, with more than 40 percent poor families and unattached persons (combined in 1991) do *not* have unusually high levels of family or child poverty in 1996, though unattached persons in this group are identified as suffering “severe disadvantage.” Central Americans (combined with Mexicans in 1991), who were “extremely disadvantaged” in 1991, made some gains in the five years, though they still suffered disadvantage. Aboriginals also made economic progress. Suffering from high levels of poverty in both years were: a number of South Asian groups, including Tamils, Sri Lankans, and Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, and the “multiple South Asian” group; Jamaicans and the (combined) Africans and Blacks; and the Vietnamese.

Further Research

It is not true that these results “merely scratch the surface” or that the description of the socio-economic conditions of ethno-racial groups is a simple preliminary to more complex models. The need to describe social conditions addresses the policy imperatives of deciding how scarce resources should be used. This is not to say that these data have no more to tell us, or that a more complex analysis will simply be academic and obscure. The Census data constitute an enormously valuable record of social and economic patterns in Toronto. Moreover, most of these ethno-racial patterns change sufficiently slowly that the delays in releasing the data and the five-year interval between Censuses are not a major concern. The main exception is that the Census cannot provide immediate information on the experience of new arrivals to the City. While the Census can address many research questions involving ethno-racial groups, four priorities stand out.

First, it would be useful to look carefully at the effects of age distributions on the situations of the ethno-racial groups. How much of the differences between groups, the question is, result from the very large observed differences in their ages. Again, it is necessary to emphasize the finding that, say, parents (and their children) are poor *just* because they are young does nothing to alleviate the effects of poverty for the parents or to erase the long-lasting impact of a child’s growing up in poverty. From a policy perspective, it is important to be able to separate more general age-related patterns of socio-economic inequality from differences between ethno-racial groups that cannot be explained in this way. This analysis should also deal with ageing and particularly with the extent to which there are ethno-racial groups with concentrations of older members who have fewer economic resources, low levels of education and the inability to speak English.

Second, it would be worthwhile to *separate* the effects of settlement and membership of ethno-racial groups on inequality. Short term economic hardship may be a common result of immigration to Canada, though we should also expect that this “cost” of settlement differs among ethno-racial groups. Disadvantage that reflects the experience of settlement can be expected to diminish over time and demands relatively short term remedies, while addressing longer term disadvantage requires different, more systematic efforts.

Third, we should look at ethno-racial difference in terms of gender. This *Report* focusses mainly on the relationship between ethno-racial categories and social class, defining class in terms of broad socio-economic advantage. Gender affects this relationship. The different occupational distributions and employment income of women and men, for example, certainly reflect broad patterns of occupational

segregation, the effects of unequal division of housework and childcare, and structural discrimination against women in education and employment. But there is also evidence of *differential* gender inequality in ethno-racial groups, in education, labour force participation, occupations and income.

Finally, we should systematically examine the relationship among the three broad areas of education, employment and income. This report shows that there are strong positive correlations among the three domains: *on average* ethno-racial groups with more education have better jobs and earn more, and their families are better off. But there are potentially large differences in the ability of members of different ethno-racial groups to put their educational credentials to use in relevant jobs and to turn individual incomes into standards of living for families and children. In this *Report* these critical linkages can already be seen in the somewhat different situations of ethno-racial *groups* in the analyses of education, occupations and income, but can more effectively be examined directly, for example, by examining the relationship between education and occupation for *individuals*.