

**OVERCOMING BORDERS AND BARRIERS: A STUDY OF IMMIGRANT
INTEGRATION WITH A FOCUS ON SOUTH ASIAN COMMUNITIES IN
THE TORONTO CMA**

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Abstract

Overcoming Borders and Barriers: A Study of Immigrant Integration with a Focus on South Asian Communities in the Toronto CMA.

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This research provides a comprehensive analysis of the integration patterns of South Asian immigrants in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA), focusing on four major ethnic groups: Indians, Pakistanis, Sri Lankans, and Bangladeshis. The study reveals varying levels of integration, with Indian and Pakistani immigrants generally exhibiting higher integration than their Sri Lankan and Bangladeshi counterparts, who tend to maintain stronger ethnic identities. While ethnic enclaves have formed—such as Brampton for Indian immigrants and Scarborough for Sri Lankans and Bangladeshis—there is also evidence of dispersion, particularly among recent Indian immigrants. The study also highlights significant political participation among South Asians, with increased representation at federal, provincial, and municipal levels. The findings emphasize the role of cultural and culinary practices in shaping integration processes and suggest that South Asians are progressively integrating into Canadian society, despite sub-ethnic divisions. The research concludes with policy recommendations aimed at fostering inclusivity while preserving cultural identities, contributing to the ongoing discourse on immigrant integration in multicultural urban settings.

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Dedication

I dedicate this Major Research Project to my beloved father, Shanmugasundaram. As many have observed, "Like father, like daughter." I have followed in my father's footsteps to become a Civil Engineer and inherited his passion for writing. His insatiable thirst for knowledge and continuous learning has always been a source of inspiration for me. My father pursued graduate studies in Remote Sensing at the Institute for Remote Sensing, Anna University, Chennai, and I grew up surrounded by books. After a dedicated career as a Highway Engineer, he went on to mentor university students and is now writing and publishing books, driven by his love for poetry and literature. His versatility and curiosity have inspired me to explore new fields and broaden my own horizons.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Canada has been experiencing a notable surge in immigration in recent decades, particularly in the densely populated Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA), where immigrants comprise 46% of the population ([Statistics Canada 2022a](#)). Observing how immigrants adapt and thrive in the country offers valuable insights into their integration and social cohesion experiences. Immigrant integration is a complex, multifaceted process involving various dimensions that collectively shape how newcomers become part of their host society. This process is characterized by interactions between immigrants and the host community, with success often measured by the degree to which immigrants meet their needs and achieve their aspirations in their new environment ([Anisef & Lanphier, 2003](#)).

[Goldlust and Richmond](#) (1974) highlight that integration is influenced by both objective factors, such as housing, language acquisition, and employment opportunities (functional integration), and subjective factors, including a sense of belonging and acceptance of the host country's norms (civic integration) ([Ray, 2002](#)). In essence, immigrant integration can be defined as the process through which immigrants develop a sense of belonging to the host society by integrating economically, socially, culturally, and psychologically while adhering to the values and norms of that society. This study explores the integration of South Asian immigrants in the Toronto CMA by broadly examining their settlement patterns, including the geographical distribution of immigrants within the region to determine whether they are spatially integrated, their influence on the food landscape while maintaining and sharing their cultural identities, and their participation in the political arena.

According to the 2021 Census of Population, 57% of the 6.1 million residents in the Toronto CMA identify as belonging to a visible minority group ([Statistics Canada, 2022b](#)). Among these, the top three visible minority groups are South Asian (1,182,485), Chinese (679,725), and African (488,155) communities. The South Asian population has experienced substantial growth within the CMA. In the 2001 Census, there were 473,810 South Asians in a population of 4.68 million, representing approximately 10%. By the 2021 Census, this number had increased to 1,182,485 South Asians, constituting 19% of a total population of 6,202,225—an increase of 90% over the past two decades. Given their significant size, it is valuable to examine the social and economic circumstances of South Asian immigrants from countries such as India, Bangladesh,

Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, and to assess their settlement patterns and degree of integration within the broader society.

This research aims to delve into the experiences of South Asian immigrants across various stages of integration. Specifically, the study seeks to achieve three objectives:

1. **Examine the settlement patterns of South Asian immigrants in the Toronto CMA:** This objective focuses on understanding how South Asian immigrants have settled in the region and how their communities have evolved. By examining settlement patterns, it is possible to assess whether there is spatial integration or segregation among South Asians. Additionally, analyzing rental patterns may reveal any anomalies in areas with high South Asian populations. Insights into potential barriers to successful settlement and integration into the housing market can be gained, along with an understanding of the "invasion-succession" model, where immigrants move outward from the less expensive city center to higher-status residential zones at the urban periphery.
2. **Analyze the evolving food landscape of the Toronto CMA in response to the increasing demand for ethnic foods:** This part of the study will focus on the changing dynamics of the food retail sector in the Toronto CMA, particularly in response to the rising demand for ethnic foods. By examining the emergence of diverse food retail outlets and the factors influencing this trend, the research aims to evaluate the degree to which South Asian cuisine has integrated into Canadian culture and how the South Asian community reshapes their food environment to maintain connections with their homeland. This includes analyzing the spread of South Asian grocery stores and restaurants in the CMA.
3. **Assess South Asian representation in Canada's political realm:** The final part of the research focuses on the political participation and representation of South Asians in the CMA. This will reveal whether the host country has fostered a sense of belonging among immigrants that encourages them to engage in civic duties, become active in local politics, and contribute to decision-making processes affecting their communities. This research contributes to a better understanding of the challenges and opportunities for visible minorities in shaping the political landscape and the inclusivity of political institutions and policies.

By achieving these three objectives, this research intends to provide a deep understanding of the integration process of South Asian immigrants in Canadian society. Through this study, we can gain valuable perspectives on various social and economic issues associated with immigration. Through this case study, it is hoped that the research will answer the following pivotal questions:

1. Are there any unusual patterns in rental rates within neighborhoods predominantly inhabited by immigrants?
2. Is there evidence of an invasion-succession model among South Asian immigrants in the Toronto CMA?
3. How does the food landscape of the CMA change due to South Asian immigrants?
4. How do South Asian immigrants and their descendants participate in shaping the Canadian political landscape?

The findings can inform policymakers, community organizations, and stakeholders in developing strategies to address disparities, foster inclusive urban environments, and promote the successful integration of immigrants into Canadian society. Additionally, this research sheds light on potential barriers that may hinder the successful settlement and integration of newcomers in Canada.

The research paper is organized into six chapters. The first chapter provides a brief introduction that sets the research context and highlights the main research objectives and questions. Chapter 2 focuses on establishing a theoretical framework by examining the three identified phases or stages encompassing the initial process of settling in, establishing themselves and ultimately asserting their societal rights. Chapter 3 reviews the literature on the history of immigration of South Asian immigrants in the Toronto CMA. It also explores the challenges they face in settling down, in alignment with the three settlement phases. Additionally, this chapter identifies the existing research gaps in the literature. Chapter 4 describes the data sources, and the methodologies employed in this study. In Chapter 5, the analytical results are discussed and interpreted to answer the four research questions. Finally, in Chapter 6, conclusions are drawn from the various analyses presented in the preceding chapters. This final chapter also takes into consideration the research gaps identified in Chapter 3 and identifies potential areas for further study.

Chapter 2: The Theoretical Framework

Assessing the assimilation of immigrants within a country is a complex task that necessitates the examination of various dimensions of settlement. Immigrants' needs evolve from their initial arrival in the country to their later years of residency, showing a progression in their experiences. It is essential to comprehend the different stages through which immigrants blend into their adopted country. Generally, three distinct phases can be identified in the process of immigrant assimilation: the Settlement Phase, the Establishment Phase, and the Entitlement Phase. To gain a comprehensive understanding of these dynamics, it is advantageous to analyze each phase using established theoretical frameworks (See Figure 2.1). This chapter describes these different phases with reference to the relevant theories:

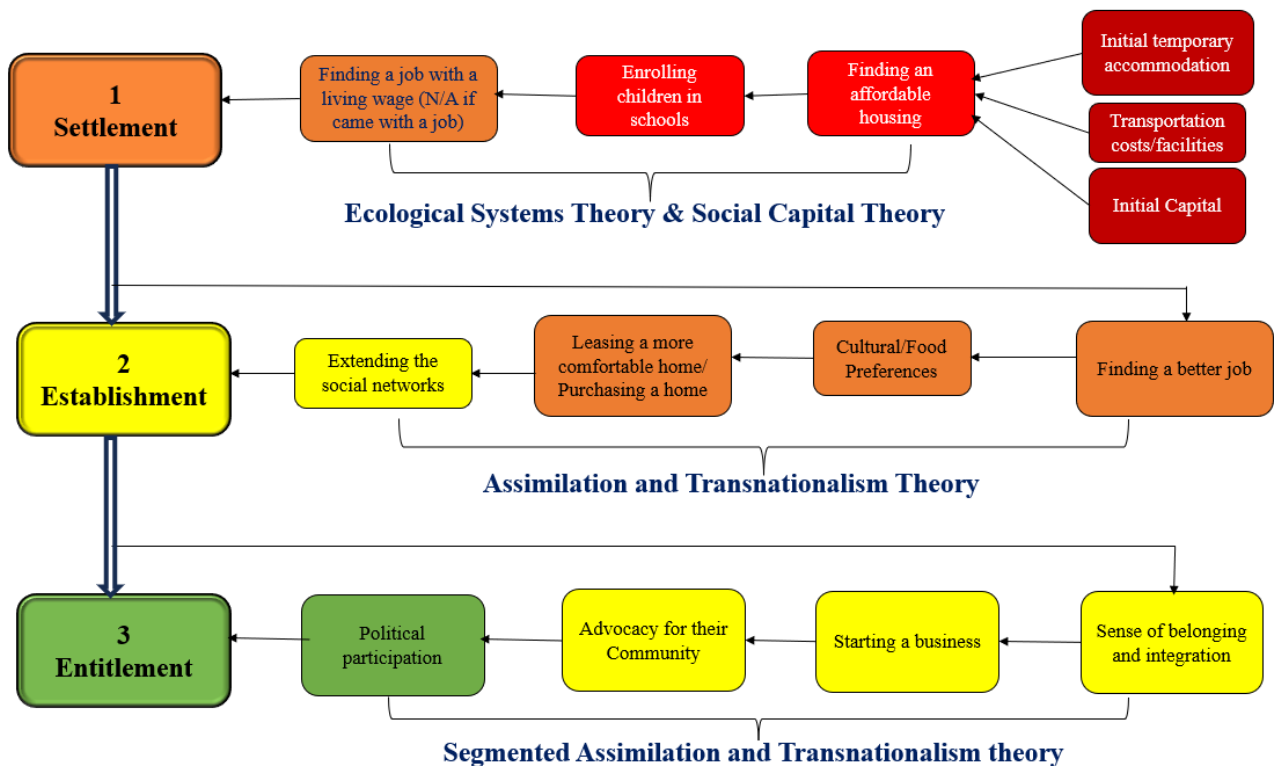


Figure 2.1 Immigrants' stages of integration with relevant theories.

2.1 The Settlement Phase:

During this phase, immigrants remain newcomers, and their needs are primarily basic rather than sophisticated. Theoretical parallels can be drawn between their initial experiences in this settlement phase and the Ecological Systems Theory ([Bronfenbrenner, 1979](#)). This theory is a framework for understanding human development within the context of the systems of relationships that form one's environment. Bronfenbrenner's theory emphasizes the importance of the environment in shaping individuals over time. The theory is distinguished by its categorization of environmental influences into four nested levels of external influences, ranging from the most immediate settings of an individual's life to broad societal influences, namely, Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem and Macrosystem ([Ettetal & Mahoney, 2017](#)). Using this framework, we can view the settlement process as being influenced by multiple layers of environments, ranging from the immediate microsystem to the broader macrosystem (See Figure 2.2).

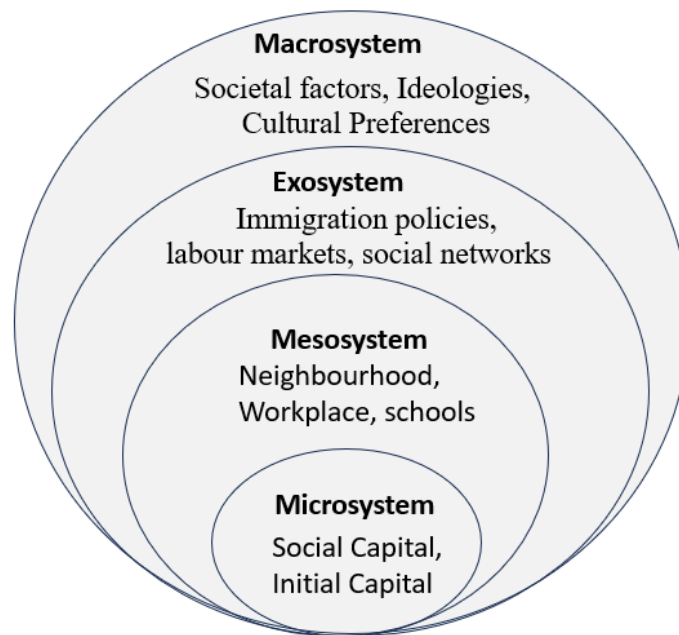


Figure 2.2 Nested model of the Micro, Meso, Exo and Macro-system in Bronfenbrenner's Ecological System theory with the Immigrant's settlement process as the subject.

Each of the four levels of external influence can be explained further in this context:

Microsystem: In this case, the immediate physical and social environments in which immigrants interact constitute the microsystem. It encompasses housing options, neighbourhood characteristics, and community resources, all of which impact their settlement decisions. For

example, if immigrants lack access to a vehicle and taxi fares are high, they may opt for public transport in their housing search. If their chosen location is well-connected to the transportation network, they might choose a residence in a distant neighbourhood. However, this dynamic could shift if they possess "Social Capital," which refers to the connections among individuals' Social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from these connections (Putnam, 2000). Here, the "Social Capital" which centers on the resources, networks, and relationships that individuals and communities possess and utilize for social and economic advancement, becomes relevant.

Mesosystem: This level examines the interconnections between different microsystems. It considers the relationships and interactions between immigrants' immediate environments, such as the connections between their neighbourhoods, schools, workplaces, and community organizations. Families with children naturally prefer residences that are easily accessible from their designated schools. Similarly, the workplace also significantly influences their choices. In many cases, families choose residences with easy access to at least one working adult.

Exosystem: This level focuses on the broader societal structures and institutions that indirectly shape immigrant settlement patterns. It factors in elements such as immigration policies, labour markets, social services, and the availability of support networks. An illustrative example of this is the Toronto CMA, as immigrants tend to settle in economic hubs like Toronto due to its robust job market.

Macrosystem: This level analyzes the broader cultural, economic, and political contexts that mould immigrant settlement patterns. It considers the values, norms, and ideologies of the host society, as well as historical and societal factors influencing immigrant integration. Some immigrants might have cultural preferences, such as proximity to worship places. In such cases, these cultural considerations dictate their settlement choices.

2.2. The Establishment Phase:

This phase represents a transition period during which newcomers evolve into established members. This transformation can be dissected by exploring two theories: "Assimilation" and "Transnationalism." In the context of immigration, the Assimilation theory delves into how immigrants and their descendants gradually adopt the cultural norms, values, and practices of the dominant society in the host country. As time passes, they integrate into the host society by

acquiring language skills, education, employment, and embracing the cultural behaviours of the dominant group. The Chicago School of Sociology, co-developed by sociologists Robert Park and Ernest Burgess in the early 20th century ([Park, 1928](#)), encompasses theories on immigrant assimilation. Park's work, especially the concepts of "human ecology", "Invasion succession" and the "marginal man," provides a foundation for comprehending how immigrants assimilate in urban settings.

Sociologist Robert E. Park introduced the theory of "Human Migration and the Marginal Man" in 1928, delving into immigrants' experiences and their social adaptation in urban environments. They used this ecological model to describe how different ethnic and social groups move into and out of urban neighbourhoods over time, similar to the way species in ecology invade and succeed in different environments. The assertion is that immigrants initially settle in older, less expensive housing near the city center. As their economic status improves, they move outward to higher-status residential zones, eventually reaching the urban periphery. This process, known as invasion-succession, involves one group replacing another as the latter move up economically and outward spatially ([Murdie & Gosh, 2009](#)). The idea of the "marginal man" emerged, referring to individuals straddling the boundaries of two cultures or societies. Park posited that immigrants often grapple with a sense of displacement, caught between their native culture and the host society, as they navigate the challenges of assimilation. This theory underscores the intricate psychological and social dynamics immigrants encounter while striving to establish themselves in a new society while preserving their cultural ties. Throughout this phase of establishment, immigrants who assimilate into Toronto CMA's culture, including its cuisine and people, thrive across the CMA. Conversely, cohorts who strongly cling to their native culture gravitate toward their ethnic enclaves.

Similarly, the Transnationalism theory explains that immigrants often maintain robust social networks with their fellow immigrants, both in the host country and back in their home country. These networks facilitate the exchange of information, resources, and emotional support. The theory challenges the traditional views on migration that focus on assimilation into a new society and instead highlight how migrants create and sustain social fields that link their home and host countries. The factors such as race, class, ethnicity, and nationalism intersect with migration, shaping the experiences and identities of transnational migrants ([Schiller et al., 1992](#)). This

Transnationalism is deeply intertwined with social, economic, and political forces, both influencing and being influenced by them in complex ways. Transnational communities can serve as bridges for the transmission of cultural values, traditions, and even economic opportunities across borders ([Tsuda, 2012](#)). Immigration is often driven by economic opportunities. People migrate to countries with higher demand for labour, better job prospects, and higher wages. The interconnectedness of economies can facilitate easier movement of goods, capital, and people. Also, this leads to cultural exchange and diversity, influencing the social fabric of host countries.

2.3. The Entitlement Phase:

This can be correlated with the Segmented Assimilation Theory ([Zhou, 1997](#)), which posits that immigrants and their descendants may assimilate into different segments of society, leading to varied socio-economic outcomes. Several critical factors influence the direction of assimilation. The theory identifies three distinct pathways of assimilation based on socioeconomic status, family structures, educational opportunities, neighbourhood context, and racial or ethnic identities. The interplay of these factors can determine whether an immigrant family's assimilation trajectory is upward (towards greater socio-economic integration), downward (towards socio-economic decline and marginalization), or selective (adopting aspects of the host culture while retaining key elements of the native culture). This concept, when combined with [Esser's \(2010\)](#) comprehensive model of intergenerational integration, where he reconstructed the 'Theory of Segmented Assimilation', can be referenced in the third stage of assimilation: 'Entitlement.' While some immigrants actively engage in mainstream political processes, others prioritize issues pertinent to their ethnic community. Utilizing this theory, we can assert that immigrant political engagement is shaped by a complex interplay of cultural, social, and economic factors, resulting in diverse manifestations of political involvement within immigrant populations. We can distinguish three pathways that immigrants may follow:

Mainstream Assimilation: Immigrants who take the mainstream assimilation pathway aim to adopt the norms, values, and practices of the dominant culture. They actively partake in mainstream political processes, address broader societal matters, and strive to integrate into established political institutions. Their political engagement aligns with dominant political ideologies and practices.

Ethnic Assimilation: Immigrants following the ethnic assimilation pathway maintain a strong connection to their ethnic identity and community while concurrently participating in the larger society. Their political involvement often centers on issues pertinent to their ethnic group or community, and they may engage in advocacy and activism related to these concerns. This form of engagement can manifest through participation in ethnicity-specific political organizations or the championing of policies that benefit their ethnic group.

Selective Acculturation: Immigrants adopting the selective acculturation pathway navigate a middle ground between mainstream and ethnic assimilation. They may adopt specific elements of the dominant culture while retaining ties to their ethnic identity. Their political engagement is diverse and flexible, reflecting a blend of involvement in both mainstream and ethnic-focused political activities.

Transnational immigrants may advocate for policies and initiatives that affect their home country, such as those related to trade, development, or human rights. They may also advocate for policies in their host countries that directly impact immigrants, including immigration reform, anti-discrimination laws, or access to social services. These Transnational immigrants may be involved in homeland politics across borders alongside political engagement in the host society. ([Tsuda 2012](#)).

The study of immigrant assimilation within a cohort in a certain location cannot be fully understood or explained through a single theoretical framework due to the complex and multifaceted nature of human societies. By drawing on multiple theories, this comprehensive approach enables a deeper understanding, which in turn allows for the identification of more effective policies and practices to support immigrant assimilation.

Chapter 3: The History of South Asian Immigration to Canada and Settlement Challenges – a Literature Review

South Asians have made notable progress in their presence and influence in Canada, particularly in the Toronto CMA, in recent decades. They originated mainly from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, and Maldives (Figure 3.1). Their immigration to Canada began in the 19th century but has accelerated in recent years (Government of Canada, 2023).

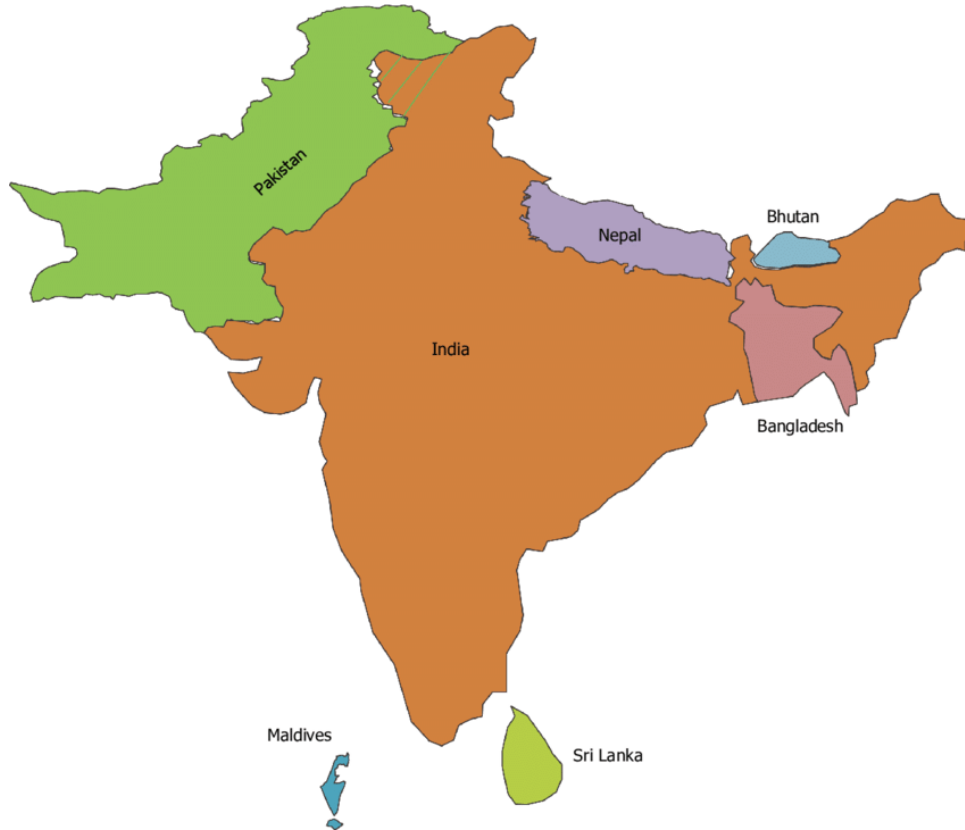


Figure 3.1 South Asian countries

3.1 First South Asian Immigrants

South Asians began to immigrate to Canada in the 19th century. The early arrivals were primarily concentrated in British Columbia ([Government of Canada, 2023](#)). Punjab Indians were the first individuals of South Asian origin to arrive in Canada in the province of British Columbia as soldiers during Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebration in 1897 ([South Asian Studies Institute, 2018 - 2021](#)). Following the festivities, troops from Hong Kong and the Malay States

visited British Columbia on their way back from London via Atlantic Canada. These troops shared stories about the new immigrants and British subjects settling in British Columbia, which triggered the South Asian migration to Canada. Around 30 men arrived in Vancouver and Victoria between 1903 and 1904 as immigrants to Canada, with most of them being Sikhs from Hong Kong or other British Far Eastern strongholds. They worked in lumber, mining, and railways and later became involved in agriculture. By the early 1900s, these new and growing communities faced racial hostility and resentment akin to the attitudes directed toward other minority communities. During that time, the Government began taking actions to limit the rights and benefits of minority communities in Canada. Until the late 1950s, virtually all South Asians in Canada lived in British Columbia; but when professional South Asian immigrants came to Canada in larger numbers, they began to settle across the country ([Buchignani, 2010](#)).

3.2 Restrictions on immigration

Like any other immigrants, the South Asian community encountered their share of anti-immigrant sentiment and racial bias. One notable example of such policies was the "Continuous Journey Regulation," introduced in 1908 ([Government of British Columbia, 2017](#)). This regulation was tailored to prevent South Asian immigrants, particularly Indians, from entering Canada. It mandated that immigrants must travel to Canada in a continuous journey from their country of origin, without stopping in any other nation along the way. This policy primarily aimed to thwart South Asian immigration, given the absence of direct passenger routes from India to Canada. Consequently, most South Asians were effectively barred from entering Canada, exemplified by the Komagata Maru incident of 1914 ([Johnston, 2014](#)). The Komagata Maru's journey not only exemplifies the era of Anti-Asian Xenophobia and racial exclusion in Canada, but it also marks an instance where the nation's desire for the "White Country" was directly confronted ([Mongia, 2003](#)).

In 1923, Canada introduced a quota system aiming to limit immigrants from specific countries, including those in South Asia. Quotas were determined based on the percentage of each ethnic group within Canada's population. This system heavily curtailed immigration from non-European nations, including India and other South Asian countries. Canada signed agreements with the governments of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), restricting the annual admission to 300, 100, and 50 individuals from these countries, respectively. ([Rawlyk, 1962](#)).

The continuous journey regulation remained in effect until 1947, when it was finally repealed, largely due to post-World War II labour demands and shifting attitudes toward immigration. Following its repeal, South Asian immigration to Canada gradually increased. Later, in 1967, Canada abolished the immigration quotas based on specific ethnic groups, leading to the rapid growth of the South Asian population in the country ([Buchignani et al, 1985](#)).

3.3 Major South Asian ethnic groups in Toronto CMA

As per Statistics Canada's 2021 population census, 59 percent of South Asian immigrants in the Toronto CMA originate from India, with Pakistan accounting for another 19 percent and Sri Lanka for 15 percent. Bangladesh contributes 6 percent of South Asian immigrants, while Nepal and Bhutan contribute only 1 percent (see Table 3.1). The data show that before 1981, South Asian immigration was relatively low. However, between 1991 and 2000, there was a notable increase in South Asian immigration, attributed to the removal of racial and national restrictions from immigration regulations. This led to a shift in the settlement pattern of Indians from British Columbia to Ontario, which also became more culturally diverse. Subsequently, the immigration rate decreased gradually from 2000 to 2015. However, after the introduction of the Express Entry system for immigration in 2015, there has been another noticeable uptick in South Asian immigration between 2015 and 2021.

Table 3.1 Country-wise breakdown of South Asian Immigrants during different periods.

Period of Immigration	India	Pakistan	Sri Lanka	Bangladesh	Nepal	Bhutan
Recent Immigrants (2016-2021)	104245	18110	4935	6035	1970	25
2011 - 2015	54765	20095	7255	6140	2535	35
2006 - 2010	53125	18625	13165	7665	1660	60
2001 - 2005	62780	30395	15420	7175	1020	20
1991 -2000	69380	31440	46915	8385	345	0
1980 - 1990	26630	4355	10270	1025	15	0
Before 1981	23690	5285	1330	325	10	0
Total	394615	128305	99290	36750	7555	140
Percentage in Grand Total	59%	19%	15%	6%	1%	0%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2021 Census of Population

Note: The South Asian population tabulated here represents the mentioned countries. These counts refer to immigrants by place of birth and do not include the Canadian-born population of South Asian ancestry. The total South Asian population in the CMA mentioned in Chapter 1 is taken from the Toronto CMA Census Profile from the 2021 Census of Population.

The Punjabi-speaking Indians, Tamil-speaking Sri Lankans, Urdu-speaking Pakistanis, and Bengali-speaking Bangladeshis were the predominant South Asian groups who entered Toronto CMA in the early stages of immigration. The subsequent sections provide an overview of how the four major South Asian ethno-linguistic groups established their societies within the CMA.

Punjab Indians

In the Toronto CMA, there is a significant Punjabi diaspora, with many settling in Mississauga and Brampton. The arrival of Punjabis in Ontario started in the late 1940s when they were granted the right to citizenship. In the formation of ethnic communities in Toronto, religion seems to be a significant binding force in many communities, especially for those of the Jewish, Muslim, Sikh, or Orthodox Christian faiths ([Qadeer, 2003](#)). Jimmy Gill was the first Indian to come to Toronto from British Columbia in 1946, and he was the brain behind the first ever Sikh-Gurudwara (A Gurdwara, in Punjabi, meaning "the doorway to the Guru," is the Sikh place of worship) to come up on Pape Avenue in Toronto in 1969. As the Indian community quickly grew in numbers in the 1970s and started spreading to the west side, new Gurudwaras came up in Mississauga and Brampton ([Chaggar, 2022](#)). Sikh enclaves can be found in Malton, near the airport, and in Brampton, on the northwestern periphery of the CMA ([Qadeer, 2003](#)). Now, Brampton is like a "Mini Punjab" with 17.6% of its population with Punjabi as their mother tongue. Punjabi is the leading non-official language spoken at work in the city of Brampton, followed by Hindi and Spanish ([City of Brampton GeoHub, 2024](#))

More than half of all truckers in the Toronto area were born in South Asia ([Toronto Star, October 18, 2018](#)). Among Canada's truck drivers, one-third are immigrants, with the majority being of Indian origin, accounting for over 40 percent, and most of these drivers speak Punjabi. In Canada, many truck drivers have become independent contractors, owning their tractors, and operating as small businesses. Furthermore, Punjabi Canadians have become prominent players across the trucking industry, not just as drivers but also in various supporting roles such as repair shops, car washes, insurance companies, suppliers, dispatch units, and diners.

Sri Lankan Tamils

Sri Lankan migration to Canada began in the early 1960s, initially involving Burghers, a mixed-race group that met immigration criteria. Additionally, English-educated Sri Lankans relocated to the UK, Australia, and Canada due to the declaration of Sinhala as the sole official

language in 1956 ([Abrahams, 1990](#)). Before Canada adopted non-racial immigration selection in 1967, approximately 500 Ceylonese immigrants had arrived. By 1973, about 1,747 Sri Lankans had settled in Canada. These immigrants, proficient in English and with strong educational and professional backgrounds, did not face significant insecurities and did not cluster together ([Sugunasiri, 1984](#)).

A significant turning point occurred in July 1983 when communal unrest in Sri Lanka led to the admission of 4,373 Sri Lankans into Canada, approximately 30 percent of whom were Tamils. Amid the July 1983 riots in Colombo, Immigration Minister John Roberts implemented relief measures. By September 1983, a program was introduced allowing Sri Lankan refugees, students, and visitors in Canada to apply for residency. This program temporarily halted deportations, eased criteria for sponsoring family members, and issued permits to those in danger. The program resulted from strong advocacy by Toronto's Tamil community, supported by church groups and coordinated by the Tamil Eelam Society of Canada ([Aruliah, 1993](#)).

Most Sri Lankan Tamils who arrived in the 1980s were refugees, having been displaced by the civil war in their homeland. They sought immigration to gain an education and rebuild their lives. As [Israel \(1994\)](#) noted, "Most Sri Lankan Tamils in Toronto are young, poor, and without advanced education." During the mid to late 1980s, many Tamils from Sri Lanka sought and were granted asylum in Canada, forming the foundation of the current diaspora ([Hyndman et al., 2022](#)). The new Tamil immigrants, mostly from the Jaffna peninsula, sought to preserve their culture, language, and identity, which had been deeply impacted by the Sri Lankan civil war. This led to the establishment of several Tamil-only organizations in Toronto, as they felt disconnected from existing Sri Lankan organizations, which they perceived as too Westernized and disconnected from true Tamil culture. After 1983, the Wellesley-Parliament area in downtown Toronto, known as Cabbage Town, became the focal point for Tamil-speaking Sri Lankans. In the early 1990s, Metropolitan Toronto witnessed the rapid emergence of Sri Lankan food catering services that operated from private homes ([Chandrasekar, 2008](#)).

During the 1980s and 1990s, many Tamils immigrated to Canada and settled in major cities such as Toronto and Montreal ([Amarasingam, 2013](#)). Between 2006 and 2016, the Sri Lankan immigrant population in the Toronto CMA grew by 32%. In 2016, nearly 48% of Sri Lankan Tamils living in the CMA resided in Toronto, particularly in Scarborough. However, many have since

moved to the suburbs in search of larger homes and closer proximity to Tamil cultural institutions. Their spatial distribution has expanded from the central city to suburban areas like Markham, Vaughan, Brampton, and Mississauga, driven by the availability of larger homes to accommodate extended families and the proximity to Tamil cultural institutions ([Zarook, 2019](#)).

Religion played a crucial role in developing a particular identity among Sri Lankan immigrants to Ontario. The community established numerous Hindu temples to meet their religious needs. Sri Lankan Tamils are often identified as wartime refugees, which has led to elevated high school dropout rates and residence in lower-income neighbourhoods in (the former cities of) Toronto and Scarborough. Despite their lower socioeconomic status, many Sri Lankan Tamils achieved success, transitioning from unskilled shift jobs to stable 9-to-5 positions and investing significantly in their children's education. ([Thiranagama, 2014](#)).

Pakistanis

The history of Pakistani immigration to Canada can be traced back to the period of Punjabi migration to British Columbia. Before 1947, Pakistan was a part of British India. At that time, the borders between India and Pakistan were defined by Sir Cyril Radcliffe, a British civil servant, leading to a division of the subcontinent based on regions with a Hindu majority in the central and southern areas and predominantly Muslim populations in the north-west and north-east ([Chatterji, 1999](#)). Since Pakistan's independence, instability in economics, society, and politics prompted many, including professionals, to leave the region in search of better prospects. During the 1950s and 1960s, Britain was a favoured destination for Pakistani migrants due to relaxed Commonwealth member entry. However, economic struggles, anti-immigrant sentiments, and racial tensions in Britain led to Pakistanis seeking other options like Canada. Optimism arose due to liberal policies, colonial ties, and Commonwealth membership. The first notable Pakistani influx in Canada, mostly educated professionals, occurred in the 1960s. Organizations like the Ontario Association of Pakistani Canadians fostered the local community. By the 1970s, Gerrard Street started to take shape as a dynamic and vibrant South Asian focal point, including Pakistanis. From 1980 to 2002, over 100,000 Pakistanis arrived in Canada, mainly in Ontario, particularly in Toronto ([Khan, 2012](#)).

By the 1970s, the growing Pakistani community started to have an influence on Gerrard St. East (popularly called “Little India”), particularly around the Al Markaz Mosque. The Gerrard

India Bazaar, now established, was centred around the former Eastwood Cinema. Initially built in 1929, the cinema initially served the English, Irish, and Scottish immigrants who settled in the area before World War I. In 1966, the cinema closed and was later rented by Gian Naz, an immigrant from India, in 1972. The Naaz Theatre became a significant attraction for migrants from India and Pakistan, leading to the opening of new businesses and restaurants in the vicinity ([Heritage Toronto, 2019](#))

A notable restaurant on Gerrard Street East is Lahore Tikka House, founded by Alnoor Sayani, who arrived in Toronto via Uganda and England. This immigration story resonates with many in the community. In 1972, Ugandan leader Idi Amin expelled around 80,000 individuals of South Asian descent from the country. About 6,000 of those who left Uganda settled in Canada ([CBC News, 2022](#)). This restaurant played a pivotal role in fostering Pakistani culture in Toronto. It is believed the Aga Khan, the spiritual leader of the world's 15 million Ismaili Muslims, contacted his friend, then-prime minister Pierre Trudeau, and negotiated Canada's acceptance of thousands of Ismailis fleeing persecution in East Africa in the early 1970s ([Muhammedi, 2017](#)).

In 1984, the Islamic Foundation acquired a 2.3-acre plot at the intersection of Markham Road and Nugget Avenue in Scarborough, establishing the first multipurpose mosque in Canada, replacing its previous location on Rhodes Avenue. Urdu-speaking Muslims and other Muslim newcomers to Toronto began to settle in northeast Scarborough to be in proximity to the mosque as well as friends and family in the region ([Heritage Toronto, 2019](#)).

Bangladesh Bengalis

The partition of India in 1947 resulted in the creation of West and East Pakistan, two non-contiguous territories sharing Islam as the dominant religion but differing significantly in language, ethnicity, and culture. In the 1970 parliamentary elections, a vast majority of East Pakistanis voted for a political party advocating autonomy for the East. However, this party was prevented from assuming governance by the army and the existing Pakistani government, leading to the imprisonment of its leader. The resultant mass protests in the East were brutally suppressed by the Pakistani army, triggering a massive refugee movement into neighbouring India. Supported by India, East Pakistani guerrilla forces engaged in conflict with the Pakistani Army in the late autumn of 1971. On December 17, 1971, East Pakistan finally achieved freedom, leading to the

establishment of the newly independent state of Bangladesh, governed by a constitution distinct from that of Pakistan ([Hajjaj, 2022](#)).

Canada stood among the first nations to recognize the newly independent Bangladesh in 1972, less than a year after its liberation from Pakistan. In 1973, the Bangladesh High Commission in Canada was established in Ottawa. Consequently, skilled workers from Bangladesh began migrating to Canada ([Ray, 2019](#)). The migration of Bangladeshis to Canada can be understood through the lens of global capitalism, where skilled labour from less developed countries moves to more developed ones in pursuit of higher wages due to the circulation of capital from developed countries. In the 1960s, the demand for skilled labour in Canada led to changes in the discriminatory Immigration Policy ([Ahmed, 2020](#)). Additionally, political instability and economic challenges in Bangladesh prompted immigration to Canada during the 1970s and 1980s. Presently, around 100,000 people of Bangladeshi origin reside in Canada. The initial wave of immigration from Bangladesh to Canada consisted of professionals in the 1960s, some of whom arrived for higher education and professional training before becoming permanent residents. Immigration escalated over the following decades, peaking in the late 1980s. Bangladeshi immigration to Canada occurs under two main categories: skilled workers and family reunification. Concentrations of Bangladeshi-origin individuals are primarily found in the provinces of Ontario, British Columbia, Quebec, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, particularly in major cities such as Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Regina, and Ottawa. A substantial cluster of Bangladeshis resides in the eastern part of Toronto, near Scarborough, particularly around Victoria Avenue and Danforth. The community actively ensures its welfare through various associations ([High Commission for the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Ottawa, Canada, 2024](#)).

Toronto is home to three distinct Bangladeshi communities. The most well-known is in the Crescent Town neighbourhood in East Toronto, often referred to by Bangladeshis as "Bangla Town." There are also concentrations of Bangladeshis in the Regent Park area downtown and a smaller group in the Cabbage Town neighbourhood to the west ([Halder, 2012](#)). After moving to Canada, Bangladeshi immigrants, especially those from the Muslim community, struggled to enter the job market.

In Crescent Town's Bangla Town, many Bangladeshis live in older high-rise apartment buildings. They are drawn to these buildings for various reasons, including affordable rents, larger

units that accommodate big families and extended family living, and the close proximity to other Bangladeshis and community organizations that cater to their needs ([Murdie and Ghosh, 2009](#)).

For many Bangladeshis, living close to others from their community provides a sense of comfort and familiarity in a new country. They have actively transformed these spaces to meet their social, religious, and economic needs ([Ghosh, 2014](#)). While traditionally seen as homemakers with their husbands as the primary breadwinners, many Bangladeshi women have started their own businesses, such as restaurants, clothing stores, and beauty salons, to support their families ([Akbar 2023](#)).

3.4 Shift in immigration composition

While a large proportion of immigrants in the 1950s were Sikh relatives of pioneer South Asian settlers, the 1960s witnessed substantial increases in immigration from other parts of India and Pakistan. By the early 1960s, two-thirds of South Asian immigrant men held professional positions such as teachers, doctors, university professors, and scientists ([Buchignani, 2010](#)).

The Canadian preference for highly skilled immigrants during the 1960s broadened the ethnic diversity of South Asian immigrants and consequently reduced the proportion of Sikhs ([Buchignani et al., 1985](#)). In 1972, all South Asians were expelled from Uganda, with Canada accepting 7,000 of them, many of whom were Ismailis, as political refugees. This marked the start of a steady flow of South Asians to Canada from such African countries as Kenya, Tanzania, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, either directly or via Britain. The 1970s also saw the initiation of migration from Fiji, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, and Mauritius. By the 1980s, Ontario emerged as a prime immigration destination, with many Asians settling in the Greater Toronto Area, including Scarborough, Markham, Mississauga, Brampton, and Ajax ([Buchignani, 2010](#)).

According to recent statistics, most South Asian immigrants from India entered the country through the Canadian experience class under the Economic class, indicating that they had prior work experience in Canada before becoming permanent residents ([Statistics Canada, 2022a](#)). In general, immigrants move into Canada through one of four pathways: economic, family sponsorship, refugee, and other immigrants. Most Sri Lankan immigrants made the entries under the Refugee group. Business-class immigrants are mainly from India and Pakistan (investing at

least \$75,000 in a new start-up business or investing in one). Indian immigrants make up 64 percent of the family sponsorship category. (See Figure 3.2)

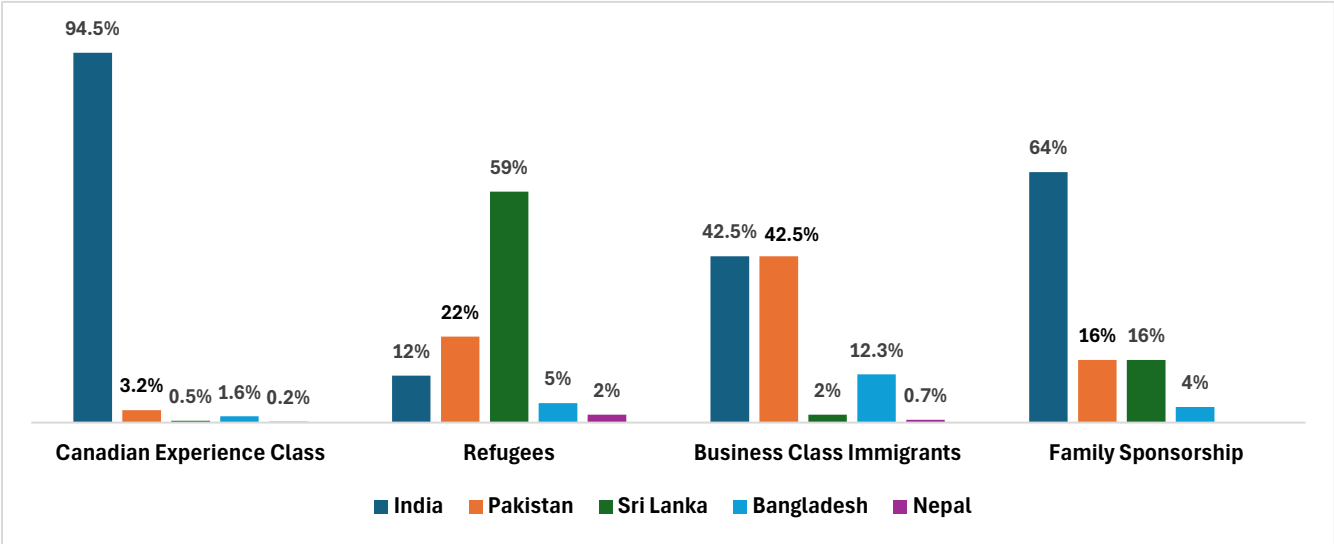


Figure 3.2 The percentage of South Asian immigrants in the Toronto CMA (2021 Census) by Admission category.

In recent years, there has been a decline in the number of immigrants from Sri Lanka and Pakistan. The immigration rates from Nepal and Bangladesh have remained relatively steady and limited. Significantly, the proportion of Indian immigrants has increased twofold since 2016, in contrast to a decline in immigration from other South Asian nations (See Table 3.1). Since the number of immigrants from Nepal and Bhutan is very low in comparison to the other countries, they have been excluded from the subsequent analysis.

3.5 The Journey of Settlement

Immigrants in the process of settling in a foreign country must establish a new foundation for themselves. While the financial resources they bring from their home country provide some initial assistance, finding employment becomes a crucial step in fulfilling their fundamental needs. Furthermore, given the ongoing challenges in finding affordable rental housing within the Toronto CMA, they also need to secure suitable living arrangements that meet their requirements. As described in Chapter 2, this transition occurs gradually. Initially, there is a period of adjustment during which they establish themselves in the new country, as explained in the *Settlement* phase.

Gradually, they integrate into society, as described in the *Establishment* phase, and become advocates for their community, which we call the final stage of integration: the *Entitlement* phase. The following section explores the broad topics in which South Asian immigrants influence and impact the social, economic, and political landscape of the CMA.

3.5.1. Rental crisis

The vacancy rate in the rental market dropped to a record low of 1.2% in 2023 (CMHC 2024a), making it very competitive for renters. The Bank of Canada’s large interest rate hikes and the end of the rent freeze in 2021 have impacted rental prices in the CMA (CMHC, 2024b). New immigrants are key in driving housing demand, and their choices about where and what type of housing to rent can greatly affect the local housing market.

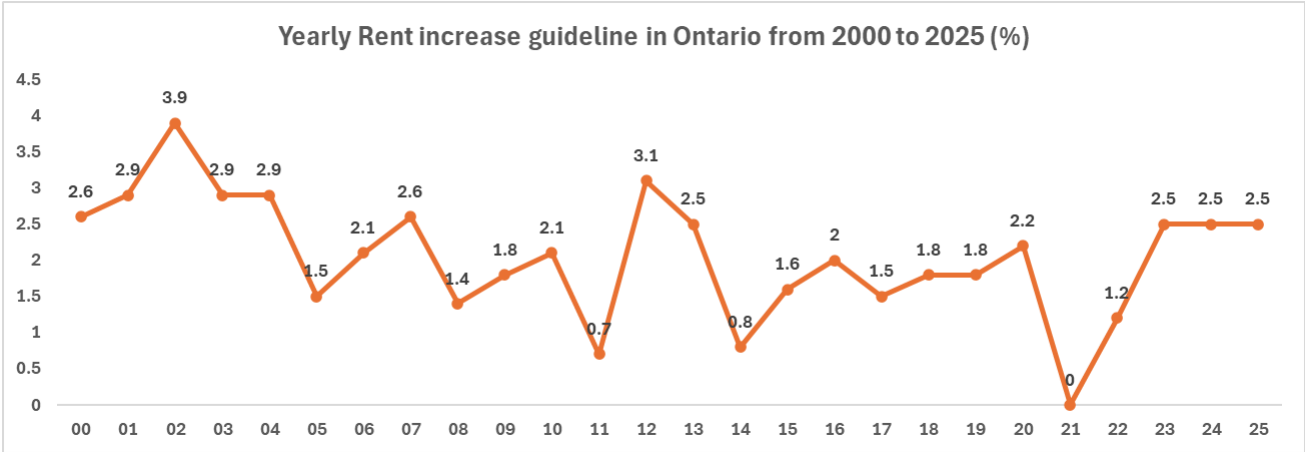


Figure 3.3 Ontario Yearly Rent Increase Guideline (2000 – 2025)

Source: Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, Government of Ontario.

Research by Ley and Tutchener (2001) shows that immigration has a significant impact on housing prices in Canada’s cities, especially in Vancouver and Toronto, which saw much higher price increases than other cities after 1985 due to immigration. Another important report by Hiebert (2006), published by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, discusses the housing conditions and needs of new immigrants in Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver, focusing on their first months in Canada. Enclaves like Brampton are popular among the Indian immigrants. Brampton had the highest year-over-year rent increase in the country, according to Rentals.ca. In August 2023, rent for a one-bedroom apartment was up by 29 percent compared to the previous year, and up by 25.7 percent for a two-bedroom apartment. Elsewhere in the CMA, places like

Toronto, Mississauga, and Scarborough saw rent increases ranging from 10 to 15 percent. The chief market analyst with the Toronto Regional Real Estate Board, Jason Mercer says that the competition between renters pushing up average rents, and on the other side property owners who are facing increased costs are looking to recoup at least some of those through higher rents. This surge is driven by population growth, especially from new immigrants, making it difficult for renters like international students to afford housing ([CBC News, September 19, 2023](#)).

Most studies examining the impact of immigration on the housing market in the CMA were conducted before the onset of mass South Asian immigration, which began in 2015 after the onset of [the Express Entry Program](#). There is a clear gap in the literature on this topic, particularly where South Asians represent the majority of recent immigrants. It is worth studying the impact of South Asian immigration on the CMA's rental market. After identifying South Asian hotspots in the CMA, Chapter 5 examines rental patterns and historical trends in these areas to understand the rental crisis through the lens of South Asians.

3.5.2. The Impact on Toronto's Food Retail Landscape

South Asian immigrants significantly contribute to the diverse food landscape within the CMA. Although supermarket chains such as Loblaws and Sobeys dominate the market, there is a growing trend towards the popularity of ethnic grocery stores and online shopping platforms. Chapter 5 presents a mapping of South Asian ethnic food retail outlets, including grocery stores and restaurants, in relation to settlement patterns, along with an analysis of their correlation. The location and high concentration of these ethnic businesses within the CMA may reflect the pathways immigrants follow in their integration process, as discussed in Chapter 2. The presence of these outlets, along with settlement hotspots, suggests a strong connection between immigrants' maintenance of their ethnic identity and their selective adoption of the host country's food practices. This cultural retention may influence the food landscape by encouraging the establishment of more ethnic grocery stores and restaurants in the CMA as the demand for ethnic food among these immigrant communities rises.

A notable study in this context is [Perry et al. \(2020\)](#), which examined the changing spatial structure of ethnic grocery retailing in Toronto, focusing on Chinese and South Asian communities. This study analyzed the distribution of grocery stores and ethnic residential patterns between 2001 and 2016, revealing disparities in access to both mainstream and ethnic retailers.

The findings highlighted a growing suburbanization of these communities, with some areas being underserved by both mainstream and ethnic stores, while others heavily rely on ethnic grocers to fill market gaps. The current study explores whether these ethnic stores are filling the gaps, or they are the preferred ones in these suburbanized communities. By examining the spatial distribution of these businesses and their proximity to South Asian communities, the study highlights the role of food practices in maintaining cultural identity while navigating the complexities of integration.

3.5.3. Political Involvement

As mentioned in Chapter 1, political participation represents the final stage of immigrants' integration into the host society. Notably, the South Asian community has encountered anti-immigrant sentiments and racial bias. In 1967, Canada's elimination of immigration quotas linked to specific ethnic groups led to a rapid increase in the South Asian population within the country. Subsequently, in 1971, multiculturalism was officially embraced as a policy by the Canadian government and further reinforced by Section 27 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This section mandates the interpretation of the Charter in ways that promote the preservation and enrichment of Canadians' multicultural heritage ([Wayland, 1997](#))

In 1988, the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* was enacted, solidifying this policy into law as a commitment by the federal government to nurture and sustain a diverse, multicultural society. This legislation gave rise to the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship, now known as the Ministry of Canadian Heritage. This entity provided increased opportunities for political involvement among immigrants and ethnic minorities residing in Canada ([Wang, 2022](#)).

Several political, social, and religious organizations thrive within the South Asian communities. For instance, non-profit organisations like the Canadian Tamil Congress, which operates among Tamils, serves as a community and advocacy group, representing specific Tamil Canadians at municipal, provincial, federal, and international levels. A recent study by [Wang \(2022\)](#) has discovered that South Asian and Chinese populations have reached critical mass in certain electoral districts. This phenomenon has led to heightened political participation and engagement. It has also attracted the attention of political parties that view these areas as significant sources of political capital.

An analysis of the list of South Asian candidates participating in federal, provincial, and municipal elections in the Toronto CMA will be undertaken to assess the political integration of

South Asians. This analysis is expected to yield insights into the representation and participation of these communities and the inclusion of visible minorities in Canadian politics in general.

In essence, these factors are crucial in assessing the integration of immigrants, and there is a clear knowledge gap in the existing literature. Many studies are focused either on one ethnic group or were conducted before the onset of recent mass immigration. This study aims to fill this gap by exploring the identified topics in the context of the three stated research objectives.

Chapter 4: Data and Methodology

4.1 Data Sources

This study achieves its research objectives primarily through the utilization of the 2021 Census of Population data disseminated by Statistics Canada (accessed via CHASS -- an online database maintained by the University of Toronto Library). To conduct a temporal analysis and identify trends in the settlement locations of South Asian immigrants within the Toronto CMA, data from previous censuses spanning from 1981 to 2021 were also employed. Before the 1996 Statistics Canada Census of Population, the count of the Asian population was generalized without any subcategories. Later, from 1996 onward, immigrants from India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka began to be listed separately. In the 2001 Census, a subcategory for Bangladeshi immigrants was introduced. In the later year censuses, detailed language and subcategories were introduced.

Initially, the average expenditure on rent variable from the Census of Population 2021 was used to analyze rents. However, these rates were significantly below the current market rates. Hence average rent data from the Toronto Real Estate Board's ([TREB](#)) quarterly rental reports for the past ten years from 2014 to 2024 are used. In the absence of direct data sources for analyzing the South Asian food retail industry and mapping South Asian restaurants and grocery stores, information was gathered through web scraping from OpenStreetMap and Google Maps.

To assess the political involvement the candidate list of the 2021 Federal and 2022 Provincial and Municipal election candidate list were used. The ethnicity of the South Asian candidates is identified by their country of origin using the common family names, through internet research and personal knowledge.

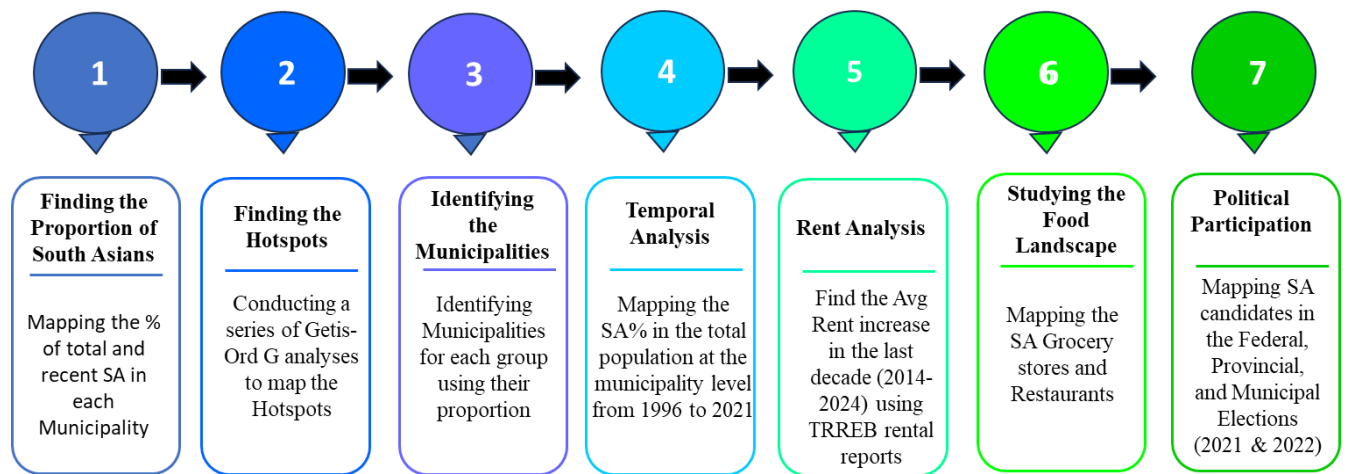
The data sources utilized for addressing the three stated objectives are summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Data Sources

Task of analysis	S.No	Variable	Explanation	Spatial Unit	Source	Year
Mapping Settlement Patterns	1	BI	Place of birth of the immigrants - Bangladesh	Dissemination Area	Statistics Canada, 2021 Census of Population	1981 - 2021
	2	II	Place of birth of the immigrants - India			
	3	PI	Place of birth of the immigrants - Pakistan			
	4	SI	Place of birth of the immigrants - Sri Lanka			
Assessing Changes in Rental Rates in Municipalities with a Higher Proportion of South Asian Immigrants	5	ABR	Average Rent of Bachelor Apartment	TRREB Regions (35) in the CMA	TRREB Quarterly Reports(Q1)	2014,2019 and 2024
	6	AOR	Average Rent of One- Bedroom Apartment			
	7	ATR	Average Rent of Two-bedroom Apartment			
	8	THH	Total Households	Municipality	Statistics Canada, 2021 Census of Population	2021
	9	RHH	Rented Households			
Mapping the South Asian restaurants and grocery stores	10	SARB	South Asian Restaurants - Bangladeshi	Census Subdivision (CSD)/ Municipality	Open Street Map, Google Maps, Uber Eats and DoorDash	2024
	11	SAGB	South Asian Groceries - Bangladeshi			
	12	SARI	South Asian Restaurants - Indian			
	13	SAGI	South Asian Groceries - Indian			
	14	SARP	South Asian Restaurants - Pakistani			
	15	SAGP	South Asian Groceries - Pakistani			
	16	SARS	South Asian Restaurants - Sri Lankan			
	17	SAGS	South Asian Groceries - Sri Lankan			
Mapping the political engagement and representation of South Asians in the CMA	18	CLF	Candidate list 2021 Federal results- GTA	Greater Toronto Metropolitan Area	Elections Canada	2021
	19	CLP	Candidate list 2022 Provincial results- GTA	Riding or constituency		2022
	20	CLM	Candidate list 2022 Municipal results- GTA	Municipality		2022

4.2 Methodology

The study deployed quantitative methods to fulfill its three stated objectives. Analysis of the specified topics is carried out systematically in seven steps, utilizing the results of each step for the subsequent analysis as illustrated below:



Step 1: Finding the proportion of South Asians in each municipality

Mapping the percentage of total and recent (2016–2021) South Asian immigrants relative to the total population in each of the 24 municipalities in the CMA.

Step 2: Finding the Hotspots

Conducting a series of spatial analyses for the four major South Asian ethnic groups using the Getis-Ord G_i^* statistic to determine if there is any clustering in the settlement pattern of South Asians and mapping the same.

Step 3: Identifying the Municipalities

Based on the hotspot locations identified in Step 2, the municipalities popular among each of the four groups (namely India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh) are tabulated using their proportion in the identified spots compared to the entire municipality.

Step 4: Conducting a temporal analysis to identify the settlement trends

The expansion of South Asian immigrants over the past 25 years (1996–2021) will be studied by mapping their percentage in the total population at the municipality level to identify the settlement trend.

Step 5: Rent Analysis

Finding the increase in the average rent of bachelor, one-bedroom, and two-bedroom apartments in the last decade (2014–2024) for the hotspots identified in Step 2 using the Toronto Regional

Real Estate Board (TRREB) First Quarter Rental reports and correlating it with the settlement trends identified in Step 4.

Step 6: Studying the Food Landscape

Mapping the locations of four major South Asian ethnic food retail areas, including grocery stores and restaurants, identifying the correlations between immigrant settlement locations and business distributions, and studying how the CMA's food retail landscape is changing in response to South Asian immigration.

Step 7: Analyzing the participation of South Asian candidates in the Province's Political realm

Mapping the location of South Asian candidates from the Toronto CMA who ran or were selected in the 2021 and 2022 Federal, Provincial, and Municipal Elections and analyzing their level of integration and the correlation between the participated ridings/municipalities and the identified hotspot locations.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis and Interpretation

5.1 Settlement Patterns of South Asian Immigrants in the Toronto CMA

To identify the settlement patterns of South Asians, the percentage of South Asian immigrants relative to the total population in 2021 is mapped in each of the 24 municipalities in the CMA (see Figure 5.1. Brampton (28.9%), Milton (15.5%), Mississauga (13.8%), Ajax (13.0%), and Caledon (10.6%) are the top five municipalities.

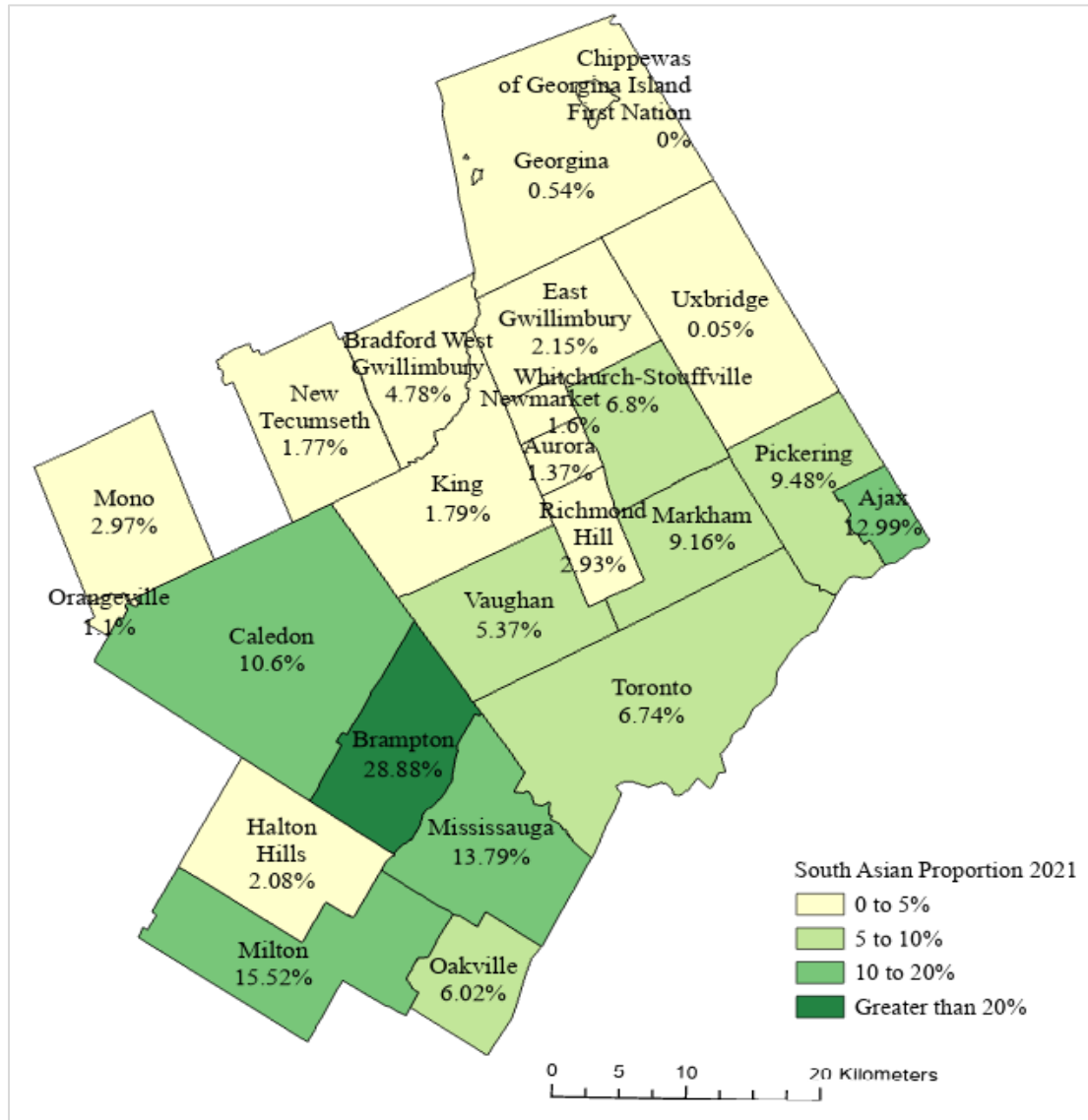


Figure 5.1 Percentage of South Asian immigrants in the total population in 2021.

In general, South Asian immigrants tend to settle in the southern regions of the CMA. Although they are widespread in Toronto, their proportion is relatively low (6.74%) compared to

the city's vast population. However, out of the 100,000 recent South Asian immigrants (2016-2021), 39% settled in the City of Toronto which includes the inner suburbs like Scarborough, North York, East York and Etobicoke, followed by Brampton (32%) and Mississauga (16%) (See Figure 5.2).

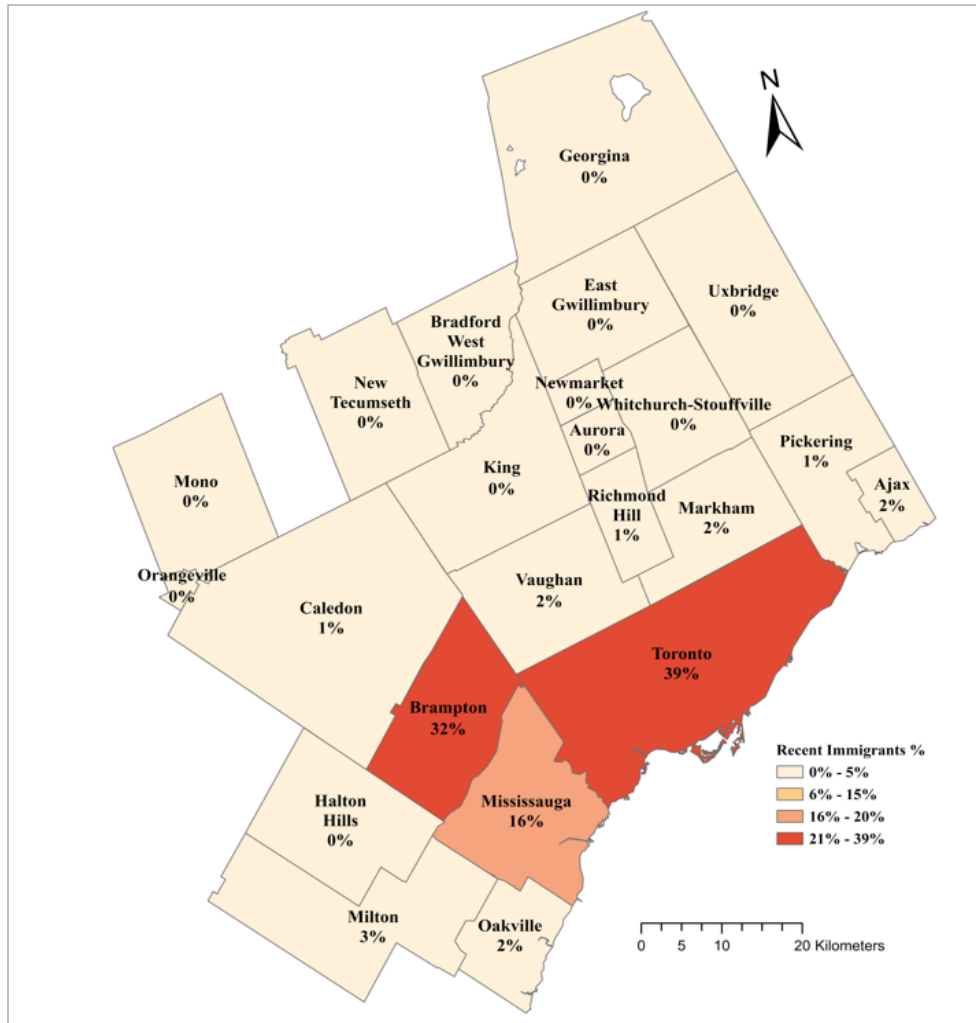


Figure 5.2 The proportion of recent South Asian immigrants (2016 to 2021) at the municipality level in the Toronto CMA

Settlement Trend

Initially, South Asians began settling in the Brampton and Mississauga municipalities in the mid-90s. Later, their settlement pattern spread across the CMA. To analyze this trend, a temporal analysis was conducted using Census of Population data on South Asian immigrants over the past 25 years (see Table 5.6). This temporal data, mapped in Figure 5.8, reflects the expansion

of the South Asian community, which began in Brampton and Mississauga in 1996 and extended towards Ajax and Pickering in the eastern end by 2021.

In recent years, after 2016, we can observe a decline in the South Asian population in Toronto and Mississauga. At the same time, Caledon, the northernmost municipality of the Peel Region, experienced a 100% increase, from 5.23% to 10.6%. Similarly, Milton, Ajax, and Pickering are becoming popular places for South Asians to settle. This is a testament to the invasion-succession model. In Park's traditional model of change, where each preceding immigrant wave moves outward and is succeeded by more recent, poorer immigrants, a similar pattern can be observed in a modified manner within the context of an urbanized CMA like Toronto. South Asians who initially settled in the city center, upon improving their economic status and establishing themselves in the host country, move outward by either buying houses or moving into more comfortable housing in regional municipalities like Caledon. Meanwhile, recent immigrants who are in their initial settling phase are living in city centers for better prospects and opportunities.

Table 5.1 Percentage of Immigrants from Four Major South Asian Ethnic Groups in the Total Population of Toronto CMA Municipalities, 1996-2021.

S.No	Municipality	Percentage of South Asian Immigrants(4 Ethnic Groups) in the Total Population of the Municipality						Trend
		1996	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021	
1	Ajax	1.70	1.84	4.36	6.61	10.62	12.99	
2	Aurora	0.48	0.43	0.91	0.94	1.66	1.37	
3	Bradford West Gwillimbury	0.27	0.63	1.02	1.48	2.77	4.78	
4	Brampton	6.88	11.36	19.11	23.29	26.40	28.88	
5	Caledon	0.59	0.58	1.02	1.70	5.23	10.60	
6	East Gwillimbury	0.21	0.15	0.09	0.23	0.00	0.00	
7	Georgina	0.20	0.08	0.34	0.44	0.98	2.15	
8	Chippewas of Georgina Island First Nation	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.78	0.54	
9	Halton Hills	0.39	0.36	0.50	0.66	1.03	2.08	
10	King	0.27	0.35	0.41	0.30	1.31	1.79	
11	Markham	4.34	6.83	10.12	10.89	10.06	9.16	
12	Milton	0.30	0.37	3.50	7.75	11.94	15.52	
13	Mississauga	6.33	8.98	12.68	13.73	14.15	13.79	
14	Mono	0.61	0.36	0.78	0.00	1.28	2.97	
15	New Tecumseth	0.15	0.00	0.11	0.13	0.79	1.77	
16	Newmarket	0.32	0.51	1.11	1.84	1.75	1.60	
17	Oakville	1.62	2.16	3.20	3.59	4.66	6.02	
18	Orangeville	0.19	0.24	0.56	0.36	0.57	1.10	
19	Pickering	2.08	2.54	3.54	4.60	7.04	9.48	
20	Richmond Hill	1.65	2.69	3.17	3.78	3.49	2.93	
21	Toronto	2.08	6.33	7.31	7.42	7.03	6.74	
22	Uxbridge	0.29	0.14	0.08	0.10	0.43	0.05	
23	Vaughan	2.27	3.18	4.72	5.21	5.27	5.37	
24	Whitchurch-Stouffville	0.31	0.34	0.62	4.42	6.70	6.80	



Figure 5.3 Percentage of South Asian Immigrants in the Total Population of Toronto CMA (1996-2021)

Hotspot Analysis

To determine if there is any clustering in the settlement pattern of South Asians in the CMA, a series of spatial analyses using the Getis-Ord G_i^* statistic is conducted at the Dissemination Area (DA) level of geography. This tool examines each feature, in this case, each DA, within the context of neighbouring features. A DA with a higher percentage of South Asians is noteworthy but may not be a statistically significant hot spot. To be a statistically significant hot spot, a DA must have a higher concentration of South Asians in the surrounding DAs as well (Arc GIS Pro 3.3, Tool Reference guide). By running this analysis, we can pinpoint areas with statistically significant concentrations, termed 'hot spots' for high values, and 'cold spots' for low values, where South Asian immigrants from the four major ethnic groups are settling in each municipality.

A series of four analyses are conducted, each using a standardized place of birth count variable from the 2021 Canadian Census as the input feature for the four major South Asian groups, namely Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, and Bangladeshi. The analytical processes generate an Output Feature Class containing essential statistical measures for each DA for the total 7,716 DAs in the CMA, including z-scores, p-values, and a categorization field labelled 'Gi_Bin.' The 'Gi_Bin' field categorizes each DA into bins representing different levels of statistical significance based on the confidence level: +/-3 bins indicate a 99% confidence level, +/-2 bins show a 95% confidence level, and +/-1 bins denote a 90% confidence level. Features categorized within the 0 bin do not display statistically significant clustering. Essentially, higher absolute values of z-scores and smaller p-values indicate stronger clustering of settlement values—positive for hot spots and negative for cold spots. To visually represent these findings, only the hotspots with 90%, 95%, and 99% confidence levels (Gi Bin: +1, +2, +3) are considered, and the negative (cold spots) and '0' values are excluded from all four analyses (refer to Figure 5.3). Overall, out of a total of 7,716 DAs in the Toronto CMA, 1,375 are statistically South Asian hotspots, with 597 Indian, 279 Pakistani, 276 Bangladeshi, and 253 Sri Lankan immigrant-predominant DAs. Among these, 30 DAs are shared by the four ethnic groups.

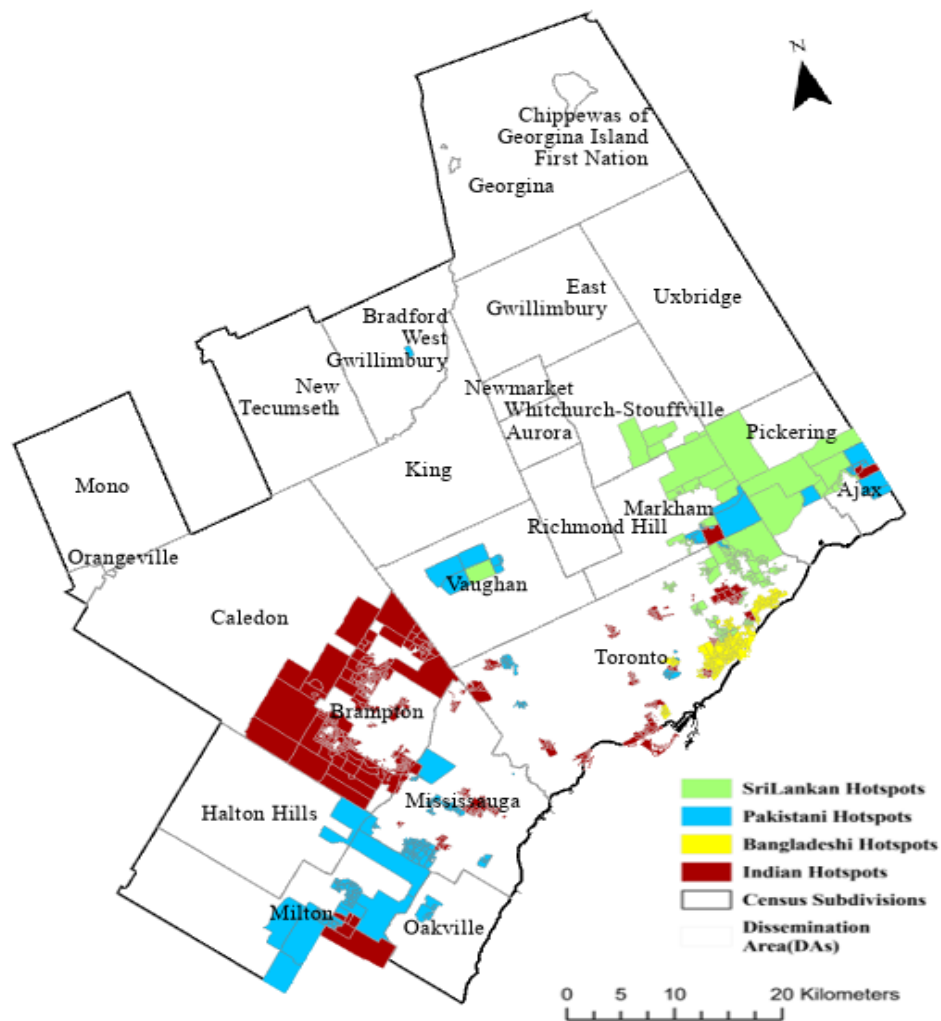


Figure 5.4 Hotspot Settlement Locations of South Asian Immigrants

Indian Hotspots

Indian immigrants are widespread in the CMA. However, Brampton is a major hotspot for Indian immigrants. In the City of Toronto, they are scattered throughout without forming specific enclaves. Additionally, there are hotspots in the southwest end of the CMA, particularly in the Milton municipality, and in the southeast end, in the Ajax municipality (refer to Figure 5.4).

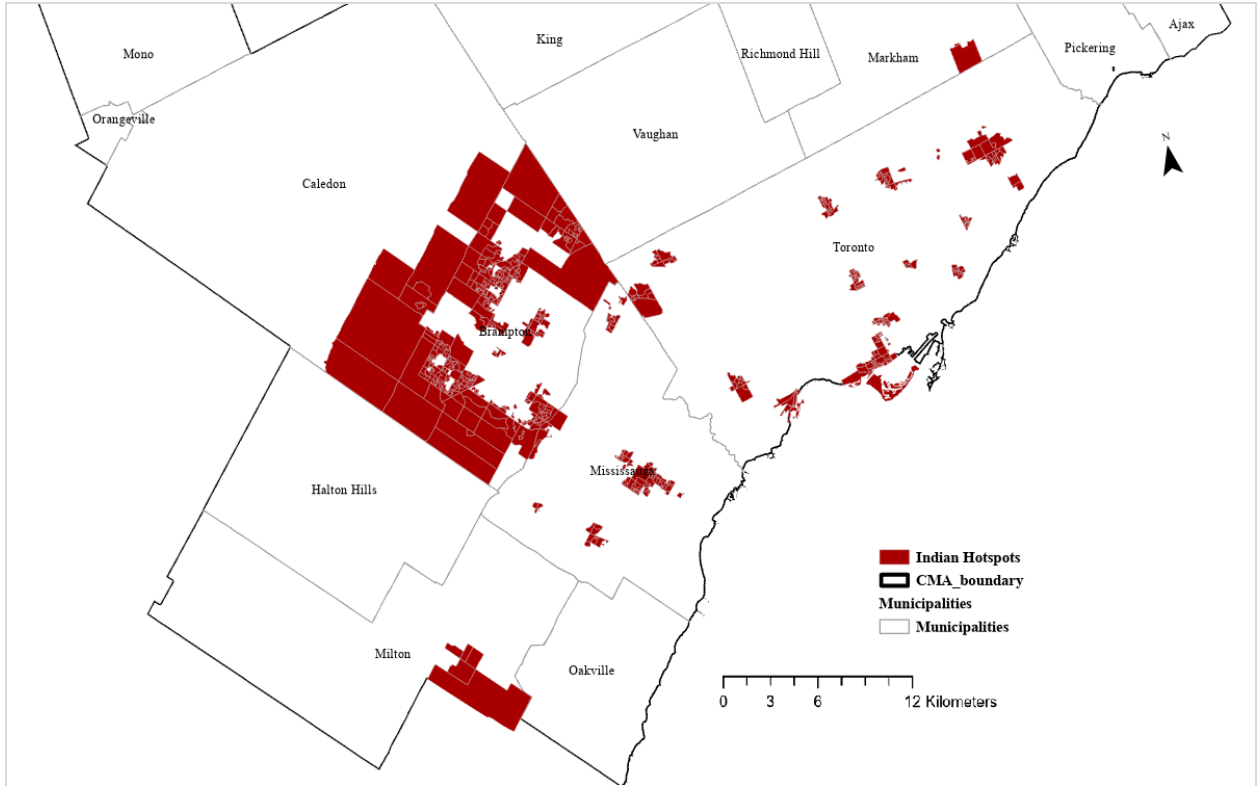


Figure 5.5 Hotspot Settlement Locations of Immigrants from India.

To quantify the concentration of Indian immigrants, the percentage of the sum of Indian immigrants in the hot spot DAs to the Total Indian immigrants in the municipalities is tabulated (Refer to Table 5.1).

Table 5.2 Percentage of Indian immigrants in the Indian hot spot DAs

Municipality	Total Indian Immigrants in the Municipality	Tot Ind. Immigrants in the Hotspots	Total Number of DAs in the Municipality	Number of Hotspot DAs	Percentage of Hotspot DAs (%)	%of Indian Immigrants
1	2	3	4	5	(5/4) x100	(3/2) x 100
Brampton	159445	115350	684	282	41.2	72.34
Caledon	7360	5195	93	9	9.7	70.58
Toronto	95745	27130	3743	215	5.7	28.34
Mississauga	60065	15040	969	82	8.5	25.04
Milton	8375	1540	134	5	3.7	18.39
Markham	13720	1405	338	2	0.6	10.24
Ajax	6680	615	172	2	1.2	9.21

A clear clustering can be observed in the municipalities. For example, in Caledon approximately 70% of Indian immigrants are concentrated in just 10% of the DAs in the Municipality, indicating significant clustering and a tendency of immigrants to prefer specific locations. Similarly, Brampton is clearly an Indian enclave, with 72.3% of Indian immigrants concentrated in 41% of the DAs. This clustering is evidence of segregation among the Indian immigrants.

To identify any similarities among the immigrants, an analysis of the top seven Indian languages recorded in the Brampton hotspots was conducted. The study revealed that approximately 54% of the population speaks Punjabi, followed by 33% who speak Hindi, which is closely related to Punjabi (see Table 5.2).

Table 2.3 Percentage of major Indian language speakers in the Indian hot spot DAs

Municipality	Indian Language Speakers in the Hotspots							Total Speakers
	Kannada	Malayalam	Telugu	Gujarati	Hindi	Marathi	Punjabi	
Brampton	945	3105	3460	23170	79815	1710	132055	244260
	0.4%	1.3%	1.4%	9.5%	32.7%	0.7%	54.0%	100%

Source: Statistics Canada, Table 98-10-0217-01, Knowledge of languages by age and gender:

Nearly 85% of Indian immigrants in the Brampton hotspots speak either Punjabi or Hindi. Consequently, Brampton can be aptly referred to as "Little Punjab." Language, ethnic businesses, and places of worship could be significant factors influencing these preferences and enclave formation.

Pakistani Hotspots

Pakistani immigrants are primarily settled in the suburban municipalities of Milton and Mississauga in the west, and Ajax in the east of the CMA (refer to Figure 5.5). The top two municipalities, in order, are Milton and Mississauga. Although there are some hotspots in Ajax, Markham, and Vaughan, the proportion of the Pakistani immigrant population in these areas is relatively low (see Table 5.3). Upon analyzing the Pakistani hotspots in the Milton area, it was found that the Louis St. Laurent (LSL) area is heavily concentrated with Pakistani immigrants. Oakville is another notable location for Pakistani immigrants.

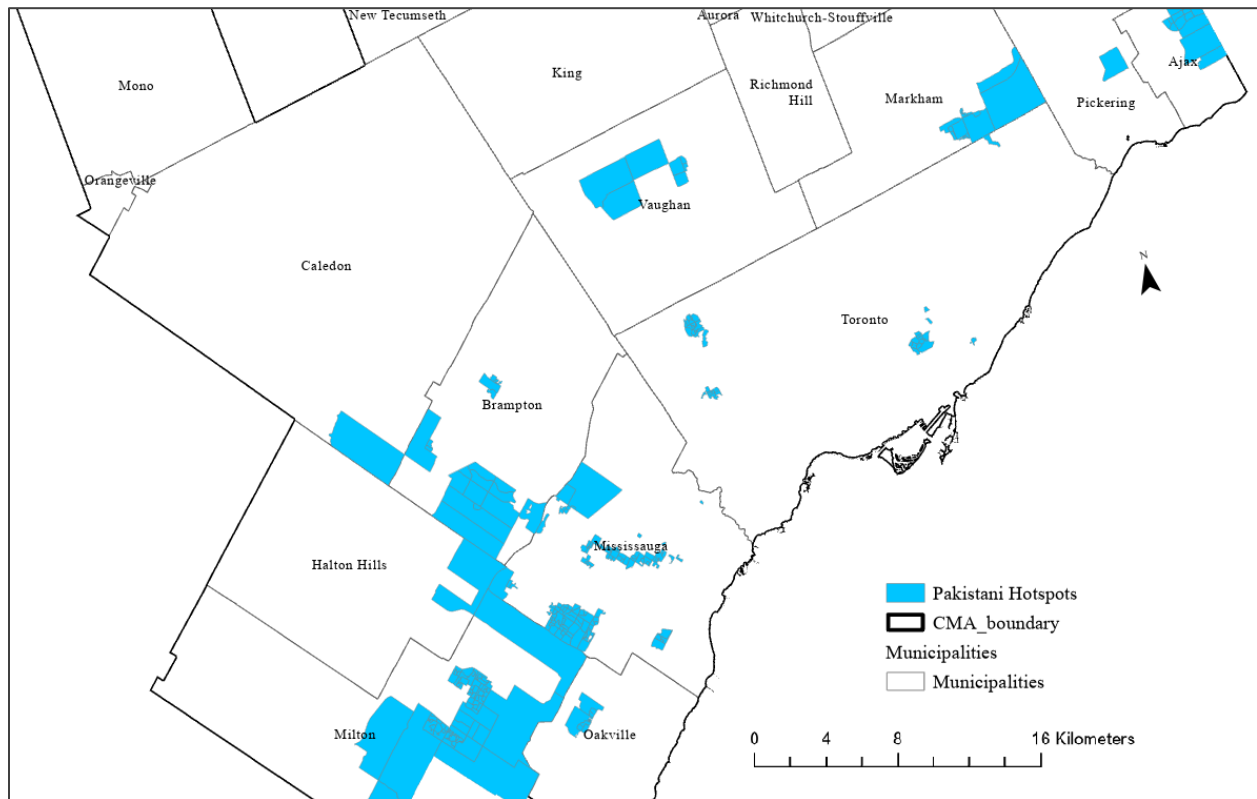


Figure 5.6 Hotspot Settlement Locations of Immigrants from Pakistan.

Table 5.4 Percentage of Pakistan immigrants in the Pakistan hot spot DAs

Municipality	Total Pakistan Immigrants in the Municipality	Tot Pakistan Immigrants in the Hotspots	Total Number of DAs	Number of Hotspot DAs in the Municipality	Percentage of Hotspot DAs (%)	% of Pakistan Immigrants
1	2	3	4	5	(5/4) x100	(3/2) x 100
Ajax	3965	1415	172	11	6.4	35.7
Brampton	18310	5500	684	20	2.9	30
Markham	4635	2075	338	13	3.8	44.8
Milton	11470	10270	134	70	52.2	89.5
Mississauga	31715	12420	969	113	11.7	39.2
Oakville	4220	775	134	7	5.2	18.4
Pickering	2620	135	338	1	0.3	5.2
Toronto	27715	5935	3743	34	0.9	21.4
Vaughan	4560	2490	288	7	2.4	54.6

Note: Caledon, Pickering and Bradford West Gwillimbury Municipalities are excluded in this table as there is only 1 DA in each Municipality

Bangladeshi Hotspots

Immigrants from Bangladesh are mainly found in East Toronto, adjacent to Scarborough, along Victoria Avenue and Danforth Avenue (refer to Figure 5.6). Unlike their counterparts, who are spread widely across the southern CMA, the settlement locations of Bangladeshi immigrants are confined to East Toronto, forming an enclave within the City of Toronto. This proves the literature of 'Bangla Town' discussed in Chapter 3. Exceptionally, there are few Bangladeshi settlements in Brampton.

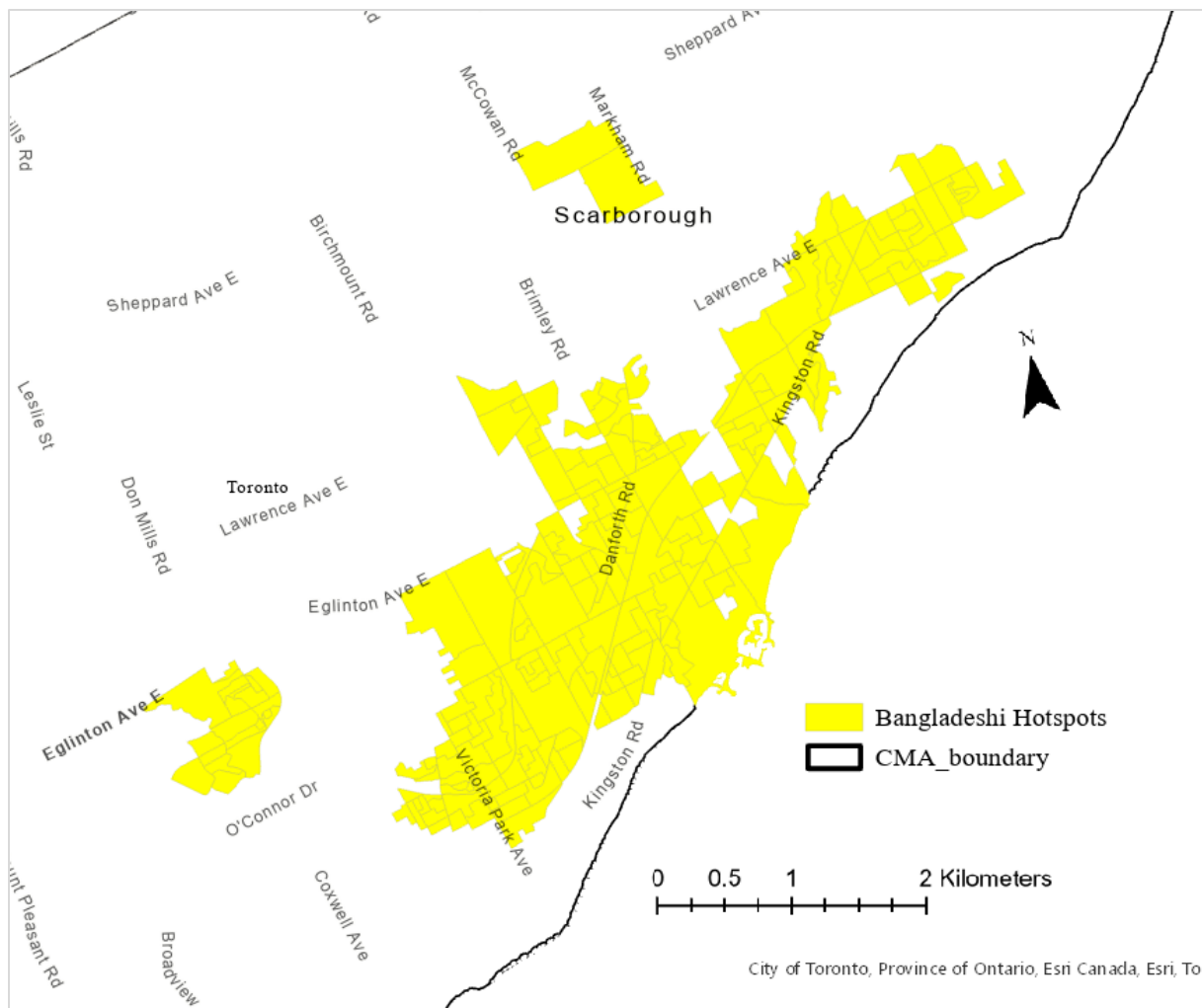


Figure 5.7 Hotspot Settlement Locations of Immigrants from Bangladesh

Almost 60% of Bangladeshi immigrants in the city of Toronto are located in 6% of the DAs on the eastern side, making "Danforth" a "Bangladesh Enclave." Most of them are Bengali speaking (See Table 5.4). There are many ethnic businesses in this area. Though it can be called an enclave, the Bangladeshi population is still very small compared to the city's population. Nevertheless, it is a favourite spot for Bangladeshis. More on the ethnic food businesses functioning here will be explored in the subsequent sections.

Table 5.5 Percentage of Bangladeshi immigrants in the Bangladesh hot spot DAs

Municipality	Total Bangladesh Immigrants in the City	Total Bangladesh Immigrants in the Hotspots	Total Number of DAs	Number of Hotspot DAs	Percentage of Hotspot DAs (%)	% of Bangladesh Immigrants
1	2	3	4	5	(5/4) x100	(3/2) x 100
Brampton	1235	35	684	2	0.3	3
Scarborough (Toronto)	21915	13770	3743	244	6.5	63

Sri Lankan Tamil's Hotspots

Sri Lankan immigrants, when compared to the other three ethnic groups under study, are widespread across the CMA. However, their settlements are heavily concentrated on the east side of the City of Toronto, particularly in the Scarborough area, and spread to the northern and eastern sides towards Markham, Pickering, and Ajax, respectively (refer to Figure 5.7). The Scarborough area in the city of Toronto is a Sri Lankan hotspot. Markham, Ajax, and Whitchurch-Stouffville are emerging hotspots, but their populations there are considerably lower compared to that of Toronto. Additionally, there are notable hotspots in Brampton, Pickering and Vaughan (see Table 5.5).

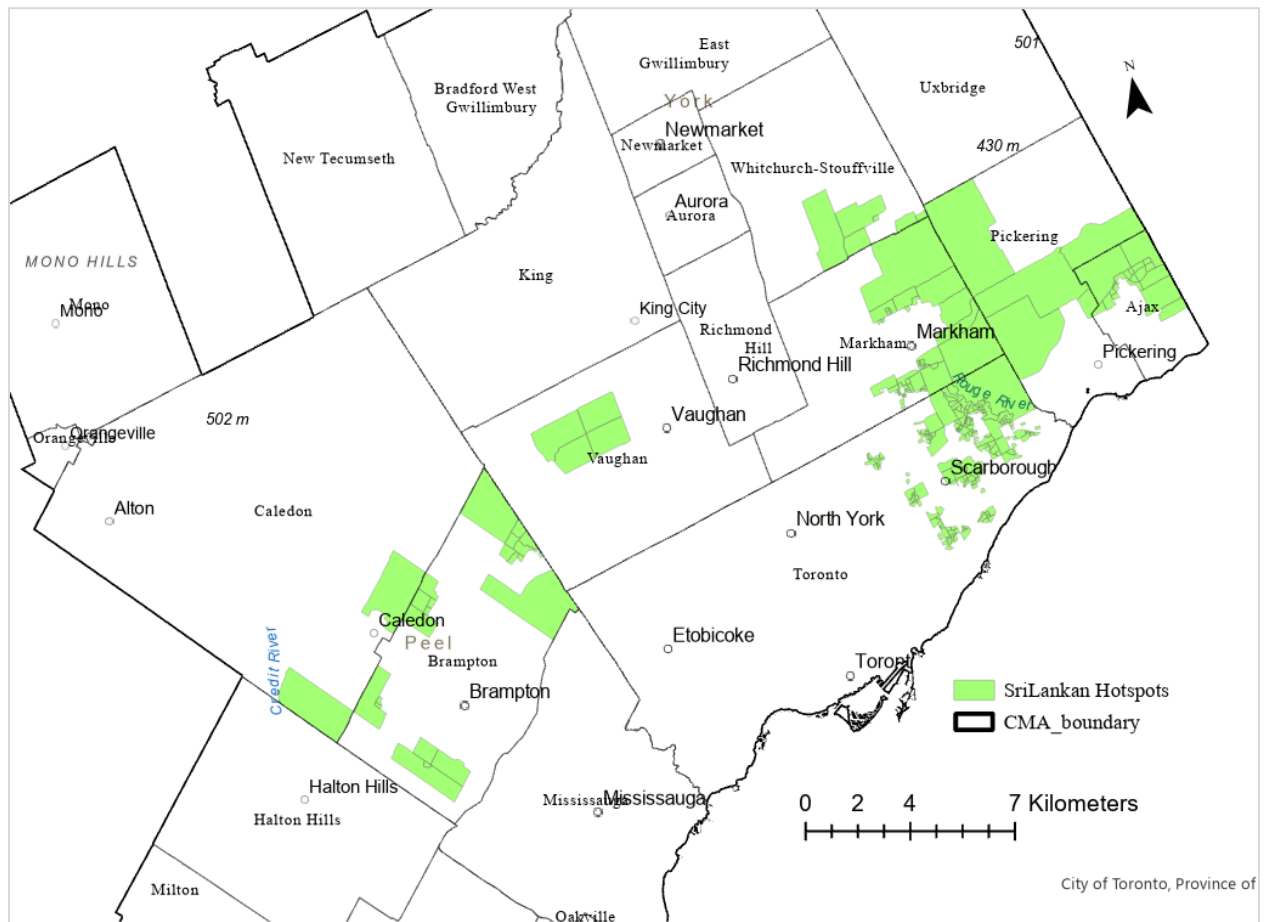


Figure 5.8 Hotspot Settlement Locations of Immigrants from Sri Lanka.

Table 5.8 Percentage of Sri Lankan immigrants in the Sri Lankan hot spot DAs

Municipality	Total Sri Lankan Immigrants in the Municipality	Total Sri Lankan Immigrants in the hotspots	Total Number of DAs	Number of Hotspot DAS	Percentage of Hotspot DAs (%)	% of Sri Lankan Immigrants
1	2	3	4	5	$(5/4) \times 100$	$(3/2) \times 100$
Markham	12245	7760	338	39	11.5	63.4
Ajax	5250	3305	172	18	10.5	63
Whitchurch-Stouffville	1520	635	44	6	13.6	41.8
Toronto	42935	17390	3743	157	4.2	40.5
Brampton	10570	3390	684	22	3.2	32.1
Pickering	2595	675	140	5	3.6	26
Vaughan	2855	380	288	4	1.4	13.3

5.2. Rent Analysis of South Asian Hotspots.

As identified in Chapter 3, there is a rental crisis in the CMA, with immigrants playing a key role in driving this housing demand. Higher rents are indeed a barrier for immigrants to integrate into society. To determine if there are more rented households in the identified hotspots, the percentage of rented households in the total population is mapped for all municipalities (see Figure 5.9). Nearly 48% of households in the City of Toronto are renters. Among the seven hotspot municipalities identified, Brampton and Mississauga have notable proportions of renter households, at 30% and 22%, respectively.

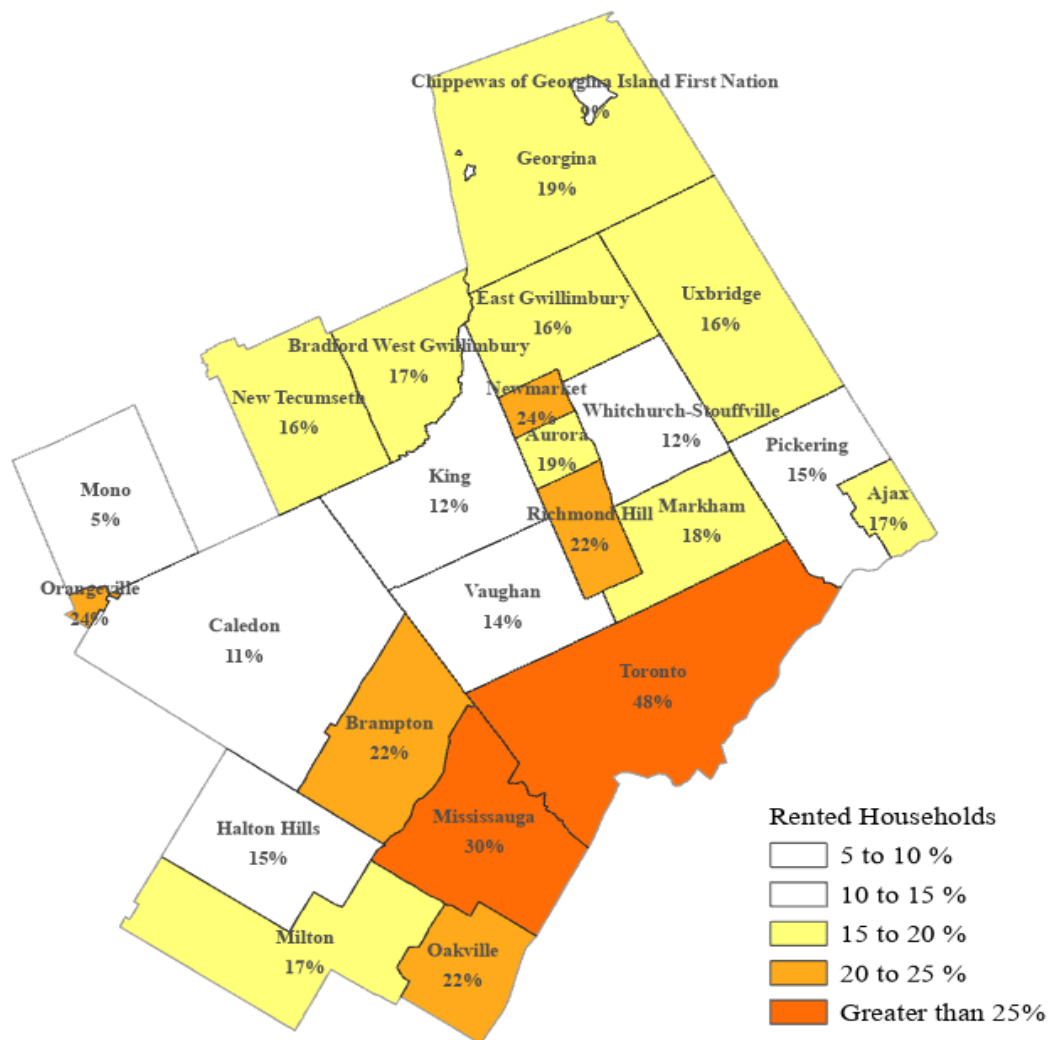


Figure 5.9 The proportion of rented households compared to the total number of households in each municipality.

We lack sufficient data to confirm whether these renters are South Asians. As discussed in previous sections, the South Asian population is concentrated in the southern part of the CMA, with only a small proportion of South Asian immigrants settling in the northern areas. Although South Asians are widespread in Toronto, their proportion is relatively low (6.7%) compared to the city's large population. However, of the 100,000 recent South Asian immigrants (2016-2021), 39% settled in the City of Toronto, followed by Brampton (32%) and Mississauga (16%) (see Figure 5.2). Analyzing rent for the entire CMA is beyond the scope of this research; therefore, we focus on the two municipalities with a pronounced South Asian concentration and a significant number of renters—Brampton, Mississauga and the City of Toronto.

Initially, the "average expenditure on rent" variable from the 2021 Census of Population was used to analyze rents. However, these rates were significantly below current market rates. Therefore, quarterly rental reports from the Toronto Regional Real Estate Board (TRREB) were examined to understand rental patterns and historical trends in these areas, shedding light on the rental crisis and the potential barriers for South Asians to integrate into society. TRREB released the latest rental report for the first quarter on April 30, 2024. To maintain consistency, Q1 reports from 2014 to 2024 were used. These reports are available on their website.

Brampton

Earlier in this chapter, Brampton was identified as an enclave with a majority Punjabi-speaking Indian population. To analyze the increase in rental rates, the average rent of bachelor, one-bedroom, and two-bedroom apartments was plotted from 2014 to 2024. Bachelor apartments saw a 54% increase, one-bedroom apartments saw a 68% increase, and two-bedroom apartments saw a 71% increase (see Figure 5.10). Across the entire CMA, the average rent of a one-bedroom apartment was \$1,573 in Q1 2014 and \$2,441 in Q1 2024, a 55% increase. However, in Brampton, one-bedroom apartments saw a 68% rise, which is 13% above the overall average.

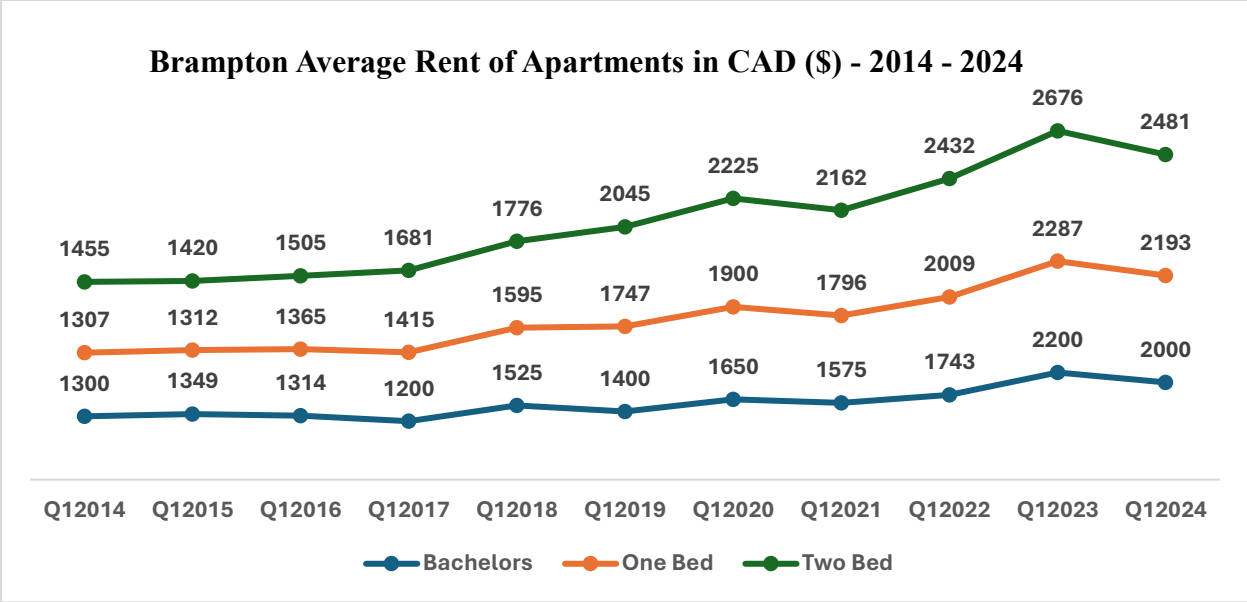


Figure 5.10 Average rent of Bachelors, One-Bed and Two-Bed Apartments in Brampton

Brampton is an enclave with a high level of "institutional completeness," offering many amenities that the community needs. This attracts newcomers from the same community who prefer to settle in locations where they do not have to search for necessities like groceries and places of worship.

Raymond Breton introduced the concept of "Institutional completeness" in his study, *Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants*, which refers to how well an ethnic community provides necessary services to its members. The study found that a high degree of institutional completeness is linked to factors like language differences and limited resources among group members, which can create a strong support network within the ethnic community. The degree of completeness was assessed by examining institutions like churches, welfare organizations, and newspapers.

No community can achieve complete institutional completeness, as they still rely on external institutions, such as schools. However, in some cases, ethnic groups establish private schools that cultivate their specific culture and traditions. In the case of Brampton, it exhibits a higher level of institutional completeness.

As analyzed in Breton's work, Punjabi communities in Brampton have their community-specific worship places (Gurudwaras), welfare organizations, and newspapers. They also have their own media in their language, including TV channels like Sur Sagar TV, radio channels like Rangla Punjab Radio, and newspapers in Punjabi such as Parvasi Newspaper and Ajitweekly. Additionally, there are a handful of private schools where Sikh principles and values (a religion followed by many Punjabi-speaking people) are taught. This is a condition where a group within a larger society reproduces major institutions—economy, politics, family, schooling—enabling the smaller group to have little social connection with the larger society (Drislane & Parkinson, 2016). It is also possible for immigrants to remain unintegrated. The ethnic-specific facilities Brampton offers make it a popular destination for temporary residents, like international students from India.

International students who want to be part of an established community with a status of institutional completeness often compromise their living conditions to stay within their community. Recently, the city's bylaw department discovered 25 students living illegally in a basement. Landlords operating these illegal rentals evade taxes and subject tenants to potentially hazardous living environments. These landlords find it financially lucrative to cram multiple tenants into cramped spaces, foregoing proper accommodations for profit. Despite initial efforts by the city council to regulate these practices, including mandatory registration for rental unit owners, opposition from landlords led to a temporary halt (Toronto Sun, February 1, 2024).

Following the recent discovery of 25 students living in overcrowded conditions, Brampton Mayor Brown intends to reintroduce measures to address the issue. The incident underscores the urgent need to ensure safe and compliant living conditions for all residents, particularly vulnerable populations such as international students. However, as long as students are "willing" to live in such hazardous conditions, illegal basement rentals will continue to exist. It is clear that temporary residents, like international students, prefer such enclaves and are willing to sacrifice their comfort to be with their friends and family. As discussed in Chapter 2, this reflects the "Settlement Phase," where the immediate physical and social environments, referred to as the "microsystem," determine their settlement locations.

However, as migration slows or other ethnicities move into these neighbourhoods, these communities and their institutions may eventually fade. But as Breton argued, these groups can constitute a public for ethnic organizations and create opportunities for social entrepreneurs. The organizations established by these entrepreneurs will maintain themselves as long as there is a public to use their services or as long as the ethnic identity of the organization remains important to the members of the ethnic group.

Mississauga

Mississauga was identified as a popular area for South Asians, with Indian and Pakistani hotspots. To analyze the increase in rental rates, the average rent of bachelor, one-bedroom, and two-bedroom apartments was plotted from 2014 to 2024. Bachelor apartments saw a 56% increase, one-bedroom apartments saw a 74% increase, and two-bedroom apartments saw a 67% increase (see Figure 5.11). This is 19% higher than the overall increase in the CMA, which was 55% for one-bedroom apartments.

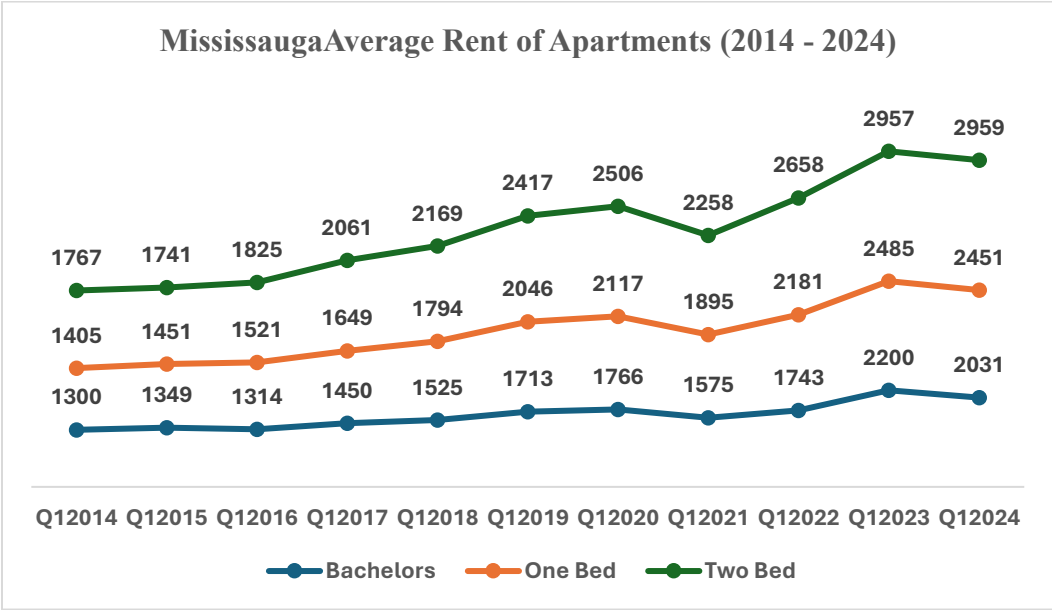


Figure 5.11 The average rent of Bachelor, One-Bed and Two-Bed Apartments in Mississauga

Mississauga has a mix of high-density residential areas and commercial spaces like warehouse, industrial or office space premises. Compared to Brampton, Mississauga is more

urbanized. While Brampton attracts international students with its cheaper accommodation, Mississauga attracts young working professionals due to its proximity to many companies.

Mississauga offers South Asian immigrants, particularly those from India, a pathway to selective acculturation, where they navigate a middle ground between mainstream society and their native culture. They may adopt specific elements of the dominant culture while retaining ties to their ethnic identity. Although Mississauga has a significant South Asian population, with 40% of visible minorities identifying as South Asian, it doesn't have as many ethnic-focused establishments and businesses as Brampton. Therefore, South Asians in Mississauga may choose to interact socially within their ethnic community, participating in community events or ethnic organizations, while also engaging with the broader society for work, education, or other essential activities. For example, South Asians celebrate a free festival called Mosaic, featuring South Asian art, culture, heritage, and cuisine at Mississauga's Celebration Square every year. However, they also learn the host country's language to succeed in the job market. On the other hand, immigrants with language barriers often prefer ethnic integration and choose to live in enclaves like Brampton, where they can thrive despite language barriers, as many people in local businesses there understand their language.

The City of Toronto

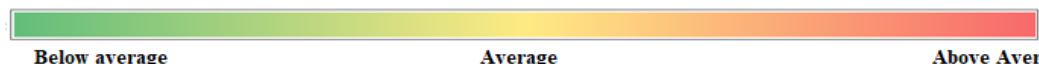
Unlike earlier settlements in Brampton or Milton, recent immigrants have not formed enclaves in the City of Toronto. Analyzing the City of Toronto as a whole is too broad; therefore, rental rates in the 35 TRREB regions within the City of Toronto were examined using a heat map representing the average rent of bachelor, one-bedroom, and two-bedroom apartments in these regions for the years 2014, 2019, and 2024 (refer to Table 5.7). The average rent is higher in Central Toronto compared to the East and West. Eastern Toronto, which used to have lower rents compared to Central Toronto, is also changing. Areas like Scarborough, particularly the Malvern region, have seen significant increases. However, there is no consistent pattern among the regions, as all districts are experiencing a rent crisis. Specifically, for one-bedroom apartments, except for some areas like Rouge Hills Drive District, this trend is not limited to South Asians; in general, recent immigrants are settling in Central Toronto. Easy access to the subway and buses may be a contributing factor.

Regarding South Asians, early immigrants primarily settled in eastern Toronto, with significant Sri Lankan and Bangladeshi communities. However, recent South Asian immigrants are increasingly settling in Central Toronto, in areas like Downtown (TC01), Church-Yonge (North York (TC14), and Don Mills (TC15), where we identified some notable hotspots where the average rent for one-bedroom apartments is above average. The rental rates are around the average values in Pakistani hotspot locations like Thorncliffe Park (TC11) and East York (TE03). However, these are older settlements, and the percentage of recent South Asian immigrants among the total South Asian immigrant population is low at 20% and 26%, respectively (refer to Table 5). The Sri Lankan hotspots Malvern (TE11), Agincourt (TE07), and Woburn (TE09) in eastern Toronto are below average in terms of rental values. These hotspots serve as enclaves for Sri Lankan immigrants. Similarly, the Bangladeshi hotspots identified in the previous section, like Birchmount Rd and St. Clair Avenue E (TE04) and Cliff Crest (TE08), are all below average, except for bachelor apartments. As discussed in the first section of this chapter, although 39% of recent South Asian immigrants settled in the City of Toronto, there has been a decline in the South Asian population in Toronto after 2016, with more South Asians moving to regional municipalities like Caledon, Ajax, and Pickering. This may be one of the reasons for the below-average rents in inner suburban areas like Scarborough. It also supports the "Invasion Succession Model" discussed earlier in this chapter, where preceding immigrant waves move outward and are succeeded by more recent immigrants. In ethnically rich inner suburbs like Scarborough, where established immigrants are moving outwards, neighborhoods like Malvern are experiencing lower demand among ethno-specific immigrants. Additionally, once an enclave becomes saturated, people from outside the community may be less interested in such locations. On the other hand, in more diverse areas not limited to a specific community, such as Central Toronto locations like North York, there is a high demand for rental units, which drives up rental prices.

Table 5.7 The Avg. Rent of bachelor, one-bedroom, and two-bedroom apartments in the 35 TRREB district of the city of Toronto for the years 2014, 2019, and 2024.

TRREB Dt	Example Community	Imm %	RI%	SA Imm %	SARI% in Total SA	Av.	Av. Rent Bache 2019	Av. Rent Bach 2024	Av. Rent 1BR 2014	Avg Rent 1BR 2019	Avg . Rent 1BR 2024	Avg Rent 2BR 2014	Avg Rent 2BR 2019	Avg Rent 2BR 2024
						Rent Bach2 014								
TC01	Downtown	38	9	5	54	1354	1831	2019	1750	2326	2545	2588	3304	3446
TC02	Annex, Casa Loma	29	4	1	43	1443	1981	2196	1978	2564	2590	4102	4684	4335
TC03	Forest Hill South	35	5	1	28	1364	1725	1878	1531	2072	2244	2500	2763	3268
TC04	Lawrence Park	33	5	1	24	1364	1829	1868	1656	2117	2374	2400	2990	4309
TC06	Bathurst	48	8	2	31	1364	1829	2015	1408	1900	2424	1913	2346	2875
TC07	Lansing Westgate	60	11	2	34	1364	1829	2015	1529	2126	2537	1955	2778	3199
TC08	Church- Yonge	41	9	7	41	1391	1828	2010	1698	2156	2380	2526	2957	3195
TC09	Rosedale-Moore Park	28	4	2	34	1500	1829	2015	1895	2393	3188	2811	3067	3700
TC10	Mount Pleasant	38	11	4	75	1295	1713	2020	1760	2143	2415	2577	2886	3029
TC11	Thorncliffe park	51	11	16	20	1364	1829	1800	1400	1866	2359	1730	2327	3174
TC12	York Mills	44	4	1	28	1364	1829	2015	1748	2329	2608	4417	3164	5208
TC13	Don Mills	50	8	6	23	1364	1829	2300	1442	2004	2345	1855	2534	3093
TC14	Willowdale East	61	12	4	55	1335	1771	2142	1544	2127	2554	2013	2710	3240
TC15	Henry Farm, Don Mills	60	10	6	41	1200	1767	2161	1450	2042	2543	1959	2525	3170
TE01	South Riverdale	28	2	1	12	972	1900	1917	1634	2340	2537	2316	3062	3066
TE02	The Beaches	24	3	2	17	1050	1550	1700	1650	2097	2276	2113	3067	2935
TE03	East York	37	5	5	26	972	1600	1925	1339	1800	2348	1933	2110	2996
TE04	Scarborough (Birchmount Rd & St. Clair E)	53	7	13	16	972	1600	1925	1315	1765	2337	1510	2170	2642
TE05	L'Amoreaux	63	7	7	14	972	1600	1925	1357	1893	2383	1672	2244	2790
TE06	Birch Cliff	36	5	11	18	972	1600	1925	1339	1980	2329	1608	2302	2889
TE07	Agincourt	65	7	10	15	972	1600	1925	1292	1759	2272	1506	2092	2761
TE08	Cliff crest	49	7	14	15	972	1600	1925	1248	1619	2320	1344	2016	2973
TE09	Woburn	55	8	21	18	972	1617	2008	1298	1934	2334	1605	2365	2899
TE10	Rouge Hills Drive	46	3	13	5	953	1600	1925	1339	1250	2037	1450	1938	2650
TE11	Malvern	59	5	24	8	972	1600	1925	1155	1610	2387	1388	1953	2669
TW01	High Park	32	5	4	31	1347	1600	2200	1501	2234	2421	2002	3257	3088
TW02	Junction Area	33	3	1	26	1347	1667	1775	1528	2068	2350	2038	3084	3340
TW03	Eglinton West	46	4	1	6	1347	1667	1723	1175	1975	2361	1961	2300	2650
TW04	Weston	51	7	2	17	1347	1700	1725	1304	1879	2293	1298	2316	2791
TW05	Glenfield -Jane Heights	56	8	5	17	1347	1667	1850	1463	1874	2280	1555	2209	2804
TW06	Mimico	38	6	4	41	1347	1600	2100	1532	2069	2528	2231	2891	3372
TW07	Stonewgate - Queensway	35	18	9	11	1347	1667	1919	2600	2019	2429	1961	2100	2886
TW08	Islington	41	5	4	33	1347	1800	2000	1396	1967	2399	1774	2394	2928
TW09	Etobicoke	48	6	5	15	1347	1667	1919	1454	1825	2411	1388	2436	3000
TW10	West Humber - Rexdale	56	8	16	18	1347	1667	1919	1281	1871	2340	1414	2098	2711

Average Rent



Below average

Average

Above Average

* TC represents Toronto Central, TE -Toronto East and TW- Toronto West

*When Average Rent is not available for any district the average of the region is taken.

* The example community doesn't represent the whole district; one community name is given to identify the area.

Regarding other hotspot municipalities like Caledon or Milton, the number of rental units is comparatively low, with many residents likely being homeowners. Immigrants who bring some

capital can afford to buy homes by making a down payment. In suburbs like Caledon, where a detached house can be purchased for under \$1 million, they can make monthly mortgage payments as low as \$4,500. However, if they buy a detached house in the city center, which costs around \$1.5 to \$2 million, their minimum monthly mortgage payment would be no less than \$6,000 (analyzed using market rates available on Strata.ca, assuming a 20% down payment, 5 Year variable interest rate of 5.84%, and an amortization period of 25 years). As a result, suburban municipalities are popular among immigrants who prefer detached houses. Yahoo Finance identifies the most competitive markets in Ontario, where homes sell rapidly, including London, Ajax, Oshawa, Newmarket, Pickering, Milton, and Orangeville ([Yahoo Finance, Financial Post, July 25, 2023](#)). On the other hand, for those who prefer apartments, the city offers affordable options below \$1 million. If they have the initial capital for the down payment, they can manage these payments; otherwise, it may not be feasible.

It is also evident that younger South Asians, particularly international students from India, are more impacted by the rental crisis, leading them to select unsafe living conditions. Additionally, immigrants who stick to enclaves tend to experience "Ethnic Assimilation" and have less interaction with the mainstream community. In contrast, South Asians who prefer to integrate into society choose an upward trajectory toward greater socio-economic integration, as discussed in Chapter 2. These recent immigrants who settle in areas like central Toronto integrate more easily than their counterparts.

5.3. Correlating South Asian Settlement Patterns and Food Retail Dynamics

Mapping ethnic groceries and finding correlations with ethnic settlement locations can provide valuable insights into various social, economic, and cultural dynamics within a community. Hence, the locations of South Asian grocery stores, restaurants, and other take-out options available in the Toronto CMA are web-scraped from OpenStreetMap and Google Maps and overlaid alongside the South Asian hotspots (See Figure 5.12). Nearly 191 grocery stores and 600 restaurants were identified (List attached in Appendix)

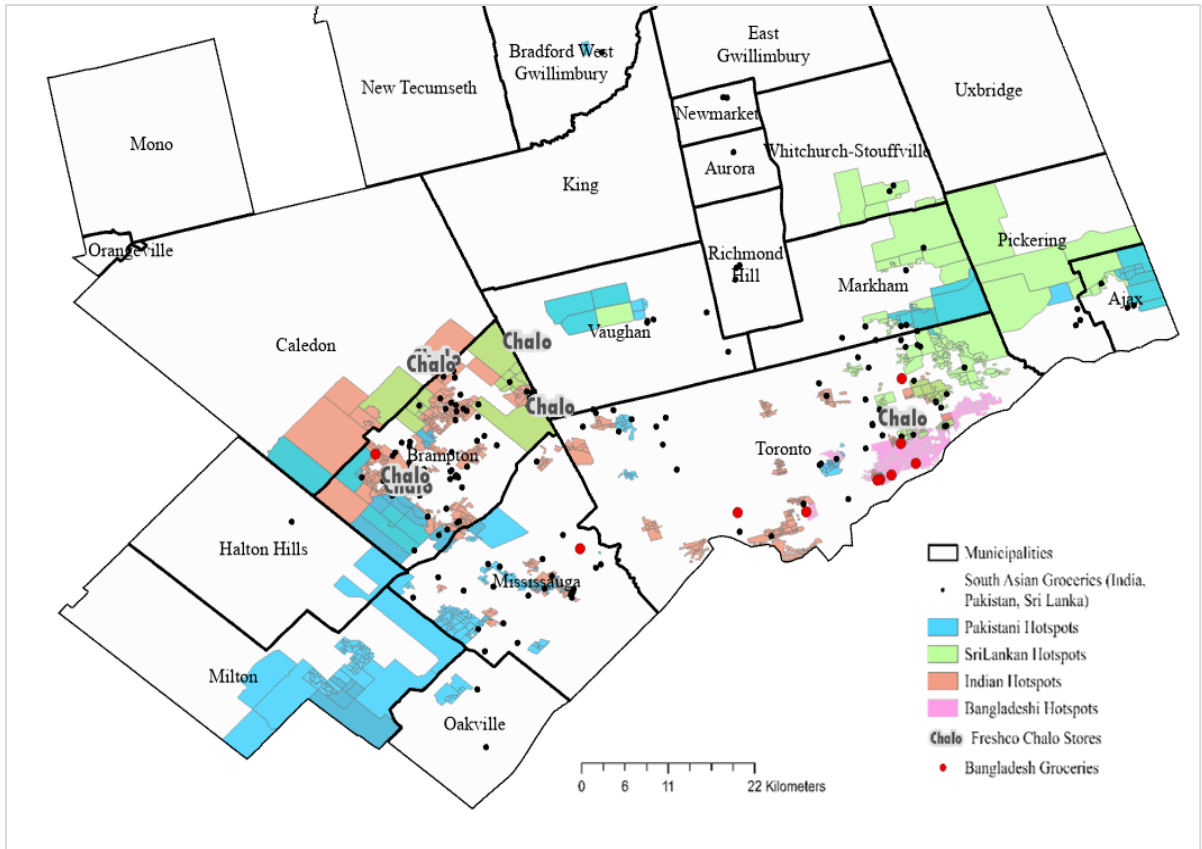


Figure 5.12 South Asian Grocery stores in the CMA

Grocery Stores

Among the four ethnic groups taken for the study, Pakistani groceries are often labelled as Indian and Pakistani. Likewise, Sri Lankan groceries are labelled as Tamil and South Indian, as they share similarities in their cooking styles and most of them are in Scarborough. Hence Sri Lankan and Pakistani grocery stores are also labelled as Indian. Most of the Indian stores are concentrated in the Brampton municipality which is an Indian enclave. Bangladeshi groceries are more specific, selling vegetables and fish some of which are unique to Bangla cuisine. There are around ten stores in the CMA, primarily in Scarborough which is a Bangladeshi hotspot (Refer to Table 5.8). Like the Bangladeshi community, Sri Lankans have specific groceries and vegetables. These shops primarily serve their communities and are often located in ethnic strip malls in Sri Lankan hotspots, which are widespread in both Scarborough and Brampton.

Table 5.8 Distribution of South Asian Grocery stores by ethnicity in the Toronto CMA

Ethnicity	Number of Grocery Stores
Bangladesh	10
Freshco Chalo	7
Indian	113
Pakistan	29
Sri Lankan	32
Total	191

Unlike other ethnic groups such as the Chinese and Korean communities in the CMA, where large-sized grocery retailers like T&T Supermarket (Owned by Loblaws) and Galleria serve their needs, South Asian groceries are typically small or mid-sized grocers serving their communities. However, some mid-sized grocers operate chains of stores, such as Panchavati and Subzi Mandi. Similarly, "Iqbal Foods," a mid-sized Indian/Pakistani grocery store with a branch in North York, operates 24/7 because of the high demand in that area, where most customers are recent immigrants.

South Asians also rely on mainstream grocers for staple items like cheese or drinks. Mainstream retailers, in turn, attract ethnic buyers by including South Asian or Indian aisles in their supermarkets. A large collection of Indian groceries can be found in Walmart and No Frills. Sobey's took the lead by opening its first South Asian-focused FreshCo store in August 2015 in Brampton. Branded as Chalo FreshCo (chalo meaning "let's go" in Indian languages like Punjabi, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, and Bengali), it is billed as the first grocery store in Canada for "desis." There are now seven Chalo FreshCo stores in the CMA, with six in the Brampton area and one in Scarborough (see Figure 5.12).

"Whether you're looking for bhindi (Hindi word for Okra) and basmati, or apples and cheese, Chalo! FreshCo is your one-stop shop where you can find everything on your grocery list at low prices," is the statement on their website. We can see a wide variety of South Asian groceries in their flyer. (See Figure 5.13) They not only target South Asians but also offer ethno-specific groceries for Caribbean, Middle Eastern, and European ethnic groups. South Asians prefer halal meat. Although packaged meats are available, reflecting their beliefs, halal meat shops and Star Fish Caribbean Market counters are available inside Chalo stores (See Figure 5.14). This is

evidence of the CMA’s changing food landscape. As the current cohorts are diverse, Retailers are adopting such ethno-specific strategies to stay ahead in the competitive market.



Figure 5.13 Chalo FreshCo Flyer (July 2024)



Figure 5.14 Halal Meat Shop and Starfish Caribbean Market inside the Chalo Freshco (Mississauga & Financial)

In general, these grocers cannot establish a large market when located outside their hotspots; thus, most can be found in South Asian-rich neighborhoods. However these ethnic grocers pave the way for economic integration of ethnic communities and their participation in local economies. Also, the locations can serve as social hubs where members of the community gather, reinforcing community bonds and cultural identity. As South Asians expand into the northern CMA, where there are only a few shops, there is significant market potential to attract ethnic buyers. Big retailers that adopt retail models like Chalo FreshCo can attract more regional groups.

Restaurants

Compared to grocery stores, South Asian restaurants are more established in the CMA. They range from lavish upscale restaurants to fast-food counters, with nearly 600 restaurants, including online delivery services, in the CMA.

According to [Snappy](#), a service company providing ordering dashboards and website marketing, research on Toronto restaurants involved analyzing 9,378 restaurants in the city of Toronto using data from Google Maps. As per the research, the most popular restaurant categories in Toronto include coffee shops, hamburgers, Indian, Mexican, pizza, fast food, Greek, bubble tea, Chinese, and others. Among the various cuisine options throughout Toronto, Chinese cuisine has the highest number of categorized restaurants with 308. This is followed by Indian (278), Italian (231), Japanese (144), Mexican (139), Korean (137), and Thai (106) restaurants (Snappy, 2023). The high number of Indian restaurants in the city of Toronto indicates the significant presence and demand for Indian cuisine (see Figure 5.15). There are nearly 600 restaurants in the CMA including the Takeout restaurants (See Table 5.9).

Table 5.9 Distribution of South Asian Restaurants by National Groups in the Toronto CMA

Ethnicity	Type	Number of Restaurants
Bangladesh	Bangladeshi Dine In	9
	Bangladeshi Takeout	1
	Total	10
Indian	Indian Dine In	380
	Indian Fast Food	21
	Indian Food court	9
	Indian Takeout	28
	Total	438
Pakistan	Pakistani Dine in	80
	Pakistani Fast food	1
	Pakistani Takeout	15
	Total	96
Sri Lanka	Sri Lankan Dine in	8
	Sri Lankan Takeout	46
	Sri Lankan	54
	Grand Total	598

Source: Web scraped from Google Maps, Open Street Maps, Uber Eats & Doordash

There are also many home-based food delivery services that cater to the needs of South Asians using Facebook or WhatsApp. These small caterers are often not listed on Google Maps, making them difficult to document. While Indian restaurants are widespread, other ethnic outlets are more concentrated in the hotspot municipalities identified (refer to Table 5.10). Additionally, some restaurants are scattered across Newmarket, Whitchurch-Stouffville, Aurora, Caledon, and Halton Hills.

Table 5.10 Distribution of South Asian Restaurants/takeouts in the Hotspot Municipalities

Municipality	Indian	Pakistani	Sri Lankan	Bangladesh	Total
City of Toronto	195	29	24	10	258
Mississauga	80	29	9	0	118
Brampton	59	7	7	0	73
Vaughan	23	6	1	0	30
Milton	23	6	1	0	30
Markham	15	3	7	0	25
Oakville	14	2	0	0	16
Ajax	7	5	3	0	15
Pickering	5	5	0	0	10

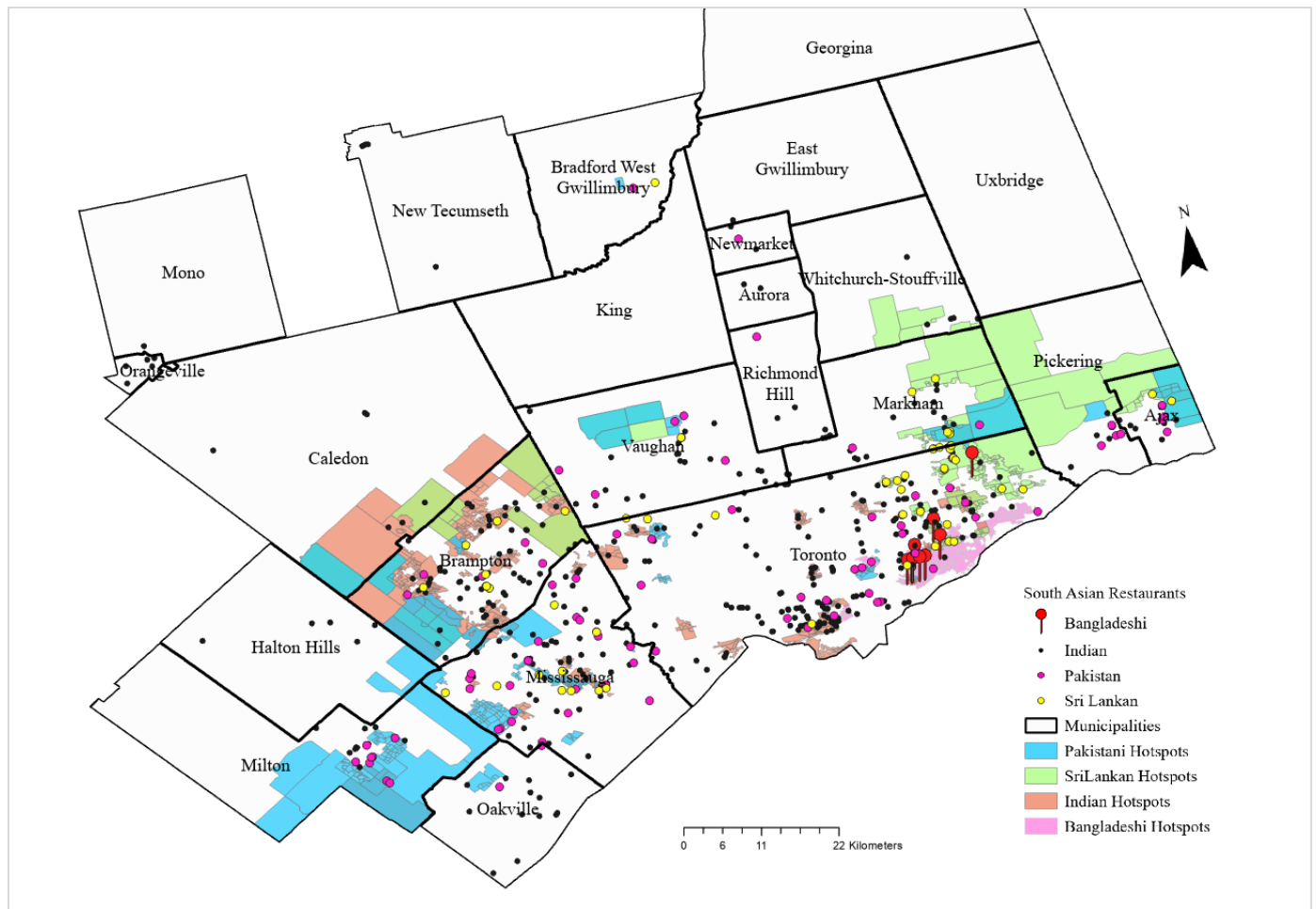


Figure 5.15 South Asian restaurants and takeouts in the Toronto CMA

While Indian and Pakistani groceries have similarities, their cuisine differs, resulting in many Pakistani restaurants offering distinct authentic dishes. These restaurants are widespread in Pakistani hotspots. Indian restaurants are more established, even in areas with few or no Indians in the neighbourhood. There are many modern and upscale restaurants like Curryish Tavern. Moreover, there are a variety of restaurants like The Kettle and Gully, which serve Indo-Canadian fusion dishes such as Indian-style poutine. Fusion restaurants like Aroma Indian Bistro (Indo-Caribbean) and Matagali Restaurant (Indo-Thai) also add to the diversity.

Sri Lankan restaurants are typically counter-served takeout models, with only a few dine-in options serving their community. Like their grocery counterparts, Bangladeshi restaurants are very specific to their neighbourhoods, offering ethnic-specific dishes. Though there are only a few, most are dine-in establishments with basic contemporary-style seating.

In general, restaurants outnumber grocery stores. This reflects that South Asians rely on ethnic grocers only for some specific items, while depending on mainstream grocery stores for their broader needs. Additionally, many online delivery options cater to their preferences.

Though there is evident economic integration in food retailing, it mostly occurs on a small scale, with local businesses either serving in ethnic strip malls or operating mid-sized stores that attract South Asians in the neighbourhood. However, these stores often struggle to compete with mainstream retailers.

Despite their smaller scale of participation in the retail market, these businesses provide opportunities for economic establishment and help immigrants integrate into the local market. For immigrants, these outlets offer a chance to enjoy and preserve their ethnic cuisine. This phenomenon aligns with what we refer to as the ‘Establishment Phase’ in Chapter 2, where certain immigrants navigate psychological and social dynamics to establish themselves in a new society while maintaining their cultural ties.

5.4. South Asian participation and representation in Canada's political realm

As discussed in earlier chapters, the ultimate phase of immigrant assimilation in a host society involves increasing political participation. Immigrants, driven by the desire to voice their concerns on specific matters, often become actively involved in political activities. To gauge the level of participation of South Asians in Canadian politics within the Toronto CMA, the candidate lists from the 2021 federal election, the 2022 provincial election, and the 2022 municipal elections were analyzed.

In 2021, within the Toronto CMA, 50 South Asian candidates ran for the federal election, including 15 Indian, 23 Pakistani, 4 Sri Lankan, and 7 Bangladeshi candidates. Of these, 6 Indian and 3 Pakistani candidates were elected (refer to Table 5.11 and Figure 5.16). The overall success rate was only 18%. Bangladeshi and Sri Lankan candidates did not get elected.

Table 3 Federal Election 2021: South Asian Candidates in Toronto's CMA.

Municipality	South Asian	IN	PK	LK	BD	Elected	Remarks	Riding
Ajax	1	0	1	0	0	0		
Brampton	10	6	2	0	1	4	3 IN 1 PK	Brampton Centre; Brampton East, Brampton West, Brampton South
Markham	4	0	3	0	1	0		
Milton	2	0	2	0	0	0		
Mississauga	9	4	4	1	0	2	1 IN 1 PK	Mississauga Erin Mills; Mississauga Malton
Oakville	1	1	0	0	0	1	1 IN	Oakville
Toronto	22	4	10	3	5	2	1 IN 1 PK	Parkdale High Park (IN); Scarborough Centre (PK)
Vaughan	1	0	1	0	0	0		
Total	50	15	23	5	7	9		

It can be observed that South Asian electoral candidates predominantly ran in eight municipalities with significant South Asian populations: Ajax, Brampton, Markham, Milton, Mississauga, Oakville, Toronto, and Vaughan. Many Indian candidates reside in Brampton and Mississauga. After analyzing the roots of the candidates, it is clear they either came to Canada at an early age, often under 10 years old, and received their major education here, or were born in Canada. Besides their ancestral origin, some common qualities among these candidates are their community engagement, immigrant experience, dedication to public service, participation in activities that foster a sense of community and belonging among immigrants, and strong educational backgrounds, all of which have played a crucial role in their electoral success (See Table 5.12.).

Table 5.12 Federal Election 2021: South Asian Elected Candidates in Toronto's CMA.

MP Name	Riding	Origin	Age When immigrated	Community Contributions & Roles
The Hon'ble Shafqat Ali	Brampton Centre	Pakistan	10	Formed youth sports club, organized festivals, and fundraisers, and supported community organizations.
The Hon'ble Anita Anand	President of the Treasury Board	India	born and raised in rural Nova Scotia, she moved to Ontario in 1985.	Elected at Oakville. She has previously served as Minister of National Defence and as Minister of Public Services and Procurement. served on the Board of Directors of the Lighthouse Program for Grieving Children, the Oakville Hospital Foundation.
The Hon'ble Iqra Khalid	Mississauga—Erin Mills	Pakistan	8	She is a champion for women's issues, access to justice, and human rights in Canada and globally.
The Hon'ble Iqwinder Gaheer	Mississauga—Malton, Ontario	India	6	Iqwinder received his Juris Doctor from Harvard Law School in 2019. Passionate about the rights of disparate groups
The Hon'ble Sonia Sidhu	Brampton South	India	Early 20s	Moved to be with husband and arrived in Winnipeg in 1992.
The Hon'ble Salma Zahid	Scarborough Centre	Pakistan	Not known	Advocated for racialized Canadians and visible minority women, improved the immigration system, initiated Multifaith Council.
The Hon'ble Maninder Sidhu	Brampton East	India	Not known	Elected in 2019, re-elected in 2021, resides in Brampton with family for more than 30 years.
The Hon'ble Arif Virani	Parkdale—High Park, Ontario	Uganda/ India	Not Known	Came as a Refugee. Multilingual Ismaili Muslim, family supported by YMCA, established in Toronto.
The Hon'ble Kamal Khera	Brampton West	India	(not specified)	Minister of Diversity, Inclusion, and Persons with Disabilities since 2023, elected at age 26, one of the youngest women ever elected to Parliament.

Additionally, the elected candidates are long-time residents of their constituencies. To be known and successful at a federal level, these candidates have a long history of dedication. These municipalities, which are cultural and social hubs for the South Asian community, not only reflect the demographic composition but also significantly influence the political landscape, ensuring that the interests of this vibrant community are represented.

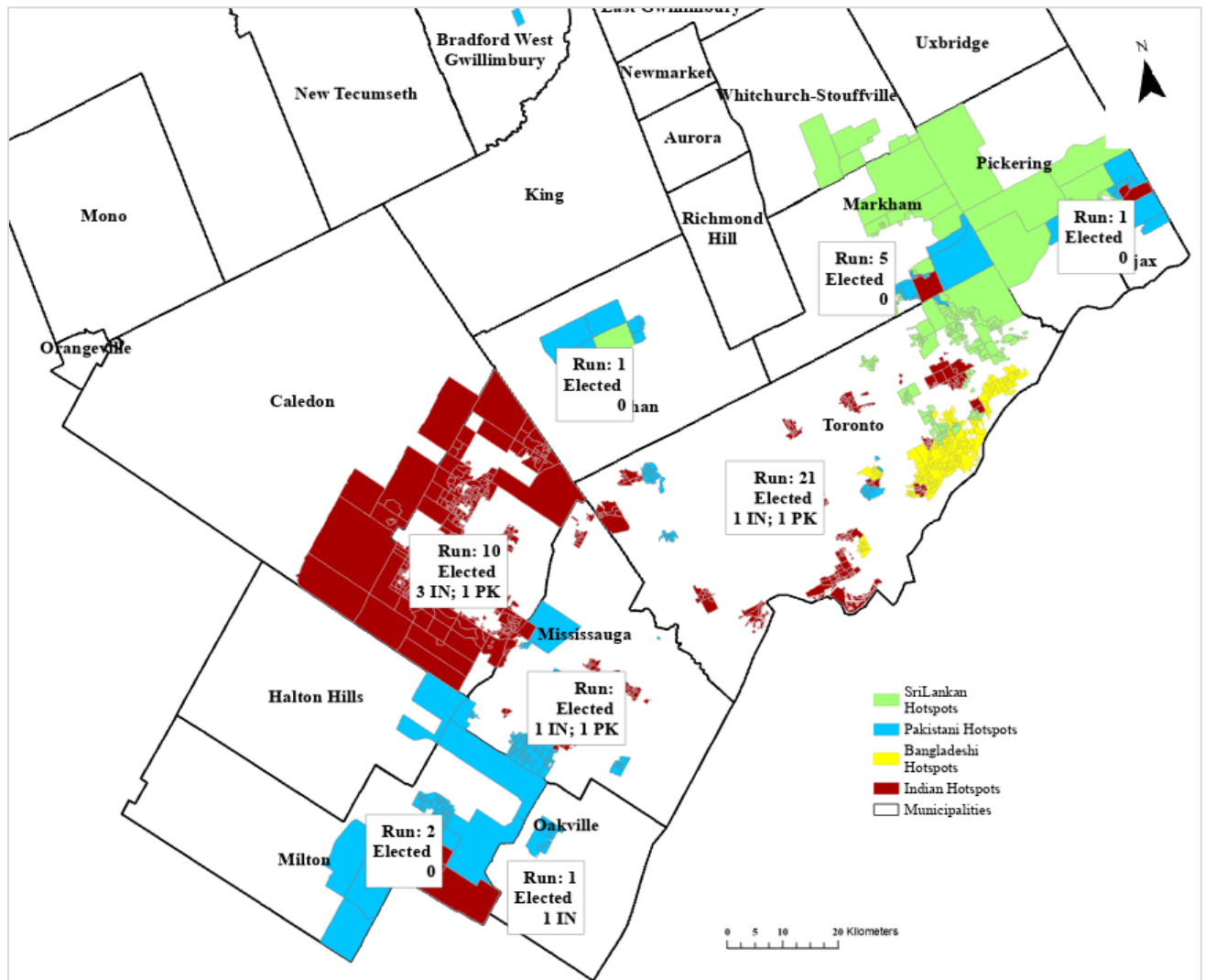


Figure 5.16 2021 Federal Election: South Asian Candidates in Toronto's CMA.

In the 2022 provincial election, 46 South Asian candidates ran in the Toronto CMA, and 10 were elected (refer to Table 5.13 and Figure 5.17), with a success rate of 25%. Understandably, ethnic politicians are better known at the provincial than at the national level. As identified in the first section of this chapter, Brampton and Milton are hotspots for Indian and Pakistani communities, respectively, and where the respective ethnic candidates won. In Mississauga, which has an equal strength of Indian and Pakistani populations, the results were mixed. It is also notable that Sri Lankan candidate Vijay Thanigasalam was elected in Scarborough-Rouge Park, where Sri Lankan immigrants are more concentrated, and Doly Begum was elected in Scarborough

Southwest, where Bangladeshi communities are prominent. She is the first Bangladeshi Canadian to be elected to a legislative body in Canada.

Table 5.13 Ontario Provincial Election: South Asian Candidates in Toronto's CMA.

Municipality	South Asian Candidates	IN	PK	LK	BD	Elected	Riding
Ajax	1		1			0	
Brampton	12	8	2		2	3	Brampton East, Brampton West, Brampton South- 3(IN)
Markham	2		1	1		0	
Milton	3	1	2			1	Milton (IN)
Mississauga	12	2	8	1	1	3	Mississauga East—Cooksville (PK); Mississauga—Malton (IN); Mississauga—Streetsville (IN)
Oakville	1				1	0	
Pickering	1		1			0	
Toronto	14	3	7	2	2	3	Don Valley East (IN); Scarborough SW(BG); Scarborough-Rouge Park (LK)
Total	46	13	23	4	6	10	

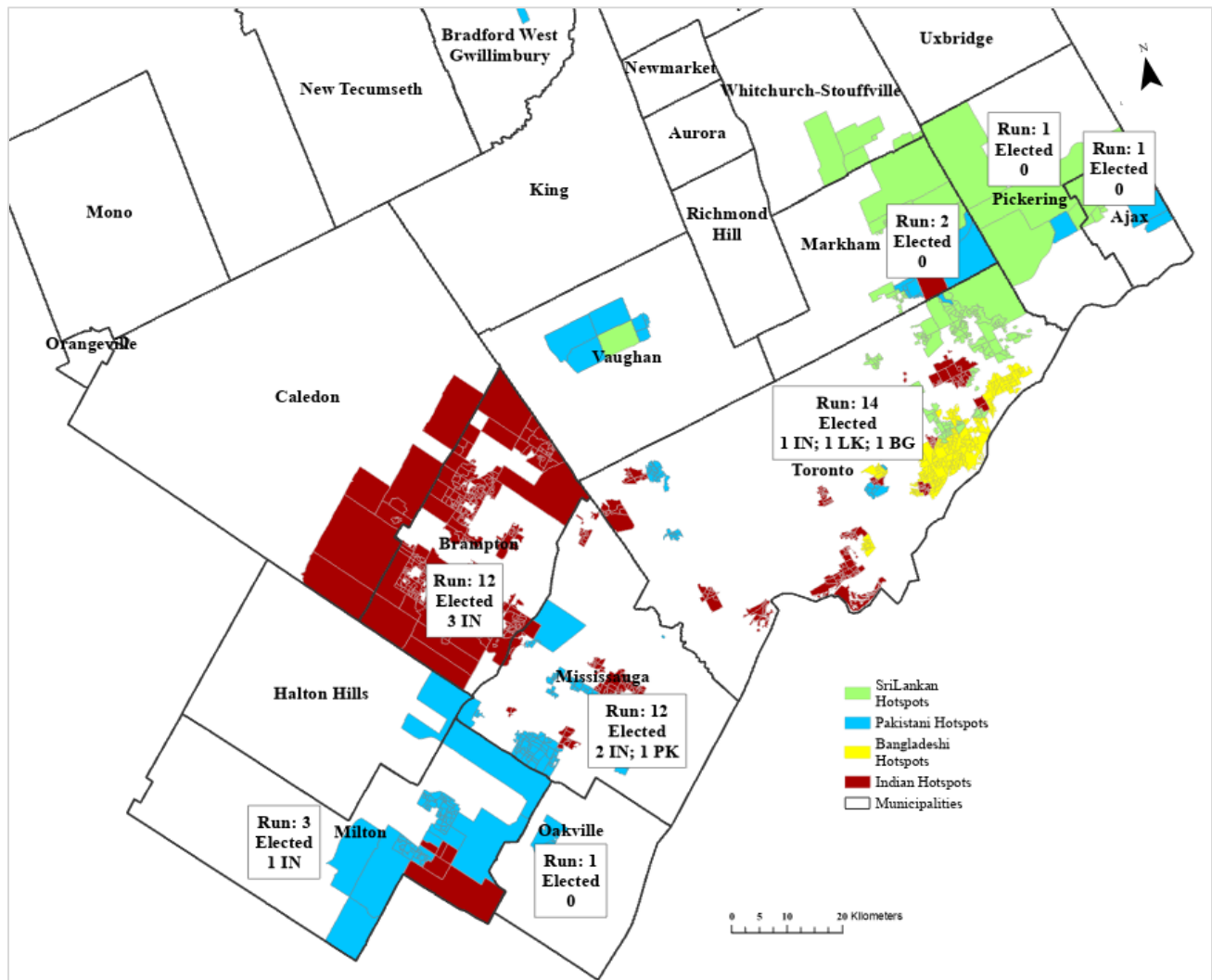


Figure 5.17 2022 Ontario Provincial Election: South Asian Candidates in Toronto CMA.

In 2022, within the Toronto CMA, 146 South Asian candidates ran for the municipal election, including 61 Indians, 56 Pakistanis, 16 Sri Lankans, and 13 Bangladeshis. Of these, only 10 candidates were elected, which is merely a 7.5% success rate (refer to Table 5.14 and Figure 5.18). Unlike the federal and provincial levels, where the candidates are party-nominated and only one per riding, any individual can register as a candidate in the municipal elections. As the candidates are not party-based in the municipal elections, the participation rate is higher in the municipal elections than at the provincial or federal level.

Table 5.14. 2022 Municipal Election: South Asian Candidates in Toronto's CMA.

Municipality	SA	IN	LK	PK	BD	Elected	Remarks	Riding/Council
Ajax	8	1	2	5	0	0		
Brampton	40	29	1	8	2	3	IN	Ward 9 & 10 (Regional Council); Ward 2 & 6 (City council); Ward 9 & 10 (City Council)
Caledon	5	5	0	0	0	0		
Toronto	22	5	5	6	6	1	PK	Toronto & East York (Council)
Markham	10	5	4	1	0	1	LK	Ward 7 (Councillor)
Milton	17	3	1	13	0	3	PK	Ward 3 (Local Councillor) Ward 4 (South-West; Regional Councillor); Ward 3 (South-East; Regional Councillor)
Mississauga	22	7	1	12	2	1	LK	Ward 7 (Council)
Oakville	8	3	0	5	0	1	IN	Ward 7 (Town and Regional Council)
Pickering	5	0	2	2	1	1	PK	Ward 3 (City Councillor)
Richmond Hill	3	0	0	1	2	0		
Vaughan	5	3	0	2	0	0		
Whitchurch- Stouffville	1	0	0	1	0	0		
Total	146	61	16	56	13	11		

Pakistani-origin candidates outperformed in the Milton area, where we identified many Pakistani hotspots. It is clear that at the municipal level, the community, with ethnic support, is favourable and has received full support in the election. The same applies to the Sri Lankan candidates elected in Markham and the Indian candidates in the Brampton municipalities, which also have their ethnic hotspots.



Figure 5.18 Municipal Election: South Asian Candidates in Toronto CMA.

After analyzing the participation of South Asian candidates in the CMA in federal, provincial, and municipal elections, it is clear that they feel a sense of belonging in their neighbourhoods and want to advocate for their communities. In general, at the federal and provincial elections, candidates who are known for their services beyond their community are recognized and receive support from their neighbourhoods. Also, they were either born in Canada or immigrated at an early age and had their education here. This may be one of the reasons for their success, as they adapt to Canadian culture and may be bilingual. It is also evident that Indian and Pakistani-origin candidates are more actively involved in federal-level politics than Sri Lankan and Bangladeshi candidates, but the latter is successful in their ethnic neighbourhoods.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Recommendations.

In conclusion, this research provides an in-depth analysis of the varied levels of integration among South Asian immigrants in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA), with a particular focus on four ethnic groups: Indians, Pakistanis, Sri Lankans, and Bangladeshis. The findings reveal that Indian and Pakistani immigrants exhibit higher levels of integration compared to Sri Lankan and Bangladeshi immigrants, who show a stronger inclination to maintain their ethnic identity. However, there is evidence of segregation among Indian immigrants, where they live in enclaves that are based on sub-ethnic groups.

Settlement patterns across the CMA indicate the formation of distinct ethnic enclaves. Brampton has emerged as an enclave for Indian immigrants, particularly Punjabi-speaking individuals, while Milton serves as an enclave for Pakistani immigrants. Sri Lankan immigrants are primarily concentrated in Scarborough and Markham, with Scarborough also being a significant hub for Bangladeshi immigrants, especially around Victoria Park Avenue and Danforth. Sri Lankan and Bangladeshi immigrants tend to live in selected neighbourhoods within their enclaves, forming 'Ethnoburbs', where they do business within their own networks. They establish community-specific establishments, such as grocery stores and restaurants, particularly in strip malls. This pattern reflects their inclination to maintain cultural ties and a distinct ethnic identity. Though there are segregations among the Sri Lankan and Bangladeshi immigrants they are functionally integrated co-ethnically. Pakistani immigrants, while dispersed, often settle in patterns similar to those of Indian immigrants, particularly in Mississauga and Brampton. The cultural and culinary similarities between these two groups may explain their overlapping settlement patterns, as evidenced by the prevalence of grocery stores and restaurants that cater to both Indian and Pakistani communities. Despite these enclave formations and segregations, there is also evidence of dispersion, particularly among recent Indian immigrants who are scattered throughout the CMA.

The research also highlights a significant increase in the political participation of South Asians within the Toronto CMA. In the 2011 Federal elections, only 10 candidates of South Asian origin ran for election, with none being elected, and most of them were concentrated in Brampton, with a few in Mississauga and Oakville. However, by the 2021 Federal elections, the number of South Asian candidates had increased to 50, with 9 being elected. This period also saw the

emergence of Sri Lankan and Bangladeshi politicians, along with increased participation at the provincial and municipal levels, indicating a higher level of integration among South Asians and the growing inclusivity within political institutions and policy-making processes.

The study effectively addresses its research questions, confirming that while there are no unusual patterns in rental rates directly tied to ethnicity, the demand for housing in ethnic neighbourhoods can indirectly influence rent, particularly affecting younger South Asians, such as international students. The study also identifies emerging and disappearing enclaves, with Little India on Gerrard Street no longer serving as an enclave, while new enclaves are forming in Brampton for Indians, Scarborough for Sri Lankans and Bangladeshis, and Milton for Pakistani immigrants. Also, there is evidence of the “Invasion Succession” model where the recent immigrants settling in the city centre in regions like central Toronto and the predecessors are moving to the regional suburbs like Milton and Pickering. Additionally, the food landscape of the CMA is evolving in response to the demands of South Asian immigrants, with the proliferation of ethnic grocery stores and restaurants altering the region's culinary offerings. The participation of South Asian immigrants and their descendants in the Canadian political landscape is also notable, with Indian and Pakistani immigrants showing advanced levels of engagement at federal, provincial, and municipal levels, while Sri Lankan and Bangladeshi immigrants are more active at provincial and municipal levels. The findings from this research are tabulated for the four ethnic groups (refer to Table 6.1).

Drawing on concepts from cultural anthropology, this research highlights how shared cultural systems influence, and are influenced by, the physical and social environments of immigrant communities. The presence of ethnic food outlets not only meets the practical needs of these communities but also reinforces social ties and cultural continuity, playing a critical role in the broader processes of cultural retention and adaptation within the Toronto CMA.

In a nutshell, South Asians are making progress in their integration into the host society within the Toronto CMA. However, there are sub-ethnic segregations based on religion and language. Despite these divisions, they are integrated within their own ethnic communities and feel that Canada is their home. These findings offer a foundation for devising policies that preserve ethnic identities while promoting inclusivity. As discussed in Chapter 3, while existing literature often focuses on individual South Asian ethnic groups, this study addresses a critical gap by

examining the integration of South Asians as a collective, through various lenses, including settlement, food, and politics. This holistic approach contributes to a deeper understanding of the complexities of immigrant integration within a multicultural urban setting.

Table 6.1 Research Findings

Description	India	Pakistan	Sri Lanka	Bangladesh
No of Immigrants as per 2021 Census	394,620	128,305	99,280	36,745
Recent Immigrants (2016 - 2021)	104,245	18,110	4,935	6,035
Immigration Trend	Increasing continuously doubled after 1991	Peaked between 1991-2000, then decreased	Peaked between 1991-2000, then decreased.	Constant moderate immigration.
Favourite Settlement Locations or Hotspots	Brampton, Mississauga, Toronto	Milton, Mississauga	Eastern Toronto (Scarborough), Markham, Brampton	Eastern Toronto (Victoria Pak Avenue & Danforth)
Majority Languages	Punjabi, Hindi	Urdu	Tamil	Bengali
Settlement Pattern	Earlier immigrants prefer ethnic-specific neighbourhoods; recent immigrants are widespread.	Earlier immigrants prefer ethnic-specific neighbourhoods; recent immigrants are widespread.	Prefer ethnic-rich neighbourhoods	Prefer ethnic-rich neighbourhoods
Enclaves	Yes, Brampton	Yes, Milton (Louis St Laurent Area (LSL))	Yes, Scarborough	Yes, Scarborough (Victoria Pak Avenue & Danforth)
Emerging Hotspots	Caledon, Milton	Ajax, Oakville	Ajax, Pickering, Whitchurch-Stouffville	Brampton
Ethnic Grocery Options	Mainstream specialized stores (e.g., FreshCo (Chalo)), small, mid-sized, online grocery delivery	Small, mid-sized, online grocery delivery	Small in ethnic strip malls	Small
Restaurant Options	Lavish to take-out options, various options like Fusion restaurants.	Dine-in to take-out options.	Mostly take-out with few dine-in options	Mostly dine-in with basic contemporary seating.
Political Participation	Steadily increasing, successful at federal and provincial levels.	Steadily increasing, successful at federal and provincial levels.	Steadily increasing, successful at provincial and municipal levels	At the initial stage, successful at the provincial level.

Based on the findings of this research, the following policy recommendations are proposed to enhance the integration of South Asian immigrants in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) while supporting their cultural identities and ensuring equitable access to resources and opportunities:

1. **Monitor and regulate rental markets:** Implement policies to monitor rental rates in neighbourhoods with high concentrations of specific ethnic immigrants to ensure affordability.
2. **Enforce housing regulations in educational institutions:** Due to the current rental crisis, international students are living in unsafe conditions. Institutions should be mandated to provide affordable and secure student housing options as part of the admission process, accompanying the issuance of offer letters. This measure would help protect international students from unsafe living conditions and alleviate the pressures of the rental market.
3. **Support ethnic businesses:** Provide grants, subsidies, and business development programs tailored to ethnic entrepreneurs, particularly in the food retail and restaurant sectors, to help sustain ethnic businesses.
4. **Promote cultural festivals and events in schools:** Support and fund cultural festivals and events that celebrate South Asian heritage. This can enhance the sense of belonging among young South Asian students and promote multicultural understanding among all students.

By implementing these recommendations, policymakers can create a more inclusive and supportive environment for South Asian immigrants in the Toronto CMA, fostering their integration while preserving their cultural identities and contributing to the region's social and economic development.

Future Research Recommendations:

The findings pave the way for numerous research topics. This research is quantitative, relying on figures. To gain insights from a firsthand perspective, qualitative studies can be conducted involving South Asians in focus group settings to unveil firsthand information. The factors influencing their settlement patterns, such as religion, language and their impact on preferred locations, can be studied in detail. The job market, economic prospects, and success of immigrants were not studied in this research and can be taken as a separate research topic.

In conclusion, this study has laid the foundation for understanding the integration of South Asians as a whole. However, future research endeavours should broaden the scope by embracing qualitative methodologies and exploring the intricate interplay of factors in areas where enclave formation is prominent. Investigating the influence of religion and education can further deepen our understanding.

Appendix

Table A1: List of South Asian Grocery stores in the Toronto CMA

S.No	Name	Address	Ethnicity
1	Al Baaqi Supermarket	678 Kennedy Rd, Scarborough, ON M1K 2B5	Bangladesh
2	Banglabazar Supermarket	2355 Kingston Rd, Scarborough, ON M1N 1V1	Bangladesh
4	Bengal Grocery	1220 Bloor St W, Toronto, ON M6H 1N3	Bangladesh
5	Chowk Bazaar Grocery Store	3100 Danforth Ave, Scarborough, ON M1L 1B1	Bangladesh
6	Dixie Bazaar - Bangladeshi Groceries (Halal Meats and Frozen Fish) & Sweets	4120 Dixie Rd #1, Mississauga, ON L4W 4V8	Bangladesh
7	Kauranbazar	4500 Sheppard Ave E Unit 27, Scarborough, ON M1S 3R6	Bangladesh
8	Marhaba Supermarket	3018 Danforth Ave, East York, ON M4C 1M7	Bangladesh
9	Surma Super Market	330 1/2 Parliament St, Toronto, ON M5A 2Z7	Bangladesh
10	Wanless Supermarket (Bangla Grocery)	423 Wanless Dr Unit 104, Brampton, ON L7A 0N9	Bangladesh
11	Chalo FreshCo Airport & Countryside	10970 Airport Rd, Brampton, ON L6R 0E1	Freshco Chalo
12	Chalo FreshCo Bramalea & Sandalwood	10615 Bramalea Rd, Brampton, ON L6R 3P4	Freshco Chalo
13	Chalo FreshCo Cottrelle Blvd	3998 Cottrelle Blvd, Brampton, ON L6P 2R1	Freshco Chalo
14	Chalo FreshCo Goreway & Derry	7205 Goreway Dr, Mississauga, ON L4T 2T9	Freshco Chalo
15	Chalo FreshCo Lawrence & Midland	2650 Lawrence Ave E, Scarborough, ON M1P 2S1	Freshco Chalo
16	Chalo FreshCo Mississauga & Financial	8405 Financial Dr Unit 11, Brampton, ON L6Y 0E3	Freshco Chalo
17	Chalo FreshCo Queen & Chinguacousy	8975 Chinguacousy Rd, Brampton, ON L6Y 0J2	Freshco Chalo
19	Apna Bazar	56 Forest Manor Rd, North York, ON M2J 1M1	Indian
20	Apna Farm Halal Meat & Grocery	50 Sky Harbour Dr Units 5-7, Brampton, ON L6Y 6B8	Indian
21	apniroots Indian Grocery Online Delivery	100 Pertosa Dr Unit 202, Brampton, ON L6X 0H9	Indian
22	Aroma Indian Grocers	15492 Yonge St, Aurora, ON L4G 1P2	Indian
23	Asian Cash & Carry	8917 The Gore Rd #11, Brampton, ON L6P 1G6	Indian
24	Asian Food Centre	40 Lacoste Blvd, Brampton, ON L6P 2K2	Indian
25	Asian Food Centre	2120 N Park Dr, Brampton, ON L6S 0C9	Indian
26	Asian Food Centre	9564 The Gore Rd, Brampton, ON L6P 0A8	Indian
27	Asian Food Centre	80 Pertosa Dr, Brampton, ON L6X 5E9	Indian
28	Asian Punjabi Bazaar	1098 Peter Robertson Blvd, Brampton, ON L6R 3A5	Indian
29	Avval shop	178 Davenfield Cir #1, Brampton, ON L6P 4L9	Indian
30	Bazaar 24Seven	2200 Queen St E, Brampton, ON L6S 4G9	Indian

S.No	Name	Address	Ethnicity
31	Bazaar 24seven	10950 Goreway Dr, Brampton, ON L6P 4N4	Indian
32	Best Price Grocers	02 Philosophers Trail, Brampton, ON L6S 4C9	Indian
33	Bombay Bazaar	3601 Lawrence Ave E, Scarborough, ON M1G 1P5	Indian
34	Bombay Bazaar	7657 Kennedy Rd, Markham, ON L3R 0L7	Indian
35	Bombay Foods	2875 Lawrence Ave E, Scarborough, ON M1P 2S8	Indian
36	Bombay Grocers	1201 Britannia Rd W, Mississauga, ON L5V 1N2	Indian
37	BOMBAY SPICES BRAMPTON	10 Beaumaris Dr #6, Brampton, ON L6T 0H1	Indian
38	Brampton Cash and carry	100 Kennedy Rd S, Brampton, ON L6W 3E7	Indian
39	Brampton Halal Meat Groceries	49 Kennedy Rd S, Brampton, ON L6W 4P4	Indian
40	Brampton Mini Market Halal Meat	10069 Hurontario St, Brampton, ON L6V 1A1	Indian
41	Byrava Supermarket		Indian
42	Daana Paani supermarket		Indian
43	Desi Cart Groceries and Convenience.		Indian
44	Desi Cart Groceries and Convenience.	St N Pizza hut plaza, Orchard View Blvd #1214Simcoe, Oshawa, ON L1G 4W9	Indian
45	Dundas Fruits & Vegetables		Indian
46	East Indian Supermarket		Indian
47	Famous Indian Supermarket		Indian
48	Fine India Grocers		Indian
49	Food Asia		Indian
50	FoodAsia Indian Grocery		Indian
51	Fresh Food Centre	12570 Kennedy Rd, Caledon, ON L7C 2H1	Indian
52	Fresh Grocery Depot	31 Steeplebush Ave, Brampton, ON L6R 3B4	Indian
53	Fresh Pick Cash & Carry	305 Charolais Blvd, Brampton, ON L6Y 2R2	Indian
54	FreshChoice Indian Supermarket		Indian
55	Gerrard India Bazaar BIA	1426 Gerrard St E, Toronto, ON M4L 1Z6	Indian
56	Great Indian Grocery and Kerala Foods	44 Dean St, Brampton, ON L6W 1M6	Indian
57	Great Punjab Supermarket	2960 Drew Rd unit 157, Mississauga, ON L4T 0A5	Indian
58	Grocery World		Indian
59	GroceryVilla	1173 Ravenscroft Rd, Ajax, ON L1T 0H9	Indian
60	GroceryZone Hamilton - kerala store		Indian
61	Himalayan Grocers		Indian
62	Homeland East & West Indian Supermarket		Indian
63	India Bazaar	10405 Kennedy Rd N, Brampton, ON L6Z 4N7	Indian
64	India Bazaar	2645 Islington Ave, Etobicoke, ON M9V 2X6	Indian
65	India Bazaar		Indian

S.No	Name	Address	Ethnicity
66	India Town Food & Spices	641 Markham Rd, Scarborough, ON M1H 2A4	Indian
67	India Town Supermarket	60 Dundas St E, Mississauga, ON L5A 1W4	Indian
68	Indian Food Mart	10635 Creditview Rd, Brampton, ON L7A 0T4	Indian
69	Indian Frootland		Indian
70	Indian Frootland		Indian
71	Indian Grocers		Indian
72	Indian Grocery Express		Indian
73	Indian Punjabi Bazaar	115 Father Tobin Rd, Brampton, ON L6R 0W9	Indian
74	Indian Punjabi Bazaar Inc	499 Ray Lawson Blvd #4, Brampton, ON L6Y 4E6	Indian
75	Indian Sabzi Bazaar	10950 Goreway Dr, Brampton, ON L6P 4N4	Indian
76	Indias Taste Groceries	900 Ray Lawson Blvd Unit # 14, 15, Brampton, ON L6Y 5J6	Indian
77	Indias Taste Groceries		Indian
78	Jeevan Groceries - Aapka Apna	375 Howden Blvd Unit#1	Indian
79	Joshi's Indian Grocery		Indian
80	Kerala Grocery	27 Ruth Ave, Brampton, ON L6Z 4R2	Indian
81	Kerala Meat and Fish Market/Great Indian Grocery	44 Dean St, Brampton, ON L6W 1M6	Indian
82	Kohinoor Foods		Indian
83	Lakshmi Stores Inc		Indian
84	Little India Grocers	1470 Centre St Unit 8-9, Thornhill, ON L4J 3N1	Indian
85	Made In India Grocery Store		Indian
86	Mirch Masala Groceries Inc		Indian
87	Motherland Foods -Kerala Grocery Brampton	370 Main St N, Brampton, ON L6V 4A4	Indian
88	Motherland Foods -Kerala Grocery Scarborough		Indian
89	Mr.India Grocers	3950 Grand Park Dr, Mississauga, ON L5B 2C4	Indian
90	Namaste Indian Supermarket		Indian
91	Namaste Indian Supermarket - Mississauga	3037 Clayhill Rd, Mississauga, ON L5B 4L2	Indian
92	Namaste Indian Supermarket-Scarborough		Indian
93	Navs Grocery		Indian
94	NEW BOMBAY FOODS		Indian
95	New Tajmahal Foods		Indian
96	NOBLE FRESH FOODS	2945 Sandalwood Pkwy E #6, Brampton, ON L6R 3J6	Indian
97	Noble Fresh Foods	Gillingham Dr, Brampton, ON L6X 4X7	Indian
98	Novelty grocers inc	40 Rivermont Rd, Brampton, ON L6Y 6G7	Indian
99	Om India Food Centre		Indian

S.No	Name	Address	Ethnicity
100	Om India Food Centre		Indian
101	Om India Food Centre		Indian
102	Panchratna supermarket	130 Davis Dr Unit 7B, Newmarket, ON L3Y 2N1	Indian
103	Panchvati Supermarket		Indian
104	Panchvati Supermarket		Indian
105	Panchvati Supermarket		Indian
106	Panchvati Supermarket (PATEL BROTHERS)		Indian
107	Priyas		Indian
108	punjab grocers brampton	550 Queen St W Unit 6, Brampton, ON L6X 3E7	Indian
109	Queen Supermarket		Indian
110	Ration shop	144 Inspire Blvd, Brampton, ON L6R 0B3	Indian
111	Ravi's West Indian Grocery		Indian
112	Royal India Grocers		Indian
113	Sabzi Market	10 Lormel Gate Unit # 5, Brampton, ON L7A 2K7	Indian
114	Saffron & Coriander	1983 Lawrence Ave E, Scarborough, ON M1R 2Z2	Indian
115	Singh Farm	60 Cottrelle Blvd, Brampton, ON L6S 0E1	Indian
116	Subzi Mandi Cash & Carry	900 Middlefield Rd, Scarborough, ON M1V 4X1	Indian
117	Subzi Mandi Chinguacousy & Williams		Indian
118	Subzi Mandi Creditview & Bristol	1525 Bristol Rd W, Mississauga, ON L5M 4Z1	Indian
119	Subzi Mandi Gore & Ebenezer	8897 The Gore Rd, Brampton, ON L6P 2L1	Indian
120	Subzi Mandi Mayfield & Goreway		Indian
121	Subzi Mandi McLaughlin & RayLawson		Indian
122	Subzi Mandi Torbram & Peter Robertson	1098 Peter Robertson Blvd, Brampton, ON L6R 1G6	Indian
123	Suky's Fine Foods	14 Oxford St, Richmond Hill, ON L4C 4L5	Indian
124	Sunnyvale Supermarket	50 Sunnyvale Gate Unit 5&6, Brampton, ON L6S 0C4	Indian
125	Super Bazaar	1505 Birchmount Rd, Scarborough, ON M1P 2G7	Indian
126	Tajmahal Foods		Indian
127	The Samosa Master	130 Davis Dr, Newmarket, ON L3Y 2N1	Indian
128	Trupti Enterprises Inc.		Indian
129	Trupti Enterprises Inc.	119 Oakdale Rd, North York, ON M3N 1W2	Indian
130	Zain's	11 Ivy Bush Ave, Scarborough, ON M1V 2W7	Indian
131	Kabul Farm Supermarket	253 Queen St E Unit # 5 & 6, Brampton, ON L6W 2B8	Indian, Pakistan
132	Al Emaan Halal Meat & Groceries		Pakistan

S.No	Name	Address	Ethnicity
133	Al Madina Super Market (Pickering)	1450 Kingston Rd Unit #2, Pickering, ON L1V 1C1	Pakistan
134	Al Ramzan Grocers		Pakistan
135	Al Tawakkul Halal Foods		Pakistan
136	Al-Habib Super Market	2860 Denison St, Markham, ON L3S 4T6	Pakistan
137	Arafat Grocery & Halal Meat	<Null>	Pakistan
138	Batala Supermarket	<Null>	Pakistan
139	Bestway Food Market Pakistani & Indian Grocery Store	20 Red Maple Dr, Brampton, ON L6X 4N7	Pakistan
140	Bismillah Grocers	10288 Yonge St, Richmond Hill, ON L4C 3B8	Pakistan
141	Bradford Halal Meat and Grocers	448 Holland St W, Bradford, ON L3Z 2B7	Pakistan
142	Can-Asia Grocers Inc	9699 Jane St Unit No. 3-7, Vaughan, ON L6A 0A5	Pakistan
143	Habib Super Market		Pakistan
144	Indo Pak Grocery & Halal Meat		Pakistan
145	Iqbal Foods		Pakistan
146	Iqbal Foods		Pakistan
147	King Groceries & Halal Meat	9699 Jane St #10, Maple, ON L6A 0A5	Pakistan
148	Leela Supermarket	263 Queen St E, Brampton, ON L6W 3J3	Pakistan
149	New Ariana Halal Meat and Kebob House	9705 James Potter Rd Unit 9-10, Brampton, ON L6X 3B9	Pakistan
150	New Makkah Halal Meat and Grocery	8550 Torbram Rd Unit 8, Brampton, ON L6T 5C8	Pakistan
151	Pak Foods - Mississauga		Pakistan
152	Pak Halal Meat and Grocery		Pakistan
153	Rexdale Grocers	34A Rexdale Blvd, Etobicoke, ON M9W 5Z3	Pakistan
154	Salam Meat & Grocers	164 Sandalwood Pkwy E, Brampton, ON L6Z 3S4	Pakistan
155	Salwa Grocers & Halal Meat	2200 Brock Rd, Pickering, ON L1X 2R2	Pakistan
156	Shalimar Garden	10737 Yonge St, Richmond Hill, ON L4C 9M9	Pakistan
157	Shukran Halaal Meat	144 Kennedy Rd S #7, Brampton, ON L6W 3G4	Pakistan
158	SR Supermarket (previously known as RS Supermarket)	<Null>	Pakistan
159	Warraich Meats Markham Rd. & 16th Ave.	9408 Markham Rd Unit # B3 & B4 Unit # B3 & B4, Markham, ON L6E 0N1	Pakistan
160	Aditi Super Market	470 Chrysler Dr, Brampton, ON L6S 0C1	Sri Lankan
161	AKT Super market	18 Ringwood Dr, Whitchurch-Stouffville, ON L4A 8C1	Sri Lankan
162	Ambal Trading		Sri Lankan
163	Amirtha Supermarket		Sri Lankan
164	Bala Supermarket		Sri Lankan
165	Brinthavan supermarket	13 Fisherman Dr, Brampton, ON L7A 2X9	Sri Lankan

S.No	Name	Address	Ethnicity
166	Durcaa Supermarket	86 Kennedy Rd S, Brampton, ON L6W 3E7	Sri Lankan
167	Eraa Supermarket		Sri Lankan
168	Glow Mart		Sri Lankan
169	Gunaams Supermarket		Sri Lankan
170	Iyappan Groceries		Sri Lankan
171	Kalanchiyam Food Mart Inc.		Sri Lankan
172	Katpakam Grocery		Sri Lankan
173	Lucky Pooja Convenience Store	361 Pitfield Rd, Scarborough, ON M1S 3E5	Sri Lankan
174	Luxshi Supermarket	4525 Ebenezer Rd Unit 6,7, Brampton, ON L6P 2K8	Sri Lankan
175	NEW Kaveri Supermarket	29 Dundas St E, Mississauga, ON L5A 1V9	Sri Lankan
176	New SpiceLand Supermarket	<Null>	Sri Lankan
177	Nila's Supermarket	P7FJ+9W Brampton, Ontario	Sri Lankan
178	R2A Groceries and Takeout	1530 Warden Ave., Scarborough, ON M1R 2S8	Sri Lankan
179	RAL Supermarket		Sri Lankan
180	S.P. Importers Inc.		Sri Lankan
181	Shankar & Co	2425 Eglinton Ave E, Scarborough, ON M1K 5G8	Sri Lankan
182	Skip The Shop	<Null>	Sri Lankan
183	South Asiyan Supermarket	9909 Markham Rd Unit #11 & #12, Markham, ON L3P 3J3	Sri Lankan
184	South Asiyan Supermarket	5402 Main St Unit 7, Whitchurch-Stouffville, ON L4A 1H3	Sri Lankan
185	Sri Lankan, East & West Indian Groceries		Sri Lankan
186	Sri Lankan, East & West Indian Groceries	Vaughan, ON L6A 0A5	Sri Lankan
187	srilankanroots		Sri Lankan
188	Suncity Supermarket		Sri Lankan
189	Uthayam Supermarket		Sri Lankan
190	Uthaya's Supermarket		Sri Lankan
191	Yarl's Superstore		Sri Lankan

Table A2: List of South Asian Restaurants/Takeouts in the Toronto CMA

S.No	Name	Longitude	Latitude	Ethnicity
1	ADDA Bengali Kitchen & Catering	-79.2775	43.69395	Bangladeshi DineIn
2	Dhaka Biryani House	-79.2618	43.71597	Bangladeshi DineIn
3	Dhaka Kitchen	-79.2886	43.70511	Bangladeshi DineIn
4	Ghoroaa	-79.2914	43.69067	Bangladeshi DineIn
5	Ghoroaa Kennedy	-79.2688	43.73284	Bangladeshi DineIn
6	Mehman Restaurant	-79.2963	43.6892	Bangladeshi DineIn
7	Padma Restaurant	-79.2905	43.69087	Bangladeshi DineIn
8	Premium Sweets	-79.3208	45.87343	Bangladeshi DineIn
9	The Spicy Grill	-79.2831	43.69254	Bangladeshi DineIn
10	Toronto Bangla Kitchen	-79.2278	43.80248	Bangladeshi Takeout
11	259 host fine Indian restaurant	-79.391	43.64465	Indian DineIn
12	4 Seasons Indian Cuisine	-79.2892	43.75967	Indian DineIn
13	5 Tara Indian Cuisine	-79.7009	43.53838	Indian DineIn
14	9 Spices Indian roti cuisine	-78.8649	43.90003	Indian DineIn
15	AAFRIEN INDIAN RESTAURANT	-79.3962	43.70703	Indian DineIn
16	Aanch	-79.3908	43.64481	Indian DineIn
17	Adrak Richmond Hill	-79.3853	43.84436	Indian DineIn
18	Airport Sweets & Tandoori Restaurant	-79.7209	43.76272	Indian DineIn
19	Alankar Indian Cuisine	-79.0274	43.84284	Indian DineIn
20	Amaya	-79.4651	43.66534	Indian DineIn
21	AMAYA real Indian Food	-79.3429	43.77833	Indian DineIn
22	Ambiance of India	-79.6331	43.50878	Indian DineIn
23	Ambiyan	-79.3951	43.68965	Indian DineIn
24	Ambiyan Indian Restaurant	-79.3111	43.86634	Indian DineIn
25	Ambiyan Restaurant & Bar	-79.3111	43.86632	Indian DineIn
26	Amma Roti House	-79.2993	43.67032	Indian DineIn
27	Amma's Kitchen	-79.5628	43.64693	Indian DineIn
28	Ancila's Indian Cuisine	-79.7569	43.59708	Indian DineIn
29	Andhra Bhavan	-79.3028	43.79016	Indian DineIn
30	Anjappar	-79.6418	43.59943	Indian DineIn
31	Anjappar Chettinad	-79.7335	43.66774	Indian DineIn
32	Anjappar Chettinad Restaurant	-79.227	43.7418	Indian DineIn
33	Annalakshmi Oakville	-79.6512	43.48962	Indian DineIn
34	Anokhi	-79.7216	43.65982	Indian DineIn
35	Apna Pind	-79.6693	43.67905	Indian DineIn
36	ARAS AROMA	-79.2752	43.96429	Indian DineIn
37	Aroma Fine Indian Cuisine	-79.3893	43.64636	Indian DineIn
38	Aroma Indian Bistro	-79.4426	43.70677	Indian DineIn
39	Atchayam South Indian Restaurant	-79.2628	43.75162	Indian DineIn
40	Atithi	-79.2304	43.7759	Indian DineIn
41	Avani	-79.6919	43.60626	Indian DineIn
42	Balti Indian Restaurant	-78.942	43.88028	Indian DineIn
43	Banjara Indian Restaurant	-79.4223	43.6638	Indian DineIn
44	Bar Goa Toronto – New Age India	-79.3766	43.65033	Indian DineIn
45	Barkat - Indian Restaurant in downtown Toronto	-79.4089	43.64631	Indian DineIn
46	Bawara Indian Restaurant & Hakka Cuisine	-79.4539	43.65624	Indian DineIn
47	Bawarchi Biryani's in Toronto-Authentic Indian Restaurant in Scarborough	-79.2812	43.76859	Indian DineIn
48	BB Lounge Restaurant (Huronario & Eglinton)	-79.6535	43.61216	Indian DineIn
49	BENARES Cucina Indian	-79.3738	43.64816	Indian DineIn
50	Bhai's Indian Canteen	-79.3779	43.84732	Indian DineIn
51	Bindaz Biryani's Indian Authentic	-79.3934	43.70797	Indian DineIn

S.No	Name	Longitude	Latitude	Ethnicity
52	Bindia Indian Bistro	-79.372	43.64855	Indian DineIn
53	Biryani House	-79.3858	43.66942	Indian DineIn
54	Biryani King	-79.6427	43.55805	Indian DineIn
55	Biryani Lounge Milton	-79.8772	43.51786	Indian DineIn
56	Biryani N BarBQ	-79.254	43.83558	Indian DineIn
57	Biryani Nation	-79.2982	43.74528	Indian DineIn
58	Biryani Venue (Flavours of Hyderabad)	-79.3486	43.7483	Indian DineIn
59	Biryanis and More	-79.3211	43.7745	Indian DineIn
60	Biryaniwalla Milton	-79.8783	43.51829	Indian DineIn
61	Biryaniwalla Scarborough	-79.2773	43.75079	Indian DineIn
62	BK Bar & Grill	-79.8585	43.64707	Indian DineIn
63	Bombay Bhel	-79.6535	43.60851	Indian DineIn
64	Bombay Bhel - Times Square	-79.3825	43.84498	Indian DineIn
65	Bombay Club Oakville Authentic Indian Cuisine	-79.6827	43.51974	Indian DineIn
66	Bombay Frankies East Gwillimbury/ Newmarket	-79.4804	44.07447	Indian DineIn
67	Bombay Grill	-79.2683	43.87205	Indian DineIn
68	Bombay Grill Restaurant	-79.8792	43.51639	Indian DineIn
69	Bombay ON 25	-79.9205	43.53849	Indian DineIn
70	Bombay on the Lake	-79.5079	43.60001	Indian DineIn
71	Bombay Palace	-79.6957	43.69182	Indian DineIn
72	Bombay Palace Haute Indian Cuisine	-79.372	43.65113	Indian DineIn
73	Bombay Roti (Bloor St.)	-79.4095	43.66538	Indian DineIn
74	Bombay Touch	-79.4504	43.80965	Indian DineIn
75	Bombay's Chutney	-79.415	43.87685	Indian DineIn
76	Brar's Erin Mills (Mississauga)	-79.7259	43.53749	Indian DineIn
77	Brar's Vaughan Mills	-79.5379	43.82794	Indian DineIn
78	Butter Chicken Factory	-79.3694	43.66726	Indian DineIn
79	Butter Chicken Roti - Coxwell E	-79.3232	43.69901	Indian DineIn
80	Butter Chicken Roti - King E	-79.3687	43.6514	Indian DineIn
81	Butter Chicken Roti - Scarborough	-79.2568	43.71863	Indian DineIn
82	Butter Chicken Roti - York Mills	-79.3497	43.75645	Indian DineIn
83	By Aanch Restaurant	-79.415	43.6548	Indian DineIn
84	Caledon Sweets & Restaurant	-79.867	43.86957	Indian DineIn
85	Chahal Dhaba Indian Cuisine	-79.2495	43.79219	Indian DineIn
86	Chai Pani - The Indian Streetary	-79.7587	43.45044	Indian DineIn
87	Chai Pani - The Indian Streetary	-79.705	43.69709	Indian DineIn
88	Chai Pochana	-79.4306	43.68045	Indian DineIn
89	Charcoal Biryani Kebabs	-79.3751	43.70612	Indian DineIn
90	Charcoal Butter Chicken Bistro	-79.3692	43.65441	Indian DineIn
91	Charminar Bistro	-79.6672	43.62897	Indian DineIn
92	Charminar Indian Cuisine Mississauga	-79.606	43.65049	Indian DineIn
93	Charminar Indian Cuisine Scarborough	-79.2884	43.73103	Indian DineIn
94	Charminar Indian Cuisine Whitby	-78.941	43.88058	Indian DineIn
95	Charminar Indian Cuisine Express Pickering	-79.0851	43.87088	Indian DineIn
96	Chaska Indian Street Food	-79.3878	43.64854	Indian DineIn
97	Chauhan's Fine Indian Cuisine & Banquet	-79.3567	43.83116	Indian DineIn
98	Chef of India	-79.3974	43.70712	Indian DineIn
99	Chef's Selection	-79.8718	44.15265	Indian DineIn
100	Cheffys	-79.3047	43.71524	Indian DineIn
101	Chilli Coriander	-79.2504	43.97035	Indian DineIn
102	Chingari Indian Restaurant	-78.9565	43.9192	Indian DineIn
103	Chola Indian Cuisine	-79.2999	43.78033	Indian DineIn
104	Coriander Green	-79.6658	43.44898	Indian DineIn

S.No	Name	Longitude	Latitude	Ethnicity
105	Coriander Kitchen	-80.0936	43.92023	Indian DineIn
106	Crave Indian	-79.6254	43.7733	Indian DineIn
107	Curry Mantra Authentic Indian Cuisine	-80.1199	43.90208	Indian DineIn
108	Curry Twist	-79.4705	43.6656	Indian DineIn
109	Curryish Tavern	-79.4077	43.64627	Indian DineIn
110	Daal Roti	-79.6949	43.87289	Indian DineIn
111	Daal Roti	-79.6719	43.63041	Indian DineIn
112	Daal Roti	-79.7509	43.61848	Indian DineIn
113	Daal Roti - Vaughan	-79.5378	43.83917	Indian DineIn
114	Daal Roti Brampton	-79.6671	43.77208	Indian DineIn
115	Daal Roti Catering outlet	-79.7921	43.62742	Indian DineIn
116	Daal Roti Georgetown	-79.8771	43.62965	Indian DineIn
117	Daal Roti Indian Tadka House	-79.083	43.84392	Indian DineIn
118	Daal Roti Orangeville	-80.0987	43.92715	Indian DineIn
119	Dallys Cafe and Restaurant	-80.1023	43.94147	Indian DineIn
120	Dear Delhi Indian Restaurant	-79.5927	43.67564	Indian DineIn
121	Delhicacies The Journey of Indian Food	-79.536	43.82033	Indian DineIn
122	Delhiites Indian Street Food	-79.3494	43.65886	Indian DineIn
123	Delhish	-79.2381	43.73939	Indian DineIn
124	Desi Bar & Grill	-79.6177	43.61616	Indian DineIn
125	Desi Bar & Grill	-79.7695	43.6925	Indian DineIn
126	Desi Boyz Indian Restaurant	-79.6461	43.65494	Indian DineIn
127	Desi Chatka - The Taste of Desi India	-79.2077	43.76327	Indian DineIn
128	Desi Pakwan	-79.4536	43.81049	Indian DineIn
129	Desi Road	-79.8013	43.69216	Indian DineIn
130	Desi Roots	-79.4559	44.04372	Indian DineIn
131	Desi Tadkaa	-79.5154	43.7517	Indian DineIn
132	desimane	-79.2671	43.78746	Indian DineIn
133	Dhaba	-79.3905	43.64629	Indian DineIn
134	Dhaba Junction	-79.7159	43.72516	Indian DineIn
135	Dil Se	-79.45	43.64928	Indian DineIn
136	Dil Se Indian Restaurant & Bar	-79.45	43.64928	Indian DineIn
137	Dindigul Thalappakattu Biriyanis	-79.2996	43.80103	Indian DineIn
138	Dosa Boyz	-79.7207	43.67885	Indian DineIn
139	Dosa Boyz / Hakka Boyz	-79.2826	43.77415	Indian DineIn
140	Dosa Corner	-79.6161	43.58115	Indian DineIn
141	Dosa Den	-79.7846	43.70346	Indian DineIn
142	Dosa Rama	-79.2477	43.82487	Indian DineIn
143	Downtown Mumbai	-79.6916	43.63709	Indian DineIn
144	Dum Pukht	-79.3486	43.82201	Indian DineIn
145	eaTO Modern Indian Eatery	-79.2979	43.74505	Indian DineIn
146	Eggras	-79.2668	43.76856	Indian DineIn
147	Etobicoke	-79.582	43.7471	Indian DineIn
148	Feast of Dilli	-79.545	43.60061	Indian DineIn
149	Filmy Tadka Indian Cuisine	-79.6981	43.74726	Indian DineIn
150	Flavor Kitchen	-79.869	44.1538	Indian DineIn
151	Fresh Tandoori	-79.7463	43.74654	Indian DineIn
152	Fresh Tandoori Indian & Asian Cuisine	-79.7508	43.69608	Indian DineIn
153	Friends Butter Chicken	-79.4043	43.64698	Indian DineIn
154	Garleek Kitchen	-79.4381	43.64042	Indian DineIn
155	Georgetown Tandoori Indian Cuisine	-79.9056	43.64993	Indian DineIn
156	Ginger and Turmeric	-79.5309	43.85148	Indian DineIn
157	Goa Indian Farm Kitchen	-79.3864	43.76833	Indian DineIn

S.No	Name	Longitude	Latitude	Ethnicity
158	Godavari	-79.2277	43.76715	Indian DineIn
159	Govardhan Thal	-79.1235	43.81402	Indian DineIn
160	Govardhan Thal Restaurant	-79.2289	43.76746	Indian DineIn
161	Gully	-79.4088	43.66551	Indian DineIn
162	Guru Lukshmi	-79.7159	43.63932	Indian DineIn
163	Guru's Indian Hakka Cuisine..	-79.6461	43.77515	Indian DineIn
164	Gušt	-79.8682	44.1543	Indian DineIn
165	Handi Indian Cuisine	-79.5687	43.71459	Indian DineIn
166	Hashtag India Restaurant	-79.3034	43.72194	Indian DineIn
167	Himalayan Kitchen	-79.4389	43.64027	Indian DineIn
168	Honest Restaurant Ajax	-79.025	43.86023	Indian DineIn
169	Honest Restaurant Etobicoke - Best Indian Restaurant Offers Fast Food, Gujarati, Punjabi, Indian Chinese, South Indian Food	-79.6058	43.73539	Indian DineIn
170	Honest Restaurant Scarborough	-79.2276	43.76814	Indian DineIn
171	Host Fine Indian Cuisine	-79.3792	43.84604	Indian DineIn
172	Hyderabad Biryani Hut	-79.2523	43.77178	Indian DineIn
173	Hyderabad Cafe	-79.8851	43.51243	Indian DineIn
174	Hyderabad Palace	-79.2506	43.79188	Indian DineIn
175	Ice N Spice, Fine Indian & Hakka Cuisine	-79.5927	43.62794	Indian DineIn
176	India 360	-79.2753	43.96441	Indian DineIn
177	India Curry House	-79.8049	43.68148	Indian DineIn
178	Indian Crown	-79.4119	43.76007	Indian DineIn
179	Indian Cuisine By The Lake	-79.5927	43.64782	Indian DineIn
180	Indian Delights	-79.8229	43.73611	Indian DineIn
181	Indian food court	-79.0962	43.84735	Indian DineIn
182	Indian Grill	-79.4198	43.64655	Indian DineIn
183	Indian Kitchen	-79.4231	43.80638	Indian DineIn
184	Indian Roti House	-79.3803	43.6645	Indian DineIn
185	Indian Spice Culture Sweets And Restaurant	-79.8689	43.87105	Indian DineIn
186	Indian Street Food Co.	-79.3758	43.70801	Indian DineIn
187	Indian street snacks	-79.0125	43.86393	Indian DineIn
188	Indian Sweet Master Mississauga	-79.6405	43.61572	Indian DineIn
189	Indias Taste Brampton	-79.7306	43.65119	Indian DineIn
190	Indias Taste Markham	-79.3395	43.82471	Indian DineIn
191	Indias Taste Mississauga	-79.7839	43.61268	Indian DineIn
192	IndiaWaale - Desi Street Food	-79.3529	43.78552	Indian DineIn
193	Indilicious	-79.482	43.6657	Indian DineIn
194	Indo-Canadian Food Hut	-79.741	43.65768	Indian DineIn
195	Indraprastha Indian Cuisine	-79.2358	43.75818	Indian DineIn
196	Jaipur Grille	-79.3813	43.63997	Indian DineIn
197	Jamini Indian Kitchen	-79.6202	43.57225	Indian DineIn
198	Jimbu Himalaya	-79.4384	43.64037	Indian DineIn
199	Kachiguda Junction	-79.3276	43.79461	Indian DineIn
200	Kadak (Vibrant Indian Cuisine)	-79.3976	43.70223	Indian DineIn
201	Kamasutra Fine Indian Restaurant & Banquets	-79.3748	43.70399	Indian DineIn
202	Karaikudi Chettinad South Indian Restaurant	-79.2761	43.75611	Indian DineIn
203	Kasoori Indian Restaurant & Bar	-79.609	43.82413	Indian DineIn
204	Kerala Curry House	-79.6235	43.6361	Indian DineIn
205	KERALA NOOK indian cuisine - scarborough	-79.267	43.75572	Indian DineIn
206	Kesar Sweets & Restaurant	-79.6797	43.78721	Indian DineIn
207	KHAZANA Milton - by Chef Sanjeev Kapoor	-79.869	43.53805	Indian DineIn
208	KHAZANA Toronto - by Chef Sanjeev Kapoor	-79.3801	43.6552	Indian DineIn

S.No	Name	Longitude	Latitude	Ethnicity
209	King Tandoori Maritime	-79.6987	43.74766	Indian DineIn
210	Koshaa Fine Indian Cuisine	-79.4875	43.61766	Indian DineIn
211	Kothur Indian Cuisine	-79.4887	43.61445	Indian DineIn
212	Kothur Indian Cuisine	-79.3857	43.66788	Indian DineIn
213	Lageez Authentic Indian Cuisine	-79.2908	43.71094	Indian DineIn
214	Leela Indian Food Bar	-79.4735	43.66564	Indian DineIn
215	Leela Indian Food Bar (Gerrard) - Top Indian Restaurant In Toronto	-79.3242	43.67189	Indian DineIn
216	Leela's Roti & Doubles	-79.662	43.57773	Indian DineIn
217	Little India	-79.3889	43.65023	Indian DineIn
218	Little South Bistro	-79.6244	43.63984	Indian DineIn
219	Ma Di Rasoi	-79.4253	43.79552	Indian DineIn
220	Madhubani - Catering and Restaurant Inc.	-79.7609	43.77554	Indian DineIn
221	Madras	-79.7378	43.75197	Indian DineIn
222	Madras Centennial Cafe	-79.236	43.78074	Indian DineIn
223	Madras curry	-79.3947	43.70733	Indian DineIn
224	Madras Dosa	-79.5665	43.73711	Indian DineIn
225	Madras Masala	-79.4219	43.66315	Indian DineIn
226	Madras Peppers	-79.6356	43.59025	Indian DineIn
227	Madurai Samayal	-79.0126	43.86386	Indian DineIn
228	Maharaja	-79.2568	43.85525	Indian DineIn
229	Maharaja Bhog	-79.6795	43.62648	Indian DineIn
230	Maida Restaurant & Lounge	-79.4287	43.66118	Indian DineIn
231	Mainsha Restaurant	-79.4559	43.72115	Indian DineIn
232	Maja Indian Cuisine	-79.3786	43.67179	Indian DineIn
233	Mantra by Host	-79.3448	43.73348	Indian DineIn
234	Masala BLVD - The Indian Kitchen	-79.5189	43.6097	Indian DineIn
235	Masala Flavours Express Indian Cuisine	-80.0291	43.83148	Indian DineIn
236	Matagali Restaurant(Indo-Thai)	-79.3843	43.65714	Indian DineIn
237	Matha Roti	-79.4063	43.66209	Indian DineIn
238	Maurya East Indian Roti	-79.3748	43.7053	Indian DineIn
239	Maurya East Indian Roti (Etobicoke)	-79.4893	43.61337	Indian DineIn
240	Maurya Indian Twist (Oakville)	-79.708	43.39817	Indian DineIn
241	Mayur Fine Indian Cuisine	-79.3084	43.75962	Indian DineIn
242	Mehfill Indian Cuisine (Brampton)	-79.746	43.68495	Indian DineIn
243	Mehfill Indian Cuisine (Etobicoke)	-79.5849	43.75075	Indian DineIn
244	Mehfill Indian Cuisine- (Newmarket)	-79.4825	44.06777	Indian DineIn
245	Mehfill Indian Cuisine (Oakville)	-79.7334	43.38536	Indian DineIn
246	Mehfill Indian Cuisine (Toronto)	-79.2947	43.67134	Indian DineIn
247	Menali Restaurant	-79.35	43.67771	Indian DineIn
248	Minerva Tiffins	-79.2905	43.72328	Indian DineIn
249	Mint Leaf Indian Sweets and Restaurant	-79.8294	43.75522	Indian DineIn
250	Mirch Masala Authentic Indian Restaurant	-79.7432	43.7002	Indian DineIn
251	Mohan Dhabba - Alliston	-79.8658	44.15448	Indian DineIn
252	Mr John's Real Kerala Kitchen - South Indian Restaurant	-79.2769	43.75311	Indian DineIn
253	Mughal Mahal Restaurant	-79.6421	43.7053	Indian DineIn
254	Mustard Garden	-79.8745	43.4972	Indian DineIn
255	My Roti Place/My Dosa Place	-79.3759	43.64165	Indian DineIn
256	My Roti Place/My Dosa Place- King Street	-79.4114	43.64202	Indian DineIn
257	Namaste India	-79.4134	43.66478	Indian DineIn
258	Namaste Kingston Downtown- Indian Fine Dining	-76.4813	44.22874	Indian DineIn
259	New India Sweets & Restaurant	-79.7108	43.61502	Indian DineIn
260	New Mirchi Dhaba	-79.2289	43.7673	Indian DineIn

S.No	Name	Longitude	Latitude	Ethnicity
261	New Punjabi Flavours	-79.6942	43.47055	Indian DineIn
262	Nirvana The Flavours Of India	-79.6771	43.62618	Indian DineIn
263	Oakville Halal Grill	-79.6848	43.44571	Indian DineIn
264	Oh Bombay - Oakville	-79.6845	43.46504	Indian DineIn
265	OM India Food Centre	-79.4736	43.80659	Indian DineIn
266	Paandian Vilas	-79.2544	43.75238	Indian DineIn
267	Parantha Palace	-79.6141	43.58319	Indian DineIn
268	Parantha Palace	-79.5732	43.7146	Indian DineIn
269	Paratha Point Restaurant	-79.6567	43.64982	Indian DineIn
270	Pariwar Restaurant	-79.3081	43.74298	Indian DineIn
271	Pukka	-79.4292	43.68114	Indian DineIn
272	Punjaabi Indian Cuisine Dixie	-79.624	43.63751	Indian DineIn
273	Punjabi by Nature	-79.5922	43.78025	Indian DineIn
274	Punjabi By Nature (Airport Rd)	-79.7206	43.77132	Indian DineIn
275	Punjabi By Nature (Oakville)	-79.7203	43.48551	Indian DineIn
276	Punjabi Chaap Corner	-79.7683	43.69299	Indian DineIn
277	Punjabi Chaap Corner Scarborough	-79.2471	43.82444	Indian DineIn
278	Punjabi Dhaba	-79.6446	43.70233	Indian DineIn
279	Punjabi Taste	-79.5606	43.74894	Indian DineIn
280	Raj Mahal	-79.4686	43.78672	Indian DineIn
281	Raj Mahal Indian Cuisine	-79.4687	43.78674	Indian DineIn
282	Rajdhani Express (Shoppers World)	-79.7382	43.6709	Indian DineIn
283	Rajdhani Express Bramalea City Centre (BCC)	-79.7272	43.72204	Indian DineIn
284	Rajdhani Indian Sweets & Restaurant (410 & Steeles)	-79.6496	43.68878	Indian DineIn
285	Rajdhani Indian Sweets & Restaurant (Chinguacousy)	-79.8022	43.68924	Indian DineIn
286	Rajdhani Indian Sweets & Restaurant (Markham)	-79.2474	43.85906	Indian DineIn
287	Rajdhani Indian Sweets & Restaurant (Torbram)	-79.7385	43.76216	Indian DineIn
288	Rajdhani Sweets & Restaurant	-79.6571	43.59785	Indian DineIn
289	Rajdhani Sweets & Restaurant	-79.6091	43.59735	Indian DineIn
290	Rajdhani Sweets & Restaurant	-80.3918	43.41532	Indian DineIn
291	Rajdhani Sweets & Restaurant	-79.0723	43.86336	Indian DineIn
292	Rajdhani Sweets & Restaurant, Etobicoke	-79.5205	43.74337	Indian DineIn
293	Rajdhani Sweets And Restaurant	-79.6244	43.72945	Indian DineIn
294	Rajdhani Sweets and Restaurant (Mississauga)	-79.7546	43.59238	Indian DineIn
295	Rangeela Modern Indian Kitchen & Bar	-80.4908	43.45106	Indian DineIn
296	Rangoli Indian Restaurant	-79.925	43.64888	Indian DineIn
297	Ravi Soup	-79.3919	43.64761	Indian DineIn
298	Rice and Curry King	-79.3517	43.82345	Indian DineIn
299	Rikki Tikki	-79.4011	43.65424	Indian DineIn
300	RIYASAT - Downtown Oakville	-79.6671	43.44706	Indian DineIn
301	Riyasat Indian Restaurant & Bar - Vaughan	-79.5757	43.78328	Indian DineIn
302	Roti Cuisine of India	-79.4084	43.67478	Indian DineIn
303	Roti Mahal	-79.4031	43.64751	Indian DineIn
304	Roti n' Ting	-79.0904	43.83733	Indian DineIn
305	Roti Roti Family Restaurant	-79.5637	43.73611	Indian DineIn
306	Roti Time	-79.4873	43.66829	Indian DineIn
307	Royal Garden Oakville	-79.703	43.44731	Indian DineIn
308	S.Motiram Sweets & Restaurant	-79.2528	43.73608	Indian DineIn
309	Saffron Indian Restaurant - Authentic Cuisine From North India, By Sankalp Group	-79.4512	44.00268	Indian DineIn
310	Sankalp Vaughan - The Taste of India	-79.5394	43.82769	Indian DineIn
311	Saravanaa Bhavan	-79.1647	43.82877	Indian DineIn

S.No	Name	Longitude	Latitude	Ethnicity
312	Saravanaa Bhavan, Mississauga	-79.6423	43.63319	Indian DineIn
313	Saraye Khayyam Restaurant	-79.4745	44.05466	Indian DineIn
314	Sardar Ji	-79.7894	43.70458	Indian Dinein
315	SARDAR JI Brisdale	-79.8121	43.68376	Indian Dinein
316	SARDAR JI cottrelle Blvd	-79.6848	43.77275	Indian Dinein
317	SARDAR JI Father Tobin Best restaurant in Brampton	-79.7561	43.77203	Indian Dinein
318	Savera Indian Cuisine	-79.4304	43.68061	Indian Dinein
319	Shaaz Indian Cuisine Toronto	-79.2768	43.75076	Indian DineIn
320	Shahi Rasoi	-79.3108	43.75737	Indian DineIn
321	Shalom India Foods	-79.4464	43.79886	Indian DineIn
322	Sher-E-Pubjab	-79.353	43.67718	Indian DineIn
323	Shish Mahal Indian Cuisine Inc	-79.6748	43.5222	Indian DineIn
324	Siddhartha - Pure Vegetarian	-79.3207	43.67243	Indian DineIn
325	Signature Indian Cuisine	-78.9234	43.88412	Indian DineIn
326	South N' Spicy	-79.6664	43.55634	Indian DineIn
327	Sowjis Indian Cuisine	-79.2256	43.74147	Indian DineIn
328	Spice Club	-79.186	43.77204	Indian DineIn
329	Spicefusion	-79.8652	43.52176	Indian DineIn
330	Standard Sweets & Restaurant	-79.6586	43.66664	Indian DineIn
331	Standard Sweets & Restaurant	-79.612	43.72071	Indian DineIn
332	Standard Sweets & Restaurant	-79.7101	43.77612	Indian DineIn
333	Subiksha Foods	-79.2517	43.7355	Indian DineIn
334	Tadka King	-79.7607	43.68631	Indian DineIn
335	Taj Mahal Foods	-79.5895	43.60524	Indian DineIn
336	Taj Restaurant	-79.4743	43.76889	Indian DineIn
337	Tamarind Modern Indian Bistro	-79.6387	43.59524	Indian DineIn
338	Tamasha	-79.3961	43.69664	Indian DineIn
339	Tandoori Boys	-79.657	43.69813	Indian DineIn
340	Tandoori Boys	-79.7685	43.67527	Indian DineIn
341	Tandoori Flame	-79.7116	43.70157	Indian DineIn
342	Tandoori Flame Mississauga	-79.6944	43.61177	Indian DineIn
343	Tandoori Haveli Bar and Grill	-79.7017	43.69414	Indian DineIn
344	Tandoori Haveli Mississauga	-79.6435	43.70359	Indian DineIn
345	Tandoori Host	-79.5352	43.84528	Indian DineIn
346	Tandoori House Indian Cuisine	-79.4116	43.76281	Indian DineIn
347	Tandoori Masala	-79.5938	43.71509	Indian DineIn
348	Tandoori Masala	-79.7141	43.74742	Indian DineIn
349	Tandoori Master	-79.7942	44.02508	Indian DineIn
350	Tandoori Sangham	-79.5848	43.75075	Indian DineIn
351	Tandoori Tonight	-79.7064	44.38359	Indian DineIn
352	Taste of Mumbai	-79.2653	0	Indian DineIn
353	Taste of Tamil Nadu	-79.4665	43.73043	Indian DineIn
354	Taste of Tandoor	-80.1213	43.92044	Indian DineIn
355	The Clay Oven Tandoori Grill An Authentic Indian Cuisine	-80.0404	43.63055	Indian DineIn
356	The Copper Chimney	-79.4009	43.74037	Indian DineIn
357	The Cottage Cheese - urban indian	-79.4022	43.65645	Indian DineIn
358	The Darbar	-79.0554	43.85446	Indian DineIn
359	The Flavours Classic Indian Cuisine /The Flavours Of India	-79.7998	43.69592	Indian DineIn
360	The Grand Indian Dining	-79.3987	43.64804	Indian DineIn
361	The Host Richmond Hill	-79.3831	43.85345	Indian DineIn
362	The Indian Cuisine	-79.4347	43.7953	Indian DineIn

S.No	Name	Longitude	Latitude	Ethnicity
363	The Indian Kitchen	-79.4212	43.80621	Indian DineIn
364	The Indian Sweet House & Restaurant	-79.7434	43.65535	Indian DineIn
365	The Kettle	-79.4046	43.64695	Indian DineIn
366	The Maharaja	-79.6604	43.59898	Indian DineIn
367	The Nilgiris Restaurant	-79.2486	43.82902	Indian DineIn
368	The Qasbah by Tamarind	-79.6367	43.66372	Indian DineIn
369	The Shish Mahal	-79.6946	43.51805	Indian DineIn
370	The Spice Room	-79.5043	43.82238	Indian DineIn
371	The Spice Village	-79.3833	43.66485	Indian DineIn
372	The Spicy Venue	-79.2705	43.76791	Indian DineIn
373	The Tale Indian Cuisine and Bar	-79.2967	44.03554	Indian DineIn
374	The Thandur Restaurant	-79.2655	43.90101	Indian DineIn
375	Tikka Junction	-79.7387	43.70212	Indian DineIn
376	Tikka Talks	-79.6956	43.48352	Indian DineIn
377	Twisted Indian Vaughan	-79.5001	43.86004	Indian DineIn
378	Twisted Indian Whitby	-78.9499	43.91948	Indian DineIn
379	Udupi Madras Cafe	-79.6356	43.59137	Indian DineIn
380	Udupi Palace	-79.3211	43.67262	Indian DineIn
381	Urban Maharajas	-79.5312	43.81918	Indian DineIn
382	Utsav Indian Cuisine	-79.3908	43.67116	Indian DineIn
383	Utsav Restaurant	-79.3905	43.67122	Indian DineIn
384	Veggie Planet Vaughan - Indian Street Food	-79.5383	43.82813	Indian DineIn
385	Via Delhi: Indian Cuisine	-78.9422	43.87939	Indian DineIn
386	Vindaloo Indian & Hakka Cuisine	-79.2053	43.78428	Indian DineIn
387	Yeh Cheez!	-79.8578	43.53947	Indian DineIn
388	Zabardast Hyderabad Biryani	-79.3029	43.70738	Indian DineIn
389	Royal Paan	-79.761	43.47841	Indian Fast Food
390	Royal Paan	-79.6622	43.60782	Indian Fast Food
391	Royal Paan	-79.6883	43.56803	Indian Fast Food
392	Royal Paan	-79.7899	43.64162	Indian Fast Food
393	Royal Paan	-79.6237	43.65056	Indian Fast Food
394	Royal Paan	-79.827	43.52523	Indian Fast Food
395	Royal Paan	-79.6841	43.70122	Indian Fast Food
396	Royal Paan	-79.7226	43.68136	Indian Fast Food
397	Royal Paan	-79.6814	43.75282	Indian Fast Food
398	Royal Paan	-79.2572	43.86608	Indian Fast Food
399	Royal Paan	-79.8183	43.69621	Indian Fast Food
400	Royal Paan	-79.3428	43.7248	Indian Fast Food
401	Royal Paan	-79.0901	43.78035	Indian Fast Food
402	Royal Paan	-79.7452	43.66324	Indian Fast Food
403	Royal Paan	-79.2824	43.74068	Indian Fast Food
404	Royal Paan	-79.6532	43.72678	Indian Fast Food
405	Royal Paan	-79.7081	43.76944	Indian Fast Food
406	Royal Paan	-79.8056	43.7765	Indian Fast Food
407	Royal Paan	-79.6149	43.78956	Indian Fast Food
408	Royal Paan	-79.0607	43.85784	Indian Fast Food
409	Royal Paan By Punjaabi	-79.7171	43.53021	Indian Fast Food
410	Bombay Roti (Yonge + Sheppard)	-79.4111	43.75079	Indian Foodcourt
411	Butter Chicken Roti	-79.6952	43.57406	Indian Foodcourt
412	Butter Chicken Roti	-79.3837	43.64915	Indian Foodcourt
413	Butter Chicken Roti - Fairview	-79.3441	43.77864	Indian Foodcourt
414	Butter Chicken Roti - Queen E	-79.3168	43.66638	Indian Foodcourt
415	Butter Chicken Roti - Union Station	-79.3713	43.64579	Indian Foodcourt

S.No	Name	Longitude	Latitude	Ethnicity
416	Butter Chicken Roti - Yonge	-79.3855	43.66674	Indian Foodcourt
417	Hurry Curry - Centerpoint Mall	-79.4222	43.79574	Indian Foodcourt
418	Hurry Curry - North York	-79.4662	43.75853	Indian Foodcourt
419	Annai	-79.6946	43.72459	Indian Takeout
420	Annalakshmi	-79.7898	43.70739	indian Takeout
421	Balaji Ghughra	-79.623	43.64073	Indian Takeout
422	Chauhan's Indian Express Take out & Catering	-79.3197	43.79538	Indian Takeout
423	Garthy Food Inc	-79.2474	43.97134	Indian Takeout
424	Hyderabadi Zaiqah	-79.4335	43.8657	Indian Takeout
425	Kerala Kitchen	-79.2974	43.78061	Indian Takeout
426	Khushi's Kitchen (Takeout only)	-79.3775	43.80339	Indian Takeout
427	Koko's Tiffin	-79.5531	43.74942	Indian Takeout
428	NAMASTE INDIAN RESTAURANT	-79.2285	43.76687	Indian Takeout
429	PARANTHA ADDA Restaurant & Catering(Best Parathas & Tiffin in GTA)	-79.7271	43.63044	Indian Takeout
430	PuFF Tiffin service	-79.8442	43.75035	Indian Takeout
431	Queens Take out & Catering	-79.2194	43.81882	Indian Takeout
432	Raftaar Kitchen + Bar	-79.344	43.67895	indian Takeout
433	Ruchi #1 Take out & Catering	-79.1986	43.80325	Indian Takeout
434	Sams Indian Kitchen	-79.3584	43.66228	Indian Takeout
435	SR Kitchens	-79.2219	43.97048	Indian Takeout
436	Student Biryani	-79.6793	43.59083	Indian Takeout
437	Suraj Chapati House	-79.2924	43.79659	Indian Takeout
438	Sweet Palace indian restaurant	-79.7373	43.75806	Indian Takeout
439	Taste of Madurai	-79.2505	43.82373	Indian Takeout
440	The Oven Fresh	-79.3058	43.77968	Indian Takeout
441	Tirupati Indian Takeout Restaurant	-79.4688	44.00675	Indian Takeout
442	Today's Fresh Tiffin	-79.7592	43.775	Indian Takeout
443	Warraich Meats Markham Rd. & 16th Ave.	-79.2652	43.89517	Indian Takeout
444	Warraich Meats Orangeville	-80.0912	43.92868	Indian Takeout
445	Warraich Meats Restaurant and Take Out	-79.6466	43.73232	Indian Takeout
446	Warraich Meats Scarborough	-79.2684	43.88248	Indian Takeout
447	Alnoor Kebab & Sweets Restaurant	-79.0219	43.85097	Pakistani DineIn
448	Anmol Zaiqa	-79.8241	43.67917	Pakistani DineIn
449	BarBQ Tonite Restaurant	-79.6244	43.64015	Pakistani DineIn
450	Butt Karahi Famous Halal Pakistani Restaurant	-79.6818	43.52384	Pakistani DineIn
451	Chachu's	-79.3335	43.76127	Pakistani DineIn
452	Chachu's	-79.3817	43.67334	Pakistani DineIn
453	Chachu's(Ajax)	-79.0273	43.8638	Pakistani DineIn
454	Chachu's(Danforth)	-79.2388	43.68928	Pakistani DineIn
455	Daata Grill	-79.8608	43.50817	Pakistani DineIn
456	Eastern Foods Intl	-79.6179	43.58185	Pakistani DineIn
457	Food Time Pakistani and Indian Cuisine	-79.0758	43.84727	Pakistani DineIn
458	Iqbal Kebab & Sweet Centre	-79.3518	43.70612	Pakistani DineIn
459	Kabab & Karahi Point	-79.5418	43.86211	Pakistani DineIn
460	Kabab and karahi	-79.5858	44.10838	Pakistani DineIn
461	Kabab wala	-79.7261	43.53821	Pakistani DineIn
462	Kababeesh Karahi & BBQ Restaurant and Take Out	-79.867	43.5203	Pakistani DineIn
463	Karachi Grill	-79.5885	43.62438	Pakistani DineIn
464	Karachi Highway Karahi	-79.6455	43.65536	Pakistani DineIn
465	Karachi Kabab wala	-79.6969	43.60996	Pakistani DineIn
466	Karachi Kababeez	-79.7585	43.59065	Pakistani DineIn
467	Karachi Kitchen	-79.7582	43.58007	Pakistani DineIn

S.No	Name	Longitude	Latitude	Ethnicity
468	Karachi Nihari & BBQ	-79.2877	43.78372	Pakistani DineIn
469	KarachiXpress	-79.562	43.61961	Pakistani DineIn
470	KarachiXpress - Scarborough	-79.288	43.72302	Pakistani DineIn
471	Karahi Boys	-79.686	43.62991	Pakistani DineIn
472	Karahi Boys	-79.6544	43.55432	Pakistani DineIn
473	Karahi Boys	-79.3028	43.75205	Pakistani DineIn
474	Karahi Boys	-79.4086	43.67661	Pakistani DineIn
475	Karahi Boys	-79.5322	43.868	Pakistani DineIn
476	Karahi Boys	-79.6997	43.73419	Pakistani DineIn
477	Karahi Hut	-79.0709	43.8487	Pakistani DineIn
478	Karahi Kings	-79.6462	43.69652	Pakistani DineIn
479	Karahi Point	-79.4814	43.76896	Pakistani DineIn
480	Karahi Point Ajax	-79.0251	43.86697	Pakistani DineIn
481	Karahi Point Brampton	-79.8068	43.70049	Pakistani DineIn
482	Karahi Point Etobicoke	-79.5663	43.73799	Pakistani DineIn
483	Karahi Point Mississauga	-79.7567	43.59608	Pakistani DineIn
484	Karahi Point Oakville	-79.6824	43.51984	Pakistani DineIn
485	Karahi Point Richmond Hill	-79.4553	43.95144	Pakistani DineIn
486	Karahi Point Thorncliffe	-79.3442	43.70778	Pakistani DineIn
487	Karahi Stop	-79.7413	43.68809	Pakistani DineIn
488	Kashmir Karahi Point	-79.664	43.81059	Pakistani DineIn
489	Khan Baba Peshawari	-79.4885	43.82087	Pakistani DineIn
490	Khan Baba Peshawari	-80.2973	43.39465	Pakistani DineIn
491	Khan Baba Peshawari	-79.7121	43.55635	Pakistani DineIn
492	King Place Resturant	-79.3736	43.65714	Pakistani DineIn
493	King Tandoori Kennedy	-79.7378	43.6861	Pakistani DineIn
494	La Sani Grill	-79.2348	43.77644	Pakistani DineIn
495	Lahore Grill & Fast Food Halal Restaurant	-79.3279	43.67119	Pakistani DineIn
496	Lahore's Premium Kabab House	-79.2686	43.83329	Pakistani DineIn
497	LAHORI CHARGHA HUTT	-79.6259	43.78497	Pakistani DineIn
498	Lahori Karahi Taste Restaurant (Hand Slaughtered Halal)	-79.0273	43.87852	Pakistani DineIn
499	Larachi by Naumaan Ijaz	-79.837	43.52795	Pakistani DineIn
500	LaRosh	-79.0274	43.87895	Pakistani DineIn
501	Makkah Restaurant	-79.3367	43.68069	Pakistani DineIn
502	Mannat Indian & Hakka Bar	-79.4229	43.6542	Pakistani DineIn
503	Marhaba Food Corner	-79.0802	43.85756	Pakistani DineIn
504	Monal Karahi Tikka	-79.6711	43.68955	Pakistani DineIn
505	Namak Handi	-79.0914	43.83645	Pakistani DineIn
506	Nawab's Legendary BBQ	-79.7282	43.53708	Pakistani DineIn
507	Nihari Inn Downtown Toronto Halal Pakistani Restaurant	-79.4012	43.64448	Pakistani DineIn
508	Nihari Inn Halal Pakistani Restaurant	-79.6464	43.57962	Pakistani DineIn
509	Nirala Sweets and Restaurant	-79.2485	43.82294	Pakistani DineIn
510	Open Mic Café & Cuisine Pakistani & Middle Eastern Restaurant	-79.5852	43.60728	Pakistani DineIn
511	Patna Kabab House	-79.3016	43.74349	Pakistani DineIn
512	Railway Station Pakistani Food Stop	-79.7158	43.58338	Pakistani DineIn
513	Ramazan Sweets & Restaurant	-79.6151	43.5806	Pakistani DineIn
514	Shaheen Tikka & Kabab House	-79.3342	43.71396	Pakistani DineIn
515	Shahi Karahi	-79.2242	43.7609	Pakistani DineIn
516	Shashkay	-79.6421	43.65243	Pakistani DineIn
517	Simply Delicious	-79.3542	43.83412	Pakistani DineIn
518	Tandoori Feast	-79.1586	43.7669	Pakistani DineIn

S.No	Name	Longitude	Latitude	Ethnicity
519	Tandoori Style Restaurant	-79.6813	43.71223	Pakistani DineIn
520	Tandoori Time	-79.5348	43.84504	Pakistani DineIn
521	Tandoori Time	-79.6029	43.7431	Pakistani DineIn
522	Tazah Taste	-79.6145	43.58409	Pakistani DineIn
523	The Village Pakistani	-80.3237	43.39172	Pakistani DineIn
524	Zaaffran Food and Kitchen	-79.6967	43.60965	Pakistani DineIn
525	Zam Zam Tikka and Kabab	-79.2688	43.70657	Pakistani DineIn
526	Zauq Mississauga	-79.6227	43.63543	Pakistani DineIn
527	Gerrad Road Mini Pakistan	-79.3248	43.67175	Pakistani Fastfood
528	Al Mustafa Catering	-79.5685	43.56737	Pakistani Takeout
529	Baba's Bites	-79.8459	43.48276	Pakistani Takeout
530	BIRYANI BOYZ	-79.8426	43.48054	Pakistani Takeout
531	Cafe Zauq Takeout & Catering	-79.8787	43.50283	Pakistani Takeout
532	HumaRi Nihari	-79.864	43.5018	Pakistani Takeout
533	Sabreen's Food	-79.7268	43.47646	Pakistani Takeout
534	Sanober Cooks - Halal Catering Services (Pakistani/Indian Cuisine)	-79.22	43.85845	Pakistani Takeout
535	Silver Spoon	-79.8623	43.50763	Pakistani Takeout
536	Silver Spoon	-79.696	43.60898	Pakistani Takeout
537	Silver Spoon	-79.745	43.69874	Pakistani Takeout
538	Silver Spoon Pickering	-79.0805	43.85814	Pakistani Takeout
539	Silver Spoon Scarborough - Head Office	-79.2514	43.79196	Pakistani Takeout
540	Silver Spoon Warden	-79.3018	43.76351	Pakistani Takeout
541	Sohana Catering & Banquet	-79.5774	43.68932	Pakistani Takeout
542	Zeerah Takeout	-79.7141	43.54529	Pakistani Takeout
543	5 Spice Dining	-79.2476	43.82358	SriLankan DineIn
544	Appa's Original Kitchen	-79.2515	43.85141	SriLankan DineIn
545	Golden Taste of Asia	-79.5626	44.11401	SriLankan DineIn
546	Hopper Hut	-79.2825	43.76693	SriLankan DineIn
547	Masala Cafe Indian And Sri Lankan Food Bar&wings	-79.4991	43.76306	SriLankan DineIn
548	Maya's South Indian & Sri Lankan Cuisine	-79.7415	43.70065	SriLankan DineIn
549	Saffron Spice Kitchen	-79.6607	43.59856	SriLankan DineIn
550	Saffron Spice Kitchen	-79.3972	43.6484	SriLankan DineIn
551	A & S Takeout & Catering	-79.7839	43.57585	SriLankan Takeout
552	Abbirami Catering	-79.2523	43.73536	SriLankan Takeout
553	Ahmutha Surabi	-79.2543	43.75329	SriLankan Takeout
554	Amiirtham South Indian Restaurant	-79.0242	43.86673	SriLankan Takeout
555	Annapoorna Takeout	-79.6852	43.59488	SriLankan Takeout
556	Arun Bakery-Wonderland	-79.5352	43.84505	SriLankan Takeout
557	Babu Catering	-79.2913	43.89319	SriLankan Takeout
558	Bavu Villas	-79.2987	43.80505	SriLankan Takeout
559	Bitunthavanam	-79.661	43.57824	SriLankan Takeout
560	Canbe food	-79.7624	43.73154	SriLankan Takeout
561	Canbe Foods	-79.0173	43.88368	SriLankan Takeout
562	Datta Food Manufactory Inc	-79.2572	43.81129	SriLankan Takeout
563	Ganesha Take out and catering	-79.2887	43.88112	SriLankan Takeout
564	Gasa Restaurant	-79.2515	43.84886	SriLankan Takeout
565	Indran Sweets & Ice cream	-79.2623	43.83478	SriLankan Takeout
566	Iniya's Kitchen	-79.5706	43.75911	SriLankan Takeout
567	Jeyam Catering	-79.301	43.76388	SriLankan Takeout
568	Kanga Take Out Restaurant	-79.2963	43.71025	SriLankan Takeout
569	Kottu Kadai	-79.2503	43.83649	SriLankan Takeout
570	Kumi's Kitchen	-78.9055	43.8749	SriLankan Takeout

S.No	Name	Longitude	Latitude	Ethnicity
571	Lankan Delights - Authentic Sri Lankan Food	-79.6513	43.5778	SriLankan Takeout
572	Moon Rice - Nela Soru - ????????? - South Indian & Ceylon Restaurant - Mississauga	-79.6142	43.58055	SriLankan Takeout
573	Nantha Caters	-79.5932	43.75987	SriLankan Takeout
574	Nantha Caters	-79.2509	43.83297	SriLankan Takeout
575	Nantha Caters	-79.3185	43.79815	SriLankan Takeout
576	Nantha Express	-79.2692	43.83296	SriLankan Takeout
577	New Kalyani Take Out/Catering	-79.2668	43.73039	SriLankan Takeout
578	NEW MOON RICE Restaurant Take out and catering	-79.6219	43.57803	SriLankan Takeout
579	New Spiceland Restaurant & Bakery	-79.0376	43.89089	SriLankan Takeout
580	Poorani Vilaas	-79.2498	43.83665	SriLankan Takeout
581	Raani Fast Food	-79.1742	43.79039	SriLankan Takeout
582	Rajah Ram Caterers	-79.2574	43.81259	SriLankan Takeout
583	Rasa Thi	-79.2667	43.90722	SriLankan Takeout
584	Royal Take Out and Catering	-79.7293	43.75687	SriLankan Takeout
585	Senthura	-79.2453	43.8212	SriLankan Takeout
586	Serena's Cake and SriLankan food	-78.9042	43.87603	SriLankan Takeout
587	Seven Spicy	-79.2538	43.85066	SriLankan Takeout
588	SLS Eazy Carry Take Out Restaurant	-79.7297	43.58309	SriLankan Takeout
589	Sri Lankan Village Taste	-79.1965	43.79112	SriLankan Takeout
590	SRIRAM BAKERY & CATERING INC	-79.6576	43.76746	SriLankan Takeout
591	Suvaiyakam	-79.3069	43.79947	SriLankan Takeout
592	Taste of Colombo	-79.2471	43.73526	SriLankan Takeout
593	Thinusha Take Out And Catering	-79.7376	43.68625	SriLankan Takeout
594	Trisha's South Indian and Sri Lankan Cuisine	-79.669	43.66842	SriLankan Takeout
595	Varalakshmi Vegetarian Takeout & Catering	-79.8072	43.68687	SriLankan Takeout
596	Vinayagar Vilas Take-Out & Catering	-79.7404	43.68826	SriLankan Takeout

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