Title: Anti-Black residential preferences in Toronto.

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Abstract: Urban studies scholars have explored the relationship between anti-Black residential preferences and segregation for nearly 50 years in the United States. The classical conception was that Black-white segregation was created and reinforced by a mix of anti-Black preference, discrimination, and poverty. Recently, scholars have been puzzled about why open anti-Blackness has diminished, but segregation has not. The compelling explanations for this turn are useful, but of limited applicability for cities outside of the United States in the Global North. In places such as Paris, London, and Toronto, substantial Black populations are of relatively recent origin, so some of the historical and social drivers of American segregation do not exist in the same form there, even if anti-Blackness does. This paper explores anti-Black residential preferences in Toronto using a 2,314 person online panel. I argue that the racial capitalism paradigm provides a more flexible and robust way to interpret the consequences of anti-Black preferences than segregation metrics. Housing markets are a primary mechanism for materializing racism. At times, that takes the form of segregation, but at other times it assumes different, but equally material, forms.

Introduction

According to the paradigmatic framework in American urban studies, Black-white segregation is caused by a combination of residential preference, discrimination, and structural income differences. However, this relationship has been challenged in recent decades as scholars have identified numerous examples of (some combination of) anti-Black preference, discrimination, or poverty eroding, without a concomitant drop in segregation. Scholars have developed compelling explanations for this apparent paradox, but those explanations are more limited for understanding cases outside of the United States, and the broader relationship between anti-Blackness and segregation. This paper explores anti-Black residential attitudes in Toronto, Ontario. Toronto has a notable presence of anti-Black attitudes across a variety of groups, but relatively low segregation numbers. Through an examination of racial preferences, and a reinterpretation using the racial capitalism paradigm, I argue two main things. First, there is an over-reliance on segregation to validate the significance of anti-Black residential preferences. The underlying material liability that anti-Blackness reinforces can take a variety forms including, but not limited to segregation. Second, there is a similar over-reliance on the aspect of choice and homophily to explain ethno-racial clustering in the urban landscape. Real choice is unevenly allocated. Black residents are not afforded the same liberty to cluster as other groups.

The paper is organized as follows. First, I revisit the common explanations, and putative segregative implications, for anti-Black residential preferences. Second, I explain how the racial capitalism paradigm can be used as an alternate approach to understanding these preferences. Third, I discuss the differences and similarities between American and Canadian anti-Blackness. Fourth, I explain the rationale, design and findings of the racial preference survey of Toronto.

And finally, I revisit these themes by concluding that anti-Blackness is very present in Toronto, and that its implications extend well beyond aggregate segregation patterns.

Anti-Blackness and Segregation

Urban studies scholars have carefully explored the role that anti-Black residential preferences play in the American urban landscape for nearly 50 years (Farley et al., 1978; Farley et al., 1997; Charles, 2001; Charles, 2003; Charles, 2006; Thomas, 2013). The primary interest is their role in facilitating racial segregation. Within the paradigmatic model, racial segregation is generated through a combination of anti-Black residential choices, housing discrimination, socio-economic inequality, and in some cases, market knowledge. The direction of this relationship is positive: the greater the level of anti-Black residential choice, discrimination, and poverty, the greater the level of measured segregation. Segregation is the primary material outcome of these forces within this narrative and for good reason. As Massey and Denton (1998) famously argued, segregation was one of the primary vehicles through which inequality was expressed and reproduced in the 20th century American city. During the de jure era, segregation was imposed on large migrations of Black residents through a variety of means including zoning, steering, lease refusals, racially-restrictive covenants, and simple violence (Hirsch, 1983; Anderson, 2016; Rodriguez, 2021). More recently, scholars have struggled to understand environments where these forces are less common or non-existent, but segregation remains. They find that anti-Black residential preferences have diminished, but racial segregation is more durable. Often the original Black ghetto remains nearly all-Black and few white (or non-Black minorities) seek residence there even though public anti-Black sentiment is ostensibly lower.

Scholars have identified two main reasons for why there may be a more recent dissonance between anti-Blackness and segregation: social desirability bias and the social structural sorting perspective. Social desirability bias refers to the reluctance that (primarily) white survey respondents have in expressing honesty about race, particularly their attitudes toward Black people (Krysan et al., 2008; Holbrook & Krosnick, 2010). As open racism has become less socially-acceptable, tolerance scores on surveys have increased. The suggestion here would be that anti-Black affect is still present but that respondents are more reluctant to express it than before. The second major argument about why anti-Black sentiment can dissolve despite no, or less, movement with segregation is deemed "social structural sorting perspective." Devised by Krysan and Crowder (2017) the social structural sorting perspective suggests that the social dynamics of the home search process are paramount for understanding the persistence of segregation. Home searches tend to occur through interpersonal networks. Individuals search for housing in neighborhoods with people "like them" *from* people "like them" (e.g. family members, trusted friends, etc.). The knowledge and perception of neighborhood conditions derived through such networks is deeply influenced by the existing landscape and history of a place. In highly-segregated contexts, knowledge about neighborhoods tends to reflect the existing context and assumptions that flow from it. The home search process therefore gravitates toward a reproduction of segregation rather than an immediate erosion of it.

These are important and valuable arguments, but they possess some features that make them less robust for explaining anti-Blackness and segregation in other contexts. First, the models are built on the details of the American experience of anti-Black racism. In that experience, sizable populations of Black people moved to American cities after abolition, then again during the Great Migration and were faced with a range of organized racist reactions. The

result was the establishment of an apartheid landscape—usually a single neighborhood where Black people were permitted to live such as Black Bottom in Detroit, Harlem in New York, and the South Side of Chicago—surrounded by a city where Black residence was disallowed. These spaces formed the bedrock of segregation that lived on well after the specific practices that created them were made illegal. This bedrock is an important part of contemporary explanations, but it largely applies only to the American context. In the non-American Global North (Europe, Canada, Australia, etc.), the descendant population of enslaved African people was small during the 19th century, and non-white immigrants (including Black people) were restricted throughout the 20th century. So there tend to be no (or fewer) large Black populations within otherwise-white cities outside of the United States (but in the Global North), and there was often no exclusively-Black ghetto set up from which later processes stemmed. But with increased migration from Africa (and to a lesser extent the Caribbean) to Europe, Canada and Australia in the past 50 years, this has begun to change. There are now large Black-majority neighborhoods in Paris, Toronto, and London among other places. These migrant populations are more internally varied by language, national origin, and wealth than Great Migrants in the United States were, so their residential patterns are likewise more varied.

The second and related limitation of this family of studies is that segregation is situated as the validating concept of the severity of anti-Black choice, discrimination, and economic inequality. This is understandable and justified in American historical sense, but it is more limited for understanding contemporary conditions in the United States, and elsewhere in the urban world. In such locations, anti-Black residential attitudes can co-exist with relatively high levels of spatial dispersal. But as scholars have argued, the dispersal of Black people amongst white spaces does not necessarily mean the same thing that it meant for aspirational Europeans

during the 20th century in the United States. Scholars have, for example, documented how Black middle class people face continuous, material discrimination in housing, policing, education, and interpersonal relations in ostensibly-integrated environments (Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Mayorga, 2014). The spatial dispersal of Black people may not be the panacea that it was for European immigrant groups in the 19th and 20th century American city (and suburbs).

Thus while valuable for understanding the persistence of segregation in the United States, social desirability and the social structural sorting perspectives are of limited use for American contexts dominated by more recent Black immigrant groups (rather than large internally-migrating migrant groups), and urban landscapes elsewhere in the non-American Global North whose anti-Black experience took a different form. I suggest that the racial capitalism approach could be an alternative way to understand the importance and implications of anti-Black residential preferences.

The Racial Capitalism Paradigm

The racial capitalism paradigm emphasizes the severe, but flexible and material, forms that anti-Blackness can take. Anti-Black attitudes can, and have been, used to fuel segregation, but in other instances, they relate more strongly to different outcomes. The paradigm began in South Africa under apartheid (Clarno & Vally, 2022), but was applied and popularized by Robinson's (1983) iconic *Black Marxism*. Recent urban studies work includes broader theoretical considerations of racial capitalism and its implications for cities (Dantzler, 2021; Hackworth, 2021; Dantzler et al. 2022; Dorries et al., 2022; Rucks-Ahidiana, 2022), and compelling applications of the material consequences of racism in housing markets (Howell & Korver-Glenn, 2018; Korver-Glenn, 2018; Korver-Glenn, 2021; Rucks-Ahidiana, 2022). The racial

capitalism paradigm can be used to challenge some of the mainstream assumptions about racial preference surveys and their meaning.

First, the approach emphasizes the material value attached to race and the role of property as a mechanism for producing and reproducing that value (Harris, 1993). The ethno-racial make-up of a neighborhood drives the value and appreciability of homes in it. This materiality is derived from, and in turn, produces a racial hierarchy. Black residents have long been pathologized in this hierarchy. White residents have historically indicated very little desire to live in Black-majority neighborhoods (or even places with significant Black minority numbers) in preference surveys. The actions of real estate professionals reinforce this these preferences (Howell & Korver-Glenn, 2018; Korver-Glenn, 2021; Cashin, 2021). In a segregated environment, this means that the areas that are most Black tend to have lower property values and appreciability, as there is a collapse of (non-Black) demand in precisely those locations (Perry et al., 2018).

But the consequences of this racial hierarchy are not limited to segregated environments. Scholars have documented important material impacts of anti-Blackness in ostensibly-integrated environments as well. Beyond the interpersonal rejection that many Black residents of predominantly white neighborhoods face (Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Mayorga, 2014), many face racism that translates into lost property value. Recent high-profile cases of Black families hiring home appraisers serve as example. *The New York Times* recently documented cases of Black families (who live in white-majority neighborhoods) receiving significantly lower home appraisals when they left evidence of their Blackness (e.g. family pictures, being at the home while the appraisal was happening, etc.), compared to when they asked a white friend to stand in for them (Korver-Glenn, 2021; Kamin, 2022). Other research has found that the mortgage

discriminative effect of being Black is highest when the surrounding environment is predominantly white (Holloway, 1998). Black people continue to face interpersonal micro-aggressions (white neighbors calling the police simply walking down their own street), and material discrimination from banks, real estate professionals and white consumers even when moving to a predominantly white environment. Anderson (2022) argues that the core reason for this is that Black people are burdened, with the assumption that they personally embody the "iconic ghetto." The iconic ghetto is the imagined place from which all Black people ostensibly come. In this trope, the iconic ghetto is filled with vice, poverty, and malfeasance. Many Black people struggle to shed this stereotype no matter what their personal background or neighborhood demographics.

The second insight that the racial capitalism paradigm can bring to contemporary racial preference surveys is that the racial hierarchy is not limited to Black-white environments. Non-Black minority groups are part of the racial hierarchy too—both as victims and participants. Scholars have found that some immigrant groups express anti-Black residential preferences similar to white respondents (Charles, 2006). Charles (2006) argues that this is because they adopt the racial hierarchy assumptions of the place. Shabazz (2015) argues that anti-Black expressions and actions are a way to speed assimilation. That is, by behaving or expressing anti-Black preferences, the group expressing these views is trusted and eventually accepted as white. In either case, the presence of a multi-cultural city does not necessarily increase tolerance toward Black people. Related to this point, the racial capitalism paradigm can dispel notion, often derived from preference surveys, that landscapes are purely choice-driven. There is a vast literature on ethnic enclaves, ethno-burbs, and non-white groups moving directly to the suburbs (Hackworth & Rekers, 2005; Li, 2008; Lung-Amam, 2017). In this model, non-white immigrant

groups have moved to Global North cities and do not necessarily aspire to live in all-white suburbs. Some willingly live in majority-minority neighborhoods. In certain cases, these enclaves are celebrated, sometimes enough so to be used to enhance real estate values for white consumers (Hackworth & Rekers, 2005). From this observation, some mainstream scholars have suggested we should privilege the role of homophily in the landscape. For certain groups in the racial hierarchy homophily likely explains a great deal, but it generally does not for Black immigrants. Black enclaves are generally pathologized as the iconic ghetto, not celebrated. Black middle class households—many of whom also express homophilic tendencies in racial preference surveys—often carefully avoid living in clusters with other Black people.

Finally, most broadly, the racial capitalism paradigm can be used to challenge the assumption that preference is a purely individual expression, while organized discrimination and socio-economic inequality are structural. The racial capitalism paradigm emphasizes the links between individual expression and social formation.[1] Individuals are consciously part of the broader racial hierarchy with incentives, disincentives, assumptions and worldviews that are socially-constructed. The individual actions of consumers like home searches, and of professionals, like appraisals, loan origination, and realtors are part of this system too (Howell & Korver-Glenn, 2018; Korver-Glenn, 2021; Cashin, 2021). In short, the racial capitalism framework emphasizes the material consequences of anti-Blackness in a way that is not dependent on high segregation for validation. It challenges mainstream assumptions about choice and individual expression. Above all, it allows an understanding of anti-Blackness that is flexible, consequential, and linked to a materialized racial hierarchy.

[1] To be sure, there are other lines of scholarship that link individual and structural logics including Ray's (2019) recent work on racism in organizations.

Blackness and Anti-Blackness in Toronto

Toronto's Black population is small, internally-varied, and largely of recent arrival to Canada. Black Torontonians comprised 8.9% of the city's population in 2016—the third largest visible minority group behind South Asian (13%) and Chinese (11%).[2] The majority of Black Torontonians are recent immigrants from Africa or the Caribbean; smaller numbers are descendants of enslaved North Americans. The largest source countries of immigrant Black Torontonians are Jamaica, Nigeria, and Somalia. Like many of the groupings used to describe visible minorities in Canada, "Black" is a varied group (Mensah, 2005; Teixeira, 2008). Black Canadians are more likely to be immigrants, to speak a language at home other than English, and to be non-Christians than Black Americans (Hackworth, 2016). Black Torontonians are more likely than other groups to have immigrated through refugee or worker programs than through conventional system (which favors education and wealth), and earlier high income visa programs. In part because of their small size, but also because of recurrent assumptions of tolerance and equality, racism toward Black Canadians is understudied. There are, for example, no major live paired audits, mortgage disclosure data, or residential racial preference surveys. Despite the lack of data, three exceptionalist assertions persist in the mainstream literature on Black Canadians.

First, there are general assertions of racial tolerance vis-à-vis the United States. There is a long tradition of contrasting urbanization and racial attitudes between the United States and Canada (Goldberg & Mercer, 1986; Lipset, 1990; Adams, 2009). Within this narrative, the United States is a cauldron of racial oppression, and Canada an island of racial tolerance. Canadian exceptionalist authors of this sort emphasize that the country outlawed slavery more

[2] Statistics Canada (2022) defines Canadians who identify in the following ways as "visible minorities": Arab, Black, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Latin American, South Asian, Southeast Asian, or West Asian.

than 30 years before the US, was the destination for the Underground Railroad, and did not have any major racial uprisings in the 1960s. Second, there are narrower studies on ethno-racial segregation in Canadian cities (Walks & Bourne, 2006; Jacobs, 2009). Using 2016 census tract data, Toronto's Black-white dissimilarity score is .512, which Massey and Denton (1998) classify as "moderate." Only 10% of the Black population lives in neighborhoods that are majority Black. The majority of Black Torontonians (61.7%) live in neighborhoods where they are compose than 25% of the population. A common argument is to use these numbers to suggest that Canada is more tolerant than the US—adopting the aforementioned connection between racial animus and segregation. The third major claim has been to characterize the ethno-racial clustering that does exist as the result of homophily—the desire to live with members of one's own ethnic group. As leading Canadian urbanists Kobayashi and Preston (2015, p. 139) write, "there is an expert consensus that many immigrants and their descendants in Canadian cities live in ethnic enclaves, spatial concentrations formed by residents' preference to live near others from the same ethnocultural group, rather than by the processes of exclusion as is the case in so-called ghettos" (see also Walks & Bourne, 2006; Hiebert et al., 2007; Murdie, 2008).

These are common claims but there is ample reason to believe that segregation numbers, selected historical differences, and assertions of homophily tell an incomplete story about the relationship between Blackness, anti-Blackness and segregation in Toronto. First, while there are certainly historical differences between the United States and Canada, the notion that the former is universally-oppressive, and the latter universally-inviting to Black people is superficial and incorrect. Canada has a deeply-racist, particularly anti-Black, legacy (Rutland, 2018). One manifestation of this legacy was to deny entry to almost all non-European-descended people until the late 1960s. Immigration officials were open about why the country pursued such a

policy: they did not think that Black and other non-white people could assimilate or even get along with Canada's white population and that social conflict in more multi-ethnic American cities was a cautionary tale of what might happen if the country changed too quickly (Boyco, 1995; Winks, 1997; Darden, 2004; Schwinghamer, 2015; Hackworth, 2016). It is true that there was not an exclusively-Black ghetto in Toronto, but there was a neighborhood, the St. John's Ward, established for all non-white outgroups in the city: Jews, Catholics, Black, and Chinese people (Lorinc et al., 2015; Smardz-Frost, 2015). Like American ghettoes, these groups were forced to live in The Ward because they were prohibited from living elsewhere in white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon Toronto. The Ward was demolished via urban renewal in the 1950s, just as Toronto (and Canada's) Black and other non-white populations were growing considerably. Since the loosening of immigration laws in 1967, most new immigrants including Black Torontonians settle initially in the inner suburbs of the city. The 13 inner-suburban neighborhoods that are 65% or more Black, are separate and pathologized by much of white Toronto.

Other manifestations of Canada's anti-Black legacy included racially-restrictive covenants until 1951, Black-only schools (the last of which did not close until 1983 in Nova Scotia), and segregated lunch counters and sundown laws in Southwestern Ontario until the mid-1950s (Winks, 1997; Ontario Heritage Trust, 2010). Economists, sociologists, and journalists have documented the contemporary impacts of this legacy. Today, the income gap between Black and white Canadians is even larger than it is between Black and white Americans (Baker & Benjamin, 1997; Hou & Coulombe, 2010; Li & Li, 2013). Black Torontonians are over-represented in prison, over-policed, and more likely to be accosted without probable cause by police officers (Cole, 2015; Maynard, 2017). They are less likely to be hired for a variety of

occupations than white and other non-Black visible minority job applicants (Henry and Ginzberg, 1985). To say, in short, that Canada's legacy has been a beacon of Black tolerance (in relation to the United States), would be an over-statement at best, manifestly untrue at worst. There have been small juridical differences, but both countries have toxic anti-Black legacies that still affect the lives of Black people.

Second, while it is true that many wealthy immigrant groups and white Torontonians cluster by choice, and face no material consequence for living in such a space, the same cannot be said of Black Canadians. While some ethnic enclaves are celebrated, Black "enclaves" are viewed very differently. As will be discussed later, all groups (including Black people) express at least some desire to live amongst other members of their ethno-racial group. But all groups (except other Black people) when posed with the hypothetical of *not* living amongst their own group, are disproportionately resistant to living near Black people. Majority-Black inner-suburban neighborhoods like Jane-Finch and Malvern, have few white visitors or residents, are the subject of considerable attention by police forces, and garner media attention as the "iconic ghetto" (Saberi, 2017). There are few Black middle class spaces, but those that exist, such as Brampton (a suburb of Toronto), are feeling the effects of white flight and pathologization today. Noreen Ahmed-Ullah (2016) writes about the recent transition of Brampton's Castlemore subdivision. Castlemore is filled with large, expensive houses, and until recently was nearly all white. In the early 2000s, Black and South Asian professionals began moving there. White residents fled, the neighborhood is now 70% Black and South Asian, and house prices have plateaued in this subdivision. Brampton has been derisively nicknamed "Browntown", and is increasingly avoided by white home buyers. While some ethnic enclaves may be accepted, even celebrated, as manifestations of personal choice for some groups, there is a material consequence

for Black clustering—other groups are unwilling to live there, so demand and eventually, house prices plateau or drop. In poorer Black neighborhoods, the pathologization, over-policing, and avoidance by non-residents is even more severe.

There is thus a need to explore anti-Blackness without the automatic assumption that it facilitates a linear, positive relationship with segregation. While Toronto shares some similarities with American cities, it also has important differences. The Black Toronto population is small, varied, and owing to racist immigration laws before 1967, largely of recent arrival. There was no single all-Black ghetto in pre-1967 Toronto that current patterns stem from, but there was considerable anti-Blackness expressed through the law and by everyday white citizens. An exploration of anti-Black residential attitudes, and an alternate, more critical interpretation of their implications is in order.

Study Design

The following questions motivated this racial preference survey of Toronto: 1) To what extent do anti-Black residential attitudes exist in Toronto, and which groups express them most prominently?; 2) Is anti-Blackness any more prevalent or acute than aversion to other non-white neighbors?; and 3) How much is any of this related to the desire to "be with one's own" (homophily)? Because there are no major preference surveys on Canadian cities, we are left at a very basic starting point so an exploratory approach is in order. To address these questions, this study employed an online panel survey to assess the desirability of purchasing homes in neighborhoods of different ethno-racial mixes. The design was based on the "showcard method" initially devised by Reynolds Farley and colleagues as part of the Detroit Area Survey in the 1970s. The approach has since been replicated and adapted multiple times (Farley et al., 1997;

Charles, 2006). The method employs simple diagrams of neighborhoods on "showcards." The respondents are asked to imagine living in the house in the center of the diagrammed neighborhood. In the initial application (Detroit), Black and white respondents were the focus. For example, white and Black respondents were asked to express their level of comfort living in a neighborhood of two Black neighbors, then four, then seven, and so on. In later designs, the hypothetical neighborhoods and respondents were expanded to include people of multiple ethno-racial origins (Charles, 2001; Bader & Krysan, 2015). Asking questions about racial attitudes is always challenging. In particular, social desirability bias leads many to understate (or refuse to reveal) negative attitudes toward other groups (Krysan et al., 2008). The Detroit Area Study and later Multi-City Study on Urban Inequality dealt with this matter through in-person interviews where the interviewer was race-matched with the respondent. This survey was administered online so that remedy was not possible, but it has been shown by others that online panel surveys enhance anonymity and reduce the social desirability bias (Holbrook & Krosnick, 2010; Besco, 2015). The findings here are interpreted with the assumption that racial attitudes are likely more negative than those expressed in this survey.

For this study, three different sets of neighborhood designs were used (Figures 1-3). These diagrams were presented as images to the respondents that they could view on a desktop or portable device. They were first asked to indicate the likelihood that they would purchase the house in the center of the diagrammed neighborhood if they could afford it, and it fulfilled all of their other criteria. Respondents were allowed to give one of five possible answers: extremely unlikely (1), somewhat unlikely (2), neither likely nor unlikely (3), somewhat likely (4), extremely likely (5). Respondents were permitted to indicate the same score for each neighborhood type. They were then asked to rank the same neighborhoods from first to last in

terms of their desirability. They were not permitted to indicate "ties" for neighborhoods—this method forced them to position the neighborhood types from first to fifth. The first set of hypothetical neighbors were relational (Figure 1). That is, respondents were asked to indicate their level of comfort, then rank neighborhoods where there are varying percentages of "people from your ethno-racial group" and "people who are not in your ethno-racial group." No other specification on who the "different" group was provided in the survey question. The second set of hypothetical neighbors were varying numbers of visible minority and white neighbors (Figure 2). The final set of hypothetical neighbors were varying number of Black and white neighbors (Figure 3). Respondents were given neighborhood possibilities in the following order with the following labels: 1) Half Black, Half White; 2) All White; 3) All Black; 4) Majority White; 5) Majority Black. In the tables that follow these neighborhood types have been rearranged for presentation using the rounded percentage of Black houses in each scenario: 0%, 21%, 50%, 79%, 100%. These showcard questions were part of a larger study that also asked about willingness to live with different combinations of: 1) homeowners and renters; 2) wealthier and poorer people; and 3) different types of housing (multi-family rental, public housing, single family, etc.). Those results are not presented here but a summary of the study can be found at: www address withheld to preserve anonymity.

The survey was designed by the author, and circulated via a private company named Asking Canadians. Asking Canadians maintains a large database of subscribers to which it circulates surveys in exchange for fuel and airlines points. Asking Canadians invited 14,816 potential respondents, and 16.9% (2,500) completed the survey between January 12 and 27, 2022. A total of 186 respondents were removed from the study for a variety of reasons, for a

Figure 1: Relational ethno-racial showcards used for this study. Respondents were presented with these options in this order.

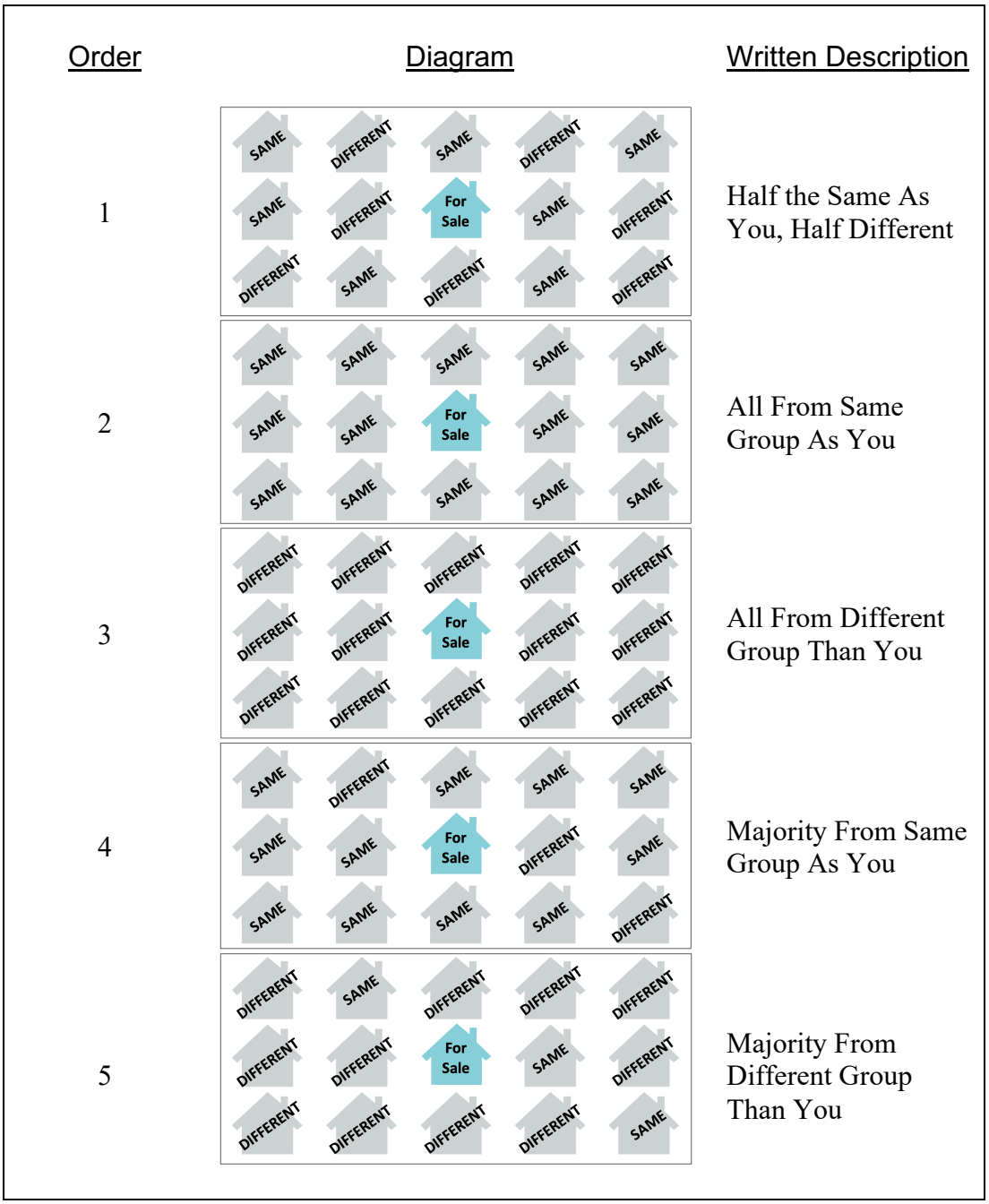


Figure 2: Visible minority-white mix showcards used for this study. Respondents were presented with these options in this order.

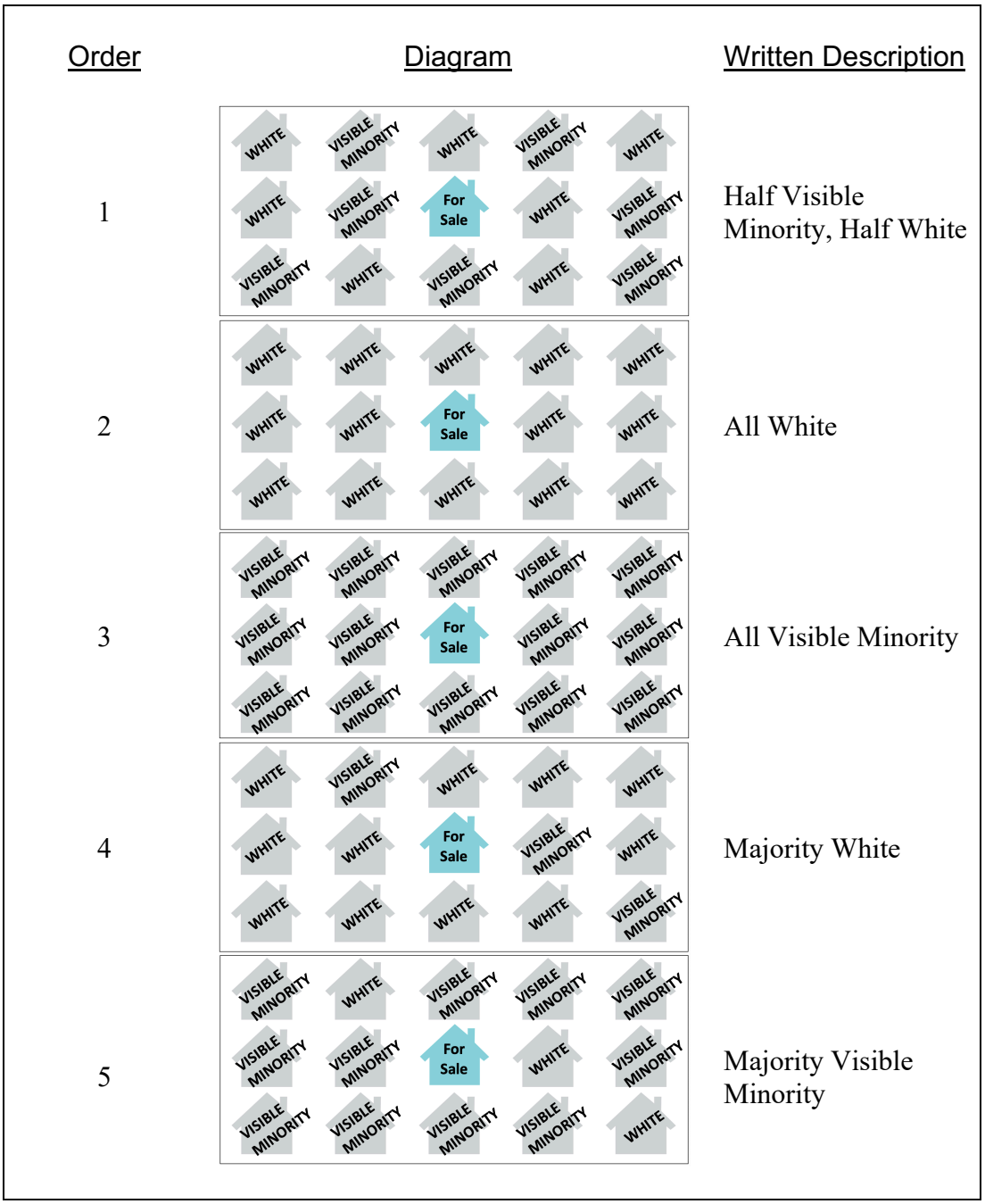
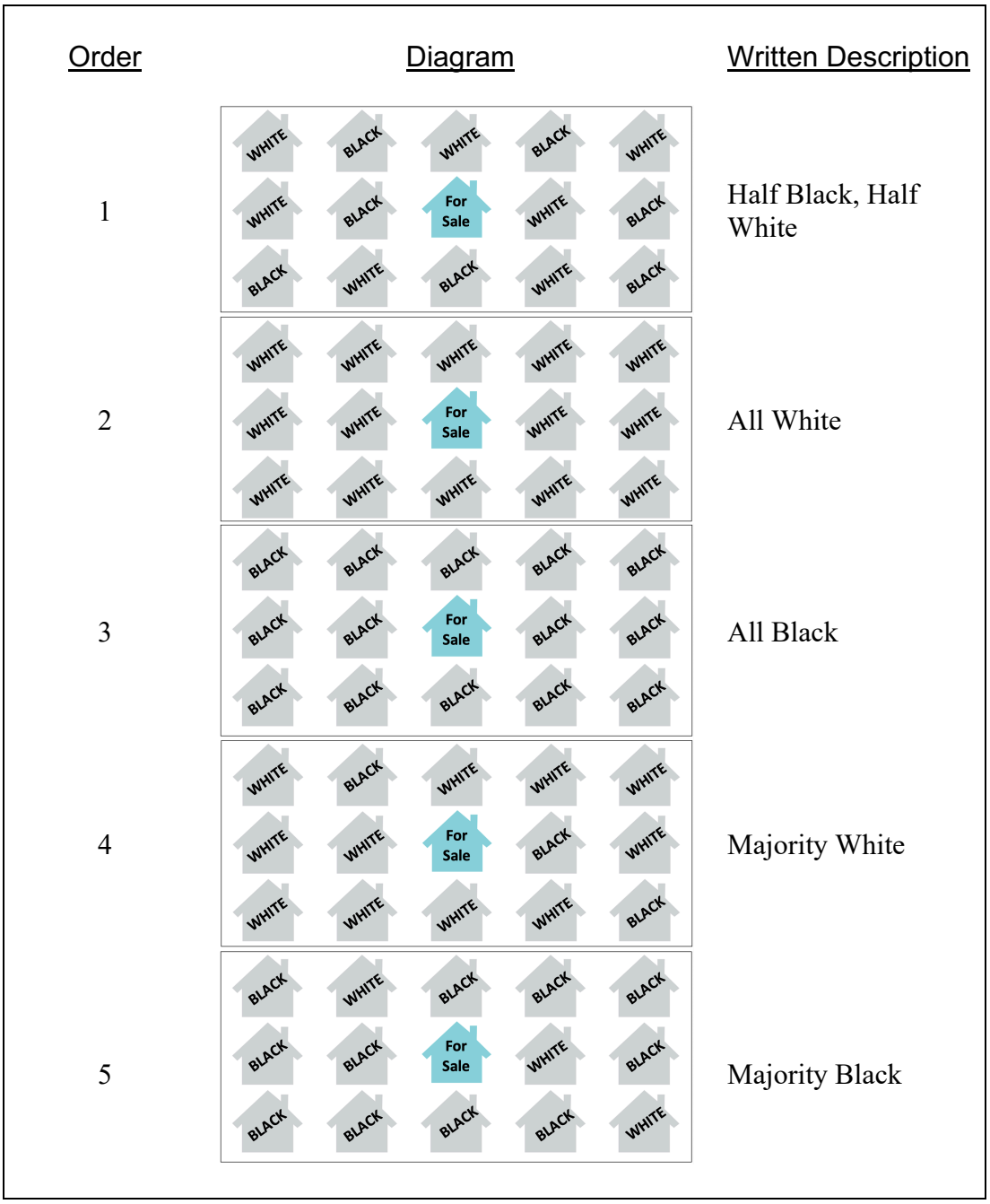


Figure 3: Black-white mix showcards used for this study. Respondents were presented with these options in this order.



final sample of 2,314.[3] Table 1 provides descriptive statistics on how the sample compares to 2016 Canadian Census figures for the city of Toronto. The sample was more male, wealthier, older, more likely to be a homeowner, live in a single family house, and have a post secondary education than the general population. The sample was more white and East Asian, and less Black and South Asian than the general population. Ethno-racial groups that were smaller in size than 75 were grouped into a larger category of "Other Visible Minority." Eighty-six respondents expressed multiple ethno-racial identities, and 18 declined to identify their ethno-racial background. Answers on neighborhood desirability were connected to the demographic background of the respondent. The aim was to relate levels of aversion to Black neighbors to: 1) the demographic characteristics of the respondent; 2) their levels of aversion/ attraction to other visible minority groups; and 3) their stated desire to live with members of their own ethno-racial background.

Survey Results

Table 2 presents the results of a comparison between Black averse and Black tolerant respondents. "Black averse" refers to respondents who indicated that they were somewhat or extremely unlikely to move to a neighborhood that was 50% or more Black (N=1,456). "Black tolerant" refers to the remainder of the sample (N=858). Dwelling type and education are notably *not* different at a significant level. The latter is particularly interesting as other studies have found that higher-educated people tend to exhibit a greater tendency toward social desirability gestures. Among significant differences, the largest percentage variations were, in order: 1) Over

[3] An initial cleaning of the dataset found that 174 respondents no longer lived in the city of Toronto so they were removed. A further nine were removed because they were "straight line" respondents—clicking on the first available option for each question in a short period of time.

Table 1: City to sample comparison statistics.

Range or Value[a]	City%	Sample N	Sample%	Sample Bias[b]
Gender[c]				
Male	47.3	1,230	53.2	+5.9
Female	52.7	1,055	45.6	-7.1
Neither	-	29	1.3	-
Household Income[d]				
Under $30,000	21.7	213	9.2	-12.5
$30,000 to $49,000	16.7	222	9.6	-7.1
$50,000 to $79,000	20.5	419	18.1	-2.1
$80,000 to $129,999[e]	19.3	659	28.5	+9.2
Over $129,999	21.8	801	34.6	+12.8
Age[f]				
Under 30 Years	19.5	141	6.2	-13.3
30 to 39 Years	19.2	419	18.3	-0.9
40 to 49 Years	17.1	459	20.0	+2.9
50 to 64 Years	24.6	786	34.3	+9.7
Over 64 Years	19.5	487	21.2	+1.7
Housing Tenure[g]				
Owner	52.8	1,592	68.8	+16
Renter	47.2	722	28.0	-19.2
Dwelling Type				
House[h]	36.4	1,146	49.5	+13.1
Apartment	63.6	1,168	50.5	-13.1
Education				
Did not complete HS	16.4	27	1.2	-15.2
HS or equivalent	24.5	218	9.4	-15.1
Bachelors or equivalent	23.3	1,056	45.6	+22.3
Tech or trade diploma	4.1	384	16.6	+12.5
Master's level	8.4	461	19.9	+11.5
Doctorate, MD, Law degree	4.7	127	5.5	+0.8
Other[i]	18.6	41	1.8	-16.8
Born in Canada				
Yes	49.5	1421	61.4	+11.9
No	50.5	893	38.6	-11.9
Ethno-Racial Group[j]				
Black Only[k]	8.8	81	3.5	-5.3
East Asian Only[l]	13.1	550	23.8	+10.7
South Asian Only	12.5	160	6.9	-5.6
White Only	48.1	1,223	52.1	+4.8
Mixed (all combos)[m]	1.8	86	3.7	+1.9
Other Visible Minority[n]	15.8	196	8.5	-7.3
Unspecified	-	18	0.8	-

NOTES

[a] Data for the City of Toronto were collected from the 2016 Canadian Census.
[b] Sample relation is the percentage point difference between the sample and the city score for a given variable or range. "+5.0" means that the sample is five percentage points greater than the city on this variable. "-5.0" means that the sample is five percentage points lower than the city on this variable.
[c] The Canadian Census collects data only for the categories Male and Female (so there are no non-binary stats to compare with the sample). Additionally, the public release range of gender data is ages 20 and older (for the survey the data refer to 18 and older).
[d] The total number of Toronto households in 2016 was 1,112,930. Each quintile should therefore have 222,586 households. But because the public version of the Canadian census releases household income data in income ranges of $5,000, it is impossible to find the exact quintile mark in this data range. So, publicly available breaks closest to the 222,586 mark were chosen, then applied to the survey sample as well.
[e] Survey asked respondents to indicate their income in $10,000 ranges. So $129,000 was used as the break between the fourth and fifth quintile.
[f] There was no public release for the range 18 to 19 years for the City (only figures for over 15 and over 20 years of age). The comparison figures from the survey eliminate the 22 respondents who indicated they were 18 or 19 years for this table only.
[g] The Canadian Census only counts only owner and renter households. There is no category for sharing a room or living with friends (as some in the survey indicated under "other").
[h] To make the categories match as closely as possible "entire house" includes: single family detached houses, semi-detached houses, row houses, and other single-attached houses (all separate categories in the Canadian Census). "Apartment" includes: apartment in building that has five or more storeys, apartment in a duplex, apartment in a building that has five or fewer stories.
[i] The public release of education data for the included a large "other" category. The difference presented here is likely higher than in reality as "other" likely includes many from the survey who indicated a diploma or certificate (something that was more narrowly defined in the Census than in the survey).
[j] The publicly released data includes figures for the following groups: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean, Japanese, Visible Minority, Multiple Visible Minorities, Not a Visible Minority (white), and Aboriginal Identity. Groups were condensed here because many categories contained only negligible numbers. All groups with fewer than 75 respondents were placed in a larger aggregated group.
[k] This includes those who indentified only as Black (no mixed classifications).
[l] This includes respondents who indicated East Asian, Chinese, Korean, and Japanese only.
[m] This includes all respondents in the survey and Census who indicated more than one category with at least one being a visible minority or aboriginal identity.
[n] This includes single designations from smaller or unknown visible minority groups including: Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Visible Minority n.i.e. (indicated origin from country that indicates visible minority), and Aboriginal identity.

Table 2: Comparison of most and least Black-averse respondents.

Range or value	Black Averse[a]	Black Tolerant	Diff[b]	χ^2/ *p*-value
Sample size	1,456 (62.9%)[c]	858 (37.1%)	-	-
Gender				
Male	761 (52.3%)[d]	469 (54.7%)	-2.4	
Female	682 (46.8%)	373 (43.5%)	+3.4	5.995/ <0.0499
Neither	13 (0.9%)	16 (1.9%)	-1.0	
Household Income				
Under $30,000	120 (8.2%)	93 (10.8%)	-2.6	
$30,000 to $49,000	123 (8.4%)	99 (11.5%)	-3.1	
$50,000 to $79,000	258 (17.7%)	161 (18.8%)	-1.0	14.51/ <0.0058
$80,000 to $129,000	422 (29.0%)	237 (27.6%)	+1.4	
Over $129,000	533 (36.6%)	268 (31.2%)	+5.4	
Age				
Under 30 Years	66 (4.5%)	97 (11.3%)	-6.8	
30 to 39 Years	236 (16.2%)	183 (21.3%)	-5.1	
40 to 49 Years	264 (18.1%)	195 (22.7%)	-4.6	109.0/ <0.0000
50 to 64 Years	501 (34.4%)	285 (33.2%)	+1.2	
Over 64 Years	389 (26.7%)	98 (11.4%)	+15.3	
Housing Tenure				
Owner	1,069 (73.4%)	523 (61.0%)	+12.5	39.07/ <0.0000
Renter	387 (26.6%)	335 (39.0%)	-12.5	
Dwelling Type				
House	738 (50.7%)	408 (47.6%)	+3.1	2.122/ <0.1452
Apartment	718 (49.3%)	450 (52.4%)	-3.1	
Education				
Did not complete HS	14 (1.0%)	13 (1.5%)	-0.6	
HS or equivalent	136 (9.3%)	82 (9.6%)	-0.2	
Bachelors or equivalent	665 (45.7%)	391 (45.6%)	0.1	
Tech or trade diploma	229 (15.7%)	155 (18.1%)	-2.3	7.037/ <0.3175
Master's level	295 (20.3%)	166 (19.3%)	0.9	
Doctorate, MD, Law degree	90 (6.2%)	37 (4.3%)	1.9	
Other	27 (1.9%)	14 (1.6%)	0.2	
Born in Canada				
Yes	861 (59.1%)	560 (65.3%)	-6.1	8.570/ <0.0034
No	595 (40.9%)	298 (34.7%)	+6.1	
Ethno-Racial Group				
Black Only	29 (2.0%)	52 (6.1%)	-4.1	
East Asian Only	378 (26.0%)	172 (20.0%)	+5.9	
South Asian Only	94 (6.5%)	66 (7.7%)	-1.2	
White Only	779 (53.5%)	444 (51.7%)	1.8	39.20/ <0.0000
Mixed (all combos)	53 (3.6%)	33 (3.8%)	-0.2	
Other Visible Minority	115 (7.9%)	81 (9.4%)	-1.5	
Unspecified	8 (0.5%)	10 (1.2%)	-0.6	

NOTES

[a] Black averse is defined as any respondent who indicated that they were somewhat or extremely unlikely to purchase a house in a neighbourhood with 50% or more Black residents. Black tolerant refers to everyone else in the sample.
[b] Percentage point difference between the two samples (Black averse % minus Black tolerant %)
[c] Percent of the total survey sample.
[d] Percent of the selected group (Black averse or Black tolerant).

64 years old (+15.3 Black averse); 2) Homeowner (+12.5 Black averse); 3) East Asian (+5.9 Black averse); 4) Household income over $129,000 (+5.4 Black averse); and 5) Black (-4.1 Black averse). Black averse is older, richer, more likely to own a home, and more likely to be born in Canada than the Black tolerant group. Black averse Torontonians are about as white and educated as Black tolerant. Black tolerant respondents are considerably more likely to be Black, a renter, and under 30 years of age.

Table 3 organizes the ranking and likelihood scores by ethno-racial background. The first part of the table (3A) presents ranking scores at various levels of (hypothetical) neighborhood Blackness ranging from 0 to 100%. A score closer to 1 indicates that the neighborhood type was frequently the first choice of respondents; a score closer to 5 indicates that the neighborhood was frequently the last choice of respondents in a category. The second part of the table (3B) indicates the stated likelihood scores for the same neighborhood types. Importantly, respondents were able to indicate the same score for each neighborhood (in contrast to the ranking scheme where respondents were required to pick only one per slot), and they were able to indicate a middle score of "neither likely nor unlikely." For Table 3B the higher the score, the more likely they were to desire living in the neighborhood type; the lower the score, the less likely. The threshold of three is an important middle ground. Above it expresses positive likelihood of residence, below it the opposite.

Similar to the American studies from the 1970s and early 1990s, Black respondents were the most enthusiastic about a neighborhood that is 50% Black and 50% white—69.1% indicated that this was their first choice. Somewhat different to these earlier studies, there were also large numbers of all other groups that indicated a comfort and high ranking for the 50/50 neighborhood type. It should also be noted that among white, East Asian, and South Asian,

Table 3: Respondent preference for neighborhoods of different proportions of Black people. Average ranking (3A) and likelihood of purchasing a house there (3B), broken down by ethno-racial group of respondent.

	3A: Ranking of Following Neighborhoods[a]				
Group	*0% Black*	*21% Black*	*50% Black*	*79% Black*	*100% Black*
Black	4.19	3.25	1.67	2.69	3.21
East Asian	2.63	2.30	2.21	3.55	4.31
South Asian	2.98	2.62	1.98	3.50	3.92
White	2.53	2.34	2.14	3.60	4.39
Mixed (all combos)	3.44	2.67	1.93	2.92	4.03
Other Visible Minority	3.06	2.74	1.92	3.40	3.88
Unspecified	2.89	2.39	2.00	3.33	4.39
All	2.72	2.43	2.10	3.50	4.24

	3B: Likelihood of Buying a House in Following Neighborhoods[b]				
Group	*0% Black*	*21% Black*	*50% Black*	*79% Black*	*100% Black*
Black	2.49	3.17	4.06	3.41	3.01
East Asian	3.21	3.39	3.00	2.39	2.00
South Asian	3.05	3.31	3.19	2.64	2.29
White	3.65	3.79	3.52	2.76	2.24
Mixed (all combos)	2.91	3.28	3.56	2.85	2.37
Other Visible Minority	3.05	3.31	3.47	2.69	2.40
Unspecified	3.17	3.61	3.39	3.06	2.67
All	3.38	3.58	3.39	2.69	2.24

NOTES

[a] Respondents were asked to rank the desirability of the neighborhood types from 1 (highest) to 5 (lowest). These scores are the average of the rankings.

[b] Respondents were also asked to indicate the likelihood that they would purchase a house in the neighborhood type if they could afford it and it met all of their other criteria. They could choose five possible answers: Extremely likely (coded as a 5); Somewhat likely (4); Neither likely nor unlikely (3); Somewhat unlikely (4); and Extremely unlikely (1). The scores listed are the averages of their responses.

tolerance for a 50/50 neighborhood was quite bimodal (many indicating discomfort, many indicating comfort). For example, while 42.2% of white respondents listed the 50/50 neighborhood as their first choice, 51.1% indicated that an all- or majority-white (21% Black) neighborhood was most desirable. All-Black was the least popular neighborhood type among all groups except for Black people where it was most often a third or fourth choice. All-white was a second or third choice for all groups except Black people. East Asian, South Asian, and Other Visible Minority scores were similar to those of white respondents.

To assess the degree to which Black aversion is simply an aversion to all non-white people, the likelihood scores for undefined visible minority/ white neighborhoods were compared to scores for Black/ white neighborhoods at various levels. For example, the white average likelihood for living in a 21% visible minority neighborhood was 3.80, while it was 3.79 for living in a 21% Black neighborhood. The actual scores for each respondent in this category were compared using a paired *t* test (in this example there was no significant difference). Table 4 presents the results of this analysis. In total, 28 paired *t* tests were completed, with 17 registering a significant difference at the $p < 0.05$ level. Most changes trended toward Black aversion—higher tolerance was expressed when hypothetical neighbors were from an undefined visible minority group than if they were specified as Black. Black respondents (for 50% and 79%) were the only defined group where the preference increases when Black is identified as the group. Among those where drops (toward Black-specific aversion) were recorded, there are important distinctions. First, there were respondents whose scores declined but were also low in the original visible minority scenario (under 3, thus indicating aggregate unlikelihood of moving there to either neighborhood type). Already-low, but declining scores were particularly acute amongst East Asian and white respondents indicating their comfort with a 100% Black

Table 4: T-Test comparisons between preference for unspecified visible minority versus Black neighbors.

Ethno-Racial Group	Size of Neighbor Group	Visible Minority Preference (St Dev)[a]	Black Preference (St Dev)[b]	Percent Difference[c]	T-Statistic/ *p*-value[d]
Black	21%	3.26 (1.02)	3.17 (1.09)	-2.8%	0.8412/ <0.4028
	50%	3.91 (0.99)	4.06 (0.83)	3.8%	1.7541/ <0.0832
	79%	3.41 (1.05)	3.41 (0.95)	0.0%	0.0000/ <1.0000
	100%	3.31 (1.08)	3.01 (1.03)	-9.1%	2.3985/ <0.0188
East Asian	21%	3.40 (0.93)	3.39 (0.94)	-0.3%	0.2418/ <0.8091
	50%	3.67 (0.95)	3.00 (0.98)	-18.3%	14.8530/ <0.0001
	79%	3.17 (0.95)	2.39 (0.98)	-24.6%	16.4520/ <0.0001
	100%	2.86 (1.07)	2.00 (1.05)	-30.1%	17.9920/ <0.0001
South Asian	21%	3.37 (1.04)	3.31 (1.02)	-1.8%	0.6792/ <0.4980
	50%	3.81 (0.94)	3.19 (1.06)	-16.3%	7.0879/ <0.0001
	79%	3.48 (1.05)	2.64 (1.12)	-24.1%	8.1328/ <0.0001
	100%	3.29 (1.18)	2.29 (1.17)	-30.4%	9.7857/ <0.0001
White	21%	3.80 (0.95)	3.79 (0.98)	-0.3%	0.3049/ <0.7205
	50%	3.73 (1.06)	3.52 (1.11)	-5.6%	8.9622/ <0.0001
	79%	3.00 (1.13)	2.76 (1.15)	-8.0%	9.1940/ <0.0001
	100%	2.51 (1.20)	2.24 (1.19)	-10.8%	10.4895/ <0.0001
Mixed	21%	3.31 (1.00)	3.28 (1.04)	-0.9%	0.3886/ <0.6985
	50%	3.97 (0.93)	3.56 (1.20)	-10.3%	2.9975/ <0.0036
	79%	3.50 (1.16)	2.85 (1.11)	-18.6%	6.2427/ <0.0001
	100%	3.10 (1.29)	2.37 (1.25)	-23.5%	6.1167/ <0.0001
Other VM	21%	3.17 (1.07)	3.31 (1.04)	4.4%	2.1339/ <0.0341
	50%	3.81 (1.00)	3.47 (1.06)	-8.9%	4.9524/ <0.0001
	79%	3.36 (1.14)	2.69 (1.13)	-19.9%	9.0192/ <0.0001
	100%	3.10 (1.13)	2.40 (1.13)	-22.6%	8.7980/ <0.0001
Unspecified	21%	3.56 (0.78)	3.61 (0.92)	1.4%	0.4370/ <0.6676
	50%	3.39 (1.09)	3.39 (0.85)	0.0%	0.0000/ <1.0000
	79%	3.28 (0.89)	3.06 (1.11)	-6.7%	0.8892/ <0.3863
	100%	2.72 (0.89)	2.67 (1.14)	-1.8%	0.2233/ <0.8260

NOTES

[a] This is the average score indicated by respondents when asked how likely they would be to live in a neighborhood with different proportions of visible minorities as neighbors. The specific question: “how likely would you be to purchase the house in the center of the diagram if you could afford it and it met all of your other criteria?”. Potential answers: Extremely likely (scored as a 5); Somewhat likely (4); Neither likely nor unlikely (3); Somewhat unlikely (2); and Extremely unlikely (1). Standard deviations for these scores are listed in parentheses.

[b] This is the average score indicated by respondents when asked how likely they would be to live in a neighborhood with different proportions of Black people as neighbors (using the same scoring system as the visible minority questions). Standard deviations are listed in parentheses.

[c] This was calculated as follows: ((visible minority score – Black score)/visible minority score)*100

[d] Paired T-Tests, two-tailed.

neighborhood. Second, there were respondents whose likelihood dropped for the Black neighborhood scenario, but the aggregate scores remained above 3, indicating an overall likelihood of being comfortable in such an environment (even if somewhat diminished with Black neighbors). In this category, considerable drops were observed in rank order: East Asian (50%), South Asian (50%), Mixed (50%), Other VM (21% and 50%), White (50%), and Black (100%). Finally, and perhaps most notable were the respondents who indicated scores above three (somewhat or extremely likely) if undefined visible minorities lived there, and below three (somewhat or extremely unlikely) if Black people were the hypothetical neighbors. In this category, considerable drops were observed in rank order amongst: South Asian (100%), East Asian (79%), South Asian (79%), Mixed and Other Visible Minority (79% and 100%), and White (79%). Overall, white respondents indicated lower scores for visible minority and Black-dominated neighborhoods than other groups did, so the drop in enthusiasm was lower. The largest and most significant drops were from Other Visible Minority groups who indicated willingness to live in a neighborhood with high concentrations of visible minorities until the group was defined as Black. The greatest changes were in the highest concentration (79% and 100%) scenarios.

The final analytical question is the degree to which these scores are expressions of homophily. This question is difficult to evaluate as systematically through the *t* test comparison method, but a basic visual comparison of patterns is possible. Table 5 displays the results of ranking and likelihood scores to neighborhood scenarios involving a mix of neighbors that are from the same or different ethno-racial group as the respondent. The table echoes some of the patterns from before, namely that the 50/50 neighborhood was first choice for all, but highest for Black respondents. White, South Asian, East Asian, and other visible minorities all ranked the

Table 5: Respondent preference for neighborhoods of different proportions of people from a "different ethno-racial group". Average ranking (3A) and likelihood of purchasing a house there (3B), broken down by ethno-racial group of respondent.

	5A: Ranking of Following Neighborhoods[a]				
Group	*All Same*	*21% Diff*	*50% Diff*	*79% Diff*	*100% Diff*
Black	3.15	3.35	1.84	3.06	3.60
East Asian	3.20	3.14	2.17	2.82	3.67
South Asian	3.17	3.10	2.38	3.11	3.25
White	2.57	3.57	2.10	2.58	4.19
Mixed (all combos)	3.30	3.03	2.06	2.87	3.73
Other Visible Minority	3.11	3.28	2.23	3.10	3.28
Unspecified	2.83	3.56	1.89	2.67	4.06
All	2.86	3.38	2.13	2.74	3.89

	5B: Likelihood of Buying a House in Following Neighbourhoods[b]				
Group	*All Same*	*21% Diff*	*50% Diff*	*79% Diff*	*100% Diff*
Black	3.02	3.33	3.79	3.31	3.06
East Asian	3.13	3.36	3.52	3.19	2.93
South Asian	3.21	3.38	3.73	3.53	3.24
White	3.66	3.84	3.82	3.00	2.67
Mixed (all combos)	3.21	3.60	3.85	3.28	3.06
Other Visible Minority	3.05	3.21	3.64	3.31	3.26
Unspecified	3.28	3.39	3.44	3.11	2.61
All	3.41	3.61	3.72	3.13	2.85

NOTES

[a] Respondents were asked to rank the desirability of the neighborhood types from 1 (highest) to 5 (lowest). These scores are the average of the rankings.

[b] Respondents were also asked to indicate the likelihood that they would purchase a house in the neighborhood type if they could afford it and it met all of their other criteria. They could choose five possible answers: Extremely likely (coded as a 5); Somewhat likely (4); Neither likely nor unlikely (3); Somewhat unlikely (4); and Extremely unlikely (1). The scores listed are the averages of their responses.

50/50 neighborhood as highest indicating a stated desire for mix. The “all same” neighborhood was the third or lower choice for all groups except for white respondents where it was the second choice. All groups indicated discomfort, and a low ranking for a neighborhood that was 100% different, but by varying levels. White respondents indicated the greatest discomfort with this scenario. Compared to Table 3, there is a greater reluctance to living in an all-Black environment than living in an all-different (unspecified) environment. The desire to avoid Black neighbors is greater than the stated desire to live amongst one’s own ethno-racial group. All groups express desire for mixed neighborhoods until the out-group is specified as Black.

Conclusion

Despite broad claims of multi-cultural tolerance, there is considerable evidence of anti-Black residential preferences in Toronto. More than half of the sample in this study was Black averse, expressing discomfort living in a Black-majority neighborhood. These responses came from white residents and new (non-Black) immigrants alike, almost all of whom live in environments where few Black people actually live. Moreover, these responses are not easily reduced to homophily. Most groups are very comfortable living in environments where they are the minority as long as white people are the majority. The willingness of all groups to live in unspecified non-white environments drops markedly when that group is specified as Black. And, because of social desirability bias, these expressions of tolerance are likely overstated, so the actual presence of anti-Blackness is likely more acute.

How might these findings be interpreted? First, too much is made of aggregated segregation numbers to validate anti-Black residential preferences. In Toronto, anti-Blackness preferences are as acute as those in American cities, but segregation numbers are not. Black

Torontonians live in a variety of environments. That the aggregate segregation numbers are "moderate" should not take away from the fact that many of their white and non-Black neighbors do not want them to be neighbors. To be sure, there are likely agents trying to reinforce this through steering and the like—that is, to produce segregation. But the widespread presence of anti-Black affect also signals a danger that lurks in predominately-white environments. Is today the day that your neighbor calls the police on you for taking a walk in your own neighborhood? Is today the day that your house is appraised at significantly less than your white neighbors? Anti-Black residential preferences can express themselves in multiple material forms. Fear and devaluation of Black residence is the underlying thread, not necessarily the spatial form it takes.

Second, choice and homophily are deployed in problematic ways when trying to understand ethno-racial mix in Canada and elsewhere. It is true that some groups, white people in particular, are allowed to live in monolithic environments with no material consequence. It is also true that some non-white immigrant groups are celebrated for their enclaves and ethno-burbs. But to take these experiences and conclude, as some urbanists have done, that this therefore implies a tolerance that includes Black people is not justified. Black enclaves are pathologized by white and non-Black minority residents alike. Black people living in predominantly-white environments are never fully liberated from the iconic ghetto trope. Black existence in Toronto is precarious, ever changing, and always threatened by the presence of anti-Blackness.

This survey is descriptive but suggestive. In particular, we need to know more about the life experiences of Black people living in predominately-white environments in Toronto and other parts of the non-American Global North. Is residence in a predominantly-white neighborhood an aspirational life choice or a bleak resignation that their house value would be

undermined if they lived in a Black “ethnic enclave”? Audits, mortgage data, surveys and other methods are useful, but above all a different set of guiding assumptions about the presence and absence of anti-Blackness is in order. The presence of something in the United States does not, ipso facto, make the opposite true in Canada (or elsewhere in the Global North). Anti-Blackness is very present, materially-consequential, and something that should be studied more seriously outside of the American urban experience.

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