



The American Ethnic Geographer

A Specialty Group of the Association of American Geographers

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Comments from the A.E.G.S.G. Chair

This has been an exciting year for our specialty group! We have seen continued growth in our membership and look forward to a jam-packed program in Boston. Our specialty group is either sponsoring or co-sponsoring a record thirteen sessions, including two special lectures. For the past four years we have given tribute to a scholar who has made significant contributions to the field of American Ethnic Geography. This year we are combining our tribute with a new series being initiated by the A.A.G. – "State of the Art" lectures. We have the privilege of honoring James P. Allen, someone whose contributions have helped define "the art" of American Ethnic Geography. In partnership with Gene Turner, Jim has produced numerous articles and two books on the geography of ethnicity in the U.S. in general, and in Southern California in particular. Jim will be discussing the changing ethnic geography of Southern California based upon their recent book, *The Ethnic Quilt: Population Diversity in Southern California* (J. P. Allen and G. Turner, 1997, CSU Northridge: Center for Geographic Studies). Jim was one of the founders of our specialty group, and was its chair from 1994 to 1996. I strongly encourage you to make his presentation a priority during the meetings (Friday 11:30-12:50).

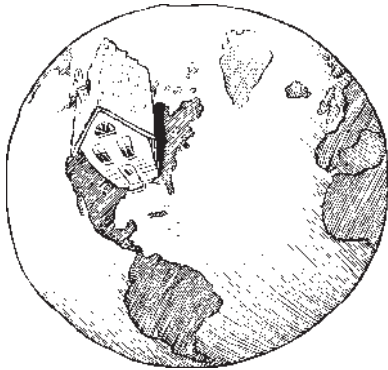
We are also co-sponsoring the "Future Directions in Population Geography" lecture with the Population Specialty Group. This year's presentation will be by William Frey, a sociologist at the Population Studies Center of the University of Michigan who is active both in the A.A.G. and in improving the teaching of population geography at the K-12 and college level. His presentation is entitled "Immigration's Impact on America's Social Geography: Research and Policy Issues" (Friday 4:45-6:25). Many of us focus on contemporary immigration in our research and will greatly benefit from his findings and ideas.

Our business meeting is early in the week (Thursday 1:30-2:30) and is a very important one. This year we elect a new Chair, Co-chair, Secretary-Treasurer, Newsletter Editor and Board members (two-year terms). Please give serious consideration to who you would like to see serving in these positions over the next two years and come ready to nominate our next slate of leadership. We will also be making plans for the 1999 A.A.G. meeting in Honolulu and discussing our contribution to the forthcoming updated version of *Geography in America* (Gaile and Wilmott, eds.).

This has been a banner year for publications on American Ethnic Geography. Congratulations to Lawrence Estaville and Carol Rosen for their volume, *Teaching American Ethnic Geography*, published by the National Council for Geographic Education. We look forward to the second edition of Jesse O. McKee's book, *Ethnicity in Contemporary America: A Geographical Appraisal*, currently in press. I would also like to congratulate Carlos Teixeira for another fabulous newsletter, and to thank Amy Jeu, Hunter College geography student and webmaster, for her work on our web page. You can now find us at [HTTP://EVEREST.HUNTER.CUNY.EDU/AEGSG](http://EVEREST.HUNTER.CUNY.EDU/AEGSG). If you have suggestions for additional items or links for the site, please e-mail Amy at AMYJEU@EVEREST.HUNTER.CUNY.EDU

I look forward seeing you in Boston!

Ines Miyares,
Chair, AEGSG



The North American Urban Kaleidoscope: Will Children of Mexican Immigrants Find Success in Small Towns in the Eastern United States?

James P. Allen
California State University, Northridge

Since about 1970 the ethnic group which has been playing the greatest role in modifying the culture, economy, and ethnic geography of the United States has been people of Mexican origin. There is no point in trying to summarize the group's major characteristics here, and readers interested in an overview as of 1996 can turn to an excellent recent *Population Bulletin* (October 1997). Rather, the focus here will be on a single topic – the prospects for Mexican economic assimilation in small towns in the Eastern U.S.

I will point to the presence of new Mexican settlements in those small towns, sketch some negative aspects of the acculturation of immigrants in major immigration reception areas like California, and then pose a very geographical question: Can the

Comments from the Editor

When – in Charlotte, N C in 1996 – I was elected Editor of the A.E.G.S.G. Newsletter, my initial reaction (if you recall) was: "Sorry, but I can't accept...after all, English is my third language!" Born speaking Portuguese, as an "islander" from the Azores, and having acquired French and, more recently, English – the thought of editing this newsletter in English caused me anxiety. But our members persisted and now, after two years as editor, I can tell you that the challenge was worth it. It was a culturally rich learning experience (Thank God for e-mail!) and my English has improved a lot.

My thanks to you for giving me this opportunity. As well, at the end of my mandate, I must acknowledge an enormous debt to our Chair, Ines Miyares. Her support and encouragement were invaluable. Appreciation is also extended to all those who participated, directly or indirectly, with contributions and/or suggestions. To *all*... "Obrigado!" See you in Boston.

P.S. By the way, if you plan to attend the I.G.U., Regional Conference 98, in Lisbon this summer, please let me know. I will be there, and I also intend to go to the Azores to visit my family. If any of you decide to visit the islands (they are only two hours from Lisbon), keep in touch and I will meet you there.

Carlos Teixeira,
Editor, A.E.G.S.G.

deterioration in educational motivation and achievement found in research among the children of immigrants (the second generation) be overcome by positive local influences in small towns far from large ethnic communities? In other words, will geography be sufficiently powerful to effectively counteract detrimental nationwide cultural influences?

Mexican Settlement in Small Towns in the East

In the 1990s Mexican immigrants have settled in many small cities and towns far from traditional concentrations. They come for work in construction, poultry processing, restaurant kitchens, and in numerous other manufacturing and low-level service-sector jobs. They also continue to work the same

agricultural harvest that have long attracted Mexicans to Eastern and Midwestern fields. Small Mexican communities have appeared in thousands of little towns from Georgia and the Carolinas to Maine and Vermont.

Mexican immigrants are liked by employers because they work hard and, through friendship networks, are able to supply additional workers quickly when needed. There is evidence from Roger Waldinger's research into hotel and restaurant hiring preferences in Los Angeles that blacks and whites are not considered to be as hardworking and reliable as Mexican immigrants (see *Immigrants and Immigration Policy*, H. O. Duleep and P. V. Wunnava, eds.). My wife's brother, Harry, who owns a successful tool and die factory in a little town in rural Pennsylvania, complains that he can't find good workers from the entirely white local labor market because those young kids aren't willing to work hard. Harry doesn't know it yet, but he will be able to solve his problem by employing Mexican immigrant workers.

I believe that Mexican immigrants are making economically good decisions in settling far from larger Mexican ethnic communities. In American history, immigrants and minorities have generally fared better in areas far from major concentrations of their groups. There is also evidence from recent economic studies that large numbers of immigrants without advanced skills (like most Mexican immigrants) are hurting the incomes of earlier low-skilled arrivals, as well as of relatively unskilled U.S.-born workers, by creating a labor surplus of less educated workers. This further suggests that immigrants are correct in their expectation that wages will be higher in those small towns far from established Mexican settlements. If large numbers of immigrants do not follow the earlier arrivals into each of the small towns, then the immigrants themselves should adjust well economically. Employers will be pleased and so will the immigrants who know they are earning much more than they could in Mexico.

The big question is, however, what will happen to their children and grandchildren.

Prospects for the Second Generation

The traditional model of assimilation in America suggests that English-language skills and better schooling will lead to economic assimilation – to an income level which will converge with that of the local white population.

Developing fluency in English will not be a problem for the second generation. The evidence from Miami and Southern California is very strong that most children of Mexican and Cuban immigrants are developing better fluency in English than in Spanish and coming to prefer English. If the switch to English is occurring in these places with their large Spanish-speaking populations, then it is probably taking place even more in localities with smaller numbers of Spanish-speakers.

However, the educational aspirations and achievement motivation of many children of Mexican immigrants seem to be lower than among the immigrants themselves, who arrive in the U.S. with a great willingness to work hard in school as elsewhere. This has been documented in California by Marcelo and Carola Suarez-Orozco (*Transformations: Immigration, Family Life, and Achievement among Latino Adolescents*). Similar findings, including a deterioration in health among the second generation, are summarized for many immigrant groups by sociologist Ruben Rumbaut in the most recent issue of *International Migration Review* (Winter 1997). Rumbaut's article and others in that very provocative issue make it clear that a great many Mexican Americans and other immigrants are not acculturating educationally and in other ways as Americans have assumed they would. This decline in the second generation has no facile explanation, but I would agree with Rumbaut that television is a prime suspect.

The earnings prospects of workers without advanced training have worsened as a result of economic restructuring. Since the mid-1970's employers have needed workers who are better educated and trained than in earlier times. This has hurt the earnings of Mexican immigrants, most of whom are poorly educated. The net effect has been that the gap in median income nationwide between whites and Mexican Americans has not narrowed since 1979. *The Ethnic Quilt*, which I co-authored with Eugene Turner, documents the actual widening of the income gap between whites and Mexican Americans since 1959 in Southern California, an area which has seen both the arrival of large numbers of immigrants and large-scale economic restructuring.

Although Mexican immigrants can cope with these wide gaps, their children will compare their situations not with the earnings possible in Mexico, but with images on American television. Could economic success among later generations be enhanced in those places which have relatively few Mexican families who represent but a small proportion of the local inhabitants?

Potential for a Different Cultural Impact in Small Towns

Despite the generally discouraging findings regarding the second generation, most of those studies were located in places containing large immigrant communities. Outcomes might be different elsewhere, such as Eastern small towns. In those places Mexican and white families would presumably have greater personal contact and more easily become friends, successful local role models might be personally visible to most Mexican American children, and the detrimental influences of television might be countered by local teachers and other leaders. Thus, it seems to me that local influences might make acculturation much more positive in such places. The setting could lead the second generation to seek and attain the

educational training needed to assimilate educationally, occupationally, and economically so as to earn incomes similar to those of whites.

Within a few years it will be possible to test this geographical effect. Will the greater assimilation possible in small towns in the East compared to California be sufficient to encourage upward mobility and reward it? Or will local whites really

prefer, despite protestations to the contrary, that the children of immigrants remain in the same low-level occupations occupied by their parents? If the latter happens, then Mexican families in those small towns will form a new ethnically distinctive and stratified lower class, sadly repeating the experience of California and other areas where the second generation is now sliding backward.

Recent Publication Reviews

James P. Allen and Eugene Turner, 1997. *The Ethnic Quilt: Population Diversity in Southern California*. California State University, Northridge: Center for Geographical Studies. xiv and 282 pp., graphs, maps, tables, refs., and index. \$29.95 paper.

They've done it again. Jim Allen and Gene Turner, that creative team of cultural geographer and cartographer, have collaborated to produce another outstanding book that will end up on the shelf of most serious scholars of ethnicity in the United States. They had previously created *We the People: An Atlas of America's Ethnic Diversity* (Macmillan, 1988) which won several distinguished awards; including a special J. B. Jackson Prize from the A.A.G. and the Dartmouth Medal from the Reference Books Division of the American Library Association for the best reference book of 1988. *We the People* quickly became a standard reference on American ethnic groups, rivaled perhaps only by Thernstrom's *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Harvard, 1980).

As we have come to expect of these scholars, *The Ethnic Quilt* has dozens of interesting color maps of ethnicity and related subjects. Much more than an atlas, however, this work includes analyses of spatial distributions, segregation, income and occupational patterns, and other characteristics of thirty-four ethnic groups in metropolitan Los Angeles, primarily for 1990. Allen and Turner's approach to unraveling some of the patterns found in this particular urban quilt is very straightforward. As a principal focus of the work, they describe and analyze ethnic, class, and spatial structures using census data, fully acknowledging both the wealth of such data and also the limits that those data place on the researcher in terms of coverage, definitions, and categorizations. The basic description of each ethnic group is supported by thorough research on the group's origins, problems, successes, and changing settlement patterns within the urban area. In another major focus of the book, they adopt an assimilation perspective as a framework for several analyses including the examination of income and occupational characteristics of ethnic groups. Thus, they compare "non-Hispanic White" populations to other ethnic groups and compare various ethnic groups to one another.

Chapter 1 of *The Ethnic Quilt* describes the data and approach, and Chapter 2 sets ethnic change within a framework of overall

patterns of population and economic change in Los Angeles. Chapters 3, 4, and 5, respectively, focus on the residential patterns of Whites and Blacks, American Indians and Hispanics, and Asians and Pacific Islanders. The stories told in these chapters are fascinating summaries of the experiences of specific ethnic groups. In Chapter 6, "Narrowing the Gap," Allen and Turner analyze the "relative progress of different race and ethnic groups" in terms of education, occupation, income and homeownership, between 1960 and 1990. The finding in Chapter 6 that the Black-White income gap has not changed and the Mexican-White gap has increased leads to Chapter 7, "Probing the Income Gap." Here, they find that significant income gaps exist even within particular educational and occupational groups, suggesting the likelihood that discrimination still exists. Chapter 8 desegregates occupational patterns further by examining niches occupied by specific ethnic groups, and how those niches have changed over time. Here, as well as in the previous chapter, male and female employment and occupations are compared across ethnic groups. Chapter 8 examines residential segregation, ethnic diversity of places within the urban fabric, and acculturation as measured in several ways including intermarriage among ethnic groups. A final chapter briefly highlights some of the main findings of the research.

The combination of maps, graphs, and careful historical research leads to an amazing variety of insights provided by *The Ethnic Quilt*. Although some scholars might argue with some specific analyses, few would deny that Allen and Turner have made a substantial contribution to both ethnic and urban geography with their sweeping coverage of ethnic patterns as they vary through space and time in a large, diverse metropolitan area.

In addition to revealing broad substantive findings, this book – like many atlases, most certainly including *We the People* – is a browser's dream. Here are some of my favorite "finds" in this work: a map showing a cluster of folks claiming Belizean

ancestry just a few blocks west of my office (Chapter 3); three maps showing the 1990 residential locations of lawyers, physicians, and police/detectives – two of which have nearly identical distributions and one a very different distribution (Chapter 2); and a table that shows 1880 mail carrier occupational niches involving Filipino men and Chinese women in

addition to male and female African Americans (Chapter 8). These examples, however, only scratch the surface of the many analyses completed and ideas generated in *The Ethnic Quilt*.

Curtis C. Roseman
University of Southern California

A.E.G.S.G. Sponsored or Co-sponsored Sessions at the Boston A.A.G. Meeting - 1998

Thursday, March 26

11:30-1:10

127. Ethnic Diversity and Integration in Urban Places Across America.

1:30-2:30

166. Business Meeting.

4:45-6:25

221. Geography in Judaic Studies.

4:45-6:25

243. Census 2000 Programs and Applications.

Friday, March 27

7:30-9:10

318. Immigrants and Refugees in North American/European Cities.

9:30-11:10

361. Immigrants and Refugees in North American Cities.

11:30-12:50

376. State of the Art: A Tribute to James P. Allen.

4:45-6:25

481. Major Directions in Population Geography – Immigration's Impacts on America's Social Geography: Research and Policy.

Saturday, March 28

9:30-11:30

541. PhD Programs and PhD Production: Distributions, Strategies and Concerns.

1:15-2:55

577. Ethnic Geography: Process, Pattern, and Landscape.

3:15-4:55

611. The Homeland Concept Revisited.

5:15-6:35

656. Migration as a Gendered Experience.

Sunday, March 29

7:30-9:10

676. Ethnic and Racial Segregation Studies.

A.E.G.S.G. Student Paper Competition

The American Ethnic Geography Specialty Group promotes the common interests of persons working in American ethnic geography. The specialty group is pleased to announce a call for student papers for the upcoming 1998 Boston A.A.G. meeting. Cash prizes are awarded for masters and doctoral level students. Please do not submit published papers or entire theses or dissertations. Papers are judged on content and oral presentation. To be considered for the Boston A.A.G. awards, entrants should send three (3) copies no later than March 20, 1997. Papers should be sent to Douglas Heffington, Department of Geography & Geology, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, TN 37132.

Recent Publications and News of A.E.G.S.G. Members

Thomas D. Boswell and Angel David Cruz-Baez (1997). Residential Segregation by Socioeconomic Class in Metropolitan Miami: 1990, *Urban Geography*, 18(6): 474-496.

Miami is often viewed as being a city to which standard assimilation theory does not apply because, it is presumed, the immigrants now coming to the U.S. behave differently than those who came earlier. In 1960 it was listed as one of the most segregated cities in the United States. However, this paper demonstrates that this is not longer true because, by 1990, its levels of racial and ethnic segregation were about average, when compared to other large American cities.

This paper specifically investigates the proposition that socio-economic status explains a significant amount of the residen-

tial segregation between Hispanics, non-Hispanic Whites, non-Hispanic Blacks, and non-Hispanic others (mainly Asians) in metropolitan Miami. In measuring socioeconomic status the authors use income, education, and occupation variables.

First, the authors tested to determine if there is significant segregation within each of the four ethnic groups, and found that there is, except for Blacks. Although the index of dissimilarity suggests that there is segregation by socioeconomic status within Miami's Black population, map analysis reveals that this is not the case. Furthermore, the authors found that socioeconomic status is not an important factor explaining metropolitan Miami's segregation patterns between these four ethnic groups, as has been found in other U.S. cities.

When it comes to residential segregation, Miami is similar to most other American cities. This is a notable finding because other studies of Miami have emphasized Miami's uniqueness. The paper argues that, although the details of ethnicity may be different in Miami, the same general processes of assimilation are working in Miami as elsewhere. Certainly, continued immigration of Hispanics and their increasing concentration in metropolitan Miami slows the processes of assimilation in Miami, but still these processes are operative in Miami. These findings are significant given that residential segregation is one of the main aspects of assimilation.

Carlos Teixeira and Robert A. Murdie (1997). The Role of Ethnic Real Estate Agents in the Residential Relocation Process: A Case Study of Portuguese Homebuyers in Suburban Toronto, *Urban Geography*, 18(6): 497-520.

In this study, the authors examine the search behavior of a sample of Portuguese and Canadian-born homebuyers in suburban Toronto, Canada. In particular, they focused on the extent to which Portuguese homebuyers rely upon real estate agents from the same ethnic background and how this source can influence the homebuyer's housing search and ultimate choice of a residence. Data were obtained through a questionnaire survey administered to a sample of Portuguese and Canadian-born recent homebuyers in the city of Mississauga, a western suburb of Toronto. The evidence indicates that Portuguese homebuyers differ significantly from Canadian-born homebuyers in their housing search by relying extensively on ethnic sources of information; particularly real estate agents from the same ethnic background. However, almost equal numbers of Portuguese purchased houses in Portuguese and non-Portuguese neighborhoods in Mississauga. These findings suggest that Portuguese realtors play a limited role in reinforcing existing spatial patterns of Portuguese settlement in Mississauga.

Wei Li [University of Connecticut]. Her research on the Chinese ethnoburb in LA's San Gabriel Valley has landed her a joint-appointment between the Geography Department and

the Asian American Studies Institute as an Assistant Professor at the University of Connecticut.

Wei Li is currently teaching one course in each department every semester – in areas ranging from Urban Geography and Geography of Asian American Communities, to Analyzing Asian American Communities. She also serves as a member of the Asian American Studies Institute's advisory committee, research committee, and faculty search committee. On the research front, she recently received a UCONN faculty research grant to compare the ethnoburb phenomenon in New York and Los Angeles. Recently she has published, with Jennifer Wolch, "The Shifting Margins of Housing Status in Los Angeles" in *Social Science Research*.

Yu Zhou (Vassar College) was invited by the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, University of Amsterdam, to be part of an international comparative project on immigrant entrepreneurial activities in the garment industry. She presented her research on immigrants in New York's garment industry at Amsterdam, Netherlands on Jan. 15-17, 1988.

Yu Zhou, together with Seungsook Moon, from the Dep. of Sociology at Vassar College, are jointly organizing a conference on the East Asian Immigrant experience in the U.S. By bringing together scholars and community activists, this workshop intends to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the lives of these rapidly growing social groups.

The workshop consists of three sessions focusing on socioeconomic status, changing gender relations at the household level, and gender and the construction of ethnic identity. An additional objective of the conference is to initiate dialogue and collaborative research on problems of Asian immigrant women among workshop participants and the wider community of activists and scholars.

News from Canada

Vancouver Centre of Excellence: RIIM

An award to establish the Vancouver Centre of Excellence: RIIM – Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis – was announced by the Minister in the spring of 1996. It is one of four such centres in metropolitan Canada funded for six years with a mandate to conduct research relevant to policy assessment and policy development in the field of immigration studies. At the same time the Centre's funding is a research grant, not a contract, so that researchers are engaged in basic as well as applied research. The sponsors of the research programme are a coalition of nine federal agencies led by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council. The grant from these and other sources to the Vancouver Centre presently

runs to \$2.8 million.

The Centres operate as the Canadian component of the international Metropolis project, a network of some 15 nations and several international agencies that are committed to a research programme analysing the effects of immigration on major urban areas. Metropolis has an annual international conference, to be held this year in Tel Aviv in November. The next national conference of the Canadian Centres is to be held in Vancouver, 11-16 January 1999.

The Vancouver Centre's research programme covers five major fields or domains concerning relations between immigration and the metropolis: the economy, education, social services, housing and neighbourhoods, and religion. The research team includes some 55 academics from 14 different disciplines. The Centre represents a consortium of the University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser University and the University of Victoria, though some researchers are based elsewhere. The Co-Directors are David Ley (Geography, UBC) and Don DeVoretz (Economics, SFU). The Centre has published some 20 Working Papers to date. These and additional information may be accessed from the web page site at WWW.RIIM.METROPOLIS.GLOBALX.NET

*David Ley,
University of British Columbia*

"Little Greece" in Toronto: A Community in Transition?

Editorial Note:

Teaching Urban Geography (or Social Geography for that matter) in a multicultural city such as Toronto is a gratifying experience (particularly when you are an immigrant yourself). In fact, Toronto is a city of "ethnic" neighbourhoods; thus making any final choice of where to send our students in a field trip is always a difficult task. This year I taught Urban Geography at the University of Toronto at Scarborough, and I decided to send my students to one of the most colorful ethnic communities in Toronto: "Little Greece" on Danforth Av. The "theme" of the field trip was to examine the major changes that have taken place in the neighbourhood in the last two decades. Students were provided with a booklet guiding them through the neighbourhood and providing background data on the area and its population.

Why have I included a "summary" of the work of four undergraduate students in this newsletter? Let me explain. One of my students noticed a copy of this newsletter on the door of my office, and asked whether they might contribute to it, I thought: "Why not?" So I proposed to my class that they could, if they wished, publish their field work here. Four students responded. Each prepared a draft of their individual work, which was distilled into a collective draft. This they presented in class, in a form of "peer review", and incorporated suggestions and proposed revisions in the copy below. I believe, such endeavours to be essential to the continuation of interest in field work and research practices among our young successors. I encourage members to share their teaching and/or field work experiences with students in future newsletters.

As a country known for its multiculturalism, Canada has become home to many miniature, ethnic-based societies. In-

stead of absorbing immigrants into a version of the American melting pot, Canada allows for, if not encourages, the idea of ethnic individuality. Focusing on Canada's largest city and the most popular entry point of immigrants, Toronto represents a wonderful opportunity to study Canadian multiculturalism. Greek immigration into Canada first occurred in the middle to late 19th century, due to poverty, wars and political upheavals. A significant increase in the Greek population occurred after World War II resulting in approximately 250,000 people of Greek descent living in Canada (including Greeks born in other nations who identify themselves as Greek); 67 percent of which are concentrated in the cities of Montreal and Toronto.

The Greek population in Toronto has traditionally been concentrated along Danforth Avenue (in Southeastern Toronto), where one will find an uninterrupted string of Greek fruit markets, restaurants, cafés, and bakeries. Even more pronounced is the National Bank of Greece and a Greek "parkette", decorated with a proud statue of Alexander the Great, which has in turn strengthened Toronto's tightly knit Greek community. On the other hand, the Greek community has been steadily migrating out of the central city and into the inner/outer suburbs as family incomes gradually increase. They move in search of the "dream house." However, an economic decline had been prevented because of the well-established Greek enclave promoting tourism and hence, economic prosperity in Little Greece. As one reporter describes for the *Toronto Star*: "they [Greek families] don't limit themselves to the Danforth Ave. neighbourhood...[they] live in all parts of Toronto and are scattered throughout Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough."

"Little Greece" is an area of residential transition that once had a highly dense concentration of Greeks in the 1970s and 1980s, but is now experiencing a steady decline of residents in the 1990s. Moreover, the process of middle-class families moving into the inner/outer suburbs is also occurring. The older, run-down houses are being renovated increasing the economic value of the area. This process of gentrification, due to central city migration by professional individuals, explains the neighbourhood's 50 percent increase in income over the last ten years. The arrival of residents with higher education levels has heightened land values compared to the 1970s when first generation Greeks occupied the area. Overall, the Danforth's Greek commercial area has maintained its well-rooted Greek establishments, demonstrating a vibrant, and on-going symbol of Toronto's vast ethnic mosaic, enveloped by other less conspicuous cultural groups. An important question for the future is the degree to which this area will retain its "Greek identity/flavor."

*Yolanda Chow, Lynnette Latulippe,
Alastair Wishart, John Yatco
Scarborough College, University of Toronto*

A.E.G.S.G. Officers

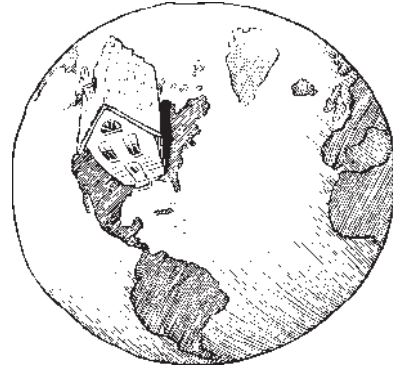
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