Our diverse cities
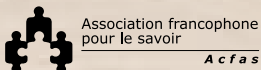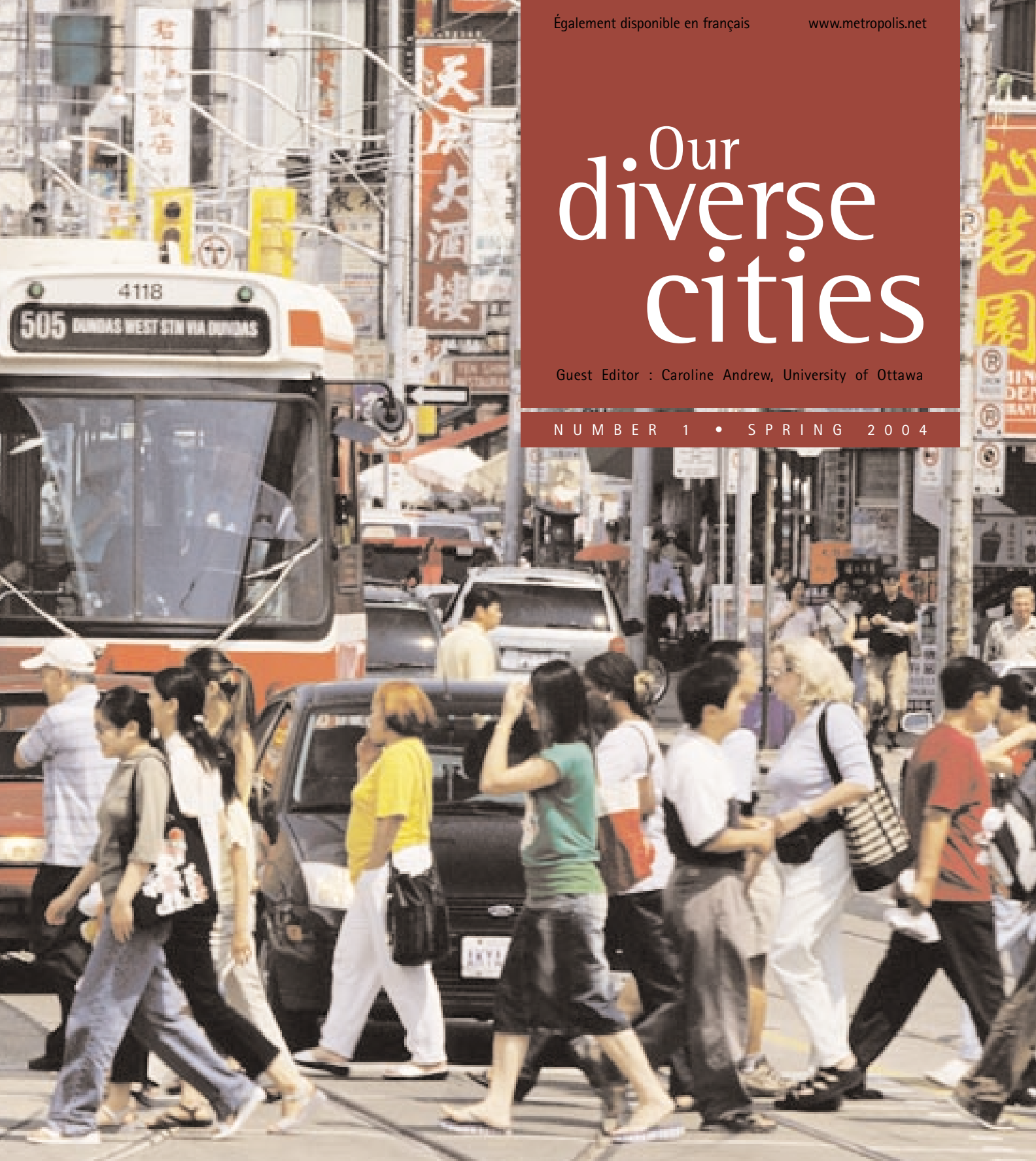
Guest Editor : Caroline Andrew, University of Ottawa

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Our Diverse Cities

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Word from Howard Duncan

The Metropolis Project is very pleased to produce this magazine, *Our Diverse Cities*, with the Federation of Canadian Municipalities. Population diversity in our cities, although not a new phenomenon in Canada, is deepening to the point that government officials and academic researchers are devoting more and more attention to understanding its effects, its dynamics, its benefits, and its challenges. Much of the diversity in Canadian cities is a result of our long history of immigration, a history that was purposefully framed through national policies to encourage immigrants to choose Canada as their destination. Although other countries have vastly different migration policies, many share with Canada the growth in their cities and the increasing diversity of their populations.

The drawing power of cities is enormous, and the pace of urbanization is relentless and rapid. Samuel Johnson, in speaking of 18th century London, might have generalized for all cities: "No, Sir, when a man is tired of London, he is tired of life; for there is in London all that life can afford." The familiar phenomenon of migration towards cities has been made all the more fascinating by the increased proportion occupied by *international* migration from an ever-larger number of countries. Yes, it is our country that immigrants want to come to, but it is in our cities in particular that they want to live.

The character of a city can be significantly altered by migration. Not only does its size change but so do its cultural expressions. Many of these changes are quite readily accommodated by the population and its existing institutions, especially when there is a reasonable public support for immigration and the diversity that it brings. Nevertheless, many of the effects on cities of immigration and diversity require sensitive managing if the city is to prosper throughout the process of change. The contributions to this magazine describe some of the approaches that work well and some of the problems with which Canadian cities will need to grapple.

One of Canada's advantages over other countries is our well-established propensity to manage the effects of immigration for success, our general tendency to view immigration, if it is well managed, as a source of benefits to our cities. In many other countries, immigration is cast as an unwanted source of stress on a society, especially its cities. In these cases, management often consists of measures to deflect migration to other countries, and where this fails, to exclude migrants from the mainstream population and from many of the benefits that government provides. We have learned in Canada the value of an approach that, at its fundamental starting point, sees immigration as an opportunity for growth and develops all other strategies from this premise.

We at the Metropolis Project hope that the writings here will convey some of this spirit, some of the good work that has been done, and some of the hard work ahead. Metropolis is committed to encouraging research on these issues and to promoting exchanges of information and viewpoints amongst researchers, policy makers at all levels of government, and civil society. If you wish to read more, please have a look at our Website (www.canada.metropolis.net).

Howard Duncan
Executive Head
Metropolis Project

A New Deal for our Diverse Cities

Our Diverse Cities is a cooperative effort of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities and the Metropolis Project of Citizenship and Immigration Canada. It is designed to provide municipal governments, researchers, politicians, practitioners and policy-makers with a better understanding of how diversity influences communities.

The publication is unique in offering a mix of articles from both researchers and practitioners. Although some of the opinions may not reflect FCM's positions, we feel it is important to explore all points of view regarding the opportunities and challenges presented by diversity. Here, mayors, councillors and municipal staff provide a municipal perspective on diversity.

Of course, no discussion of these issues would be complete without reference to the proposed New Deal for communities. Municipal governments require long-term sustainable funding to meet the needs of their communities. More important, the renewed partnership at the heart of the New Deal—a new way of working among the federal, provincial, territorial and municipal governments—will contribute greatly to meeting the challenges posed by our increasingly diverse population. It will also help the federal government realize many of its goals by working with and through municipal governments.

We believe that the New Deal should focus on the key elements of social and economic development that cut across issues of ethnicity and origin. For example, affordable housing, skills development and employment are critically important to new Canadians and the growing urban Aboriginal population. They are equally critical to maintaining the economic vitality of our cities.

Affordable housing is fundamental. No one can focus on developing skills and finding a job without an affordable place to live. Increasing the supply of housing and raising levels of income support to ensure that all Canadians can have decent, affordable, housing would improve life for many people, including new Canadians and Aboriginal people living in cities. It would also improve public safety and public health, stabilizing individuals, families and neighbourhoods.

Neighbourhood redevelopment is also essential. Housing, streets, businesses, recreation and cultural facilities, public libraries and green spaces make up the physical fundamentals of urban neighbourhoods. Opportunities for community-based recreation, culture and learning are increasingly recognized as critical for social inclusion, community cohesion and the promotion of skills and economic development.

Intergovernmental cooperation in developing and delivering programs to support skills development and employment could make a significant contribution to urban areas and to the new Canadians and Aboriginal people living there. Municipal governments are well placed to help implement programs locally and to engage local businesses and schools in developing initiatives. Without the New Deal, they will not be at the table when programs are developed.

The New Deal can also help governments coordinate investment and deliver programs and services. Federal, provincial, territorial and municipal governments are all involved in a range of investments, programs and service-delivery mechanisms that are often poorly coordinated. Better coordination and planning of policies and programs would yield enormous benefits. This principle of coordination lies at the heart of the major multi-party urban developments now in place or under negotiation. These could serve as models for dealing with many of the challenges outlined here.

I invite you to consider how diversity enriches our lives and how, as policy-makers, politicians, researchers and practitioners, we can work together to meet the needs of our diverse communities. I am sure that you will conclude, as I have, that only by forging a New Deal for communities can we successfully respond to the opportunities and challenges diversity offers.

Yves Ducharme
President, Federation of Canadian Municipalities

Introduction

Welcome to this special issue of *Our Diverse Cities*, co-produced by Metropolis and the Federation of Canadian municipalities. It looks broadly at the Canadian experience of the management of diversity that, as we know, is essentially the experience of Canadian cities and their transformation over the past twenty or thirty years. An increasingly large number of all Canadians live in the urban centres of Canada and this is even more so of the newly arrived Canadians—the vast majority have settled in Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal. This issue is therefore looking at the extent to which our cities have met, or can meet, the challenges of diversity.

So what is the overall picture? Have urban Canadians changed through living in increasingly diverse cities? Have new Canadians made their way successfully into the Canadian society, economy, political life and cultural life? Have Canadian cities changed and, if so, in what ways?

The overall tone of this issue is both celebratory and critical. The authors are concerned about missed opportunities, wrong turns and combinations of indifference and the creation of barriers. On the other hand, there is pleasure and even some congratulations about opportunities seized, progressive initiatives and the possibilities opened up for the recognition of difference.

And what do we mean by the management of diversity? We certainly don't mean "manage" in the sense of containment or control—the word "management" is used to signal that there are a huge number of practices, programs and policies put in place by an equally huge number of public, private and civil society actors and organizations that interrelate, coordinate and contradict each other and that all together affect the ways in which immigrants come to Canada, settle here and the ways in which Canadian cities have, and have not, adapted/been transformed/successfully integrated these new Canadians.

It is the patterns of governance of this rapidly increasing diversity that is the subject of this issue. And central to this understanding of governance is the realization that it is essential to examine the impact of ethnocultural diversity in its intersections with gender, class, immigration status, age, religion, sexual orientation and language. Canadian practice and Canadian research have been marked in fundamental ways by this understanding and integration of intersectionality.

The large Canadian cities are crucial actors in the management of diversity and, clearly, one of the major themes of this issue is to examine whether Canadian municipal governments have been able to develop successful policies, programs and activities. If so, what are the examples and how were they developed? If municipal governments are seen to be less than successful, what are the gaps and what needs to be done to improve municipal capacity? The issue is rich in examples of innovative municipal activity—in areas of arts and culture, public health, multicultural planning, grants to community groups for innovative service delivery initiatives, festivals, civic participation policies and activities, neighbourhood centres bringing together newcomers and members of the host society, municipal employment policies and many more.

At the same time, limits and gaps at the municipal level are also identified. Three articles look at the political representation of ethnocultural minorities at the municipal level and raise questions about why the translation of our ethnocultural diversity into political representation has been so slow. Bird points to characteristics of the electoral system and voting rights. For example, her article reminds readers that there are a growing number of European countries where the right to vote in local elections is given before citizenship. Bird also underlines the absence of a transparent party system in Canadian local elections as another characteristic that has perhaps impeded greater ethnocultural representation. For her part, Simard underlines the considerable advantage that incumbents enjoy in municipal elections in her analysis of the representation of women and

members of ethnocultural communities in recent municipal election results in Quebec. The municipal elections for the newly amalgamated municipalities did not overall result in a renewed political leadership as one might have expected from such a new political context, and certainly not in better representation for the newer ethnocultural communities. Biles and Tolley also share the view that we need to do better in representing newcomers and minorities and they suggest three steps; monitoring results, institutional change and engaging newcomers and minorities in the informal decision-making processes that structure Canadian society.

In addition to the weak representation of ethnocultural elected officials in municipal politics, a number of limits and gaps in municipal policy and activity were noted. However, for the most part, in these analyses, responsibility for the absence of effective policy was not seen to be primarily the fault of municipal government but rather the failure of coordination between senior government policy and overall public sector policy. Senior government policies are described as absent, inadequate or insufficiently coordinated. As the article on homelessness indicates, recently arrived Canadians are increasingly among the homeless and municipal governments need both more money and more tools to solve the problem of homelessness. In addition, and perhaps even more critically, the activities of all the levels of government and those of the actors and organizations of civil society need to be better coordinated. Sandercock is particularly clear on the need for more resources at the local level as well as greater policy support for local innovation. She describes a number of innovative local policies that require both greater federal funding and stronger provincial and federal policy support. However, Sandercock is not simply suggesting that more and better senior government support would solve all the challenges of diversity; her requirements for making Canadian cities "a global exemplar of peaceful intercultural co-existence" include much more broadly the willingness of the host society to being redefined and to participating in a process of creating new notions of citizenship.

Sandercock's requirements also pick up on another of the major themes of this issue and that is the need to better understand the processes of intercultural relations. Many of the authors underline the need to do more research on the ways in which policies, programs and activities impact on the management of diversity. We are all indebted to the work being done from the Metropolis research centres, and the overall Metropolis project. It has already made a major contribution to our knowledge about issues of immigration, immigrant settlement and policies around diversity and, equally importantly, this research has raised such interesting questions that is has led to an opening up of research into this previously under-studied area.

But we still need more research and we particularly need research that incorporates the participation and the voices of those being studied. A wide variety of types of research need to be encouraged and this requires the combined efforts of research organizations, governments, community-based organizations and colleges and universities. This issue is both an invitation to those researchers whose work could encompass questions of ethnocultural diversity and its intersections with gender, class, immigrant status, age, religion, sexual orientation, language and other significant markers of social distinction and, hopefully, reinforcement for those already doing research on these subjects.

Based on my reading of the articles in this issue, I would suggest a number of research areas that appear particularly important if we are to develop the knowledge base necessary for having good policy in Canadian cities. First of all, we need to know more about the relationship between daily patterns of life and the formation of attitudes and actions in relation to diversity. Using the language of some authors, relationships between "thin" and "thick" dimensions of diversity need to be better understood if we are to understand how attitudes form, on the part of members of the host society and the newcomers, and how attitudes develop into actions. Do what are sometimes referred to as "thin" aspects of diversity—food and festivals—lead people to open up to "thicker" aspects of diversity? Do the interactions of daily life—being neighbours, using the same routes to work, buying coffee at the same store—lead to diminished stereotypes or increased stereotypes? What are the conditions under which some recognition of diversity leads to positive openness to greater recognition? Good policy needs to be based on a more thorough understanding of the processes of urban life—residence, work, organizational life, use of public spaces—and the ways these create, sustain or limit the conditions for the successful management of diversity.

A second crucial area for research is local innovation. Some wonderful examples of this innovation is described in this issue, but we need many more case studies of projects, both successful and unsuccessful, that have dealt with diversity issues in Canada cities. What are the conditions of success? How does success relate to the actors in the projects—do projects work better with municipal (provincial, federal) government involvement, or without it? What kind of civil society involvement works best? How do the conditions, levels and categories of financing influence success? Using the social capital categories of Robert Putnam, does bonding lead to bridging or does bonding limit bridging? And what about linking? Using other vocabulary, what is the relationship, in concrete local projects, between organizing around similarity, be it one ethnocultural community or a very specific group (e.g., elderly immigrant women of one ethnocultural community) and organizing around difference (e.g., teen-aged males of mixed ethnocultural backgrounds living in one particular public housing project)? In each case, what are the conditions for success and what is the relation between the measurement of success of an individual project and the overall objectives for Canadian cities—as, for instance, Sandercock's goal for our cities as a "global exemplar of peaceful intercultural co-existence"?

Finally, we need more research on municipal policy and the factors influencing its outcomes. Does the composition of municipal councils influence policy choices and, if so, more or less than the composition of the key municipal administrative positions, of key participants in municipal advisory committees or participatory planning exercises and of key civil society groups who lobby municipal government for policy changes. If we need to know more about the impact of the electoral systems and election practices on the choice of the elected municipal representatives, we also need to know more about the key policy makers at the municipal level. We need to know more about their diversity and we also need to know more about where, and how, innovation emerges at the municipal level. Do cities borrow ideas from each other and does this happen more readily when they are part of the same province or the same country or are we dealing with a global system of urban policy innovation for diversity? Do financial incentives (from provincial or federal sources) produce innovative municipal policy and what is the result of being required to implement policy as part of a senior government policy?

It is an indication of the quality of the contents of this issue that it raises so many exciting avenues for on-going research. I would like to thank the authors for having provided such passionate, and thoughtful, material on the experience of Canadian cities in the management of diversity. I would like to particularly thank the editors for having invited me to introduce this issue. I can only hope that I have conveyed some small sense of the pleasure I had in reading this important, instructive and varied material on "our diverse cities."

Caroline Andrew
Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Ottawa
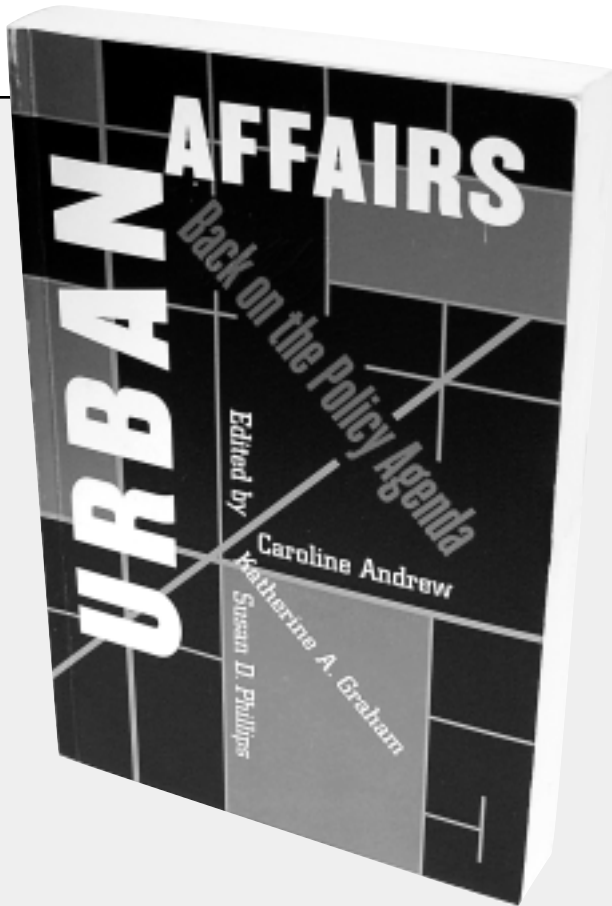
Urban Affairs

Back on the Policy Agenda

Edited by Caroline Andrew,
Katherine A. Graham and Susan D. Phillips

" Canada is overwhelmingly an urban nation and healthy, prosperous cities are the key to its well-being. However, Canada's last experience with national urban policy-making was in the 1970s. In Urban Affairs leading experts in a variety of disciplines focus on what has happened since that time, exploring how both our city-regions and our ideas about the policy-making process have changed – including the past and present roles of the federal government – and examining what role the federal government can and should have in the future."

BUILDING CIVIL SOCIETY, FISCAL CHALLENGES,
PLANNING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, GOVERNANCE

McGill–Queen's University Press

Interview with Glen Murray
Mayor of Winnipeg

Along with your fellow big city mayors, you have been advocating a New Deal for cities. What are Winnipeg's priorities in a New Deal?

Achieving Efficiency in City Government and Building Public Confidence

One of the challenges we had in this city government was our own credibility. We realized very quickly that we had to improve our track record. Saying we tried but did not deliver was no longer good enough. Meaningful accountability and transparency was going to have to be the order of the day at City Hall, and we were going to have to deliver the kind of change and results we were asking from our community if we were going to have any right to provide leadership for our city.

The problem is more complex than simply the reduction of civic expenditures. Our high property taxes need a comprehensive solution.

Population and Social Issues

Winnipeg underwent a period of population decline in the late eighties, only recently bouncing back. Our population growth in the nineties has increased very slowly: between 1991 and 1999 it grew from 625,200 to 628,100.

As cities continue to be the home of domestic and international migrants, these cities will need to rise to the unique challenges of ensuring that each member of our urban family has the opportunity to reach his or her potential.

This means further investment in housing, transit, settlement services, the voluntary sector and recreation services—and importantly, decentralizing the decision-making process not from national to provincial, but from government to citizen.

Aging Infrastructure and Environmental Challenges

The urban infrastructure crisis, $57 billion nationally, $2 billion in Winnipeg, has outstripped the capacity of property taxes to keep up with the mounting bill. Solid infrastructure is absolutely vital to a trade-based economy. Next to the business community and its ability to get good deals, export and sell things abroad, and bring new money into our city, the transportation infrastructure in the city and the transportation infrastructure that connects us to other places is the absolute skeleton on which trade is built. The capacity of our transportation infrastructure is critical.

Winnipeg has an annual infrastructure deficit of $188 million. This is the difference between what we should be building, repairing and replacing and what we can afford to repair and replace. In spite of taking our road renewal budget from zero in 1997 to $23 million last year, we're still not keeping up. The three-year infrastructure deficit is anticipated to be $564 million or an annual per capita deficit of $297. The City's three top infrastructure priorities are roads, sewers and transit.

Flat Revenue Sources

Supporting a competitive tax environment requires a co-operative effort with the City's key partners—other levels of government, the private sector and its citizens—to develop new incentives and mechanisms that provide the City with a competitive edge in the global environment.

Urban Form

Transportation infrastructure and land use are two of the largest drivers of municipal government costs. Paradoxically, they are rarely discussed, much less considered as a budget item. We currently require developers to build costly infrastructure that drives housing prices up and encourages residents to relocate to low cost centres.

Winnipeg wishes to position itself as a city concerned with sustainable development issues. It is time to develop and implement a supportive transportation policy that is transit-centred if we are to be taken seriously in this regard. Winnipeg's transit system has a strong foundation upon which to build, towards increasing revenues through improved ridership and convenience, while also making environmental improvements. In so doing, the City of Winnipeg must move away from debt-financing infrastructure that, in effect, subsidizes the automobile with city tax dollars. Rather, we must move towards policies that prioritize and invest in transit, encourage carpooling, and discourage the proliferation of motor vehicles.

The City of Winnipeg must ensure a quality supply of housing in Winnipeg. The City is promoting the preservation and rehabilitation of housing through the implementation of housing tax credit programs. The preservation and rehabilitation of existing residential units, particularly in the inner core, is an essential component of such a strategy.

City Image and Esteem

Winnipeg needs to overcome the mosquitoes and the windchill. We have a beautiful city that can only become more beautiful with proper investments created by a New Deal.

The New Deal discussion is more than finances, authority and sustainability. This is a discussion that goes even further to ask, "What kind of City do we want to be?" Do we want a City government that simply provides the basic services—police, pipes and pavement? Or do we want a City that attracts talented people that will drive our economy through investments in arts, culture and economic development?

We have a lot to be proud of in our City, but there are also significant shifts taking place that need proper attention and support. Our City has texture and richness. We are a community of inclusiveness and celebration like very few other cities in the world. We should be proud of the community that we, and those who came before us, built. Sometimes it's hard to be proud of our city when you're driving over potholes, but remove the potholes and we can really celebrate.

Winnipeg is in the process of negotiating the Canada-Manitoba-Winnipeg Agreement for Community and Economic Development. What are the key elements of this agreement and how will it meet the needs of Winnipeg's diverse population, especially Aboriginal peoples?

The Agreement for Community and Economic Development currently being negotiated is based on four main components, as follows:

Aboriginal Participation.

The focus will be on the need to benefit from the opportunities presented by significant growth in the young Aboriginal population. It will focus on enhancing social and economic development opportunities for Aboriginal people.

Building Sustainable Neighbourhoods.

This initiative will build on efforts of residents to restore Winnipeg's historic inner city communities to health and vibrancy. It will allow governments to provide a range of support for a community-driven approach to neighbourhood renewal by building on the existing strengths of communities.

Downtown Renewal.

The three orders of government will identify and support projects and heritage preservation initiatives, encourage and support downtown living, and facilitate strategic economic and cultural initiatives in the downtown core to contribute to the revitalization of Winnipeg's downtown.

Supporting Innovation and Technology.

The goal is to build a knowledge-based economy and ensure continued success in developing and attracting businesses in priority sectors of the

economy, using investments in both the public and private sectors in areas such as research, innovation, infrastructure and technology commercialization. The transformation and growth of Winnipeg's economy relies on the creation of an environment that values, fosters and supports investment in innovation.

Winnipeg's Folklorama is one of the largest multicultural festivals in North America. What benefits has this festival brought to the city?

Originally a one-time event sponsored by the City of Winnipeg in 1970 to commemorate the 100th birthday of Manitoba, Folklorama has grown to become the largest and longest-running festival of its kind in the world.

Folklorama is now a two-week multicultural extravaganza that draws visitors from around the world. Over 40 pavilions showcase everything from traditional home-cooked meals to electrifying nightly performances by local and international entertainers. The festival attracts 400,000 plus pavilion visits each year.

To measure the benefits of Folklorama seems an almost daunting task. There are obviously the tourism aspects, but more importantly is the sense of community it builds. Folklorama exists and thrives because of the proud participation of many generations of Winnipeggers eager to celebrate and share their unique cultures. From the set designers to the costume makers to the talented performers—Folklorama is built by citizens who take time to give back to their community. Winnipeg is a more humane, diverse and richly entertaining place because of the untiring efforts of over 20,000 volunteers each year.

In 2002 the City of Winnipeg adopted the "Winnipeg Private Refugee Sponsorship Assurance Program." What opportunities and challenges have surfaced in implementing this program?

The "Winnipeg Private Refugee Sponsorship Assurance Program" (WPRSAP) has presented a great opportunity to assist refugees abroad while at the same time providing Winnipeg with the opportunity to augment its population. This unique partnership between refugee sponsoring groups, the City of Winnipeg and the Federal and Provincial Governments was formed to substantially increase the number of refugee family members settling in Winnipeg. The real challenge is the Federal Government's lack of resources abroad and the capacity to deal with the processing of the applications. While more than 2,000 applications have been submitted under the WPRSAP, the lengthy processing delays at the Federal level mean that it could be several years before we welcome our first family.

In 2000, you created a Task Force on Diversity with the goal of making Winnipeg a barrier-free city for all citizens. What were some of the key recommendations of the Task Force and how were they implemented at the city?

Community

- Recommendation 21
  That the City of Winnipeg work actively to encourage immigration to Winnipeg through lobbying efforts with the provincial and federal governments as well as through active promotion.

- Recommendation 4
  That the City of Winnipeg act to recognize, support, and celebrate with diverse community celebrations, holidays, and festivals.

Employment

- Recommendation 8
  That the City and its workforce focus on equity and diversity issues in the development of all policies, procedures, and services. A statement of commitment should be included in the business plan of each civic department.

- Recommendation 10
  That the City of Winnipeg improve the opportunity for advancement of the target groups by implementing catch-up and equalization principles and by developing a mentorship program from within its workforce. It is further recommended that those who act as mentors receive special recognition for their efforts.

- Recommendation 12
  That all City of Winnipeg employees from entry level to senior management be required to attend workshops/training with

regard to equity and diversity benchmarks and objectives.

Achievements

In September 2003, City Council unanimously adopted First Steps: Municipal Aboriginal Pathways (MAP). This multi-phase strategy focuses primarily on an enhanced partnership between the Aboriginal community and civic government to help promote the full participation of Aboriginal citizens by addressing social, economic and cultural barriers.

In 2002, a workforce analysis and Employment Systems Review (ESR) were completed to determine a strategy for promoting equity and diversity for civic employees at all levels.

In September 2002, the Corporate Services Department produced a report called ACTION PLAN for Creating a Dynamic and Diverse Workforce that detailed the findings of the workforce analysis and ESR. The report compares national, provincial and local labour force data (using 1996 Census information) with that of the City of Winnipeg labour force, highlighting areas where the civic workforce has met or exceeded labour market trends and areas where gaps occur.

Based on this information, civic departments are expected to ensure that our workplace and our hiring reflect labour market availability. To help increase representation, departments are striving to exceed labour market availability were gaps are significant. The Access Advisory Committee worked closely with the City Clerk's Department to make civic election venues, materials and services more universally accessible to the community using templates for people who are blind, enhanced communications and better signage.

On December 20, 2002, the Chief Administrative Officer released an administrative directive to all departments, employees and contracted agents of the City advising them to support and facilitate the implementation of Universal Design. The Directive established clear roles and actions for policy implementation.

In a cooperative effort with the federal and provincial governments, the City of Winnipeg opened a Bilingual Service Centre in April 2002 that allows citizens to access municipal services in English and French. Approximately thirty employees are serving the community at the 614 Des Meurons Street location. Managers of civic departments drafted 2003-2005 business plans that include a statement of commitment regarding equity and diversity.

The CAO launched two administrative directives: Respectful Workplace in February 2002, and Reasonable Accommodation in March 2003. In the last round of negotiations, a Letter of Understanding was signed, which gives CUPE employees the ability to request flexible work hours.

In 2002, Judy Redmond, Committee Coordinator for the Access Advisory Committee, participated in an international accessibility project through the Canadian Centre on Disability Studies. Redmond travelled to Sister City L'viv, Ukraine to discuss universal design and the strategy Winnipeg has implemented.

Universal Design is a concept, or way of thinking about design. It is also known as Design for Aging and Intergenerational Design. Simply put, Universal Design creates environments that respond to the needs of the range of the population to the greatest extent possible. It is an evolution from accessible or barrier-free design to be more inclusive. The key is Universal Design focuses on a range of needs, not averages. Average-based thinking left out huge segments of our population, and so naturally, relied on special design features to include people with disabilities.

Universal Design acknowledges that people come in various sizes, have various strengths, etc. There is no value judgment on these differences. It is as important to include a tall twenty-year-old as a senior, or a child, or a person who uses a wheelchair or someone with a hearing disability.

Universal design solutions are functional and create better design. Some designs have come from barrier-free design. An example is lever handles. While first advocated by people with limited hand dexterity, they are simply easier to operate. They work for a wide range of users. Since they are no longer seen as a barrier-free item, they have become marketable, readily available, and used in many environments simply as a better alternative.

The word "design" in the term Universal Design refers to more than the built environment. We design systems, services, and policies, as well as buildings and landscapes. Universal Design will apply equally well to the design of parks, buildings, transportation systems, information services, recreation and social services, policies and by-laws.

Interview with Jean Augustine
Minister of State
(Multiculturalism and Status of Women)

*Multiculturalism is a Canadian reality.
Why is the Multiculturalism Policy in Canada
still relevant ?*

Canada's Multiculturalism Policy, adopted back
in 1971, reflects the nature of Canadian society.
There are now more than 200 ethnic groups in
Canada and visible minorities make up 13% of
the population, with most of them living in
the major cities. Immigration has outpaced the
natural birth rate to account for 53% of overall
population growth.

According to the 2002 Focus Canada survey
conducted by Environics, 83% of Canadians feel
that people from different racial and cultural
groups enrich the life of Canada, and 82% agree
that our multicultural society is a source of pride
for Canadians. The findings show that we have
achieved significant progress toward our shared
vision of an inclusive society. I am confident that
by working together we will come still closer to
fully realizing that vision.

Canadians of all backgrounds must be able
to express and share their diverse experiences.
Ours must be an inclusive society built on
intercultural understanding and participation.
Multiculturalism is part of the architecture of
that society.

A society founded on principles of
multiculturalism and openness to racial, ethnic
and religious diversity can generate new ideas
from a broader spectrum of experiences
and views. And that diversity of expression
in turn reinforces dialogue and social cohesion.

Multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic
of our society and our national character. Positive
pluralism is the way to gain all possible
advantages from this diversity. And that means
full participation in all aspects of society for all
Canadians regardless of culture, ethnic or national
origin, religion, race, or colour.

*Since becoming the Minister responsible for
multiculturalism, you have placed significant
emphasis on diversity and policing issues. What
has the Government of Canada done in each of
these areas to ensure that they are tackled in a
manner consistent with the Canadian
Multiculturalism Act?*

Since September 11, 2001, the focus on
multiculturalism and policing issues has
assumed new dimensions. In Canada's diverse
society, the relationship between police services
and Aboriginal and racialized communities

continues to be critical. It became a leading topic of discussion following media reports of racial profiling by some police services and incidents affecting members of Arab, Muslim, African Canadian, Jewish and Aboriginal communities.

In February 2003, I hosted a National Forum on Policing in a Multicultural Society. The participants came from law enforcement agencies, ethnic and racial communities, academia, and public institutions. Discussions centred on three themes: (I) Recognizing and Embracing Diversity; (ii) Policing with a National Security Agenda at the Forefront; and (iii) Public Participation: Civilian Oversight and Governance. The Forum developed strategies and made recommendations. It strengthened partnerships between police and communities across the country, and shared tools and best practices.

As a direct outcome, I announced the launch of the Law Enforcement and Aboriginal Diversity Network (LEAD) to foster a common, professional approach that will help all police services in Canada better serve Aboriginal and racially diverse communities. The initiative is led by the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police. It will result in better working relationships between Canadian law enforcement officers and the ethno-racial, ethno-cultural and Aboriginal communities they serve. It will also ensure that law enforcement officers receive training and information on effective practices that will better prepare them to deliver bias-free policing services.

I have emphasized policing and racial profiling over the past two years, and I am pleased to report progress. Law enforcement agencies across the country are taking steps to be more responsive to the needs and concerns of their communities. The Multiculturalism Program will continue to promote cooperation between police authorities and community organizations.

In your opinion, what are the most important issues facing religious, racial and ethnic minorities in Canadian municipalities today?

Ethno-racial and ethno-cultural groups face many challenges in our urban centres today. Racism and discrimination raise deep concerns for religious, ethnic and racial minority groups and government alike.

We need to focus on empowering groups and individuals. All Canadians, including newcomers, must become better integrated into Canadian society and participate more fully in our country's social, economic, cultural and political life, as well as in the education and voluntary sectors.

The Multiculturalism Program helps develop strategies to eliminate barriers to full participation in Canadian society. It also fosters changes that make public institutions more representative and accessible to ethnic and racial minorities.

The Program supports community action initiatives to combat racism and systemic discrimination, which pose barriers to opportunity and substantive equality. These projects emphasize community initiatives, partnerships, capacity building and cross-cultural understanding.

With recent incidents of hate crime in our major cities, it is still more important to strengthen cross-cultural understanding and mutual respect as we work together to build a more cohesive and inclusive society.

Social capital is an increasingly popular lens to view public policy. In the Canadian context it appears that in-group social capital (bonding) is seen as detrimental, while cross-group social capital (bridging) is seen as beneficial. How does this new approach impact on multiculturalism that former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau insisted was premised on the belief that it is only through the successful development of in-group connections, that cross-group connections could successfully develop?

The two kinds of social capital you describe are not mutually exclusive. Ideally, "bonding" and "bridging" reinforce and complement one another in the way that Prime Minister Trudeau envisaged. What he said was that if a sense of shared citizenship among Canadians was to mean anything in a deeply personal sense, it "must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes, and assumptions." This is why the federal Multiculturalism Policy seeks to promote capacity building and removal of barriers for individual ethno-cultural and racial

groups, and at the same time to encourage "creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups."

Polls show that 90% of Canadians are proud of the rich multicultural fabric of our communities today, and they have every right to be. A further step is to actively link our diverse ethno-racial and cultural groups and their knowledge; this calls for innovative thinking, trust on all sides and regular discussion of our shared core values.

Our Multiculturalism Policy lays the foundation for a dynamic future of ever more collective action and achievement by Canadians, a future of dialogue and open exchange between ethno-racial and cultural groups that are willing to listen and learn from each other.

Participation in key decision-making bodies is seen as essential to social inclusion. Canadian research suggests that newcomers, ethnic/racial/religious minorities are largely absent from participating in the political life of Canada at all three levels of government. What is the Government of Canada doing to monitor and correct this problem?

The Government of Canada understands the importance of ensuring that all Canadians exercise their democratic rights. Together with the Department of Canadian Heritage, Statistics Canada produced the Ethnic Diversity Survey to develop a better understanding of the lives of new Canadians and ethnic and racial groups.

The Multiculturalism Policy was designed to create a society that values the diverse heritage of its citizens, and that enables all of them to participate in economic, social, cultural and political life. Voter participation levels in the 2000 federal election indicate that the Policy is succeeding. According to the Ethnic Diversity Survey, the participation level of eligible voters who arrived in Canada between 1991 and 2001 was only 53%; in contrast, it was 83% among eligible voters who arrived in Canada prior to 1991. A similar trend is evident at the municipal level: of eligible voters who arrived in Canada between 1991 and 2001, only 38% voted in the last municipal election – compared with 68% of those who arrived prior to 1991. The figures show that newcomers become more involved with public life the longer they are in Canada. The Multiculturalism Program promotes their involvement through joint awareness raising,

community action and public education projects, as well as through direct activities to make Canadians aware of our democratic values and citizenship responsibilities.

In the past year, the Multiculturalism Program supported three initiatives aimed at increasing municipal-level participation in political life by newcomers from ethnic, racial and religious minority communities. The Canadian Arab Federation and the African Canadian Social Development Council are working to address issues related to municipal participation in Toronto; the Canadian Council of Muslim Women has a pilot initiative to increase female voter turnout in municipal elections across the country.

Given the rapid growth of religious diversity in Canadian municipalities, what is the Government of Canada doing to monitor and tackle issues of religious discrimination?

As a result of changes in migratory patterns and immigration laws, the Canadian religious and ethno-cultural landscape has changed significantly in the past three decades. Canada has adherents of almost every religion, including Christians (Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant), Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims, Jews and Sikhs. Faith-based and religious communities contribute in innumerable ways. They provide a range of social services, including care for the elderly and disabled, refugee sponsorship, settlement and immigration services, and support for the homeless. They also play a major part in recruiting volunteers.

Since September 11, 2001, there has been a heightened sense of awareness of religion in general in our society. Hate and bias activities have erupted across Western liberal democracies, and security concerns have become paramount.

In recent months, we have also seen hate and bias activities targeted against different communities across the country. The Government of Canada has been unwavering in its denunciation of hate crimes perpetrated against any ethno-cultural, ethno-racial or religious group in Canada.

The Multiculturalism Program has supported initiatives to increase awareness and understanding of religious diversity. We have also funded projects across the country looking at a variety of issues, including public education

for community groups and within the school system, working to combat negative portrayal and stereotyping in the media, cross-cultural understanding, community dialogue forums, and pluralism and racism.

To better facilitate constructive dialogue between faith-based communities, I hosted a roundtable on Parliament Hill last spring. This was an opportunity for me to listen to religious leaders and talk about ways of promoting and maintaining cross-cultural understanding in Canadian society. I am pleased to say that my colleagues have also been working with various groups across the country. For example, Foreign Affairs Minister Bill Graham and I participated in community relation dialogues with representatives from Jewish, Christian and Muslim organizations.

We will continue to encourage inter-faith dialogue as a way to foster interactive discussion, education and relationship building.

By promoting respect for religious pluralism in Canada, we will ensure implementation of the principles outlined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Multiculturalism Act.

Interview with Claudette Bradshaw
Minister of Labour and
Minister responsible for Homelessness

Canadian governments have cut back on investment in social housing over the last decade. The result, some argue, is an increasing incidence of homelessness among vulnerable and marginalized populations. What is the Government of Canada doing to tackle homelessness?

Although affordable housing is key, it is not the only answer to homelessness. There are many ways to fall into homelessness but only a few ways out. The National Secretariat on Homelessness is working with over 60 cities across Canada, helping communities to develop a wide variety of services to support the people who need these. We aim to increase the availability and access to a range of services like health care, legal and financial assistance and with facilities like transitional and supportive houses for those who may not be ready for independent living. While much work remains to be done, a component of the Government of Canada's National Homelessness Initiative—the Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative—was selected as a Best Practice in the 2002 UN-Habitat Dubai International Awards, for improving the quality of life in cities and communities.

Federally, there has been a clear commitment to creating more affordable housing and providing renovation assistance to low-income Canadians. Over $1 billion will be invested in affordable housing by 2007-2008 and over $1 billion will have been committed to addressing homelessness by 2006.

I have to stress that the federal government cannot do it alone. Because homelessness is an issue that affects everyone, other levels of government and private and public partners have a role to play. For example, the affordable housing framework the Government of Canada works within recognizes that provinces and territories have primary responsibility for housing program design and delivery. We also recognize that provinces and territories require flexibility to address their affordable housing needs and priorities. There has been good progress on some fronts. Affordable housing agreements have been signed with all provinces and territories and over 10,000 units have been announced already.

Under the National Homelessness Initiative, progress has been steady with over 1,800 homelessness projects undertaken since 1999. These projects will result in:

- the creation of over 8,000 permanent beds in shelters, transitional, and supportive houses;

- the construction or renovation of about 1000 sheltering facilities and support facilities, such as food banks, soup kitchens and drop-in centres;

- the transfer of 50 federal surplus properties worth over $9 million, which will result in the creation of 214 transitional and affordable housing units;

- and in addition to the Government of Canada investment, partnerships have leveraged substantial resources, valued at more than a half billion dollars, towards the implementation of homelessness projects in Canada.

Increasing numbers of Canadians are one pay cheque away from becoming homeless. How can the three tiers of government co-operate to change this?

The working poor are not only one pay cheque away from becoming homeless, they are in fact one of the fastest rising segments of homelessness. These are people, many with families, who have low-paying jobs and simply cannot find adequate, affordable housing. Something that surprised me when I met with communities around the country was the amount of homeless people who were working. Did you know that in Calgary, about half of the homeless people there have jobs? That's an emerging issue that definitely requires not only the three tiers of government to co-operate, but the non-profit and private sectors as well.

The cornerstone of the National Homelessness Initiative, the Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative component, encourages communities to partner together with all levels of government and the private and voluntary sectors to strengthen their existing capacity and to develop integrated new responses to homelessness. Across Canada, hundreds of non-governmental organizations, private sector and governmental partners have participated in formulating the community plans to address homelessness and we have leveraged substantial resources, valued at nearly $560 million ($41 million from the private sector), towards implementing Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative projects.

The Supporting Communities Partnership component has really enhanced many communities' existing capacity to address homelessness, particularly through the community-driven approach to funding allocation. The result has been a more coordinated action by service providers, governments and other stakeholders; an increase in the number and types of partnerships working to address homelessness; and, community-based planning and decision-making structures that are now in place help to address a range of social policy issues beyond homelessness.

Many Government of Canada programs tackle one specific identity characteristic of Canadians, but the lived reality of Canadians is usually more complex. How does diversity exacerbate issues of homelessness?

As I've said, addressing homelessness requires participation from a range of partners, none of whom can address the issues alone. Partnerships across and between governments and the private and not-for-profit sectors are essential if communities are to offer a broad, complete and integrated set of services meeting diverse needs, and ultimately address homelessness issues in a long-term, sustainable fashion. From the Government of Canada's point of view, if we are going to get "buy-in" from other levels of government and the private sector, partnerships must start at home. Stronger links with other federal programs and initiatives offer the potential to address the needs of homeless people—and those at risk of becoming homeless—in more comprehensive ways.

Diversity and homelessness is a good example of the new challenges that the federal initiative is facing: in Toronto, for instance, we see an increase in the number of new immigrants and refugees using emergency infrastructure like shelters and food banks. We see that newcomers are facing the same challenges that other homeless people face but they have additional challenges like linguistic and cultural barriers. If we really want to address this problem, all levels of governments must work together to address the delays associated with accessing documentation and foreign credential recognition and accreditation practices.

The Government of Canada made a number of commitments to strengthen its work in addressing the needs of marginalized newcomers.

- Parliamentary Secretaries were assigned special emphasis on cities, on new Canadians, on the social economy and on foreign credentials—all with important mandates to support the integration of newcomers and the prevention of their homelessness.

• The Speech from the Throne articulates the "integration of immigrants" as a national priority, and key to the strengthening of Canada's social foundations. Current analysis on homelessness among newcomers will be complementary to work around the integration of immigrants into the economy and into communities.

The reality is that we need to increase our knowledge and our understanding of how diversity intersects with homelessness. This is why the National Homelessness Initiative has made Immigration and Diversity one of six priority areas in its National Research Program. This research will help us to better understand the pathways in and out of homelessness for newcomers.

The National Research Program is a component of the National Homelessness Initiative that looks for opportunities to strengthen existing partnerships and actively pursue new collaborations with other agencies to ensure the sustainability of homelessness research activities and results in Canada. The six priority areas are: Health; Education, employment and income; Justice; Cycles of homelessness; Immigration and diversity; and the North.

How do you see homelessness issues fitting into the "New deal" for Canadian municipalities?

The spirit of the New deal includes: 1) giving more control to local communities; 2) creating a strong social foundation; and, 3) developing local solutions to local problems. In many ways the National Homelessness Initiative has practiced this community-based approach since its inception in 1999. At that time, Canadians had called on the Government of Canada to act on what was becoming a homelessness crisis. We responded with the National Homelessness Initiative. Communities across Canada were provided tools and resources to develop solutions to homelessness. At first, emergency needs were met. Since then we have been moving towards longer-term solutions like transitional housing and employment programs. Canadian communities met the crisis head on, worked hard and helped to ease the hardships of homelessness.

But reducing hardship and helping individuals to exit homelessness isn't enough. Drawing on the participation of several federal departments and agencies, and working in partnership with other levels of government, business, and non-governmental organizations, the Government of Canada can work to prevent homelessness from happening in the first place.

In addition to the earlier appointment of a Parliamentary Secretary (John Godfrey) to lead federal efforts on securing a new deal for communities, and of an External Advisory Committee on Cities and Communities (chaired by Mike Harcourt) to ensure that community concerns are addressed:

• the Budget commits the Minister of Finance to annual pre-Budget consultations with municipal representatives;

• the Budget confirms full GST/HST relief for all municipalities, totaling an estimated $7 billion over the next 10 years, effective February 1, 2004. And entities, such as non-profit social housing corporations that provide housing on a rent-geared-to-income basis, are eligible for the rebate;

• we are working with provinces and territories to share a portion of gas tax revenues with municipalities, or determine other fiscal mechanisms that achieve the same goals; and

• enterprises producing goods and services on a not-for-profit basis, with surpluses going to social or community goals, will be provided access to small business programs and $132 million over five years to support three priority areas: capacity building, financing and research.

Interview with John Godfrey

Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister with special emphasis on Cities

The Speech from the Throne commits the Government of Canada to deliver a "new deal for Canada's municipalities." What are the major planks of this new deal?

The New Deal for Cities and Communities essentially has four elements: vision, funding, a cities and communities lens, and new relationships.

The vision is about asking ourselves "30 years hence, where do we want our municipalities to be?" The New Deal is an opportunity for the citizens of Canada to rethink the way that Canada and its cities and communities are shaped, to ensure that we will be a world leader in developing vibrant, creative, prosperous and sustainable cities and communities.

The Prime Minister appointed an External Advisory Committee on Cities and Communities with former British Columbia Premier Mike Harcourt as chairperson. Committee members were selected because of their diverse background, expertise, range of interests and ability to speak credibly on public policy issues linked to cities and communities. The committee will develop a long-term vision on the role that cities should play in sustaining Canada's quality of life by looking at such issues as the environment, competitiveness and social cohesion.

The second element is funding. The New Deal is not just about money—but it recognizes that municipalities need new reliable, predictable and long-term sources of funding. That's why the Government of Canada announced in the February Speech from the Throne a 100% GST rebate for municipalities that will provide them with $7 billion in unconditional funding over the next 10 years. The 2004 federal budget also accelerated the allocation of the $1 billion Municipal Rural Infrastructure Fund by committing to spend the money over the next 5 years instead of over 10 years, as originally planned.

We are currently examining new revenue sources for municipalities and are committed to providing a portion of the gas tax if that's what works best for them. Any new funding must serve to advance the national interest by building sustainable communities, whether it is to help us to meet our Kyoto Protocol commitments, to reduce poverty, or to ensure cleaner air and water. The focus will be on a common list of priorities established in partnership with provinces and municipalities, so that every community, large and small, can benefit from the New Deal.

Examining all of the federal government's existing and future programs through a cities and communities lens is the third element of the new deal.

The cities and communities lens simply means being smart, purposeful, forward-looking, and efficient within existing and future federal programs that directly affect municipalities. The Government of Canada will take stock of what it is already doing in cities and evaluate outcomes. We want to ensure that our programs work together, not in conflict, with those of the provinces and municipalities to improve our communities.

Finally, the greatest transformative element in the New Deal will be the new relationships developed with the provinces, cities, and private and not-for-profit sectors for the benefit of citizens who live in urban and rural municipalities. The Government of Canada will encourage new partnerships that complement municipal and provincial efforts. These new relationships will be open and transparent and will respect provincial jurisdiction.

Similarly, the Speech from the Throne notes the importance of jurisdictions, but also notes that Canadians expect "that their governments will co-operate in common purpose for the common good." What are the major policy areas where all three levels of government need to begin to collaborate to effect change?

The New Deal is based on four pillars of sustainability that we believe are the major policy areas where all orders of government need to begin to collaborate to effect change. The pillars are: economic, social, environmental and cultural sustainability.

Economically, the New Deal will strive for innovation and competitiveness, regional economic development, integration of human capital and learning.

Socially, the New Deal will seek to strengthen the social foundations of communities so that all Canadians have the opportunity to participate and contribute. This means striving for better outcomes for immigrants and urban Aboriginal people, building more affordable housing and improving the social economy.

Environmentally, the New Deal will focus on air and water quality and greenhouse gas reduction, brownfield development, public transit, water and wastewater systems and housing. The 2004 federal budget identified key elements of the Government of Canada's environmental sustainability agenda that are already being played out in cities and communities, such as the cleanup of contaminated sites and the One-Tonne Challenge, which encourages Canadians to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions.

Culturally, the New Deal will strive to develop "creative cities and communities," ensure cultural offerings are reflective of the diversity of our communities and secure adequate public spaces for cultural and civic engagement, especially among youth.

You've been a vocal proponent of children and youth, and yet many initiatives aimed at younger Canadians such as daycare, recreation and education resources suffer from inadequate resources. How can we ensure our cities are able to meet the needs of children and youth, and how have you included youth in the development of a long-term vision for cities?

Children and youth lie at the very heart of our vision. The economic, social, environmental and cultural sustainability of our cities and communities is not only a question of responsible management practices. It is fundamentally about leaving a legacy of "great places to live" for future generations of Canadians. The common denominator for all elements of a New Deal is this long-term vision of sustainability, and the beneficiaries of our purposeful approach will be our children, and our children's children.

Of course, families in cities and communities have immediate concerns in areas like education and childcare. The investments in learning and children made in Budget 2004 demonstrate the Government's commitment to community-level social sustainability.

Ultimately, the most locally responsive part of the New Deal will be the relationships that we develop with provinces and municipalities to work towards a common vision of sustainable community development. It will be through these partnerships that all players will be better able to address the long-term needs of children in their communities.

I am convinced of the value of the perspective of younger Canadians in the development of public policy and the New Deal is no exception. I am pleased that the Prime Minister's External Advisory Committee on Cities and Communities

includes a member of Canada25, an organization dedicated to engaging young Canadians in public policy debates.

There is a tendency among policy makers and researchers to only explore one aspect of identity at a time (gender, for example). When municipal officials are charged with delivering services (housing, parks and recreation, policing and so on) this type of identity stovepiping is a detriment to developing holistic approaches. What is the Government of Canada doing to assist in this difficult task of developing policy for a citizenry with multiple and shifting identities?

Policy development may not be an art—but it is definitely not a science. As a former academic, I recognize that there is value in considering issues through different as well as unidimensional lenses. But as a politician I know that at the end of the policy process, we are talking about initiatives and services that affect the lives of real people. In order to be effective, good public policy must be grounded in the reality of a diverse and complex citizenry. That's way I spend a lot of my time listening to mayors and community leaders across the country to better understand the needs of our diverse communities.

In moving the New Deal forward, one of key guiding principles will be getting the right players at the table. This means a commitment to both vertical collaboration among all orders of government, and to horizontal collaboration, both within the federal family and among community stakeholders who know best the unique needs of the population. An inclusive, ground-up approach takes some effort but its one of the best ways to ensure that a New Deal is responsive to the diversity of local communities and their citizens.

Spurred on by the work of Richard Florida, there is an increasingly popular belief that cultural diversity is essential to the success of municipalities. To this end, how is the Government of Canada assisting cities other than Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver to attract and retain residents, whether newcomers or Canadian-born migrants?

There is much talk in journalistic and academic circles these days about the relative merits and weaknesses of the work of Richard Florida, but he has certainly accomplished at least one thing—and that is to get us to think more deliberately about the role of culture and diversity in the creation of vibrant, attractive and globally competitive cities. When I read Florida's work, I can't help but think that Canadian cities have a real opportunity to become great creative centres. The Canadian approach to diversity, our celebration of multiculturalism, and our core values of mutual respect and accommodation give our cities a distinct advantage in the world.

Canada has always relied to some degree on immigration and the mobility of residents to address its labour market needs. In an increasingly globalized economy, it is evident that newcomers can provide cities and communities with an important infusion of human capital that sparks creativity and contributes to their economic competitiveness and cultural diversity. This phenomenon has produced a shift in thinking, prompting municipalities to consider the economic, social and cultural conditions that make communities attractive to young, creative workers. This shift clearly demands a holistic approach to community development, one that integrates economic, social, environmental and cultural planning objectives.

The Government of Canada recognizes this and, in the field of immigration, for instance, is working together with provincial and municipal governments, the private sector and community organizations to develop community-led initiatives to attract and retain skilled immigrants in a broader range of communities across the country.

As part of this process, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration has engaged her provincial counterparts and municipal leaders in roundtable discussions on the future of immigration planning, with an eye to developing

trilateral partnerships such as the Winnipeg Private Refugee Sponsorship Assistance Program. Pilot projects, such as one we recently announced with the Government of New Brunswick allowing international students to work off-campus, are another means by which we hope to increase the regionalization of migration's benefits to communities. As the New Deal develops, I think we will be looking at partnership arrangements that respond to the different attraction and retention needs of specific communities, large and small.

You've written about "the Canada we want" and the importance of pursuing national projects as a means of arriving at it. How can cities participate in these national projects and what projects do you envision in the future?

National Projects are great national ventures—such as medicare—that cannot be undertaken by one government alone. In French, they are called "projets de société," or "societal projects," that go beyond the lifespan of any one government, and represent a long-term national commitment to improving life for Canadians. Implementing a national early childhood development strategy, implementing the Kyoto Protocol, and implementing a New Deal for Canada's Cities and Communities are examples of three great national projects that we must undertake in our time.

Interview with Judy Sgro
Minister of Citizenship and Immigration

You have broken new ground with your recent consultations across the country by bringing Premiers and mayors together to discuss immigration issues. What are the major immigration issues that the three orders of government have agreed to work on together?

We've agreed to work together to ensure that the immigration program continues to deliver the results Canadians need and expect. Today that means working to ensure that the immigration program is more responsive and in sync with local and regional needs.

It also means collectively making sure that the traditional social contract between Canada and the newcomers we bring to this country works to the benefit of everyone. So I think there's a growing consensus that we need to work together to address a range of specific issues that touch on each of these areas including things such as better local participation in the decision making process, stronger foreign credential recognition, and an even more effective settlement model.

The Government of Canada remains committed to trying to reach an annual level of 1% of the population for immigration to Canada. Critics have argued that this number is unrealistic and unsustainable, how would you respond?

It's neither unrealistic nor unsustainable given the right approach and the right amount of input from local stakeholders as well as our provincial partners. The reality is that Canada will likely need to attract this many newcomers in the years ahead in order to help support continued economic growth and replace an ageing domestic workforce. It therefore remains our long-term goal.

I'd like to emphasise, however, that this is the government's long-term goal. My Department remains committed to achieving these levels. But it must also act in a fiscally responsible way and set its own annual objectives based on available resources and the capacity of each community to accommodate newcomers' needs. We have met or exceeded these annual targets – which are developed in close co-operation with the provinces and other stakeholders – for the past three years.

It has been suggested that our society in general, but our largest cities in particular, are at breaking point. Critics suggest that the diversity of our population is a threat to our health and safety, our quality of life, and our very identity. Do you believe this to be the case?

I do believe that the infrastructures in some municipalities such as Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver are beginning to feel the strain of more and more newcomers choosing to put down roots in larger communities as well as that of population growth in general. The government has consistently emphasised that this is a priority item to address and we'll be moving forward aggressively to do so.

But I strongly disagree with the notion that diversity represents any kind of threat. Diversity is a cause for celebration and a source of our strength and unity. Each new culture brings new energy and new life to our institutions, and contributes to our growing stature and influence on the world stage. Studies also indicate that workplace diversity will become increasingly important as economic globalization picks up steam. An understanding of cultural sensitivities, language nuances, and styles of doing business will likely therefore all be critical to business success as national economies become increasingly tied to an emerging global economic order.

What future role do you see for municipalities in the area of immigration?

Today there's a natural partnership between federal immigration policy and the services that cities deliver. That partnership needs to deepen so that we as a country can sharpen our whole approach – from addressing new immigrants overseas to settling them in our communities once they have arrived. We have to find a way to create a bigger role for end users of the immigration program so that they have a larger say, for example, in determining which newcomers and how many of them settle in their communities and when they do so. This is especially important given Canada's increasingly urbanized environment. But it's also important to remember that cities fall under provincial jurisdiction. So we need to find a way to do all this and to better include their voices in the decision making process within that framework

What are the most pressing challenges Canadians and their governments face in ensuring the successful integration of newcomers in Canadian municipalities?

Key will be the ability of the federal government to ensure each community has the appropriate resources to make the "Canadian welcome" work.

Such a welcome in many cases involves appropriate access to the Canadian labour market so that cities such as Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver don't simply become homes to permanently under-employed enclaves of foreign-trained skilled workers.

All levels of government and stakeholders need to continue to look for new and innovative ways to work together to overcome many of the barriers newcomers face to full economic participation such as those related to foreign credential recognition, work experience, or language abilities.

Much work has been done in this regard. But we also need to go much further. My colleagues and I emphasized in the Final Report of the Caucus Task Force on Urban Issues that Canada will need to balance economic competitiveness, social harmony and a high quality of life for everyone if the country is to retain its status as a world leader by 2020.

This implies the need for a comprehensive approach to ensuring the continued viability and sustainability of our cities as home to an increasingly diverse population. Access to affordable housing, for example, is one vital element in the health of our communities. Stakeholders and all levels of government need to find new ways to work hand in hand to ensure the appropriate resources are in place so that newcomers – as well as others in need – get access to appropriate accommodation.

As well, we need to make sure that cities have the appropriate resources to provide access to skills training and education programs as well as culturally sensitive access to social services and inclusive public spaces for leisure and activities that allow for the expression of differences. As we stressed in the Caucus Task Force Report, governments also need to find ways to ensure long term funding for projects such as transit/transportation and sustainable infrastructure – all of which ultimately benefit everyone and make our cities better places to live.

Diversity is a source of great strength in Canada. It acts as both a catalyst for innovation

and as a magnet to help attract the best and brightest to our cities. But diversity must be sustainable to remain an asset. By extension, so must our cities and our city infrastructures be sustainable if our communities are to remain engines of growth into the future.

Running one of the world's largest immigration programs is an intricate and complex business. How does the Government of Canada gather the knowledge necessary to make adjustments to immigration programs and policy?

My Department holds regular consultations with our provincial partners and many other stakeholders to solicit their views and input on a wide range of issues. I've spent the last, very hectic few months meeting with several provincial and municipal leaders as well as other partners and stakeholders in regions across Canada in this regard, and plan to continue meeting with as many as I can over the coming months.

CIC, of course, also conducts regular studies, and we have a very sophisticated data gathering network as well as close working relationships with other departments, agencies and international law-enforcement partners.

If you could harness the expertise of policymakers from three levels of government, researchers and community organizations to work on solutions to one immigration-related issue, what would it be?

I don't think there's a hierarchical list of priorities to tackle as much as a set of issues that are all related to each other in one way or another. None is more or less important than the other. We all need to work together to ensure that the immigration program brings newcomers to Canada in an orderly and efficient way according to local demands. We need to ensure that the traditional social contract between newcomers and this great land of opportunity continues to work to everyone's benefit. And we have to find a way to shift the focus of Canada's immigration program to one in which the provinces, territories and municipalities play a greater role when it comes to deciding yearly immigration levels – with other stakeholders also playing a much more active part through regular

forums as well as ongoing provincial and federal government support. I think all that boils down again to ensuring that the immigration program benefits everyone in every region of Canada – that's the fundamental goal that we all need to work together to achieve.

Interview with Andy Scott
Minister of State (Infrastructure)

The Speech from the Throne has signaled future investments in infrastructure that will benefit a wide cross-section of Canadians. How will Infrastructure Canada ensure that all Canadians benefit from this investment?

The Speech from the Throne did indeed confirm the Government of Canada's long-term commitment to investing in the country's infrastructure. And that commitment was followed up in Budget 2004 with a substantial down payment in the form of a new benefit to municipalities through a GST rebate (estimated to be worth some $7 billion over the next decade) as well as a commitment to more quickly invest the $1 billion for the new Municipal Rural Infrastructure Fund.

As Minister of State for Infrastructure, I am responsible for the Infrastructure Canada programs and I am committed to making sure the benefits of the funds behind these programs are spread broadly across the country. I will do this by building on our successful experience of the past. That means continuing to work with the provinces and territories to ensure we have an investment decision-making process that emphasizes local and regional input while at the same time, ensuring that federal dollars are disbursed fairly and equitably to all parts of the country. Since 1994, the Government has committed some $12 billion to infrastructure projects. This is expected to leverage total partner investments of $30 billion.

Over the last several years, through programs like the Infrastructure Canada Program, the Canada Strategic Infrastructure Fund, and the Border Infrastructure Fund, the Government of Canada has invested in thousands of infrastructure projects large and small throughout the country. These investments have produced benefits for Canadians in every part of the country. These benefits range from better water and sewage systems, improved urban transit, improved roads, more energy efficient buildings and better community facilities.

These benefits speak to a broad definition of what 'infrastructure' is - *the facilities, services and installations needed for the functioning of a community or society* - the things a modern society can take for granted, such as transportation and communication systems, safe roads, clean water, power lines, public institutions and public transit.

Our approach to infrastructure investment is based on partnership. That means my officials and I working with our partners in the other orders of government and sometimes with the private sector to jointly determine infrastructure development priorities and to decide how to share the costs of individual projects. In this way our partners identify the potential costs and benefits of infrastructure projects in their terms and we assess the potential costs and benefits to Canada in terms of national objectives. National objectives include

an improved quality of life for Canadians, a competitive economy, and achieving Canada's sustainable communities goals.

The Canada Strategic Infrastructure Fund (CSIF) is a good example. This fund was first established so that the Government of Canada could participate with provinces, territories and municipalities in large-scale infrastructure development projects. Through CSIF, we have invested in projects as diverse as a new trade and convention centre in Vancouver (Canada's gateway to the Pacific), highway and border crossing projects in western and central Canada, a cultural centre in Winnipeg, a broadband communication network for the North, and harbour water quality improvement projects in Atlantic Canada. Projects like these bring significant local and regional benefits, but they also strengthen the nation both socially and economically.

By continuing to build on this successful experience, as we are doing for example with our participation in a one billion dollar urban transit project in Toronto, we are ensuring the benefits of our national infrastructure investment programs continue to accrue broadly to Canadians. Toronto is Canada's most populous city; it is also our most diverse. An investment in modern urban transit there produces obvious local benefits, but it also strengthen Toronto's position as a diverse, international city and that benefits the country as a whole.

As I look ahead, I am also very optimistic about the potential for the new Municipal Rural Infrastructure Fund (MRIF). The MRIF will bring new benefits to Canadians by investing in smaller scale infrastructure projects that improve quality of life and the environment for people living in smaller cities, towns and rural communities, including First Nations communities.

The MRIF approach is to have projects initiated at the local level. The Government of Canada is an investment partner and has broad national objectives to achieve, but operationally the program is locally oriented under criteria negotiated with provincial and territorial authorities. We are also looking to have municipal representatives actively involved in this program. In this way, local priorities and their costs and benefits are determined by those Canadians who are most directly affected.

To ensure an equitable balance in MRIF funding, each province and territory and First Nations communities has a base allocation of $15 million, with other funds allocated on a per capita basis. This formula means that provinces, territories and First Nations have access to meaningful funding to address public infrastructure needs. In addition, at least 80 percent of MRIF funding is dedicated to municipalities with a population of less than 250,000. As well, we are looking to achieve a national average of 60% in funding for 'green infrastructure' – water/wastewater/solid waste management, municipal energy improvements and public transit.

My overall objective for Infrastructure Canada is to ensure that all Canadians, whether they live in large, small or remote communities can share in the benefits of our investments. My approach is to build on the experience of the almost 20,000 projects that are already providing Canadians with real benefits by investing in new projects based on local and regional input. It is a partnership approach that combines local and regional needs and interests with federal resources and national policy objectives.

In this way we can ensure that all Canadians benefit from the Government of Canada's long-term commitment to infrastructure program funding.

You are well known as a staunch defender of Atlantic Canada interests. How will the "new deal" for Canada's municipalities benefit Atlantic Canada?

Yes, I am a proud Atlantic Canadian, but I am also a Minister of State in the Government of Canada and therefore I also have a broad national perspective. Fortunately, these two sets of interests – my role as a political leader from New Brunswick and my responsibilities as a member of the Cabinet in charge of the Infrastructure portfolio - are complementary.

As Canada's Minister of State (Infrastructure), my portfolio responsibilities include the department of Infrastructure Canada and its infrastructure investment. I am also responsible for the five federal Crown corporations whose operations relate to urban affairs and land management in Canada. They are the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Canada Lands Company, Vieux Port de Montréal, Downsview Park and Queens Quay West Land Corporation

In this capacity, I have a key role to play in the implementation of the "new deal" the Prime Minister has promised for Canada's municipalities.

The "new deal" is about providing stable predictable long-term funding for Canada's municipalities, such as we are doing through the GST rebate and the infrastructure investments we are making. In addition, the resources of our Crown corporations also have a contribution to make.

Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) is a good case in point.

Good housing provides a source of individual and community pride, and affordable housing contributes to the quality of life of Canadians, drives business investment, and influences where people choose to live and work.

That is why the Government of Canada has made a clear commitment to create more affordable housing, particularly in urban areas, and to provide renovation assistance to low-income Canadians through CMHC.

By 2008, through CMHC's programs, we will have invested $1 billion in affordable housing, as well as $384 million in renovation assistance for communities across the country.

In Atlantic Canada, I expect this will mean about 3,000 affordable housing units will be created over the next three years and more beyond that.

Atlantic Canada is also seeing significant benefit from Infrastructure Canada investments, including major projects funded under the Canada Strategic Infrastructure Fund as well as hundreds of small, but locally important, projects funded by the Infrastructure Canada Program that are improving the quality of life in communities throughout the Atlantic region.

These are some specific examples of the "new deal" in action. They illustrate the commitment our government has to strengthen the infrastructure and to invest in municipalities throughout Canada – including Atlantic Canada.

I am very excited to be part of the process and I look forward to continuing our work on behalf of all Canadians.

Any time there is a major sea change in policy, like the renewed interest in municipalities, there is the danger that new policies and programs will be developed and implemented before research can be completed to guide the process. What kinds of research are underpinning the present development of a new deal for municipalities?

Research is a very important aspect of our government's strategy for modernizing public infrastructure in Canada. Since the resources all levels of government are able to commit to public infrastructure investment are limited, we want to direct those scarce resources to where the needs are greatest.

We also have to establish priorities to ensure our dollars are best spent – and establishing priorities means having good information to support them. And even then, we face questions around the kinds of infrastructure that needs to be addressed. Do we attempt to catch up to make up for under-investment? Or do we invest in ongoing maintenance or infrastructure that will transform society moving into the future?

We need to recognize too that while more research is desirable, there is a very solid collective understanding of infrastructure challenges and a need to move forward in addressing pressing needs. At the federal level, this has been built up through ten years of partnership investments in infrastructure. Certainly, the wide partnership approach – that includes organizations like the Federation of Canadian Municipalities – ensures we have the capacity to make sound investment decisions while we enhance our broad-based approach to research and better understanding.

There is a broad consensus in Canada in favour of investing more in public infrastructure. But there is less of a consensus about what our long-term national infrastructure development priorities should be. Several organizations have come forward with studies and reports on various aspects of the infrastructure situation in Canada in recent times and many have identified what they call a "gap" or "deficit" in infrastructure funding. But, while we have a consensus that there is a problem, we don't have a common frame of reference within which to assess and understand the sometimes competing claims that have been produced.

As we move forward on a long-term strategy for meeting Canada's infrastructure needs as part of

the new deal, we need to do the research that will help us identify what the national needs are and what the priorities should be. In this sense, forward-looking horizontal research on infrastructure issues is more important than ever. In fact, one of my main priorities as Minister is that research and analysis be a strong component of Infrastructure Canada's departmental workplan.

In this regard, the research we conduct will look to generate knowledge in infrastructure that helps in policy-making and program management. We see our research priorities as focusing on:

• The state of infrastructure in Canada and needs identification

• Governance and inter-governmental relations

• Linking investments and outcomes

• Financing mechanisms

• Data development

We are supporting the growth of an infrastructure research community that will enhance the research and analysis. Finally, we are driving our research program to help encourage the sharing of research in part through our Research Gateway - www.infrastructure.gc.ca.

I see this gateway as a very useful tool for improving our national infrastructure knowledge base. It includes:

• information on Infrastructure Canada's research priorities and activities, as well as a growing collection of research reports and publications including a compendium of infrastructure research already carried out across the Government of Canada;

• direct access to key research tools, such as Statistics Canada data and reports, the National Guide to Sustainable Municipal Infrastructure, and other online resources; and

• an extensive collection of links to some of the top infrastructure researchers and organizations, publications and initiatives currently underway in Canada and throughout the world.

So I agree that good research is essential to the development of a long-term strategy for infrastructure as part of the new deal and especially to helping us establish investment priorities. I would invite interested parties to access the Research Gateway on the Infrastructure Canada website and engage in the process with us.

Adequate housing is essential to maintaining a high quality of life. Canadian governments have cut back on investment in social housing over the last decade. The result, some argue, is an increasing incidence of homelessness among vulnerable and marginalized populations. What is the Government of Canada doing to ensure that all Canadians have access to affordable housing?

In addition to spending approximately $2 billion annually on housing primarily in support of about 639,000 low and moderate-income households, the federal government has implemented a range of initiatives to improve the housing conditions of Canadians:

• Between 2001 and 2007, the federal government will invest $1 billion to increase the supply of affordable housing. Affordable Housing Agreements have been signed with all provinces and territories and about 12,000 units have been committed.

• CMHC's support for affordable housing partnerships through the Canadian Centre for Public-Private Partnerships in Housing has facilitated over 30,000 housing units since its inception.

• The 2003 federal Budget announced $384 million to extend Canada's housing renovation programs for three years to preserve the existing stock of affordable housing.

• CMHC's recently expanded and enhanced support for affordable housing partnerships to provide greater assistance for housing project development and increased access to financing. The package includes seed funding and interest-free proposal development loans, increased availability of partnership consultation services, training and capacity development, as well as flexibilities on CMHC's rental and home ownership mortgage insurance products.

• CMHC's reduced its homeowner mortgage insurance premiums by 15% in July 2003.

• The $405 million extension of Human Resources Development Canada's Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative to provide local community groups with funds for supportive services and facilities for the homeless.

Ottawa is by far the leader in terms of the proportion of workers in creative occupations, followed by Toronto and Vancouver, with Montréal in the bottom third of the list.

Creative Classification or Creative Class?

The Challenges of Applying Richard Florida's Formula to Canada's Cities

JACK JEDWAB
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Is the presence of diversity in all its manifestations essential to the economic success of the city? As Richard Florida notes in his best-selling book, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, this thesis is powerfully attractive to advocates of Canadian multiculturalism (including this one). Florida states, "cities without gays and rock bands are losing the economic development race," and explains that this is because these cities have greater difficulty attracting a group that Florida calls the "creative class"—a fast-growing, highly educated, and well-paid segment of the workforce, upon which corporate profits and economic growth increasingly depend.

Members of the creative class perform a wide variety of jobs in a wide variety of industries—from technology to entertainment, journalism to finance, high-end manufacturing to the arts. Florida estimates that the creative class represents roughly 30% of the entire United States workforce—this rate has increased in the past decades, but just marginally (10% since the turn of the 20th century and less than 20% since 1980). Not surprisingly, regions with large numbers of creative class members are among the most affluent and growing. Florida notes that creative class people use the word "diversity" across the dimensions of age, ethnicity, race, marital status and sexual preference. An effective people climate needs to emphasize openness and diversity and help reinforce low barriers to entry.

Members of the creative class share a common *ethos* that values creativity, individuality, difference and merit. Although businesses increasingly understand this *ethos* and are making the necessary adaptations to attract and retain creative class employees, many civic leaders have yet to embrace its potential for cities and regions.

Creative Measures

In order to identify those cities where conditions are best suited for attracting creative class employees, Florida introduces a series of indices designed to measure and rank the degree of talent, technology and tolerance in a given region. What he refers to as the Talent Index is the proportion of the population of more than 18 years of age, with a bachelor's degree or higher. The High-Tech Index ranks metropolitan

Rankings of top ten areas from a study of 49 metropolitan areas reporting populations of over 1 million
2000 Census (Florida 2002).

Top Ten Cities	Creative Class	High–Tech Rank	Innovation Rank	Diversity Rank
San Francisco	12	1	5	1
Austin	7	13	6	23
San Diego	30	14	13	4
Boston	6	2	12	41
Seattle	20	3	34	11
Raleigh-Durham	5	16	8	52
Houston	22	19	39	16
Washington-Baltimore	4	5	85	18
New York	25	15	54	20
Dallas	55	6	40	15

areas based on their percentage of high-tech industrial output compared to total national industrial output and the percentage of the country's total economic output that comes from high-tech industries. The Innovation Index measures patented innovations per capita. The Creative Class ranking is determined by the percentage of workers in selected occupations of the North American Industrial Classification System including, among others, management, technology, art and media, education, health care and law.[1] As for diversity measures, there is the Tolerance Ranking, calculated from a Bohemian Index—a measure of artists, writers and performers, a Melting Pot Index, reflecting the proportion of a city-region's population that is foreign-born and a Gay Index, that measures the proportion of gay couples in a region compared to the national average.

Perhaps more important than the standard methods used to calculate these variables is the correlation or intersection between them. The relationship between the technology pole and Gay Index is a result of Florida's observation that the country's high-tech hot spots strongly resembled the list of places with high concentrations of gay people as identified in a study by researcher Gary Gates. Florida concludes that when creative workers size up a new community, acceptance of diversity and of gays in particular is a sign that reads "non-standard people welcome here." But for Canadian enthusiasts of diversity and multiculturalism, Florida's Melting Pot Index contains a rather substantial caveat. As Florida notes, there is a gaping hole in the picture with

regard to African-Americans and other non-Whites. His statistical research identifies a troubling statistical correlation between concentrations of high-tech firms and the percentage of the non-White population. He describes this finding as particularly disturbing in light of his findings on other dimensions of diversity. Florida concludes, "it would appear that the creative economy does little to ameliorate the traditional divide between the White and non-White segments of the population...it may even make it worse." This observation may be very relevant to any Canadian comparison. Indeed, the African-American population of the United States is overwhelmingly born within the United States, so the Melting Pot Index would only be marginally affected.

According to Florida result's, the San Francisco Bay area is the nation's undisputed leader in creativity, along with such cities as Boston, New York, Washington DC, Austin, Seattle, San Diego and Raleigh-Durham.

The relationships that Florida emphasizes may not always correspond to the cause and effect with regard to the links he draws between economic and social phenomena. As he acknowledges, the basic question is how closely indicators such as creativity (the Bohemian Index) and diversity (the Mosaic Index) relate to a city-region's ability to attract highly skilled labor (the Talent Index) or technology-intensive employment (the Tech-Pole Index)? Often unclear is the combination of variables that are the principal components of economic progress and the attraction of creative workers. Ideally, several other variables would be weighed and either factored in or out of the equation.

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[1]   See Florida (2002, 328) for a complete list.

Underlying Florida's thesis on attracting creative class workers to cities is the issue of mobility and the extent to which certain cities attract individuals, whether creative or less so. Hence, one might examine the level and type of migration, domestic as well as international (which is covered in the Melting Pot Index), in ranking the strength of certain cities. As Conference Board of Canada economist Mario Lefebvre notes, population growth is crucial to predicting a city's long-term economic potential (The Gazette 2004). More information on the role of the state and government policy also merits further consideration in determining what best contributes to the success of a city.

Florida looks North

The model and methodology employed by Richard Florida has been adapted for the analysis of Canada's cities in a study commissioned by the Ontario Ministry of Enterprise, Opportunity and Innovation (November 2002). Conducted by Meric Gertler, Richard Florida, Gary Gates and Tara Vinodrai, the objective of the study was to compare a group of city-regions in Ontario and in the rest of Canada, in order to see how well they perform relative to other North American city-regions. The authors boast that such analysis in the Canadian context has the potential to shed important light on the role of "quality of place" in shaping the competitiveness of city-regions in Ontario. The Canadian study focuses on the Technology Index, the Talent Index, the Bohemian Index, and the Mosaic Index (the Canadian counterpart of Florida's Melting Pot index). Most of the Canadian data were extracted from Canada's 1996 Census, while the United States' 1990 Census of Population and Housing is used for comparison with American city-regions. Canadian data on employment in high-technology industry were derived from special 1999 tabulations by Statistics Canada. Due to the unavailability of data on the gay population in the 1996 Census, Gertler et al. were not able to include this index in their analysis.

In their North American comparisons, Gertler et al. point to a number of challenges associated with contrasting Canadian and US metropolitan regions. There are clearly differences in sizes, as the largest American city-regions are considerably more populous than in Canadian. In fact, Florida notes that larger cities have an apparent advantage in capturing creativity; of the twenty leading cities, only three do not have populations exceeding one million inhabitants. On the other hand, only three Canadian cities in Canada—Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver—have populations exceeding one million, although another three—Calgary, Edmonton and Ottawa-Hull—are not far off the mark.

Turning to other significant differences identified by Gertler et al., the United States has a somewhat higher overall percentage of people holding at least one university degree, ranking higher on the Talent Index. Washington DC (35.2%) was the leading city-region in the United States, while Ottawa-Hull (23.5%) finished first in Canada (suggesting the government institutions play an important role). Canada has a much higher proportion of foreign-born residents compared to the United States. In Canada, the city-regions of Toronto (42%) and Vancouver (35%) rank first and second, while in the United States, Miami (34%) and Los Angeles (27%) are the city-regions with the highest percentage of foreign-born population. Finally, Gertler et al. note that while the proportion of bohemians in each country is relatively similar, Canada does have a slightly higher proportion of bohemians than the United States.

Gertler et al. contend that the main area where Canadian city-regions appear to lag behind is in the university-educated segment of the population, hence putting them well behind several major American cities. Only Ottawa-Hull emerges among the top ten North American city-regions; Toronto, which ranks second in Canada, is a distant 24th out of 43 city-regions in terms of the proportion of the population that has a diversity degree. This result is in part attributed to divergent economic structures in the two countries, with Canada's greater share of employees in the manufacturing sector. It is worth noting that Statistics Canada includes college diploma and certificate holders with those possessing a bachelor's degree or more in its calculation of educational attainment (see Appendix 2), putting Canada ahead of the United States, nationally and in many cities (the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) uses the same methodology as Statistics Canada in their rankings). Gertler et al. acknowledge this but choose not to opt for this approach.

They stress the strength of relationships between technology, talent, creativity and

diversity in fostering strong economies in Canada's metropolitan regions. Despite lower levels of educational attainment across the board for residents of Canadian city-regions, the authors point out that Ontario—and Canadian metropolitan regions—perform much better on the creativity and diversity measures (the Bohemian and Mosaic Indexes), given that Canada has far more immigrants per capita than the United States.

In further exploring the relationships between the variables, Gertler et al. point to important links between the Talent and the Bohemian Indexes, as it appears that Canadian city-regions that attract creative and artistic people also attract talented workers. They note however that a number of Ontario city-regions depart from this general relationship. Ottawa-Hull, in particular, has a Talent Index score far higher than expected, given its score on the Bohemian Index (as will be observed, this has to do with a narrowing of the definition of bohemians in the methodology employed, see Appendix 1). Conversely, Vancouver and Montréal score higher on the Bohemian Index than on the Talent Index. It is also noted by the authors that the relationship between Talent and the Mosaic Indexes (the proportion of foreign-born residents) is not as strong as that of the Talent and Bohemian Indexes. Ottawa-Hull and Halifax are situated much higher on the Talent Index, compared with their proportion of foreign-born residents.

As for technology, owing to their size, Montréal and Toronto have the highest concentration of such industries. Gertler et al. point to an important correlation between talent and technology in the cities of Toronto, Ottawa-Hull, Vancouver and Calgary. Exceptionally, Montréal has a low rate of university degree holders, relative to the size of its technology sector, a result the authors attribute to the importance of the aerospace industry and its lesser need of workers with higher education

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² Senior management occupations, specialist managers, managers in retail trade, food and accommodation services, other managers, professional occupations in business and finance, professional occupations in natural and applied sciences, technical occupations related to natural and applied sciences, professional occupations in health, judges, lawyers, psychologists, social workers, ministers of religion, policy and program officers, teachers and professors, professional occupations in arts and culture.

TABLE 2
**Persons in creative occupations[2]
in selected Canadian cities,**
by percentage and rank, 2001

	Percentage	Rank
Halifax	30.8%	7
Québec	27.9%	10
Montréal	30.4%	8
Ottawa	46.4%	1
Toronto	33.8%	2
Hamilton	27.4%	11
Winnipeg	26.5%	12
Regina	29.9%	9
Calgary	33.8%	2
Edmonton	31.7%	5
Vancouver	31.4%	6
Victoria	32.3%	4

Source : Statistics Canada, 2001 Census.

Canadian cities: the exception or the rule

If the Florida methodology and approach seem to work for cities like Toronto and Ottawa, its application is less apparent in places like Calgary and Montréal. An analysis of twelve of Canada's largest cities, based on 2001 data from Statistics Canada that includes data on the gay population, reveals that the links identified by Gertler et al. do not reveal patterns sufficiently consistent to draw definitive conclusions about successful cities.

For cities with higher percentages of residents in creative occupations, the use of a classification method slightly different from Florida's system puts Ottawa at the top in terms of the proportion of workers in creative occupations, followed by Toronto and Vancouver, with Montréal in the bottom third of the list.

To further test Gertler et al.'s model, a number of indicators were constructed on the basis of 2001 data for twelve Canadian cities. For the purposes of this study, we have focused on the concentration of management occupations and wealth (see Appendix 3) in Canadian cities, occupations safely deemed to be important elements of economic strength, undoubtedly relevant to the attraction of creative workers. Other variables in this analysis include the proportions of same-sex couples, foreign-born residents, members of visible minority groups (we thought that this was pertinent, as visible minorities represent three-quarters of Canada's immigrant groups), persons in a cultural occupation, and holders of college or university degrees. The appendices provide more details

TABLE 3
Selected social diversity, cultural and economic indicators for 12 Canadian cities
by rank 2001.

	Same–sex couples	Immigration	Visible minorities	Cultural occupations	University degrees and certificates	Managers	Individuals earning more than $50 000
Halifax	7	11	10	2	3	5	8
Québec	6	12	12	9	7	11	9
Montréal	1	3	3	6	5	7	12
Ottawa	3	5	4	3	1	1	1
Toronto	2	1	1	5	2	4	3
Hamilton	12	4	8	12	12	10	6
Winnipeg	9	9	7	7	11	9	11
Regina	10	10	11	4	10	11	10
Calgary	8	6	5	8	8	2	2
Edmonton	11	8	6	10	9	8	5
Vancouver	5	2	2	2	5	3	4
Victoria	3	7	9	1	4	6	7

Source : Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2001

on the various indices used for this assessment. On a city-by-city basis, the intersections of these variables suggest as many exceptions to the model as there are rules. While Halifax has a high share of persons in cultural occupations and a relatively well-educated population (by Canadian standards) it ranks lower in other areas of social diversity and wealth.

As noted previously, Montréal is somewhat behind in terms of proportion of creative occupations, despite its leading percentage in gay population. Ottawa-Hull appears near the top in social and cultural diversity, as well as in the educational and economic indicators. Toronto shows strong links between the economic and social phenomena, as does Vancouver. There

is disconnect in Hamilton, as its rank in immigration and wealth are not as low as its scores on social diversity, education and economic indicators. Winnipeg, Regina (although it ranks high on cultural occupations) and Edmonton (although it ranks reasonably strongly on the wealth scale) demonstrate some consistency across the indicators cited above. Edmonton is ahead of Vancouver when it comes to its percentage of creative workers, despite the city's edge on the social and cultural diversity indices shown in Table 2. One of Canada's fastest growing and wealthier cities is Calgary and yet, its strength in terms of creative occupations, managers and wealth do not appear linked to social and cultural diversity indices similar to those employed by

TABLE 4
Rates of interprovincial migration between Canada's major cities
between 1996 and 2001

	In–migration	Out–migration	Net	Rank of creative occupations
Halifax	31,565	29,005	2,560	7
Québec	4,465	10,140	-5,675	10
Montréal	32,525	76,395	-43,870	8
Ottawa-Hull	45,090	30,050	15,040	1
Toronto	86,500	60,060	26,440	2
Hamilton	10,345	7,805	2,540	11
Winnipeg	26,555	39,800	-13,245	12
Regina	8,015	16,395	-8,380	9
Calgary	96,255	45,525	50,730	2
Edmonton	61,510	37,115	24,395	5
Vancouver	66,785	69,760	-2,975	6
Victoria	17,795	16,975	820	4

Source : Statistics Canada, 2001 Census

Florida. On the other hand, like Toronto, Calgary has a relatively high share of visible minorities, a distribution that does not appear to counteract its attraction of creative workers. Another case where the model is inadequate is Victoria, boasting a higher rate of creative occupations, gays and cultural workers but displays lower levels of wealth and immigration.

Attracting People to Cities

It should be fair to assume that the cities that attract domestic migrants are areas where opportunity and economy are deemed stronger. Not surprisingly, there is a very strong correlation between the cities with large numbers of creative workers and high rankings on other economic indices, and the extent to which these cities attract newcomers. Between 1996 and 2001, Calgary, Ottawa and Toronto led the group, while Montréal, Winnipeg, Regina and Québec were near the bottom. Only Hamilton and Halifax diverge slightly from what is otherwise the rule.

Conclusion

According to a report by the OECD, Montréal's lower productivity is one of the reasons why it falls behind other major Canadian and North American cities. This report also suggests that Montréal's increasing elderly population will lead to a decrease in the productivity rate. And while Montréal remains among the leading contributors to Canada's GDP when compared with a selection of OECD metropolitan regions of more than 2 million inhabitants (27 of which are located in Europe, 12 in Asia, 23 in the United States and 3 in Canada), it scores at the bottom third of the 2001 ranking, at position 44 out of 65. This is despite increases in the high-technology industries during the 1990s. While Montréal ranks relatively high on the social and cultural diversity indicators, it ranks lower on economic and creative indicators. On the other hand, Calgary is weaker on the diversity indicators and stronger on the creative economy. Certainly, the architects of the Florida approach will find explanations for such contradictory tendencies. For example, Montréal went through periods of political instability that are difficult to situate within the Florida framework while Calgary benefited from a tremendous oil boom. Ottawa's strength is closely connected to its being the seat of Canada's federal government.

As Florida notes, larger cities tend to attract creativity and much of Canada's population, both immigrant and non-immigrant, is concentrated in its three largest cities, Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver. Not surprisingly, the use of a Mosaic Index will be especially relevant in places like Toronto and Vancouver in conjunction with other variables. This is not to suggest that Florida's idea and approach are not without merit and imagination. Its effort to connect the value of social diversity to creative economies has rightly received much praise and over the last ten years, Richard Florida has emerged as a champion for the cause of diversity. Yet the methodology he employs must be approached with some caution in the effort to better understand what contributes most to the performance of Canada's cities.

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The Gazette, Montréal, April 15 2004, p. B-2

Canada. Statistics Canada, *2001 Census*, Ottawa.

APPENDIX 1

2001	Dancers, musicians, actors and composers– conductors and arrangers	Authors, writers, editors and journalists	Librarians, archivists, curators
Halifax	4	4	4
Québec	12	8	7
Montréal	7	5	9
Ottawa	11	1	1
Toronto	3	3	11
Hamilton	10	12	12
Winnipeg	5	10	5
Regina	5	7	3
Calgary	8	8	10
Edmonton	9	11	7
Vancouver	1	6	5
Victoria	2	2	2

Source : Statistics Canada, 2001 Census

University Degree and Certificate Holders

	University degree holders	Certificate holders	Cumulative	Rank
Halifax	21.1	16.1	37.2	3
Québec	18.4	17.6	36.0	7
Montréal	21.6	14.5	36.1	5
Ottawa	29.3	16.6	45.9	1
Toronto	25.6	13.0	38.6	2
Hamilton	13.0	15.9	28.9	12
Winnipeg	16.7	13.9	30.6	11
Regina	17.0	14.2	31.2	10
Calgary	20.4	13.9	34.3	8
Edmonton	15.7	15.8	31.5	9
Vancouver	20.7	15.4	36.1	5
Victoria	20.0	17.0	37.0	4

Source : Statistics Canada, 2001 Census

APPENDIX 3

2001	Management occupations	Rank	% of pop. with income above $50 000	Rank
Halifax	11.6	5	16.0	8
Québec	9.0	11	14.3	9
Montréal	10.8	7	13.6	12
Ottawa	13.8	1	27.4	1
Toronto	11.7	4	18.5	3
Hamilton	9.2	10	17.6	6
Winnipeg	9.5	9	13.8	11
Regina	9.0	11	14.1	10
Calgary	12.1	2	20.8	2
Edmonton	10.4	8	17.8	5
Vancouver	11.9	3	18.1	4
Victoria	11.3	6	16.9	7

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2001

Immigrants in Canada's Cities

MARTHA JUSTUS*
Citizenship and Immigration Canada

Immigration in perspective

Canada's current immigration–at about 225,000 per year–is equivalent to 0.7% of Canada's population, but immigrants predominantly (76%) settle in Canada's three largest cities. As a result, the annual flow of immigrants to Toronto is equivalent to 2.4% of Toronto's population; immigrants to Vancouver amount to 1.4% of that city's population and to 0.9% in Montréal. Even for smaller centres, such as Ottawa, the annual flow amounts to 0.8% of its population.

Canada's immigrants come from the world over and represent a diversity of cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Over the past several decades there has been a considerable change in the source countries of immigrants. China has been the leading country of birth among recent immigrants, followed by India, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Taiwan. Together, these countries accounted for over 40% of recent immigrants. In comparison, these same seven countries accounted for just 2% of immigrants who landed prior to 1961.

Among Canada's earlier immigrants (those arriving in Canada before 1981) Italy and the United Kingdom were the most common

FIGURE 1
Immigrant Inflow as a Share of Local Population, 1986–2002
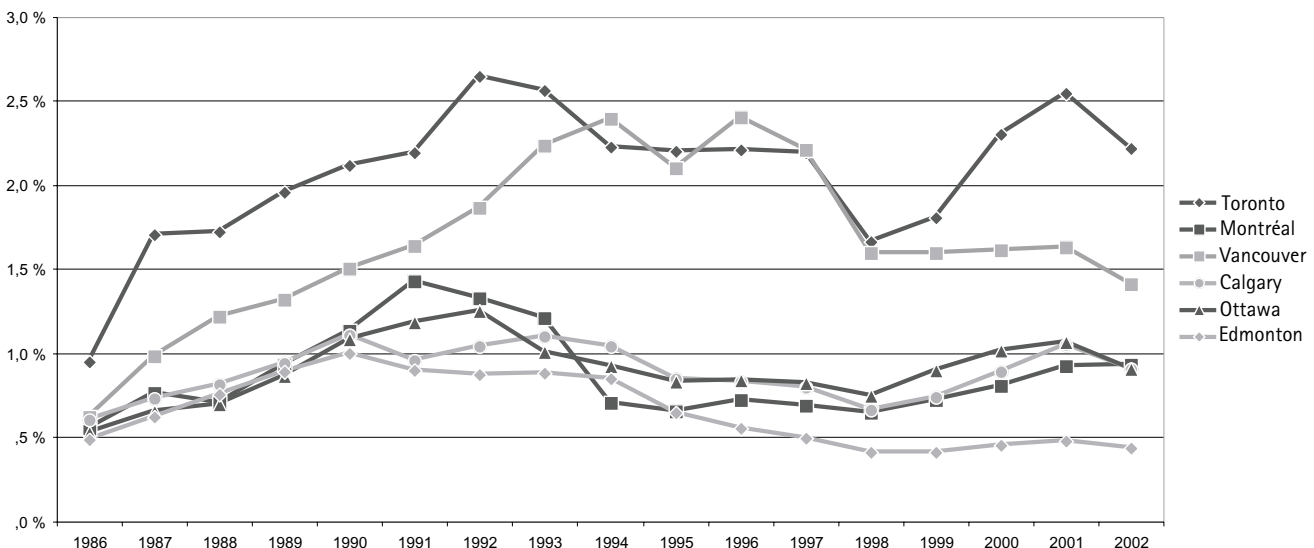
Source: Facts and Figures 2002, Citizenship and Immigration, and Annual Demographic Statistics, Statistics Canada

Immigration to Canada by Key Source Countries, 1990–2002
(percentage of total)

Legend:
- Korea, Republic of
- Pakistan
- Philippines
- Hong Kong
- China, People's Republic of
- India
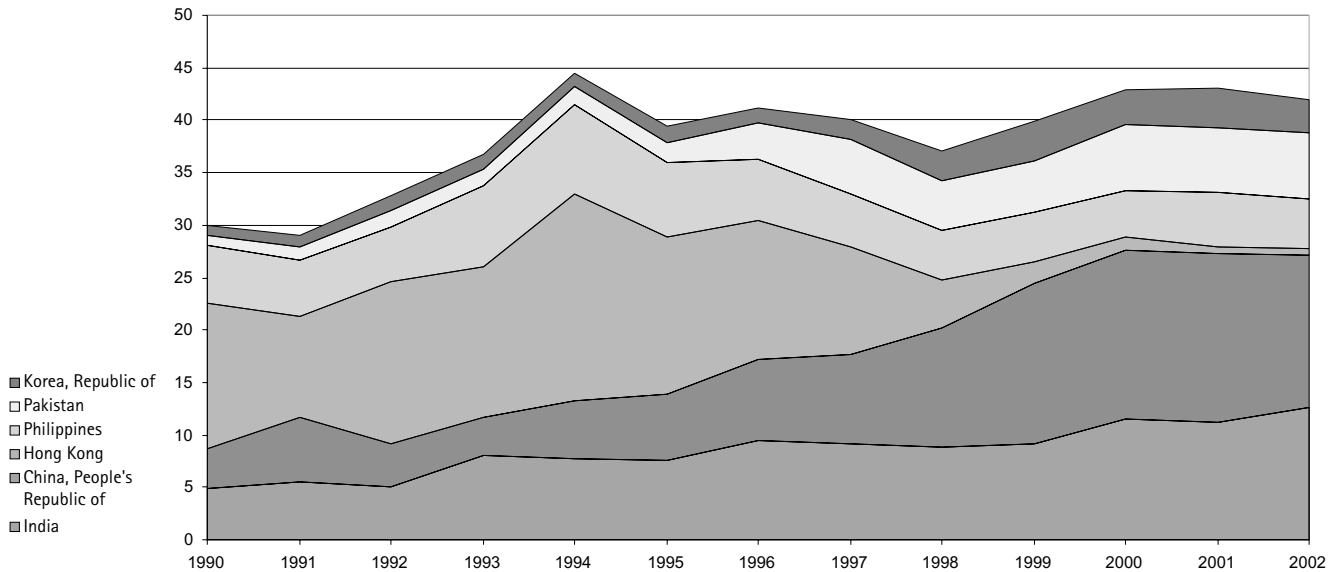
Source: Facts and Figures 2002, Citizenship and Immigration

countries of birth, accounting for 31% of immigrants. These two countries were even more dominant among immigrants who landed before 1961, accounting for 25% and 15%, respectively. They were followed by Germany with 10% and the Netherlands with 8%. Thus, prior to 1961, four countries in Western Europe supplied well over one-half of immigrants. The origins of more recent immigrants are far more dispersed.

In general, the birth origins of the immigrant population vary in relation to their period of immigration. European birth origins are predominant among those who immigrated in the 1950s, 1960s and, to a lesser extent, in the 1970s, and Asian birth origins are predominant among those who immigrated in the 1980s and 1990s.

In terms of diversity, the current immigrant flow into Vancouver is the least diverse, with 60% of its inflow arriving from its top five source countries. In Toronto, 50% of the immigrant flow is from its top five countries, while the top five accounts for only 42% of immigrants destined to Montréal. The flows to smaller urban centres vary. Those with larger shares of refugees, such as London, Ontario, tend to be more diverse.

Outside the major sending countries, immigrants from smaller countries tend to be even more concentrated in one or a small number of locations in Canada. For example, looking at a few selected countries, Montréal is home to 85% of Canada's immigrants from Haiti and to 76% of immigrants from Morocco, while Toronto is home to 77% of Jamaicans, 80% of Guyanese, and 80% of Sri Lankans living in Canada. Most immigrants from Taiwan and Fiji live in Vancouver.

Based on the results of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), the most important factor in an immigrant's decision of where to settle is the presence of family and friends. Only when economic principal applicants are destined *outside* of Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver do employment opportunities figure in the top three considerations and then it is a close second to family and friends.

The proportion of Canada's population that is foreign-born has reached its highest level in 70 years. As of May 2001, 5.4 million people (18.4% of the population) were born outside of Canada, compared to 17.4% in 1996. In comparison, Australia's 2001 Census showed 22% of its population to be foreign-born, while this was the case for only 11% of the population of the United States. About 1.8 million

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immigrants in the Census arrived between 1991 and 2001. This group of "recent immigrants" accounted for 6.2% of Canada's population overall and one-third of all immigrants in Canada.

One of the most striking differences between recent immigrants and persons born in Canada is where they choose to live. In 2001, more than 90% of immigrants who arrived during the 1990s were living in a metropolitan area (for the overall Canadian population this share was less than 65%) with a concentration of more than 70% in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver. The trend towards immigrant settlement in these three urban centres has been growing over time. Of all immigrants who arrived during the 1980s, in 1991, 66% lived in Toronto, Montréal or Vancouver, against 58% of those immigrants who arrived in the 1970s.

Toronto

In 2001, slightly more than 2 million people born outside Canada were living in Toronto, representing 44% of Toronto's population. Furthermore, almost 40% of those immigrants had arrived during the 1990s. Consequently, Toronto had one of the highest proportions of foreign-born of all major urban centres in the world—in comparison to Miami (40%), Sydney (31%), Los Angeles (31%) and New York City (24%).

The Toronto metropolitan area was also by far Canada's premier urban destination for immigrants during the 1990s. A total of 792,000 immigrants living in Toronto in 2001 had arrived in Canada during the previous ten years, representing almost 45% of all arrivals in Canada in that period. This proportion was much higher than that recorded by either Vancouver (18%) or Montréal (12%).

Over the past several decades there has been a considerable change in the source countries of immigrants living in Toronto. In 2001, for example, there were 415,500 residents who had very recently arrived in Canada (between 1996 and 2001). The most common country of birth for these immigrants was China, accounting for 13% of new arrivals or 17%, if we include persons born in Hong Kong. The ten most common countries of birth—China, India, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Hong Kong, Iran, the Russian Federation, South Korea, and Jamaica—accounted for 60% of these very

recent immigrants. In comparison, only five of these countries were in the top ten countries of birth of immigrants who arrived in Canada before 1986.

For some immigrant groups, the Toronto metropolitan area is the preferred place of residence. For example, of Guyana-born individuals living in Canada in 2001, more than 85% were living in Toronto. The city is also home to a large share of arrivals from Jamaica, Sri Lanka, and Trinidad and Tobago. This is in stark contrast to the settlement patterns of US-born immigrants, only 1 in 5 of whom reside in Toronto.

FIGURE 3
Percentage of Population Living in Canada's Metropolitan Areas (CMAs)

■ % living in CMAs
■ % living in CMAs with 10,000 or more recent immigrants
□ % living in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver
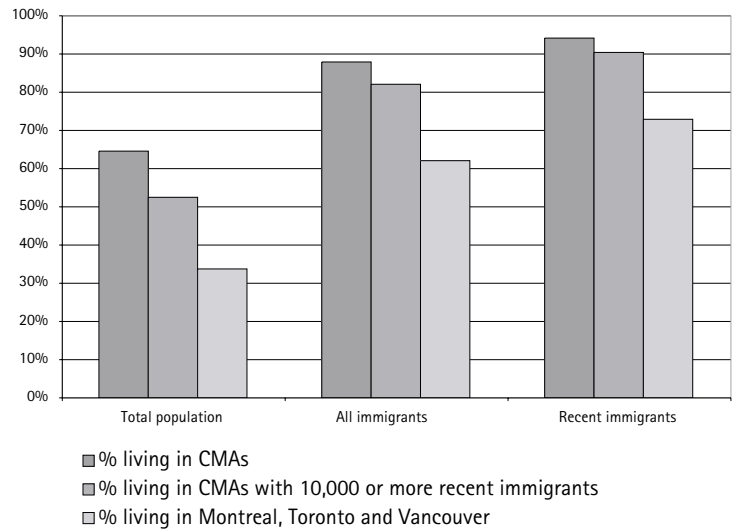
CMAs with 10,000 or more recent immigrants: Toronto, Vancouver, Montréal, Ottawa-Hull, Calgary, Edmonton, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Kitchener, Windsor, London and Abbotsford
Source: 2001 Census of Population, Statistics Canada

Vancouver

Vancouver's immigrant population has grown at a considerably faster pace than its Canadian-born population through the recent past. Consequently, in 2001, almost 739,000 persons born outside Canada were living in Vancouver, representing 38% of Vancouver's population, up from 30% in 1991. Forty-four percent of the city's newcomers arrived in the 1990s.

Vancouver was home to almost two in ten of all immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1991 and 2001, as well as almost nine in ten of all immigrants who arrived in British Columbia during the same period. Consequently, the city's

foreign-born population was growing at a faster rate than that experienced by the province and the country as a whole. By 2001, Vancouver was home to a higher proportion of foreign-born than most major cities throughout the world with the exception of Miami and Toronto.

Asia has always been a major source of immigrants for Vancouver. In 2001, for example, of the almost 190,000 residents of Vancouver who had arrived in Canada since 1996, the most common country of birth was China, accounting for 20% of these arrivals. Hong Kong added another 9% and Taiwan supplied a further 13% of these newcomers. Six of the ten most common countries of birth (China, Taiwan, India, Hong Kong, Philippines and South Korea) accounting for 65% of these very recent immigrants are East or Southeast Asian. The large share of recent immigrants from these areas of the world is unique to Vancouver. Other cities, including Toronto, have a greater diversity of source countries. Nevertheless, Vancouver is also a preferred area of residence for Fijians, Malaysians, South Koreans, South Africans and Iranians.

Montréal

In 2001, almost 622,000 persons born outside Canada were living in Montréal, representing 18% of Montréal's population, up from 16% in 1991. Among these immigrants, 35% had arrived during the 1990s.

Like many places across Canada, the proportion of immigrants settling in Montréal from Europe has declined, while the share from Asia, including the Middle East, has grown. Of the foreign-born population in Montréal in 2001 who arrived in Canada before 1961, nine in ten were from Europe, while only 3% were from Asia. In comparison, one-fifth of immigrants who arrived between 1991 and 2001 came from Europe, while two-fifths came from Asia.

Asian-born immigrants in Montréal who came to Canada in the 1990s were more likely to be from the Middle East and West Asia. In addition, close to one-fifth (18%) of the 1990s immigrants in Montréal was from Africa. Haiti, China, Algeria, France and Lebanon were the top countries of birth for immigrants in Montréal who arrived in the 1990s. Indeed, 30% of all recent immigrants were born in these five countries.

Immigrants from Europe are still very present in Montréal, although most arrived in Canada prior to 1981. In 2001, Italy, France, and Greece continued to be three of the top five countries of birth of all immigrants residing in Montréal. Haiti and Lebanon rounded out the list.

Ottawa–Hull

Ottawa-Hull had a total foreign-born population of 185,000 in 2001, up from 135,300 in 1991. Those born outside Canada accounted for 18% of the city's population in 2001, up from 15% in 1991.

Although only 4% of immigrants who came to Canada between 1991 and 2001 resided in Ottawa at the time of the 2001 Census, this group represented 38% of the foreign-born population in the city at that time. About 13% of these recent arrivals were born in the People's Republic of China, 5% in Lebanon and 5% in Somalia.

Calgary

In 2001, 197,400 residents of Calgary were foreign-born, accounting for almost 21% of its total population. More than 7% of Calgary's population of 68,900 persons were newcomers who arrived between 1991 and 2001. Consequently, Calgary had the fourth highest proportion of new immigrants in its total population in 2001 after Toronto, Vancouver and Windsor.

Calgary's share of Alberta's population rose 3% between 1986 and 2001, reaching 32%, while the city's share of the province's immigrant population jumped from 38% to 45%.

A shift in immigration patterns to Canada has contributed to the growing diversity in Calgary. Historically, Calgary's foreign-born population mainly came from the British Isles, the United States and Europe. Nearly nine in ten (87%) immigrants who arrived before 1961 and who were living in Calgary in 2001 were from Europe.

Among Calgary residents who arrived in Canada between 1991 and 2001, the top five source countries were Asian. China, the Philippines and India each accounted for about 10% of these recent immigrants. The United Kingdom and Poland were the only European nations among the top ten countries of birth. More recently, Afghanistan and the Russian Federation have accounted for significant numbers of new arrivals.

Edmonton

Through the past decade, Edmonton's immigrant population has increased, but at a slower pace than its Canadian-born population. Consequently, the foreign-born population represented a slightly smaller proportion of the city's population in 2001 (17.8%) than was the case in 1991 (18.3%). Recent immigrants (arriving between 1991 and 2001) made up 5% of Edmonton's population, about the same proportion of new immigrants living in Edmonton in 1991 who arrived in the 1980s.

Close to three-fifths (58%) of Edmonton's newcomers during the 1990s came from Asia. About 12% of these recent arrivals were born in the Philippines, 10% each in India and the People's Republic of China, 6% in Hong Kong (SAR) and 5% in Viet Nam. Those from Europe accounted for 22% of 1990s immigrants living in Edmonton in 2001. This pattern was much different from the early 1980s, when immigration from Asia was virtually non-existent, and immigration from Europe was predominant. Note that Edmonton is also home to a large share of recent immigrants from Malaysia, Vietnam and El Salvador.

Hamilton

Nearly one-quarter of the population in the census metropolitan area of Hamilton in 2001 was foreign-born, the third highest proportion among urban areas. But many of Hamilton's immigrants have lived in Canada a long time. Two-thirds of the city's foreign-born population arrived in Canada more than 15 years ago. Therefore, recently arrived immigrants constitute a relatively small share of Hamilton's total foreign-born population (23%) and only 5.4% of the city's total population.

Four out of ten recent newcomers in Hamilton's came from an Asian country, even though the most common country of birth was Yugoslavia. China, India, Iraq, Pakistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Philippines, Croatia, the United Kingdom and the United States rounded out the top ten most common countries of birth, which accounted for more than 50% of immigrant arrivals to the city since 1996.

None of the five Asian countries mentioned above were among the top ten source countries before 1981. Prior to 1981, the United Kingdom, eight other European countries (Italy, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Germany, Portugal, Poland, Hungary and the former USSR) and the United States were the top ten source countries, supplying 80 per cent of immigrants.

Winnipeg

Winnipeg had a foreign-born population of 109,400 in 2001, down from 113,800 in 1991. The metropolitan area's immigrant population has declined at the same pace as the immigrant population in Manitoba, roughly 2% through the 1996-2001 period. In contrast, the total number of immigrants living in Canada increased by 10% during the same timeframe.

Of the foreign-born living in Winnipeg, 26,400 came to Canada during the 1990s, accounting for 4% of the city's population, higher than the provincial level (3%) but lower than the national level (6%). Winnipeg attracted just 1.4% of all newcomers who arrived in Canada between 1991 and 2001.

The Philippines was the most common place of birth for immigrants of the 1990s living in Winnipeg in 2001, followed by India, the People's Republic of China, Viet Nam and Poland.

It is interesting to note that the census metropolitan area of Winnipeg has the highest proportion of Filipino residents among all metropolitan areas in Canada in 2001. Of the 308,600 Filipinos living in Canada, 30,100, or about 10%, lived in Winnipeg. Along with being a preferred place of residence for Filipinos, Winnipeg is also home to a large proportion of Ethiopians, El Salvadorians as well as natives of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Kitchener

More than one-fifth of the 2001 population of the census metropolitan area of Kitchener (including Cambridge and Waterloo) was born outside Canada. The city was home to 90,600 people who were foreign-born, representing 22% of its population, a proportion virtually unchanged from a decade earlier.

The foreign-born population in Kitchener is unique because many 1990s arrivals (29% of the immigrant population) came from Yugoslavia; about 20% of recent immigrants living in Kitchener in 2001 were born in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia or Yugoslavia. Along with Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, other European countries in the top ten places of origin included Romania, Poland and the United Kingdom. A relatively high proportion of immigrants who settled in Kitchener during the 1990s also came from the China, India, and Vietnam.

Windsor

The 2001 Census counted 67,900 foreign-born persons in Windsor, representing 22% of its population. This was well above the national average of 18%, but below the average for Ontario, which was 27%. Of these immigrants, 24,300 (8% of Windsor's total population and 36% of its foreign-born population) had lived in the country for 10 years or less.

Nearly 10% of immigrants who came to Windsor between 1991 and 2001 were born in Iraq. Fewer than 9% were born in China and a further 7% in India.

London

Compared with other major urban areas in Ontario, London's foreign-born population is comprised of a relatively high proportion of immigrants who have lived in Canada for quite some time. According to the 2001 Census, immigrants who came to Canada between 1991 and 2001 accounted for less than 5% of London's population. This was slightly lower than the national average of slightly more than 6%.

Immigrants born in the United Kingdom accounted for 28% of London immigrants who arrived in Canada prior to 1961. However, examining only recent arrivals, only 2% were born in England, Scotland, Wales or Ireland. More and more of London's foreign-born are coming from countries in Eastern Europe, Asia or the Middle East. The top ten countries of birth among 1990s immigrants in London were Poland, China, Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Iraq, the United States, Viet Nam, Iran, Lebanon and India.

Abbotsford

Abbotsford had the fifth highest proportion (7%) of recent immigrants among its population in 2001, behind Toronto, Vancouver, Windsor and Calgary. Overall, 22% of Abbotsford residents, or 31,700 people, were born outside Canada, up from 20% in 1991.

Among immigrants living in Abbotsford who arrived in Canada between 1991 and 2001, the vast majority (79%) was Asian-born. India was the birthplace of more than six in ten of these recent arrivals. This profile describes a long-standing pattern of South Asian settlement in the region.

Summary

The geographic distribution of immigrants and the Canadian-born are markedly different. Most immigrants live in the large cities, and their concentration in these centres has been increasing.

In Toronto and Vancouver, immigrants make up approximately two-fifths of these cities' populations. Roughly one-fifth of the populations of Hamilton, Windsor, Kitchener, Abbotsford, Calgary, London, Victoria, Montréal, Edmonton, St. Catharines-Niagara, Ottawa-Hull, Winnipeg and Oshawa are accounted for by the foreign-born. In total, these centres have attracted more than 90% of the immigrant population in the country. In these metropolitan centres, contact with recent immigrants is likely to be a regular, even a common occurrence. In the rest of the country, immigrants make up

TABLE 1
Proportion of Foreign–Born[1]
Census Metropolitan Areas, 2001, 1996 and 1991

%	2001	1996	1991
Canada	18.4	17.4	16.1
Toronto	43.7	41.9	38.0
Vancouver	37.5	34.9	30.1
Hamilton	23.6	23.6	23.5
Windsor	22.3	20.4	20.6
Kitchener	22.1	21.8	21.5
Abbotsford	21.8	20.3	19.8
Calgary	20.9	20.9	20.3
London	18.8	19.2	18.8
Victoria	18.8	19.3	19.5
Montréal	18.4	17.8	16.4
Edmonton	17.8	18.5	18.3
St. Catharines-Niagara	17.8	18.3	18.9
Ottawa-Hull[2]	17.6	16.3	14.7
Winnipeg	16.5	16.9	17.4
Oshawa	15.7	16.5	17.2
Kingston	12.4	12.8	13.5
Thunder Bay	11.1	12.2	13.1
Saskatoon	7.6	7.6	8.2
Regina	7.4	8.0	8.4
Greater Sudbury	7.0	7.5	8.1
Halifax	6.9	7.0	6.4
Sherbrooke	4.6	4.3	3.8
Saint John	3.8	4.0	4.3
Québec	2.9	2.6	2.2
St. John's	2.9	2.9	2.8
Trois-Rivières	1.5	1.6	1.3
Chicoutimi-Jonquière[3]	0.9	0.7	0.7

[1] Foreign-born: the population who has, or has ever had, landed-immigrant status in Canada.
[2] Now known as Ottawa-Gatineau.
[3] Now known as Saguenay.

Source: Statistics Canada, *Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait: The Changing Mosaic.* Catalogue: 96F0030XIE2001008.

TABLE 2
Proportion of foreign–born[1], Census Metropolitan Areas, 2001

Percentage	Foreign–born as % of population	Recent immigrants[4] as % of population	Recent immigrants as % of total foreign–born	CMA recent immigrants as % of all recent immigrants
Canada	18.4	6.2	33.6	100.00
Toronto	43.7	17.0	39.0	43.26
Vancouver	37.5	16.5	44.0	17.74
Hamilton	23.6	5.4	23.0	1.94
Windsor	22.3	8.0	35.8	1.33
Kitchener	22.1	6.4	28.8	1.43
Abbotsford	21.8	7.1	32.4	0.56
Calgary	20.9	7.3	34.9	3.76
London	18.8	4.6	24.2	1.06
Victoria	18.8	3.2	17.1	0..54
Montréal	18.4	6.4	34.6	11.75
Edmonton	17.8	4.8	27.2	2.45
St, Catharines-Niagara	17.8	2.7	15.0	0.54
Ottawa-Hull[2]	17.6	6.7	38.1	3.85
Winnipeg	16.5	4.0	24.1	1.44
Oshawa	15.7	2.4	15.0	0.38
Kingston	12.4	2.4	19.4	0.19
Thunder Bay	11.1	1.1	9.9	0.07
Saskatoon	7.6	2.3	30.3	0.28
Regina	7.4	1.7	23.3	0.18
Grand Sudbury	7.0	0.7	9.6	0.06
Halifax	6.9	2.1	30.8	0.41
Sherbrooke	4.6	2.3	50.9	0.19
Saint John	3.8	0.6	16.6	0.04
Québec	2.9	1.3	43.0	0.46
St, John's	2.9	0.8	28.6	0.08
Trois-Rivières	1.5	0.5	32.9	0.04
Chicoutimi-Jonquière[3]	0.9	0.5	52.2	0.04

[1] Foreign-born: the population who has, or has ever had, landed-immigrant status in Canada.
[2] Now known as Ottawa-Gatineau.
[3] Now known as Saguenay.
[4] Recent immigrants: the foreign-born population of immigrants that landed in Canada between 1991 and 2001.

Source: 2001 *Census*, Statistics Canada 97F0009XCB01002; 95F0363XCB01004.

a very small proportion of the total population and residents in these regions are less likely to meet with recent immigrants in their place of residence.

The settlement patterns of immigrants vary greatly according to country of birth. The most striking contrast is between immigrants from Western and Southern Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States on the one hand, and immigrants from the rest of the world on the other. The former, smaller, group does not have the strong preference for Canada's largest urban centres demonstrated by the majority of immigrants. Recent immigrants from the United Kingdom and the United States have more frequently opted for small urban centres and the rest of Canada.

Profiles of Recent Immigrants in Canada's Major Cities
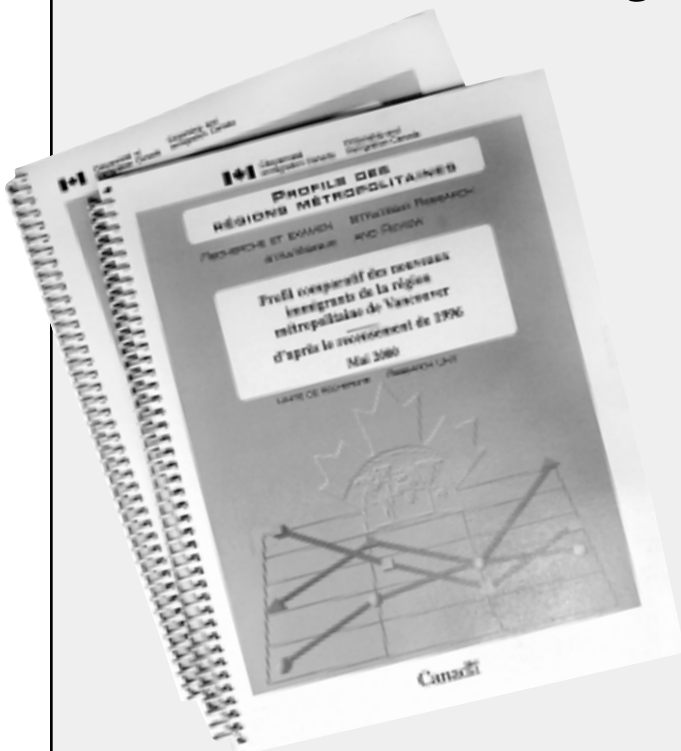
Citizenship and Immigration Canada's *Recent Immigrants in Metropolitan Areas Profile Series* is now being updated based on the 2001 Census. Watch for the profiles to be posted on the CIC website at http://www.cic.gc.ca under Research and Statistics. Release is anticipated in summer 2004.

The profiles present a portrait of recent immigrants—persons who immigrated after 1985—living in Canada at the time of the 2001 Census of Population. They provide information on the origin and background of immigrants, on family and household structure, on participation in the economy, on income and on housing.

In addition to a portrait of recent immigrants in all of Canada, profiles are being prepared for recent immigrants in thirteen major urban centres where the overwhelming majority of recent immigrants live. The thirteen cities include the major immigrant centres of Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal, as well as Victoria, Edmonton, Calgary, Saskatoon, Regina, Winnipeg, Hamilton, Ottawa, Québec and Halifax.

The profiles include background and personal attributes of immigrants including country of origin, category of immigration, age, gender, education, family relationships and other characteristics. The labour market behaviour, jobs, income and housing conditions of recent immigrants are included to describe the adjustment of immigrants to the economy, a process that clearly takes time. The Canada portrait also includes information about the geographic dispersion of immigrants within Canada and about the origins of immigrants in different parts of the country. It also compares the characteristics and circumstances of immigrants among five geographic areas: Toronto, Vancouver, Montréal, the ten other urban areas combined, and the rest of Canada.

The Profiles of *Recent Immigrants in Metropolitan Areas* are published by Citizenship and Immigration Canada to provide the Canadian public with easily accessible information on immigrants and to provide those with a direct interest in immigrants, including officials of provincial, regional and local governments, and organisations providing services to immigrants with a comparative portrait of immigrants for specific urban centres.

Contrary to popular belief, Canadian Muslims are not a homogenous group. Like Christians, Muslim traditions and cultures are rooted in various ethnic backgrounds from different parts of the world.

Muslims in Canada: An Illustrative and Demographic Profile

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Introduction

This brief article will examine the growth of Muslim communities in Canada, and more specifically their place in Canadian cities. Using data primarily from the 2001 Census, we will focus the majority of our discussion on various demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Muslims in Canada. The analysis presented within this article is based on religious identity questions from the Census, but it does not take into account religious attendance or to what level these Canadians practice their associated faiths.

The vast majority of Muslims in Canada live within a census metropolitan area of at least 100,000 people and most of them live in cities with populations of over 500,000 people. Although the focus of this journal is on Canadian cities, for obvious reasons, most of our analysis will focus on the social and economic conditions of all those who identify themselves as Muslim in Canada. However in some instances, allusion will be made to select Canadian cities.

Major population growth of Muslims in Canada

Over the past century, Canada has welcomed more than 13.4 million immigrants, with the largest number arriving in the last ten to fifteen years. According to the 2001 Census, 18.4% of the population was born outside Canada, the largest proportion in 70 years.

As source countries of immigration are increasingly non-European, most notably Asian and Middle-Eastern, our country is becoming more ethnoculturally diverse. Not only is the number of visible minorities in Canada growing, the number of those reporting religions other than Christian is growing even faster. Aside from immigration, the aging population and the decreasing number of people identifying themselves with certain religions are also contributing factors to the changing religious landscape.

Although the 2001 Census reveals that nearly eight in ten Canadians identify themselves as Christian, significant changes have occurred in Canada's religious make up over the past ten years. Between 1991 and 2001, the number of Roman Catholics increased slightly, whereas the proportion of persons who identified themselves as Protestant decreased. Consistent with recent changes in immigration, there has been a

TABLE 1
Major religious denominations, Canada, 1991[1] and 2001

	2001		1991		% Change
	Number	%	Number	%	1991–2001
Roman Catholic	12,793,125	43.2	12,203,625	45.2	4.8
Protestant	8,654,845	29.2	9,427,675	34.9	(8.2)
Christian Orthodox	479,620	1.6	387,395	1.4	23.8
Christian, not included elsewhere[2]	780,450	2.6	353,040	1.3	121.1
Muslim	579,640	2.0	253,265	0.9	128.9
Jewish	329,995	1.1	318,185	1.2	3.7
Buddhist	300,345	1.0	163,415	0.6	83.8
Hindu	297,200	1.0	157,015	0.6	89.3
Sikh	278,415	0.9	147,440	0.5	88.8
No religion	4,796,325	16.2	3,333,245	12.3	43.9
Total Population	**29,639,035**		**26,994,000**		

[1] For comparability purposes, 1991 data are presented according to 2001 boundaries.
[2] Includes persons who report "Christian", as well as those who report "Apostolic", "Born-again Christian" and "Evangelical".
Source : Statistics Canada, 1991 and 2001 Census.

significant increase in the number of persons that identify with non-Christian religions. For instance, the number of persons identifying as Buddhist increased by 84% and the proportion of persons reporting Hindu and Sikh each increased by 89%. Those who identified as Muslim recorded the most significant increase, more than doubling from 253,000 in 1991 to nearly 580,000 in 2001. Muslims now represent 2% of the total Canadian population. It is on this last noted trend that our discussion and analysis will focus.

Of the total number of persons identifying as Muslim, eight in ten lived in Ontario (60.8%) and Quebec (18.7%), while most of the remaining proportion lived in British Columbia (9.7%) and Alberta (8.5%).

Population growth rates in the last ten years were highest in New Brunswick, with a five-fold increase (410%) in the number of persons identifying themselves as Muslim in that province. Although figures are substantially lower, Prince Edward Island recorded the second highest ten-year growth rate (225%) followed by the Territories (211%). The Prairies recorded the lowest growth rates, which were substantially lower than the national rate. However, compared to other religious affiliations, significant gains in the Muslim population were recorded in all three Prairie Provinces.

TABLE 2
Persons identifying themselves as Muslim, provinces and territories, 1991[1] and 2001

	2001		1991		% Change
	Number	%	Number	%	1991–2001
Newfoundland and Labrador	630	0.1	300	0.1	110.0
Prince Edward Island	195	0.0	60	0.0	225.0
Nova Scotia	3,545	0.6	1,435	0.6	147.0
New Brunswick	1,275	0.2	250	0.1	410.0
Quebec	108,625	18.7	44,930	17.7	141.8
Ontario	352,530	60.8	145,560	57.5	142.2
Manitoba	5,095	0.9	3,520	1.4	44.7
Saskatchewan	2,230	0.4	1,185	0.5	88.2
Alberta	49,045	8.5	31,000	12.2	58.2
British Columbia	56,215	9.7	24,930	9.8	125.5
Territories	265	0.0	85	0.0	211.8
Canada	579,640	100.0	253,265	100.0	128.9

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 and 2001 Census

TABLE 3
Muslims by Census Metropolitan Area, 2001

Census Metropolitan Area	Number		Percent	
	Population	Muslims	Population in Canada	Muslims in Canada
Toronto	4,647,960	254,115	15.7	43.8
Montréal	3,330,645	100,185	11.4	17.3
Vancouver	1,967,475	52,590	6.6	9.1
Ottawa - Gatineau	1,050,755	41,720	3.5	7.2
Calgary	943,310	25,915	3.2	4.5
Edmonton	927,020	19,580	3.1	3.4
Québec	673,105	3,020	2.3	0.5
Winnipeg	661,730	4,805	2.2	0.8
Hamilton	655,055	12,875	2.2	2.2
Total 500,000 +	**14,907,055**	**514,805**	**50.3**	**88.8**
London	427,215	11,725	1.4	2.0
Kitchener	409,765	9,180	1.4	1.6
St. Catharines - Niagara	371,400	3,135	1.3	0.5
Halifax	355,945	3,070	1.2	0.5
Victoria	306,970	1,230	1.0	0.2
Windsor	304,955	10,745	1.0	1.9
Oshawa	293,545	2,870	1.0	0.5
Saskatoon	222,63	1,145	0.8	0.2
Regina	190,020	770	0.6	0.1
St. John's	171,105	475	0.6	0.1
Grand Sudbury	153,890	515	0.5	0.1
Chicoutimi - Jonquière	153,020	125	0.5	0.0
Sherbrooke	150,390	1,160	0.5	0.2
Abbotsford	144,990	435	0.5	0.1
Kingston	142,770	850	0.5	0.1
Trois-Rivières	134,640	230	0.5	0.0
Saint John	121,340	305	0.4	0.1
Thunder Bay	120,370	215	0.4	0.0
Total less than 500,000	**4,174,960**	**48,180**	**14.1**	**8.3**
Total CMAs	**19,032,015**	**562,985**	**64.4**	**97.1**
Canada Total	**29,639,035**	**579,640**		

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census

Almost all live in metropolitan areas

Whereas over two-thirds (64%) of the Canadian population lives in a census metropolitan area (CMA)—a geographic area delineated around an urban core with at least 100,000 inhabitants—almost all Muslims (97%) live within the same boundaries. In addition, nine in ten Muslims live within an urban area of over 500,000 people.

Muslims are younger than the rest of Canadian population

Whereas the median age of the total Canadian population was 37 years old, Muslims are significantly younger, with a median age of 28 years. Compared to other religious groups, which are also younger than the Canadian population, Sikhs and Hindus had median ages of 30 and 32 respectively.

Another common method of analyzing age dynamics is to examine the proportion of youth and children in the population. These figures are often used as indicators with respect to future policies on education, employment, health care and other relevant social and economic issues. Overall, Muslims have a larger proportion of persons under the age of 15 and a larger proportion of those in their younger working years (25-44).

TABLE 4
Large proportion of immigrant Muslims are young workers
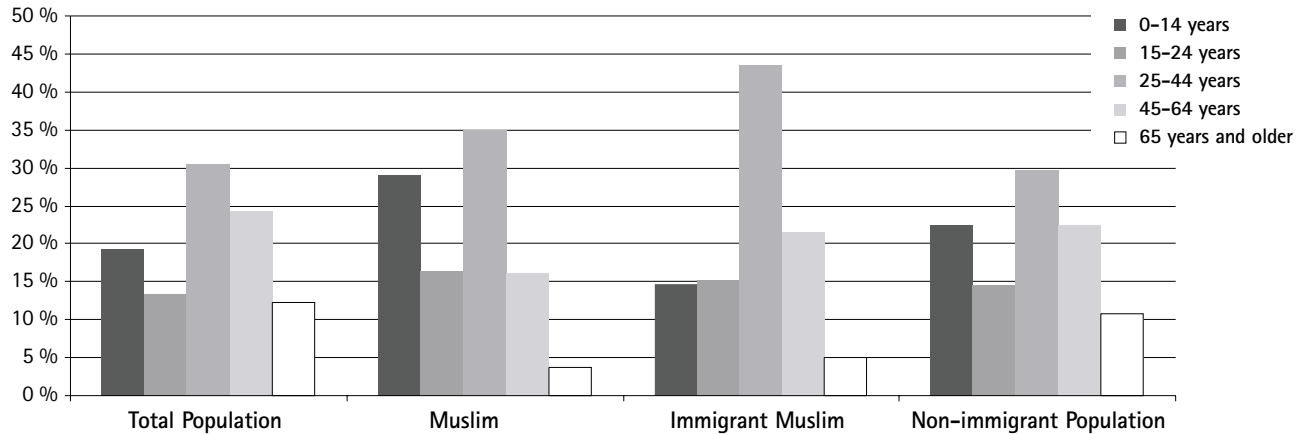
One contributing factor to this younger age dynamic is the associated young population of recent immigrants to Canada. In 2001, almost half of recent immigrants–those that arrived in the last ten years–were between the ages of 25 to 44, compared to 31% of the total population. As the 2001 Census further indicates, recent working age immigrants tend to settle in the three largest metropolitan areas.

With respect to the 580,000 Muslims in Canada, nearly three-quarters (72%) are immigrants and two-thirds (66%) arrived in Canada in the last ten years. Keeping with the general settlement trends of Muslims, nine in ten who were recent immigrants settled in Calgary, Edmonton, Montréal, Vancouver and Abbotsford or the Greater Toronto Area (Toronto, Hamilton, Guelph, Kitchener, Oshawa).

Intersections from the visible minority lens

As one would expect, a large majority of those that identified themselves as Muslim in the 2001 Census, also identified themselves as belonging to a visible minority group (86%). From a national perspective, well over two-thirds (37%) of Muslims also reported being South Asian; two in ten were Arab (21%); West Asian was identified by 21% of Muslim respondents; and just under one in ten (9%) identified themselves as Black.

However, further examination of these figures provides a different picture, as not all

TABLE 5
Muslims by Select Visible Minority Group in Canada's Largest Census Metropolitan Areas, 2001

Geography	Total Muslim Population	Total – Visible Minority	South Asian	Arab	West Asian	Black	Visible Minority – Unknown	Other Visible Minority Groups	Multiple Visible Minority	Not Visible Minority
Canada	579,640	86%	37%	21%	14%	9%	2 %	1%	1%	14%
Toronto	254,110	90%	49%	8%	16%	10%	4%	2%	1%	10%
Montréal	100,190	79%	18%	43%	9%	6%	1%	1%	1%	21%
Vancouver	52,590	91%	44%	8%	30%	4%	1%	2%	2%	9%
Ottawa-Hull	41,725	86%	17%	34%	9%	23%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Calgary	25,920	89%	44%	26%	10%	4%	2%	3%	1%	11%
Edmonton	19,580	89%	35%	37%	6%	6%	2%	1%	1%	11%
Québec	3,020	55%	0%	38%	4%	10%	0%	1%	1%	45%
Winnipeg	4,805	77%	29%	17%	10%	11%	7%	2%	1%	23%
Hamilton	12,880	77%	30%	24%	11%	6%	2%	1%	1%	23%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census

metropolitan areas across the country reveal the same proportions. For example, half of all Muslims in Toronto identified themselves as South Asian, whereas South Asians represented only 18% of all Muslim Montrealers. In Montréal, most Muslims identified themselves as Arab (43%), and a relatively higher proportion did not report belonging to any visible minority group (21%). Comparing Vancouver to other large metropolitan areas, a significantly higher proportion (30%) of Muslims identified themselves as West Asian. In Ottawa, the same could be said about Black Muslims (23%).

These differing visible minority identities in our cities are an indication that contrary to popular belief, Canadian Muslims are not a homogenous group. Like Christians, Muslim traditions and cultures are rooted in various ethnic backgrounds from different parts of the world. The heterogeneity of Canadian Muslims is reflected in the breadth of ethnic, cultural, linguistic and racial diversity. The richness and diversity of Islam is displayed by Canadian Muslims as they maintain different interpretations of Islam, some are very traditional in practice and others are building their own distinctive sense of Muslim identity. The two major Islamic sects, the Sunni (followers of the Hanafi, Maliki, Shafai and Hanbali Schools of Though) and Shi'ite (Ithna-asheri, Ismaili, Bohra, Nizari) are rooted in history and based on differing ways of understanding and practicing Islam. The majority of Canadian

Muslims are Sunni Muslim and today there are over 200 mosques across the country. The first mosque in North America, the Al-Rashid was built in Edmonton in 1938, by Lebanese immigrants and is now recognized as a historical site at the Fort Edmonton Park.

Results from the Ethnic Diversity Survey

The following tables show preliminary results from the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) on the role religion plays in the lives of Canadians. Statistics Canada, in collaboration with the Department of Canadian Heritage, conducted a post-censal telephone survey (42,000 participants) on ethnicity in Canada as a result of content discussions leading up to the 2001 Census. The aim of the survey is to examine how ethnicity is reported and understood by all Canadians and how it affects participation in Canadian society.

The first table illustrates the importance of religion. Respondents ranked their answers on a scale of 1 to 5, with 4 indicating important and 5 indicating very important. We note that respondents who reported having a religion excluded Agnostic, Atheist and Spiritual. The data shows that 76% of Canadian Muslims ranked religion as being important to them.

In the next table, people reported on how often they participated in religious activities or attended religious services or meetings with other people, other than for events such as weddings and funerals. Respondents answered

TABLE 6
Importance of Religion, 2003
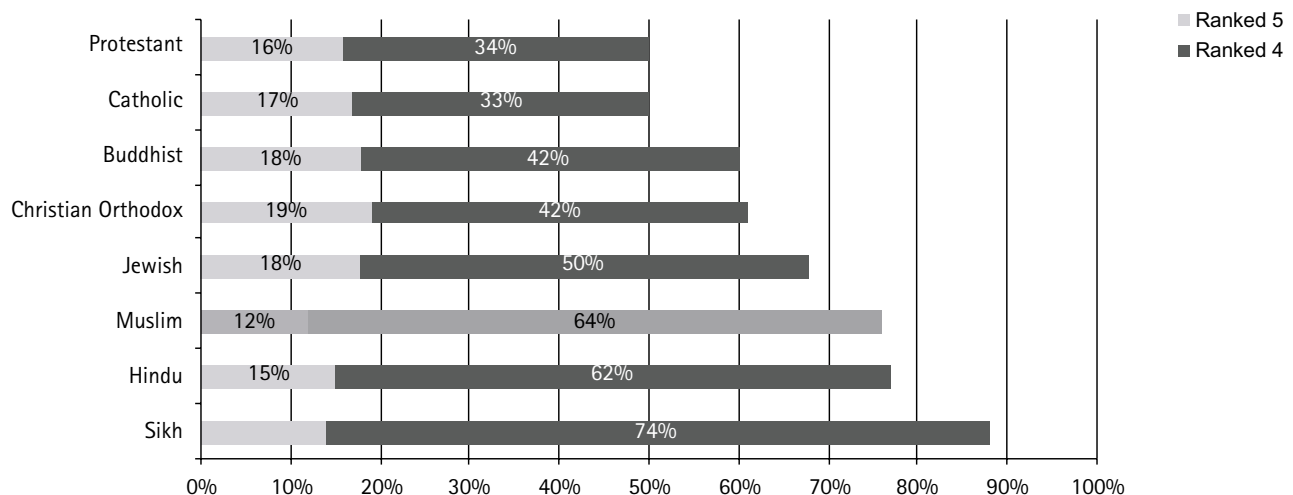
Source: Statistics Canada, Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2003

TABLE 7
Participation in Religious Activities with Other People, 2003

Religion	Percentage
Christian Orthodox	12%
Buddhist	14%
Jewish	16%
Hindu	25%
Catholic	25%
Protestant	28%
Sikh	32%
Muslim	42%
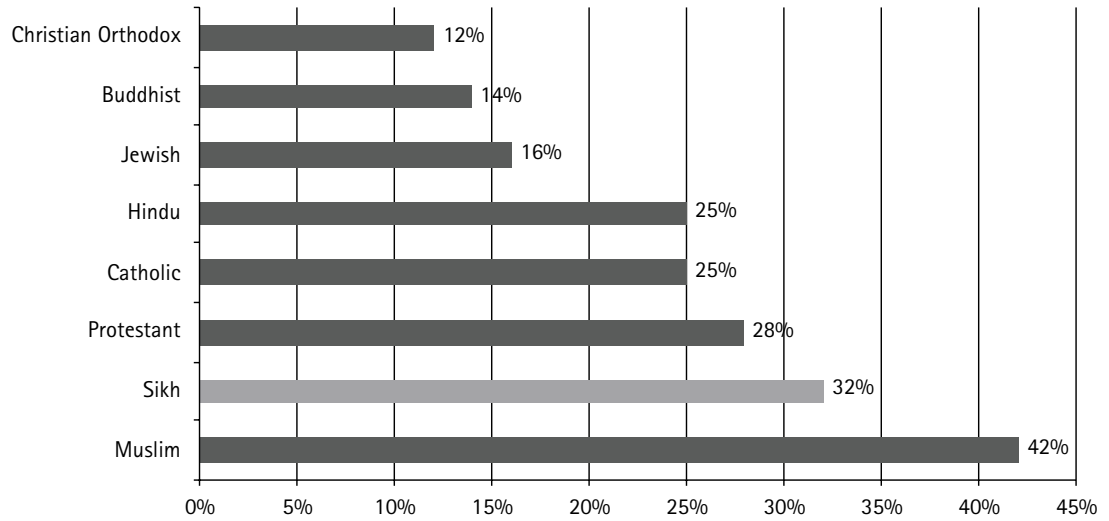
Source: Statistics Canada, Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2003

the questions based on: attendance at least once a week; at least once a month; at least 3 times a year; once or twice a year; or, not at all. The data shows that 32% of Canadian Muslims respondents participated in religious activities or attended religious services with other people at least once a week.

In the below table, participants were asked: "In the past 12 months, how often did you do religious activities on your own? This may include prayer, meditation and other forms of worship taking place at home or in any other location." The data showed that 65% of Canadian Muslims reported individual religious activity at least once a week.

An analysis of the EDS data shows that Canadian Muslims, like other faith-based communities in Canada, believe their religion is important and participate in related activities and events. Further analysis may show that the participation for Muslim respondents is slightly higher in some instances because of length of time in Canada, overlap of cultural and religious activities, etc.

TABLE 8
Select Education Indicators, 2001

Legend:
■ Total Population
■ Muslim

Education	Total Population	Muslim
No high school	31%	25%
High school	14%	13.5%
Trade certificate	10.5%	6%
Some	10.5%	12%
Post-secondary	33%	43%
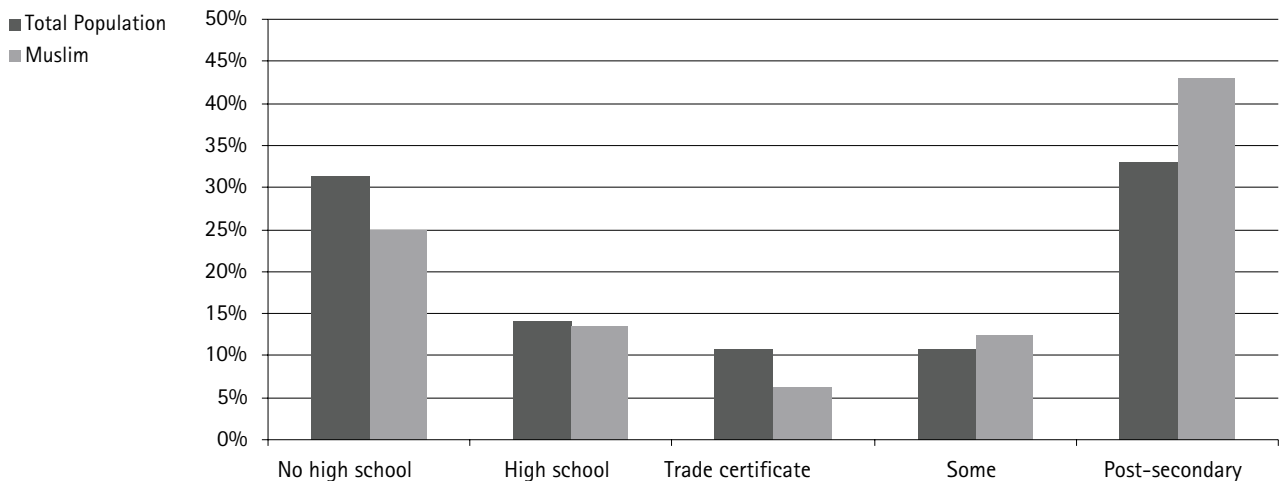
Source: Satistics Canada, 2001 Census

TABLE 9
Income Dynamics – Muslims and Total Population, 2001

Income Ranges	MUSLIMS				TOTAL POPULATION			
	Recent immigrants	Immigrants	Non – Immigrants	Population	Recent immigrants	Immigrants	Non – immigrants	Population
< 20K	57%	53%	59%	54%	52%	45%	43%	44%
20- < 30K	11%	12%	9%	12%	14%	15%	15%	15%
30- <40K	6%	8%	6%	8%	9%	12%	13%	12%
40 - < 50K	3%	5%	4%	5%	5%	8%	9%	8%
50 - < 60K	2%	3%	2%	3%	3%	5%	6%	6%
60K and over	3%	6%	3%	6%	5%	10%	10%	10%
Without income	17%	12%	17%	13%	12%	6%	5%	5%
Median Income	-	-	-	13,963$	-	-	-	22,120$
Mean Income	-	-	-	21,859$	-	-	-	29,769$

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census   – Information not available

Civic participation

Canadian Muslims are active members of society and contribute at all levels, as successful business men and women, professors in colleges and universities, elected representatives, professionals in the arts and entertainment fields and health care professions. Muslims in Canada have been recipients of many prestigious awards, Lila Fahlman received the Order of Canada, Jamelie Hassan received the Governor General's Award for visual arts and Nurjehan Mawani was appointed Chair of the Immigration and Refugee Board. Senator Mobina Jaffer was the first Muslim appointed to the Senate and Rahim Jaffer (Canadian Alliance) was the first Muslim elected to the House of Commons. Muslims are also adding their voices to domestic and international public discourse in subjects ranging from human rights and ethics to economics and politics, thus becoming a valuable and vital part of Canada.

Many Canadian Muslim groups, such as the Canadian Council of Muslim Women, the Council of American Islamic Relations – Canada, and the Canadian Islamic Congress, raised concerns over public safety, discrimination, hate crimes and racism following the aftermath of the September 11th attacks in the United States. Many Canadian Muslim communities actively responded to the events of September 11th by condemning the attacks, making donations for the victims, participating in memorial and interfaith services, working with policy-makers, and collaborating with community and other faith based organizations. The Multiculturalism Program worked with regional and national Muslim organizations and supported activities related to public education and facilitation of cross-cultural understanding.

Muslims generally have a higher level of education

A quick examination of education levels reveals that compared to the total population, those that identify themselves as Muslim have attained higher levels. Census figures indicate that among those fifteen years and older, almost six in ten Muslims (56%) had some level of post-secondary education. This proportion drops to 44% for the total population. Much of this difference is attributed to the higher post-secondary graduation rates of Muslims.

Wage earnings are below national average

A glance at simple income indicators reveals that Muslims earn less than the rest of the Canadian population. Among those aged fifteen and older, both the mean and median individual income for Muslims was approximately $8,000 less than the total population. In addition, the unemployment rate in 2001 for those that identified themselves as Muslim was almost twice as high as the total population.

Contributing factors to these disparities may be explained in the higher proportion of younger Muslims with little Canadian work experience. However, one could also argue that this difference would be offset by the fact that Muslims tend to be better educated. Another explanation of the difference in earnings could

be that a significant proportion of Muslims are recent immigrants and many of them may not have had their foreign credentials or previous work experience recognized. Many studies on wage-gap differentials between visible minorities and the total Canadian population indicate that discrimination may be at the heart of these disparities. However, further detailed multivariate analysis would be required for us to verify these claims. Nonetheless, one would assume that a younger and more educated population would contribute to above average economic indicators.

Future trends and concluding remarks

As a growing number of immigrants are coming from countries where many identify themselves as Muslim, and as a significant proportion of Muslims are in their young working years and child-rearing years, one would expect the proportion of Muslims in Canada to continue to increase. However, since the Muslim population is younger and many are recent immigrants, little is known about trends in reporting religious identity.

Some studies suggest that older Canadians are generally more likely to report some kind of religious affiliation than their younger counterparts (Statistics Canada, CCJS, 2001). As a result, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not future generations will continue to identify with their religious affiliations.

The information presented in this brief exposé of Muslims in Canada was meant to provide some general demographic and socio-economic indicators that were readily available to Canadian Heritage from the 2001 Census and the Ethnic Diversity Survey. We hope that this exposé will pave the road for future social science research in the area of ethnic and religious identities.

"Canada's urban Aboriginal population offers the potential of a large, young and growing population – one that is ambitious and increasingly skilled. Let us work together to ensure that urban Aboriginal Canadians are positioned and empowered to make an ongoing contribution to the future vitality of our cities and Canada."

Not Strangers in These Parts
Urban Aboriginal Peoples

Edited by David Newhouse and Evelyn Peters

**Government of Canada
Policy Research Initiative**

More than one third of visible minorities, representing more than 1 million people, reported having been discriminated against or unfairly treated based on their ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion, while in Canada.

Asians and Multiculturalism in Canada's Three Major Cities:

Some Evidence from the Ethnic Diversity Survey

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Introduction

The Government of Canada has officially designated May as Asian Heritage Month and it seems an appropriate time to examine the lives of Asian Canadians from a multicultural perspective.

The Government of Canada adopted the Multiculturalism Policy in 1971, and the *Multiculturalism Act* was proclaimed in 1988. Since 1997, the Multiculturalism Program has had a policy framework that includes the following priority areas: civic participation, social justice and identity.[1] In this article, I will present data from the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) with a focus on the Asian population. In particular, I will present results related to life satisfaction and the three key areas of the Multiculturalism Program.

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[1] I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to Paul Allard, Jennifer Chard, and Marjorie Kirk at Statistics Canada for all their help with cross-tabulating the data from the Ethnic Diversity Survey. The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Canadian Heritage.

[2] For an excellent discussion of the recent evolution of the Multiculturalism Policy, see Ian Donaldson, "Identity, Intersections of Diversity and the Multiculturalism Program," *Canadian Diversity* 3,1 (2004): 14-16.

The EDS sample is composed of slightly less than 42,500 people, it is representative of the population aged 15 and older, living in the 10 provinces, and excludes Aboriginals peoples (information on this population was collected through the Aboriginal Peoples Survey). A stratified sample design was used in order to ensure adequate sample size for a variety of ethnic groups and generations of immigrants. The stratified sampling method and the sample size allows for the analysis of specific ethnic and visible minority groups in the census metropolitan areas of Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver.

More than eight out of ten Canadians are very satisfied with their lives according to the EDS. We observe in Table 1 that among Asians in Canada, there is some variation between the various ethnic groupings in terms of life satisfaction. While a very high proportion of Filipinos indicate that they are very satisfied with their lives, only two thirds of Koreans indicate such satisfaction. With the exception of the Vietnamese and Koreans, the level of satisfaction among the groups considered is not considerably different from the level of satisfaction among the overall population.

The lower level of life satisfaction among the Vietnamese and especially Koreans is, however, cause for some concern. While the differences in responses could be a result of how a respondent's cultural heritage may influence the way in which they rate their life satisfaction, it is also possible that external factors are negatively impacting upon the lives of some Koreans and Vietnamese and are leading to these lower levels of life satisfaction. Further study on this matter is clearly needed.

Table 2 shows that the level of life satisfaction also varies depending upon the ethnicity and the city respondents lived in. While nearly eight out of ten Chinese living in Toronto indicated they were very satisfied with their lives, only seven out of ten Chinese living in Montréal said that this was the case. Chinese living in Vancouver fell between these two extremes with 74% indicating that they were very satisfied. The level of satisfaction among Filipinos and East Indians is not much different in either Toronto or Vancouver.

Identity

The Multiculturalism Program's priority area of identity encourages all citizens to retain their identities and take pride in their ancestry. It is the Program's view that we need to cultivate a respect for the diversity that exists within Canada in order to foster a sense of belonging and attachment to the country. Among Asian ethnic groups, the attachment individuals have to their own background does not appear to detract from the sense of belonging they have to Canada, as Tables 3 and 4 clearly show.

Among the Asian ethnic groups we are examining, there is a wide range in terms of sense of belonging to Canada and to their own ethnic or cultural group. When we look at each of the groups listed in Table 3, the proportion of those with a strong sense of belonging to Canada is greater than the proportion of those who have a strong sense of belonging to their own ethnic or cultural group.[3] At the national level, it is

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[3] See Jack Jedwab, "Intersecting Identities and Dissecting Social Capital in Canada," *Canadian Diversity* 3,1 (2004): 19. The differences between the percentages for sense of belonging displayed in Jedwab's article and the ones displayed in my table are due to the fact that I have computed my percentages based on total valid responses and not total responses. Total valid responses would include only the possible answers provided to the question (in this instance a rating between 1 and 5), omitting "don't knows" and refusals to answer the question.

TABLE 1
Life Satisfaction
Percentage of respondents who are very satisfied with their life (rating 4 or 5 out of 5).

Ethnic ancestry	
Total population	83%
South Asian*	82%
East and Southeast Asian*	78%
West Asian*	77%
Filipino	86%
East Indian	82%
Chinese	77%
Vietnamese	73%
Korean	66% [E]

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey. Percentages are calculated using total valid responses. Ethnic groupings for this and other tables include both single and multiple responses. Ethnic ancestries are based on question ID_Q010 of the EDS questionnaire. Results for life satisfaction are based upon EDS question TS_Q010.
* These three geographic groupings have been used in this and other tables because the sample size of the survey prevents the listing of many specific ethnicities. It should be noted that the South Asian grouping includes East Indian. The East and Southeast Asian grouping includes Chinese and Filipinos. A complete listing of the ethnicities that make up these groupings is available from the author upon request
[E] Number should be used with caution.

TABLE 2
Satisfaction with life in Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver
Percentage of respondents who are very satisfied with their life (rating 4 or 5 out of 5).

Ethnic ancestry	Census Metropolitan Area		
	Toronto	Montréal	Vancouver
Total population	82%	83%	80%
East and Southeast Asian	78%	73%	74%
South Asian	81%	–	80%
Chinese	78%	69%[E]	74%
East Indian	82%	–	79%
Filipino	86%	–	88% [E]

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey.
Percentages are calculated using total valid responses. Results are based upon EDS question TS_Q010.
[E] Number should be used with caution.

TABLE 3
Sense of belonging
Percentage of respondents who have a very strong sense of belonging (rating 4 or 5 out of 5).

Ethnic ancestry	Belonging to Canada	Belonging to ethnic/ cultural group
Total population	80%	50%
East and Southeast Asian	77%	59%
South Asian	88%	67%
West Asian	86%	53%
Chinese	76%	58%
East Indian	87%	65%
Filipino	89%	78%
Vietnamese	65%	43%

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey.
Percentages are calculated using total valid responses.
Results are based on EDS questions AT_Q020 and AT_Q050.

TABLE 4
Sense of belonging in Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver
Percentage of respondents who have a very strong sense of belonging(rating 4 or 5 out of 5).

| | Census Metropolitan Area | | | | | |
| | Toronto | | Montréal | | Vancouver | |
Ethnic ancestry	Belonging to Canada	Belonging to ethnic group	Belonging to Canada	Belonging to ethnic group	Belonging to Canada	Belonging to ethnic group
Total population	86%	56%	64%	60%	83%	46%
East and Southeast Asian	76%	62%	75%	57%	76%	58%
South Asian	88%	67%	–	–	89%	69%
Chinese	76%	60%	81%	62%	75%	57%
East Indian	88%	65%	–	–	91%	67%
Filipino	88%	74%	–	–	94%	75%

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey.
Percentages are calculated using total valid responses. Results are based on EDS questions AT_Q020 and AT_Q050

interesting to note that the rank order of specific ethnic groups (as opposed to the geographic groupings) is the same for the sense of belonging to Canada as it is for the sense of belonging to one's ethnic or cultural group. It suggests that the attachment individuals have for their country and their ethnic or cultural group *may* be related. Finally, we see that a comparatively smaller proportion of Vietnamese have a strong sense of belonging to either Canada or their ethnic group.

Table 4 shows that there is little variation within ethnic groups between the three cities observed. The most notable difference is between Filipinos living in Toronto and those living in Vancouver, in terms of the level of sense of belonging to Canada–though in both cases the proportion is quite high. Within each city, there is little evidence to suggest the possibility of a relationship between the sense of belonging to the country and to one's ethnicity as the national results seem to suggest.

Civic Participation
Civic participation is a key goal of the Multiculturalism Program. It articulates the belief that all of Canada's diverse people should be active citizens who are given "both the opportunity and the capacity to participate in shaping the future of their communities and their country."[4] As Ian Donaldson notes, "[t]he idea of multiculturalism is now associated with encouraging participation in the mainstream

social, economic, and political life of the country".[5] Civic participation is not limited to participating in elections, but voting is clearly an important right of citizenship, and evidence of an individual's involvement in society.

According to data provided in Table 5, the level of voter participation among Asians is lower than the national average. Among Filipinos and East Indians, the level of voter participation in federal elections is nearly as high as for the overall population. One factor that needs to be considered in future research is the impact that the date of immigration may have on voting. Other data from the EDS shows that the proportion of foreign-born who voted, among those eligible to vote, increases considerably the longer they have been in Canada. Linguistic and cultural barriers to voting should also be examined to truly understand

TABLE 5
Voted in the 2000 federal election
Percentage of eligible voters who voted in the 2000 federal election.

Ethnic ancestry	
Total population	79%
South Asian	75%
East and Southeast Asian	67%
West Asian	65%
East Indian	77%
Filipino	75%
Chinese	67%
Vietnamese	60%
Korean	59% [E]

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey.
Percentages are calculated using total valid responses. Results are based on EDS question PC_Q110.
[E] Number should be used with caution.

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[4] Department of Canadian Heritage, *Annual Report on the Operation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act 2002-2003*, Ottawa, 2004, p. 9.

[5] Donaldson, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

TABLE 6
Voting in Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver
Percentage of eligible voters who voted in last election

	Census Metropolitan Area					
	Toronto		Montréal		Vancouver	
Ethnic ancestry	Federal	Municipal	Federal	Municipal	Federal	Municipal
Total population	77%	61%	85%	67%	77%	55%
East and Southeast Asian	64%	52%	74%	56%	65%	46%
South Asian	76%	58%	–	–	76%	51%
Chinese	64%	51%	77%	53% [E]	70%	50%
East Indian	78%	59%	–	–	71%	44%
Filipino	67%	61%	–	–	70%	48% [E]

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey.
Percentages are calculated using total valid responses. Results are based on EDS questions PC_Q110 and PC_Q130.
[E] Number should be used with caution.

why there appears to be a lower level of voting among Chinese, Koreans and Vietnamese. However, these results need to be interpreted with great care. Clearly, the level of reported participation for the total population in the 2000 federal election is significantly higher, at 79% of eligible voters, than the 61.2% of registered voters who voted in the 2000 federal election according to Elections Canada.[6] It is quite possible that Chinese, Koreans and Vietnamese respondents to the EDS were, on the whole, more forthcoming in reporting whether they actually voted in the 2000 federal election than the population at large.

TABLE 7
Discrimination
Percentage of respondents who reported the experience of discrimination or of unfair treatment by fellow Canadians, because of their ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion, in the last 5 years.

Visible minority groups	
All visible minorities	36%
West Asian	36%
Blacks	50%
Southeast Asian	35%
Japanese	43%
Asian*	34%
Korean	40%
Chinese	33%
Filipino	36%
South Asian	33%

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey.
Percentages are calculated using total valid responses.
Results are based on EDS question IS_Q100.

* The Asian grouping includes all respondents who identified as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, South Asian, Southeast Asian, and West Asian. This grouping has been used to capture data for visible minority groups whose sample size would be to small to include separately for each of the cities.

Turning to Table 6, we see some striking differences between cities. In Montréal, a greater proportion of eligible voters said they voted in the 2000 federal election than in either Vancouver or Toronto. While eligible voters with Chinese ancestry were more likely to vote in Vancouver than in Toronto, the opposite was true for East Indians. In all groups, voters were more likely to vote in the 2000 federal election than they were in the last municipal election, which is consistent with historical trends.

Social Justice
Social Justice is a crucial goal of the Multiculturalism Program. This goal is focused on "building a society that ensures fair and equitable treatment and that respects the dignity of people of all origins."[7] Discrimination, in all its forms, is in fundamental opposition to social justice.

While a majority of Canadians (86%) and visible minorities[8] (64%) have not experienced discrimination, more than 3 million Canadians have had such an experience. Indeed, more than one third of visible minorities, representing more

[6] Elections Canada, "Thirty-seventh general election 2000: Official voting results: Table 4," http://www.elections.ca/gen/rep/37g/table4_e.html.

[7] Department of Canadian Heritage, op.cit., p. 9.

[8] The analysis of discrimination in this article uses race as it key variable. An individual is defined as being a visible minority, Black, Chinese, etc., based on their answer to the EDS question asking to which "racial or cultural group" a respondent belonged (EDS question BK_Q110). The categories are distinct from ethnic ancestry categories used in other sections of this article. This variable has been chosen in order to allow for direct comparison with other visible minority groups. The results for the discrimination tables are based on EDS question IS_Q100.

TABLE 8
Discrimination
Percentage of respondents who reported the experience discrimination or been treated unfairly by others in Canada because of their ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion in the last 5 years.

	Census Metropolitan Area		
Ethnic ancestry	Toronto	Montréal	Vancouver
Visible minority	37%	31%	34%
Black	52%	41%	–
Asian	35%	27%	33%
Chinese	33%	32% [E]	32%
South Asian	33%	–	35%

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey.
Percentages are calculated using total valid responses. Results are based on EDS question IS_Q100.
[E] Number should be used with caution.

than 1 million people, said that they had been discriminated against or unfairly treated based on their ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion, while in Canada, in the course of the past 5 years. Overall, the proportion of Asian visible minority groups that experienced discrimination was about the same as the level for visible minorities generally. However, the proportion of Japanese and Koreans who reported discrimination was higher than in other groups. None of the Asian visible minority groups analyzed approached the level of discrimination that we observe among Blacks in Canada.

The percentage of respondents within each group did not differ drastically between Toronto and Vancouver. In Montréal, we see within each group a substantially smaller proportion of people experiencing discrimination. However, there are important generational differences worth noting. For instance, when we look at second generation South Asians (i.e. at least one parent was an immigrant to Canada) we find that 45% in both Toronto and Vancouver experienced discrimination in Canada during the last five years, compared to 33% (Toronto) and 35% (Vancouver) for all South Asians. While further research examining the relationship between visible minority groups, immigration, and discrimination is needed, the results we have seen make it clear that discrimination remains a problem for Asians and other visible minority groups.

Conclusion
There is evidence to show that Asians from a variety of ethnic ancestries feel a strong attachment to Canada; however, challenges remain—most especially the discrimination experienced by Asians and other visible minority groups. There remains work to be done on the multiculturalism front, which is not surprising given that proponents of multiculturalism have long seen it as a policy, and a work in progress.

Among Aboriginal people in metropolitan areas, 41.6% were living in low income, more than double the national average for metropolitan areas. As with lone-parents and recent immigrants, Aboriginal people represented a disproportionately large share of the low-income population.

Low Income in Census Metropolitan Areas

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Analyst, Statistics Canada

Across the nation, businesses, policy-makers and Canadians from all walks of life share a heightened interest in, and awareness of, the "status" of Canada's metropolitan areas. They are concerned about renewing community life in the urban centres. This means addressing poverty, providing new opportunities to learn and to work for all Canadians—including new immigrants and Aboriginal people—and enhancing the business climate.

Recently, Statistics Canada released the first in a series of reports examining trends and conditions in Canada's largest urban areas. The report examines income and low income in Canada's 27 census metropolitan areas (CMAs) between 1980 and 2000 using census data. It looks at the situation of families and the neighbourhoods they live in. The objective is to present a statistical portrait of Canada's urban areas, and to describe the income of Canadians from an urban perspective.

The report documents a diversity of outcomes, across metropolitan areas, across income levels, across decades, and across demographic groups.

The highlights of the report are the following:

1. Income grew across the 1980s in most metropolitan areas, but trends in the 1990s were mixed, with income rising in some metropolitan areas and falling in others.

2. Stories are different for higher and lower income families. In the 1980s, income rose for the highest and lowest income families, although they rose faster for higher income families. In the 1990s, income continued to rise for higher income families, but trends were mixed for lower income families. As a result, the low-income rate rose in about half of the metropolitan areas and fell in the other half over the 1990s.

3. Low income rose substantially among recent immigrants between 1980 and 2000. Low-income rates were also high for Aboriginal people and lone-parent family members.

4. Trends seen among families were echoed among neighbourhoods, with a growing gap between higher and lower income neighbourhoods in virtually all metropolitan areas.

Income between 1980 and 2000

Median income of families[1] living in a metropolitan area in 2000 amounted to $62,300, a 1% increase from 1990 (Table 1). (Median is the point at which half of families had higher income and half less.) But on the whole, incomes

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TABLE 1
Median income (constant-2000 dollars), economic families, 1980-2000[a]

Economic Families	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	Percent Change		
						1980–1990	1990–2000	1980–2000
St. John's	50,200	48,600	55,800	50,900	54,300	11	–3	8
Halifax	51,300	53,600	58,000	54,700	57,400	13	–1	12
Saint John	49,800	44,500	51,400	48,900	51,600	3	0	4
Chicoutimi-Jonquière	49,300	48,900	51,400	47,500	51,400	4	0	4
Québec	53,800	50,900	54,900	51,500	54,800	2	0	2
Sherbrooke	46,300	44,200	46,400	45,800	49,400	0	6	7
Trois-Rivières	46,300	44,800	48,500	46,300	48,400	5	0	5
Montréal	53,700	51,200	54,800	50,400	55,000	2	0	2
Ottawa-Hull	62,800	64,800	70,700	64,400	71,600	12	1	14
Kingston	53,000	55,600	59,400	56,300	59,800	12	1	13
Oshawa	61,000	63,900	68,800	65,900	71,500	13	4	17
Toronto	65,400	65,800	70,200	63,300	70,300	7	0	7
Hamilton	59,400	58,800	62,600	60,800	65,500	5	5	10
St. Catharines-Niagara	54,200	53,700	55,300	53,600	57,400	2	4	6
Kitchener	56,100	55,700	60,900	60,100	65,900	9	8	18
London	56,000	55,300	59,100	56,800	61,100	5	3	9
Windsor	54,100	58,900	59,000	62,500	68,500	9	16	27
Sudbury	55,100	52,700	61,000	57,200	57,500	11	–6	4
Thunder Bay	59,200	58,600	62,800	59,900	60,500	6	–4	2
Winnipeg	54,500	55,400	56,800	53,500	57,300	4	1	5
Regina	59,300	58,200	60,300	56,200	59,800	2	–1	1
Saskatoon	55,000	53,600	54,300	51,600	55,000	–1	1	0
Calgary	66,400	63,000	66,200	61,900	69,000	0	4	4
Edmonton	63,900	58,100	61,200	56,600	63,000	–4	3	–1
Abbotsford	51,900	45,800	55,100	52,700	56,000	6	2	8
Vancouver	63,000	56,700	64,700	58,000	62,900	3	–3	0
Victoria	55,100	48,700	57,800	56,200	60,600	5	5	10
All CMAs	58,400	57,100	61,500	57,000	62,300	5	1	7

[a] Income after-transfers and before-tax of economic families. An economic family refers to a group of two or more persons who live in the same dwelling and are related to each other by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption. Excludes unattached individuals. Trends using the adult equivalent adjusted income of all persons (unattached individuals and economic family persons) were similar.

Source: Census 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996 and 2001.

rose faster during the 1980s. Median family income in metropolitan areas rose 5% across the 1980s. Over the entire 20-year period, median income rose by 7%.

The trends observed in the aggregate were generally reflected in individual CMAs, but outcomes were diverse. In the 1980s, 15 of 27 CMAs had growth rates greater than or equal to 5%, but 4 showed either no growth or a decline. These CMAs were located in Western Canada where the 1980s recession hit hardest. In the 1990s, while 12 CMAs showed either no growth or a decline, the median income of some CMAs continued to grow. Altogether, 5 CMAs across Canada posted a growth rate of 5% or more in the 1990s.

Most metropolitan area residents shared the economic growth of the 1980s to some extent. Incomes increased at both the top and the bottom of the income distribution, but those at the top tended to rise more. Because of rising income at the bottom of the income distribution, the low-income rate in all CMAS combined fell from 18.3% to 17.2% between 1980 and 1990. Most centres shared in this decline.

In the 1990s, growth was concentrated among high-income families, with the income of lower income families growing little or declining in many metropolitan areas (Figure 1). This is seen

[1] Income after-transfers and before-tax of economic families. An economic family refers to a group of two or more persons who live in the same dwelling and are related to each other by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption. Excludes unattached individuals. Trends using the adult equivalent adjusted income of all persons (unattached individuals and economic family persons) were similar. Income refers to annual income earned in the year preceding the census.

through an examination of income growth at the 10th and 90th percentiles. The 10th percentile represents the person whose income is lower than 90% of the population and higher than that of 10%. Hence, this is a person with income that is lower than most others. Considering all CMAs combined, income at the 10th percentile fell by 1.6% in the 1990s. It also fell by 5% or more in 9 CMAs located across Canada.

The 90th percentile represents the person whose income is higher than 90% of the population and lower than that of 10%. Among all CMAs combined, income at the 90th percentile rose by 7.9% in the 1990s. It also rose by 5% or more in 20 CMAs and 10% or more in 7 CMAs.

As a result of falling incomes at the 10th percentile, the low-income rate in all metropolitan areas combined rose slightly from 17.2% to 17.7% between 1990 and 2000. Among particular metropolitan areas, trends were mixed in the 1990s, with low-income rates rising in some CMAs and falling in others. The largest rise in the low-income rate was seen in Vancouver where it increased from 15.8% to 19.1% between 1990 and 2000.[2]

Low-income rates higher among certain groups

Low-income rates within metropolitan areas were higher among certain groups, making them disproportionately represented among the low-income population. This article focuses on three groups that tended to have higher low-income rates relative to the entire population of a given metropolitan area. These groups are recent immigrants (those who arrived during the decade preceding the census[3]), Aboriginal people and members of lone-parent families.

The low-income rate for people living in lone-parent families[4] was 46.6% in 2000, compared with a rate of 15.4% among people in other types of families (Table 2). While still high in 2000, the low-income rate among lone-parent family members was even higher in 1980, at 54.2%. Because of the high low-income rate among lone-parent family members, they made up a disproportionately high share of the low-income population. While lone-parent family members represent 7.3% of the metropolitan population, they made up 19.3% of the metropolitan low-income population.

FIGURE 1

Income growth in the 10th and 90th percentiles, 1990–2000[a]
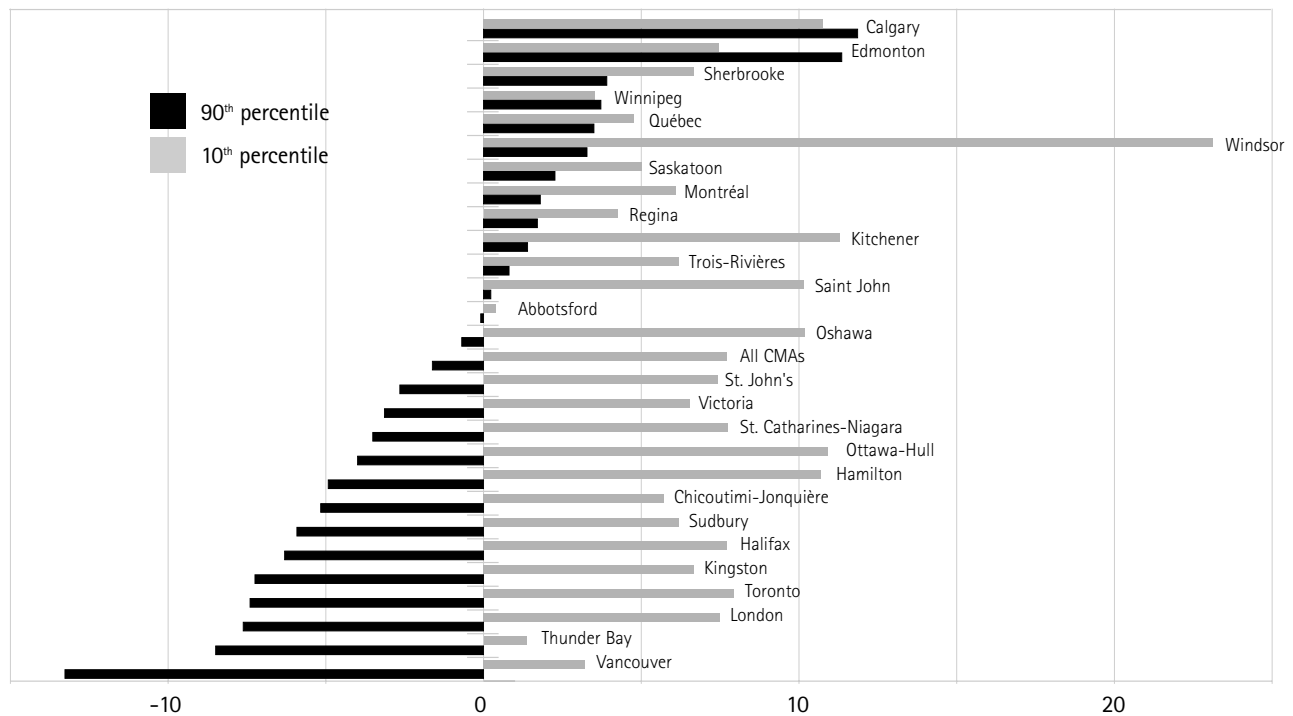
[a] Adult equivalent adjusted income of all persons. Income is measured on an after-transfer and before-tax basis.
Source: Census 1991 and 2001.

In 2000, recent immigrants had a low-income rate of 35.0%, nearly twice the average rate for metropolitan areas overall (Table 2). In 1980, in contrast, recent immigrants had a low-income rate of only 23.1%. This growth was substantial in all metropolitan areas with a large population of recent immigrants. As with lone-parents, recent immigrants represented a disproportionate share of the low-income population.

At the same time that low-income rates rose for recent immigrants, this group increased their share in the population, especially in the 1990s. In 2000, 9.0% of residents in the largest 27 metropolitan areas were recent immigrants, compared with 6.1% in 1990.

Two large metropolitan areas where the low-income rate increased in the 1990s were Toronto and Vancouver. Virtually all the rise in low-income rates seen in these areas in the 1990s was concentrated among recent immigrants. In Toronto, the low-income rate in 2000 was 17.7%, up 1.8 percentage points from 1990. Among recent immigrants, however, the low-income rate rose by 4.6 points to 32.8% in 2000. In contrast, the low-income rate among all other individuals was virtually unchanged in Toronto. In Vancouver, the low income rate rose by 3.3 percentage points to 19.1% in 2000. Among recent immigrants, however, the low-income

TABLE 2
Low–income rates and population shares, by group, 2000[a]

	Low–income rate	Share in population	Share in low–income population
Aboriginal people	41.6	1.6	3.7
Recent immigrants	35.0	9.0	17.7
Other immigrants	18.3	20.8	21.5
Other	14.7	68.7	57.0
Not lone-parent family persons	15.4	92.7	80.7
Lone-parent family persons	46.6	7.3	19.3
All persons	17.7	100.0	100.0

[a] Low income is measured on an after-transfer, before tax basis. A person is deemed to be in low income if their adult equivalent adjusted income is below one-half the median adult equivalent adjusted income in their particular CMA. This threshold varies from CMA to CMA, but on average it was $33,600 for a family of two adults and two children measured in constant-2000 dollars.
Source: Census 2001.

FIGURE 2
Composition of the low income population, 2000 [a]
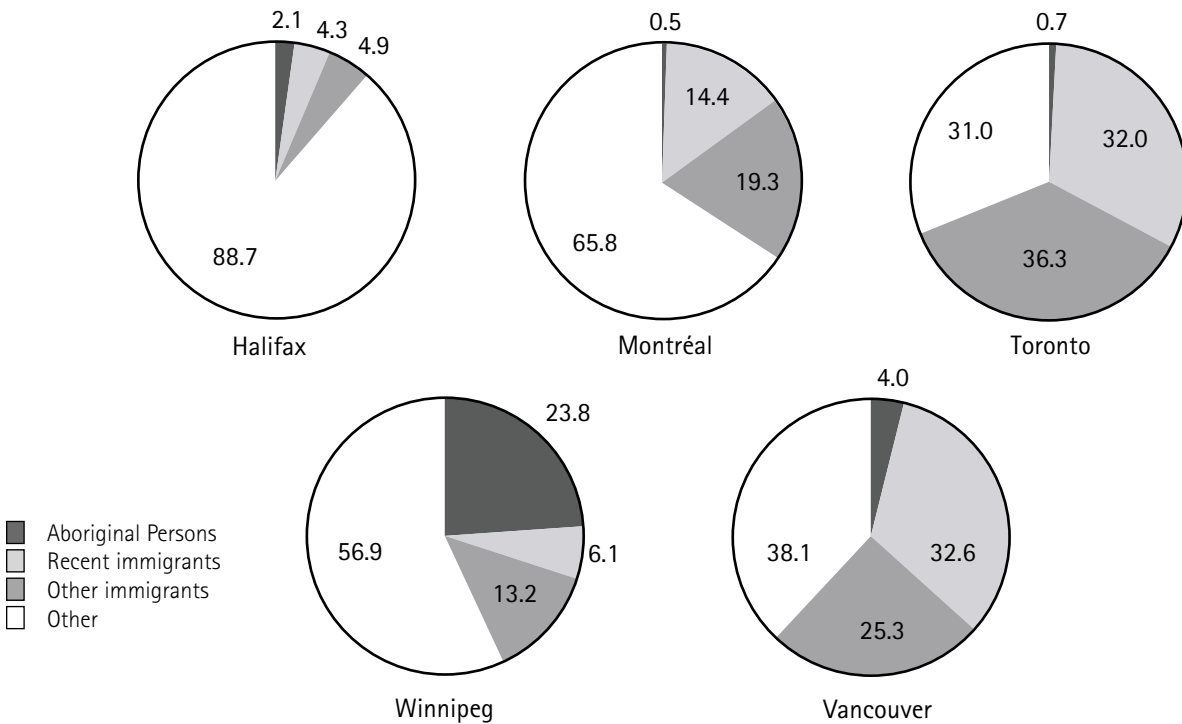
Halifax: 2.1, 4.3, 4.9, 88.7
Montréal: 0.5, 14.4, 19.3, 65.8
Toronto: 0.7, 32.0, 36.3, 31.0
Winnipeg: 23.8, 6.1, 13.2, 56.9
Vancouver: 4.0, 32.6, 25.3, 38.1

Legend:
- Aboriginal Persons
- Recent immigrants
- Other immigrants
- Other

[a] Low income is measured on an after-transfer, before tax basis. A person is deemed to be in low income if their adult equivalent adjusted income is below one-half the median adult equivalent adjusted income in their particular CMA.
Source: Census 2001.

FIGURE 3
Income growth by neighbourhood decile, 1980–2000, Toronto[a]

decile of neighbourhood income	percent growth, 1980 to 2000
top decile	23.3
9th decile	20.5
8th decile	17.8
7th decile	15.6
6th decile	13.1
5th decile	11.4
4th decile	9.1
3rd decile	7.7
2nd decile	6.3
bottom decile	

[a] Neighbourhoods are defined by census tracts. To conduct this analysis, neighbourhoods are grouped according to their adult equivalent adjusted income decile in 1980 and 2000. Then the median income of neighbourhoods (and growth in median income between 1980 and 2000) is calculated for each income decile. Income is measured on an after-transfer and before-tax basis.

Source: Census 1981 and 2001.

rate rose 10.7 points to 37.4%. In contrast the low income rate among all other individuals increased only 0.7 points to 15.4%. Virtually all CMAs with a large recent immigrant population saw low-income rates rise for recent immigrants relative to others.

Among Aboriginal people in metropolitan areas, 41.6% were living in low income, more than double the national average for metropolitan areas (Table 2). As with lone-parents and recent immigrants, Aboriginal people represented a disproportionately large share of the low-income population. (Because of changes in the way the Census collected information on Aboriginal people, the

Aboriginal population can only be consistently defined in the 1996 and 2001 censuses.)

Metropolitan areas have widely varying compositions of Aboriginal people and immigrants. Consequently, the composition of the low-income population varies widely from city to city. In Winnipeg, Regina and Saskatoon, Aboriginal people represented more than 20% of the low-income population. In Toronto and Vancouver, few of the low-income population consisted of Aboriginal people. On the other hand, recent immigrants comprised much larger shares: 32.0% in Toronto and 32.6% in Vancouver (Figure 2).

Income gap widened between richer and poorer neighbourhoods

The increase in the income gap between higher and lower income families in metropolitan areas is reflected in an increasing income gap between lower and higher income neighbourhoods. In Toronto, for example, median family income in the poorest 10% of neighbourhoods rose 0.2% from 1980. In the richest 10%, it was up 23.3% (Figure 3).

This increasing difference between higher and lower income neighbourhoods was observed in all larger metropolitan areas (Figure 4).

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[2] Low income is measured on an after-transfer, before tax basis. A person is deemed to be in low income if their adult equivalent adjusted income is below one-half the median adult equivalent adjusted income in their particular CMA. This threshold will vary from CMA to CMA, but on average it was $33,600 for a family of two adul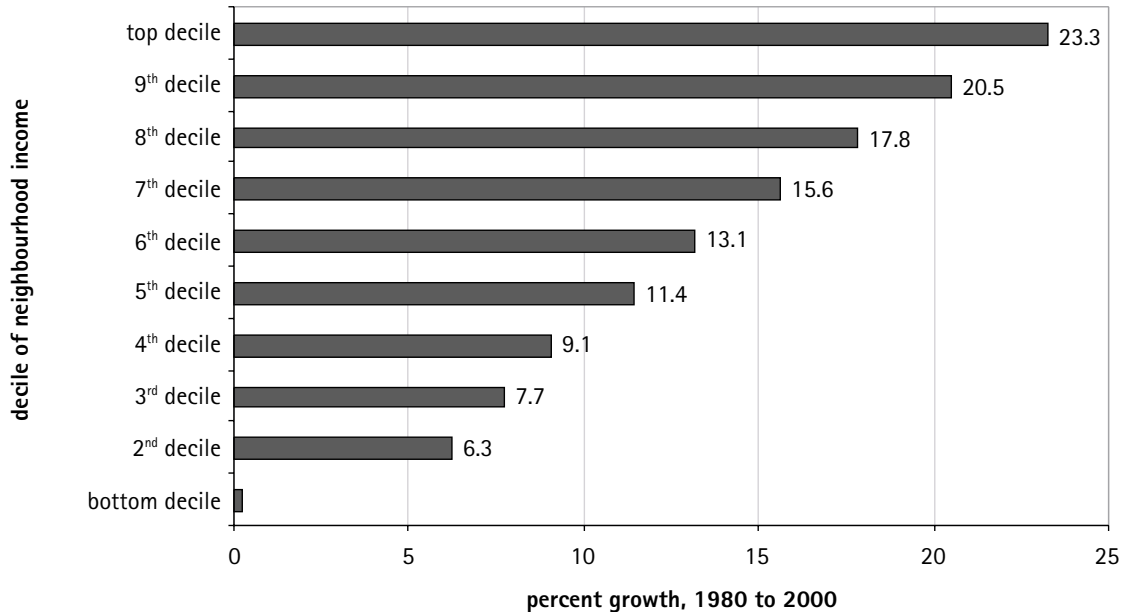ts and two children measured in constant-2000 dollars. For other years, income is adjusted to constant-2000 dollars and compared to the fixed threshold.

[3] Canadian-born persons living in families headed by immigrants are included in the totals for immigrants.

[4] Includes only lone-parent families with at least one child aged 17 or under.

FIGURE 4
Income growth by neighbourhood decile, 1980–2000, Selected CMAs[a]
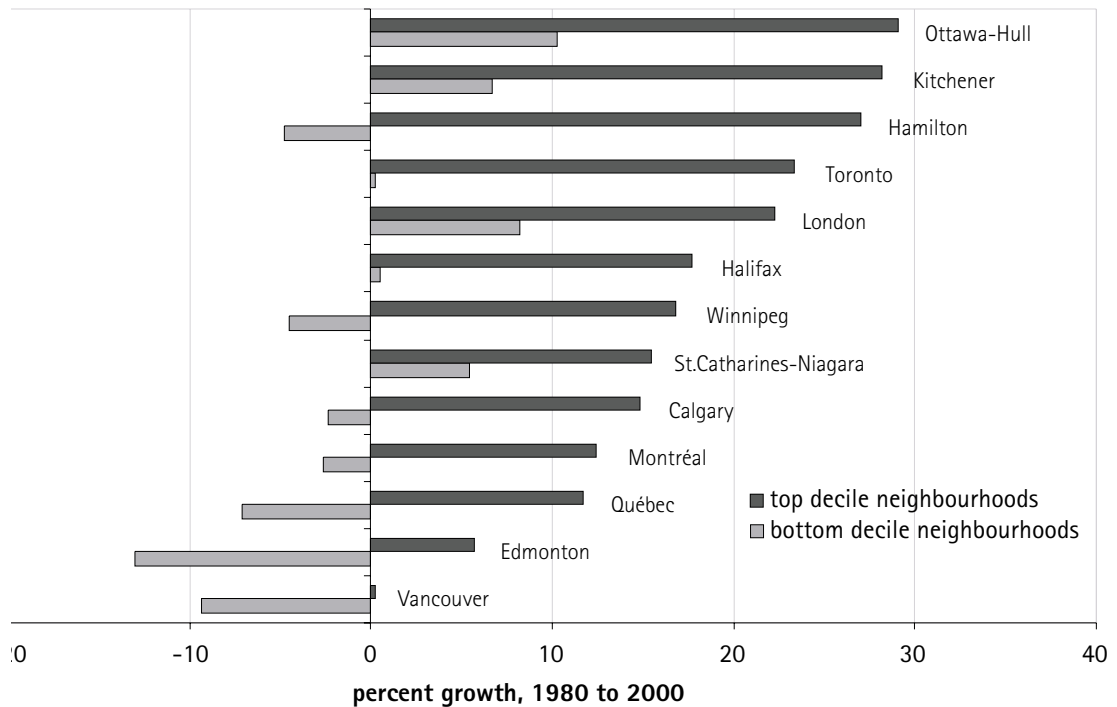
Ottawa-Hull	
Kitchener	
Hamilton	
Toronto	
London	
Halifax	
Winnipeg	
St.Catharines-Niagara	
Calgary	
Montréal	
Québec	
Edmonton	
Vancouver	

■ top decile neighbourhoods
□ bottom decile neighbourhoods

percent growth, 1980 to 2000

[a] Neighbourhoods are defined by census tracts. To conduct this analysis, neighbourhoods are grouped according to their adult equivalent adjusted income decile in 1980 and 2000. Then the median income of neighbourhoods (and growth in median income between 1980 and 2000) is calculated for each income decile. Income is measured on an after-transfer and before-tax basis.

Source: Census 1981 and 2001.

In some areas, like Ottawa-Hull, Kitchener, St. Catharines-Niagara and London, the income of both higher and lower income neighbourhoods rose, although income in the higher income neighborhoods rose faster. In Hamilton, Winnipeg, Calgary, Montréal, Québec and Edmonton, income rose in higher income neighbourhoods and fell in lower-income neighbourhoods. In Vancouver, income fell in lower income neighbourhoods, but was unchanged in higher income neighbourhoods.

However, while the income gaps between richer and poorer neighbourhoods grew, the proportion of neighbourhoods that were low-income neighbourhoods remained relatively stable in the 27 metropolitan areas between 1980 and 2000. (A low-income neighbourhood is one where the low-income rate exceeds 40%.) In 1980, 6.1% of neighbourhoods in metropolitan areas were low-income neighbourhoods. This proportion fell to 5.5% in 1990, doubled to 11.8% in 1995, then fell to 5.8% by 2000 as economic conditions improved.

The study also examines the location of low-income neighbourhoods in the largest metropolitan areas. The objective here was to determine whether low-income neighbourhoods are clustered together in the downtown cores of CMAs, or if they are dispersed and found throughout the CMA. In fact, Canadian CMAs are diverse in this regard. Some centres, such as Winnipeg (Figure 5) and Vancouver, have a single dominant cluster of low-income neighbourhoods in the downtown core. Others, such as Toronto and Montréal, have several distinct clusters of low-income neighbourhoods surrounding a relatively affluent downtown.

In Toronto and Montréal, low-income neighbourhoods were also less likely to be found downtown and more likely to be found in clusters outside of downtown in 2000 than they were in 1980. Taking Montréal for example, the Plateau Mont-Royal is one of two areas that had low income rates greater than 40% 1980, but not in 2000 (Figure 6). The other is Old Montréal, which is the site of a number of new

FIGURE 5
Low-income neighbourhoods in Winnipeg, 2000[a]

Winnipeg CMA, 2000

- ■ Low-income rate of 40% or more
- ▨ Low-income rate of 30% to 40%
- □ Low-income rate of less than 30%
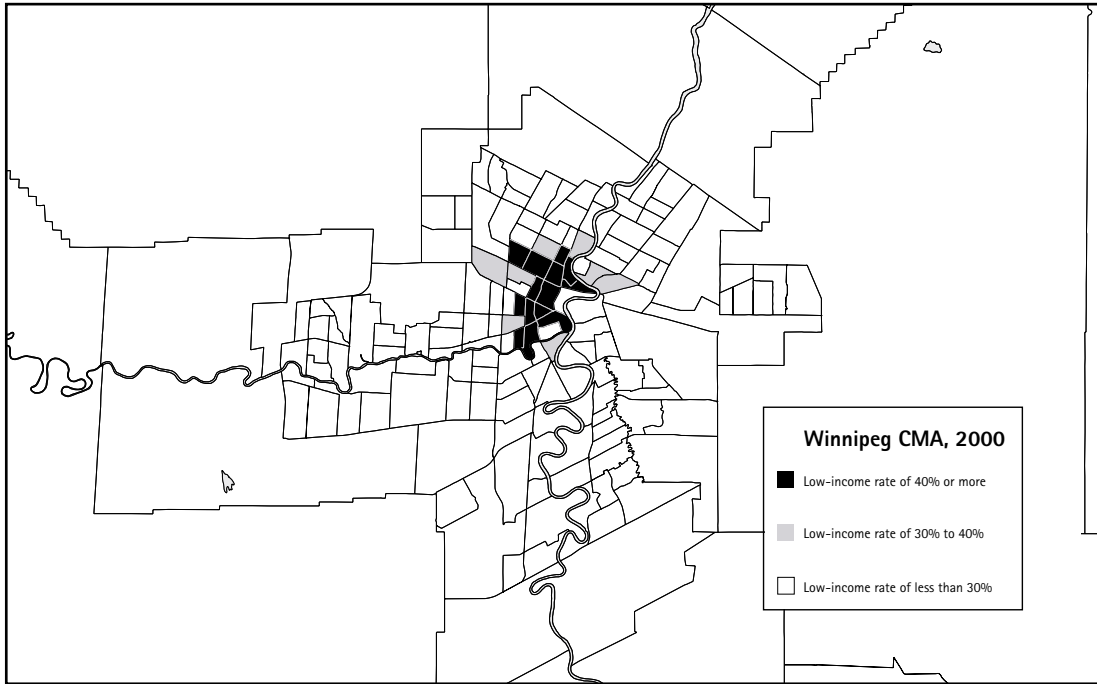
[a] Neighbourhoods are defined by census tracts using their 2001 definitions. Low-income neighbourhoods are those with more than 40% of their population in low income.
Source: Census 2001.

FIGURE 6
Low-income neighbourhoods in Montréal, 1980 to 2000

Montréal CMA, 1980–2000

- ▨ Low-income rate of 40% or more, 1980 et 2000
- ▨ Low-income rate of 40% or more in 2000 but not in 1980
- ■ Low income rate of 40% or more in 1980 but not in 2000
- □ Low-income rate of 40% or less in 1980 and in 2000

[a] Neighbourhoods are defined by census tracts. Low-income neighbourhoods are those with more than 40% of their population in low income. For this analysis, census tract boundaries were held constant at their 1981 configurations for computing low-income status, and then graphed using 2001 boundaries.
Source: Census 1981 and 2001.

condominium developments. At the same time, three clusters of low income neighbourhoods further from the city-centre grew over this period. These were Hochelaga-Maisonneuve in the east end, and Côte-des-Neiges and Park Extension (near Mont-Royal).

Three groups more likely to live in low-income neighbourhoods

The three groups—recent immigrants, Aboriginal people and lone-parent families—were more likely than other groups to live in low-income neighbourhoods. In 2000, 11.7% of Aboriginal people lived in low-income neighbourhoods, as did 9.7% of recent immigrants and 8.7% of lone-parent family members. Among residents of all metropolitan areas, only 4.4% lived in low-income neighbourhoods.

As with the low-income population in general, residents of low-income neighbourhoods also reflected the demographic make-up of the CMA, with recent immigrants comprising a large share low-income neighbourhood residents in Toronto and Montréal, and Aboriginal people representing large shares in Winnipeg, Regina and Saskatoon.

Finally, recent immigrants and Aboriginal people comprised a large and rising proportion of residents of low-income neighbourhoods in many metropolitan areas. In Toronto, the share of residents of low-income neighbourhoods who were recent immigrants rose from 24.4% in 1980 to 39.1% in 2000. In Montréal, this share went from 7.8% to 19.4%. In Winnipeg, the share of residents of low-income neighbourhoods who were Aboriginal people rose from 24.5% in 1995 to 30.8% in 2000.

Next Steps

Statistics Canada is continuing this series of reports on Trends and Conditions in Canadian Census Metropolitan Areas. Future reports will cover Demographics, Immigration, Housing, Health, Labour Markets and Industrial Structure, Work Location and Commuting Mode, Aboriginal People, and Culture. The full report* *Low income in Census Metropolitan Areas* is available online from www.statcan.ca.

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* To access the series, go to the home page, select Studies on the left sidebar, then under Browse periodical and series, choose Free and For Sale. Under Series, select Trends and Conditions in CMAs.

Canada

A Demographic Overview 2001

Prepared by Ravi Pendakur, Jaime Hedges and Emily King

The demographic face of Canada is ever changing. Since the end of World War II Canada's population has aged, the birthrate has decreased, there has been a massive move toward urbanization, and the source of immigrants has shifted several times in response to increasing globalization and Canada's willingness to accept new peoples. At the same time, family and household structures have been dramatically redefined. The culmination of these changes has caused Canada to be transformed into one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world. As a result, people are brought face to face with more diversity than ever before.

Strategic Research and Analysis
Canadian Heritage

To construct urban landscapes that are equitable and risk-free, it is essential to move beyond cataloguing neighbourhoods that are presumed to epitomize diversity and examine the dynamic and daily ways in which places are cultured, sexualized, gendered and classed.

A Diversity Paradox: Montréal's Gay Village

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Cultural and social diversity has long been an urbanism hallmark, and is an important dimension of today's post-industrial economy. In many Canadian cities, gay and lesbian communities[1] are very much part of material and social landscapes—a stark contrast to earlier decades of clandestine association among sexual minorities. The hundreds of thousands of people who take part in Toronto's gay pride parade or Montréal's DiverCité celebrations every year make an unequivocal statement that queer culture is part of each city's panoply of cultures and public life. Several neighbourhoods in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver are widely recognized as gay and/or lesbian enclaves, and reveal in material and public ways an openness to diversity and difference on the part of city institutions and the general population.

As is true of many urban landscapes, "gay" neighbourhoods in Canadian inner cities have attained considerable symbolic value for sexual minorities and the larger population. Too seldom, however, does the population at large look beyond representations to consider the social heterogeneity of the queer community, or who is included and excluded by popular representations of "gay" neighbourhoods. The Centre-Sud neighbourhood on the east side of downtown Montréal encompasses the widely recognized "Village Gay" (Gay Village), and is a strong illustration of why it is important to think

critically about the identities that are marked and celebrated by iconic urban symbols of diversity. In particular, the cleavages between representation and the everyday social interactions that define the experience of being in the neighbourhood for women and men merit serious consideration.

Known among Francophones as the "Faubourg à M'lasse" (the Molasses Neighbourhood) due to pungent odours from various factories that once dotted the area, Centre-Sud has become part of Montréal's reconstructed image as a city of technology and innovation, culture and leisure. For most of its history, Centre-Sud has been a working-class district and, even though there is ample evidence of spot residential gentrification, it remains one of the city's poorest neighbourhoods. Over the last decade Centre-Sud

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[1] In this paper, I use the terms "gay," "lesbian" and "queer" in reference to homosexuals and sexual minority communities. "Queer" usually denotes a more expansive definition of sexual identity than simply gay or lesbian, and usually refers generically to people and groups marked by dominant cultures as 'other' on the basis of sexuality. In categorizing marginalized sexualities and identities, "queer" includes gay men and lesbians, as well as people who identify themselves as bisexual, transsexual, transgendered and/or sadomasochist. In most instances, I use the terms "gay" and/or "lesbian" primarily to respect the identities of interviewees or the ways in which communities are represented and understood by Montréal residents. There is, for example, no adequate French translation for "queer."

has also consistently, if somewhat ambiguously, been labeled as Montréal's "Gay Village."[2] The media, city administration, police and a number of gay entrepreneurs have, over time, done much to erase the grittier qualities of the neighbourhood's industrial past. At the same time, gay, lesbian and other queer identities have been conflated to create an iconic landscape that is widely regarded as "gay"—even the district's name emphasizes its "gay" qualities—but in important ways may be one of the city's last public landscapes of male privilege. To construct urban landscapes that are equitable and risk-free, it is essential to move beyond cataloguing neighbourhoods that are presumed to epitomize diversity and examine the dynamic and daily ways in which places are cultured, sexualized, gendered and classed.

This paper is based on interviews conducted with four groups of people: 18 gay men and 12 lesbians who live in Centre-Sud, 18 non-resident lesbians who live in adjacent inner-city neighbourhoods and who frequent the Village from time to time, and 12 long-time Centre-Sud residents who self-identify as heterosexual or straight.[3] The project relies on in-depth and detailed interviews, rather than statistical representation to understand the multiple ways in which this neighbourhood has been constructed, interpreted and experienced by women and men. Respondents were identified through established contacts that my research assistants and I had with individuals and organizations, and several different "snowballs" were started in order to introduce as much diversity as possible into the samples.

The Village as Representation and Experience

Since the mid-1980s, the Village and Montréal have emerged as one of the top five gay tourist destinations in North America. An annual schedule of weekend dance parties that attract mainly men from across Canada, the United States and Europe, coupled with being chosen as the host city for Rendez-Vous Montréal, a major international gay and lesbian sports event to be held in 2006, and the porn industry's widely distributed images of gay male Québécois sexuality have contributed to Montréal's importance as a destination for affluent gay travelers. The Gay Village today boasts well over 20 bars and discos, male strip clubs, saunas, and an ever-expanding number of restaurants and retail businesses that are either gay-owned or gay-friendly. The changes in Centre-Sud over the last decade and a half have been substantial. Once described as having "many different phenomena—male prostitution, female prostitution, punks, Mohawks, punks with guns... vicious dogs, pushers... everything!," Centre-Sud and the Village are now more often seen as a "a place that you want to hang out in." (Lesbian interview #L 4.)

One of the most obvious ways that the Village is (re)produced as gay space is by the commercial activities on St. Catherine Street. Bars, saunas, restaurants, retail stores, a relatively small number of community services and many rainbow flags mark the neighbourhood and challenge in an unambiguous way heterosexual culture. Most of these establishments, but by no means all, cater to gay men and secondarily lesbians, with lesbian spaces often being located off of street level on the second or third floors of buildings. Many lesbians indicate that there is no lesbian equivalent to the gay male space of the Village where services are concentrated and visible to both gay and straight Montréal. As one woman put it: "if you grabbed a handful of the Village and shook it up and spread it around you'd get the Plateau[4]... [lesbian space] is spread out amongst the diversity of sexualities, it's not concentrated, it's more diluted." (Lesbian interview #L 8.)

For many of the long-time straight residents, the sexualized qualities of the neighbourhood and the fact that their neighbours could be gay or lesbian are often regarded as just another of the many changes that have occurred in Centre-Sud; changes over which they exercise little control. Not surprisingly, the straight respondents draw very strong distinctions between their residence in Centre-Sud and the neighbourhood's sexual reputation.

Straight residents are not, however, oblivious to Centre-Sud's various *reputations*, most especially its poverty. In this respect, they share a great deal in common with their gay and lesbian neighbours. Many, regardless of sexuality, identify poverty as the

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[2] This label has elastic properties. Depending on context, the "Gay Village" can appply only to the commercial businesses and street life along St. Catherine Street. In other circumstances the label extends to Centre-Sud's residential areas that surround St. Catherine.

[3] All interviewee names are pseudonyms.

neighbourhood's most salient characteristic and principal disadvantage. Benoît provides a typical portrayal of the neighbourhood's poor population and the experience of poverty: "I believe that the neighbourhood is about one-third gay, one-third is new Quebecers [immigrants] and one-third—which I couldn't classify as families— is on social welfare. But wait a minute, there are also new Quebecers on social welfare and also among gays. So I would say that in the area there is about, well, 50 percent who live on social welfare. That's really evident at night, and the day they receive their welfare cheques... Those days you see cases of beer literally roll down the streets, and drug pushers become active like you have never seen." (Gay man interview # G 9.) Although many residents note that pockets of residential gentrification are more and more evident and appreciate the commercial revitalization along St. Catherine Street, most emphasize the quotidian, rather than exceptional, qualities of poverty. Patricia, a non-resident lesbian, notes that "I don't often think in terms of the Village but of Centre-Sud, and there you see a lot of poor people who live there... a lot of poverty... at the same time as there is money around from gay men, and it's a little rough." (Lesbian interview # L 17.)

Apart from the neighbourhood's poverty and problems associated with street prostitution and intravenous drug use, most of the people interviewed discuss the ways in which sex and sexuality are expressed in the neighbourhood. Gay male cruising is a frequently cited activity that many see as an integral part of neighbourhood street life. For David, cruising and the presence of male bodies constructs street life in unambiguous ways: "I have been living here for three and a half years now or so and the first year I realized that the first warm day of spring, when the sun is out and it goes over 20 degrees, half of the men are out there, half naked in the streets, walking up and down the streets. And this spreads, it is cruisy everywhere along St. Catherine Street...". (Gay man interview # G 8.) Lesbian residents are equally aware of the visibility of masculinity and the masculine gaze on neighbourhood streets. Catherine, a Centre-Sud lesbian, describes cruising in much the same way: "the guys ... what I want to say,

when spring comes they are... I don't want to say "crazy" there, but it's almost like that... it's a little too much sometimes." (Village Lesbian Interview # VL 4.)

Several of the gay men place considerable importance on the neighbourhood as a relatively safe and comfortable place where they can explore their sexuality and identity. Nick describes the Village as a place where he could safely explore sexuality and sensuality when he was coming out. The Village allowed him to develop "a comfort level to admire other gay men in a sexual way as well as in a people way." (Gay male interview # G7.) Several women also speak favourably of the Village as a place where they can freely touch, kiss, hold hands, and express their sexuality unambiguously in public space. Monique, a lesbian living in Centre-Sud, describes a certain liberation that comes with the neighbourhood: "I really feel normal and comfortable here and I live my life with my girlfriend in a natural way, and when I leave my apartment I can see people living naturally... I see girls who are cruising, I see all of this..." (Village Lesbian Interview # VL 1.)

Virtually all of the lesbians we interviewed discuss going to lesbian and/or gay bars in the Village and some strongly support the Village as a queer space in which many kinds of sexual identities find expression. But most of the women draw strong distinctions between their identities as women and lesbians, and what the Village means to gay men and the public at large. Kim, one of the non-resident lesbians, notes that she is glad the Village exists and adds: "I celebrate gay male identity in that space, but I think of it as a gay male space, a space that I enjoy for that reason. I feel a kind of sisterliness or something, a comfort, but not a sense of belonging or ownership in any way." (Lesbian Interview # L 8.) Other women express a sort of love-hate relationship with the space. Rita notes that the Village is always a disappointment because "there's so much more for boys... I think a lot of women are disappointed by what's there, and yet they kind of need what is there too." (Lesbian Interview #L 3)

More disturbing are the impressions of marginality that many women express about Centre-Sud's social landscapes. They emphasize that men are ever-present and that the neighbourhood is marked by masculinity, as well as a gay aesthetic. Rita strongly emphasizes her

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4   The Plateau is a neighbourhood immediately north of Centre-Sud.

exasperation with the gap between representation and experience: "in the Village, it's weird, because here you are among your community and yet you're pegged as someone who's not from it...That's really weird to be in the Gay Village and always have this feeling that they [gay men] just think I'm straight." (Lesbian interview # L 3.) In a similar manner, Madeline, who lives in the Village, remarks that she finds many groups of gay men "hypermacho" and that they "see women in terms of stereotypes." She goes on to emphasize that she "has no desire to be in situations... where you are always confronted by man-woman relationships, even if it is gay-lesbian." (Village Lesbian Interview # VL5) The descriptors that women use to label the Village are particularly revealing–"boys-town", "gay", and "masculine." They also describe gay men as "owning" the space and creating the images and narratives that structure how people know and imagine the Village. Lucie, a resident lesbian, characterizes the Village as "a world of men. How can I put it? A world that is superficial. It is not a complex world. It's a world of "quick fixes," you know. Two, three minutes there, pouf! There is a lot of sex everywhere. It's where men meet." (Village Lesbian Interview # VL10.)

For many women, their status and physical vulnerability as women, and their perceptions of masculinity, fear and danger, construct their perceptions and experiences of the Village. Several of the women recounted stories of violence, aggressive drug pushers, pimps and prostitutes. These women feel like targets when they are on the streets. Most of the women also describe the ways in which masculinity and, in some cases misogyny, leaves them on the margins of this presumably inclusive social landscape. Kim, for instance, discussed her experiences of gay misogyny in the Village, highlighting what happens when men congregate in groups on the street. "There are a lot of men that go out of their way to be feminist men, and I'm happy about that, but there is a certain amount of misogyny when people cluster in groups. So I don't feel that it's my space because I feel like I'd have to beat my way in there." (Lesbian interview # L 8.) Other women identified individual negative experiences that have severely tarnished how they think of Centre-Sud. Janis, for instance, recalls that one of the worst instances of verbal bashing she has experienced occurred in the Village. "If it's just some butt-head on St. Catherine downtown, it doesn't hurt my feelings... but when it happens in the Village and it's a fag or a group of fags–that happened last year–that hurts my feelings. I feel like they should know better and if that's the kind of behaviour that I'm going to be dealing with then these are not my brothers." (Lesbian interview # L 12.)

The Paradoxes and Politics of Urban Diversity

Cities have always been places where urbanities from many backgrounds rub shoulders and encounter "the other." But simply to applaud urban diversity or even to publicly recognize and celebrate a socially marginalized community does not in itself eliminate processes of exclusion. It also does not preclude, if unintentionally, fostering new ones. Landscapes of cultural pluralism and marginalization, as Centre-Sud robustly demonstrates, can co-exist in even the most open of urban public spaces.

As many of the lesbians and gay men interviewed indicate, Montréal's Gay Village remains in many ways a remote, sometimes liberating, sometimes dangerous, and often quite paradoxical landscape. It is a neighbourhood in which distinct versions of heterosexuality and poverty intersect with homosexuality, masculinity, femininity, patriarchy, wealth and language to construct a social landscape in which there is both a celebration of difference from the mainstream and a simultaneous erasure of identities. Centre-Sud is a landscape that is not just about gay male sexuality, but also about very particular versions of masculinity, male body images and privilege. In this regard, the most significant consumers of the iconic hyper-masculine representations of the Village may be affluent and largely English-speaking foreign male tourists, not Montrealers. In the city's post-industrial economy in which "exotic" cultural landscapes are embraced as integral components of the new cultural economy, as well as symbolic and material expressions of a societal openness to diversity and difference, the Village is a paradox. It is symbolically significant as an expression of openness and as a challenge to heterosexual masculinity norms, but in many important and quotidian ways the Village is an urban social landscape where boys can be "boys" and women can be too often relegated to the margins.

Aboriginal peoples are found across Canada in many cities both large and small. The top seven CMAs reflect that, in these metropolitan areas, Aboriginal peoples are not faring as well as the non-Aboriginal population. However their circumstances vary depending upon the CMA.

Top Seven Aboriginal Census Metropolitan Areas: Similar Issues and Different Circumstances

LORNA JANTZEN[1]
Department of Canadian Heritage

We often hear about the socio-economic issues facing urban Aboriginal peoples in the media. This article will highlight how the situation of the urban Aboriginal population varies across Canadian cities. I will use 2001 Census findings to examine similarities and differences between the top seven Aboriginal identity Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) and Census Agglomerations (CAs)[2] in Canada – Winnipeg, Edmonton, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary, Vancouver, and Toronto. (Figure 1) This paper demonstrates that there is diversity within urban Aboriginal populations, and each city's demographic and geographic circumstances have implications for the situation of urban Aboriginal population in these selected CMAs. Selected indicators will be applied to illustrate different demographic, cultural and socio-economic situations within these seven selected CMAs.

The Census asks a series of questions that can be used to define the Aboriginal population in Canada: the Ethnic Origin question, the Aboriginal Identity question, Registered Indian question, and Membership in a Band or First Nation question. The first section of this paper

will examine the distribution and composition of people in selected CMAs that reported their Aboriginality on the Ethnic Origin Question (hereby referred to as the Aboriginal origin population) and the Aboriginal Identity Question (hereby referred to as the Aboriginal Identity population[2]) compared to the non-Aboriginal population (hereby referred to as the non-Aboriginal population). Not all of the Aboriginal Origin population reports an Aboriginal identity (hereby referred to as the Aboriginal origins without an Aboriginal identity) and, as shown on Table 1, the size of this population varies across the selected CMAs. In Canada there were 1,319,920 people or 4% of the population reported Aboriginal origins, and

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[2] CMA or CA: is formed by one or more adjacent municipalities centred on a large urban area (known as the urban core). The census population count of the urban core is at least 10,000 to form a census agglomeration and at least 100,000 to form a census metropolitan area.

FIGURE 1
Top seven Aboriginal identity by number of people reporting and Aboriginal identity and Aboriginal origins in selected CMAs and CAs,
2001 Census, 20% Sample
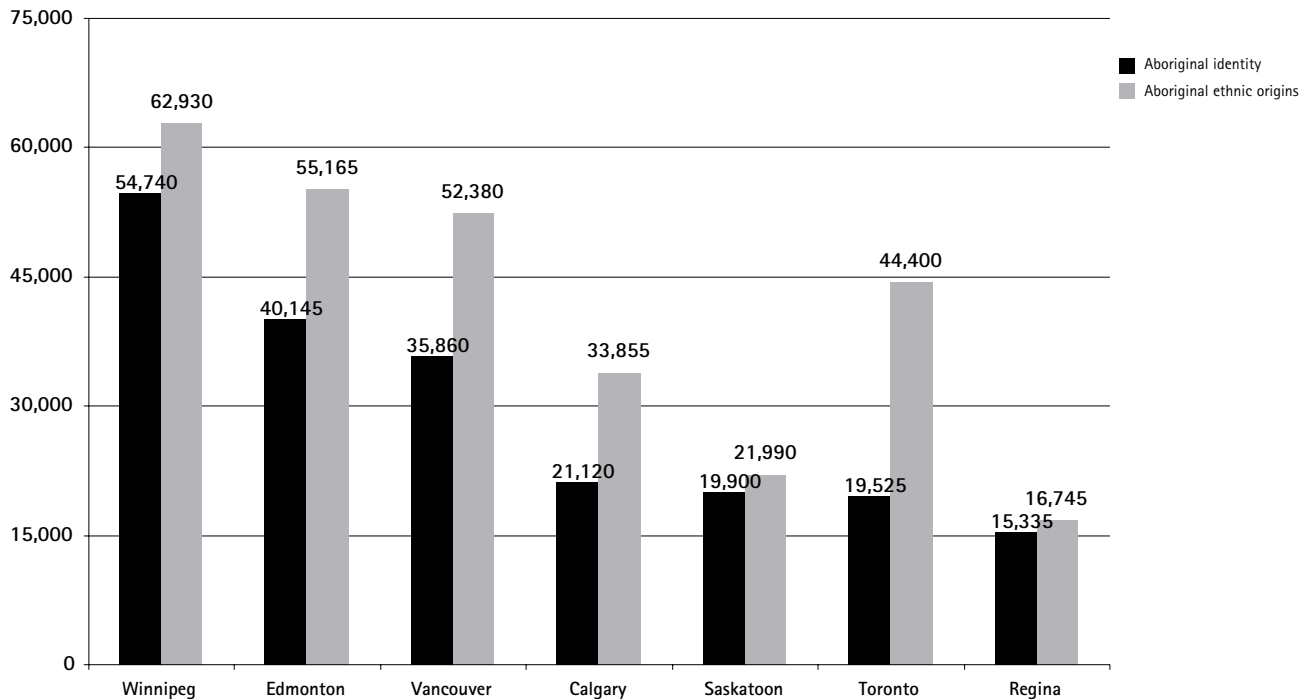
Source: Canadian Heritage 2001 Census Custom Tabulations

952,890 people or 3% reported an Aboriginal identity, while 452,500 people or 2% reported Aboriginal origins without an Aboriginal identity. Some 28,686,140 people in Canada did not report either Aboriginal origins or identity.

Aboriginal Populations Distribution by Identity and Origins

The Aboriginal origins population is more likely to live in CMAs or CAs than the Aboriginal identity population, but still less likely than the non-Aboriginal[4] population to live in Canadian cities.

The non-Aboriginal population is more likely to live in CMAs or CAs than the Aboriginal origin or identity populations.[5] Approximately 50% of people that reported an Aboriginal identity on the 2001 Census lived in CMAs or CAs, while two-thirds of the non-reserve[6] Aboriginal identity population lived in CMAs or CAs[7]. The Aboriginal origins population is more likely to live in CMAs or CAs than the Aboriginal identity population, but still less likely than the non-Aboriginal population to live in Canadian cities. Of the Aboriginal groups, Métis are more likely than

North American Indians or Inuit to be residing in a CMA or CA (Figure 2)

CMAs and CAs have experienced growth[8] in their Aboriginal identity and Aboriginal origins populations. As discussed in the literature trends in Aboriginal populations growth have been so dramatic that demographic factors alone cannot explain increases in the population (Guimond, 2003; Siggner, 2003) The increases have been attributed to several main factors: natural increases, net migration by the Aboriginal population to Urban Areas,[9] and ethnic

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[3] Statistics Canada includes in its definition of the Aboriginal identity population those people that are registered Indians or Band members but did not self-identify as an Aboriginal person on the Census. In this paper, these people are not included in the definition of the Aboriginal identity population, it is strictly those people that reported themselves as being North American Indian, Métis or Inuit

[4] The non-Aboriginal population is referred to throughout this paper. It is defined as those people that reported an Aboriginal identity on the 2001 Census.

[5] Dr. Evelyn Peters from the University of Saskatchwan (Department of Geography) raised an interesting question: why is the Aboriginal population not more urban since it is clearly less urban that the non-Aboriginal population? (Breakfast on the Hill, March 2004)

FIGURE 2

Percentage of total Aboriginal identity and Aboriginal origin populations living in CMA/CAs

2001 Census, 20% sample
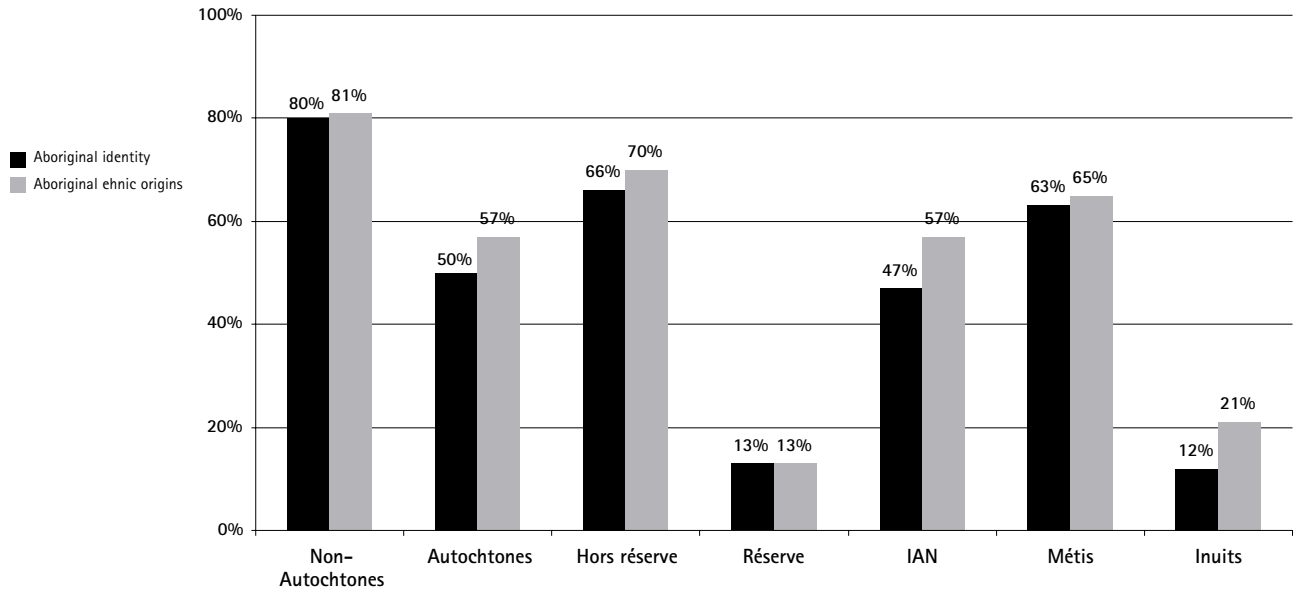
Source: Canadian Heritage 2001 Census Custom Tabulations

mobility[10] which occurs when someone changes how they report their ethnic origins or identity from one census to the next. (Siggner, 2003, p.18-19)

Although the number of Aboriginal people in cities has been increasing in all metropolitan centres, they comprise varying proportions of the total population depending on the CMA. The size of the Aboriginal population relative to the total population of a CMA is important since the larger the share, the more visible a population, and the easier it is to have programs specifically for Aboriginal peoples. In Toronto, Canada's largest CMA, the Aboriginal identity population comprised less than one percent of the city's total population, while Aboriginal origins population not reporting an Aboriginal identity was just over 1% of the total CMA population. The Aboriginal identity population in Vancouver, Calgary and Edmonton was 2%, 2%, and 4% respectively while the Aboriginal origins population not reporting an Aboriginal identity was just over 1% of the total CMA population comprised 1%, 2% and 2% respectively. The Prairie CMAs case is different since 9% of Saskatoon's population, and 8% of Winnipeg's and Regina's reported an Aboriginal identity while only 2% reported Aboriginal origins with no Aboriginal identity (Figure 3)

Aboriginal Composition by Identity and Origins

In the Prairie CMAs (Saskatoon, Winnipeg, and Regina) the vast majority of people reporting "Aboriginality" report an Aboriginal identity in combination with Aboriginal origin(s), whereas in the larger CMAs (Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary and Edmonton) the reporting of someone's "Aboriginality" is less likely to mean that the individual self-identified as an Aboriginal

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[6] Non-reserve population refers to those living outside of most First Nation or Band affiliated communities, such as Indian Reserves, Indian Government District, Terres Reservées, Nisga'a Villages, Teslin Lands and a set of communities which Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) designates as Band-affiliated communities.

[7] However, it should be made clear that not all areas of a CMA or CAs are classified as Urban Areas, therefore the proportion of people living in CMAs/CAs is different than the proportion of Urban Areas; people report an Aboriginal identity live within both urban and rural areas of the selected CMAs' boundaries. For example, Edmonton (5,360 people) has the largest Rural Area Aboriginal identity population for all CMAs and CAs – 3,000 of these people lived on reserve. However, it should also be noted that not all reserves are rural, some are found in urban areas.

[8] Mobility plays an important role in the Aboriginal community; it has been shown that Aboriginal people move between urban centres and reserves – this has been coined "the churn" (see Norris et al, 2003; Norris and Clatworthy 2003; Norris and Cooke).

[9] There was a net loss of migrants to smaller Urban Areas and a gain for larger Urban Areas.

FIGURE 3
Proportion of the CMA population that reported either an Aboriginal identity or origin(s)
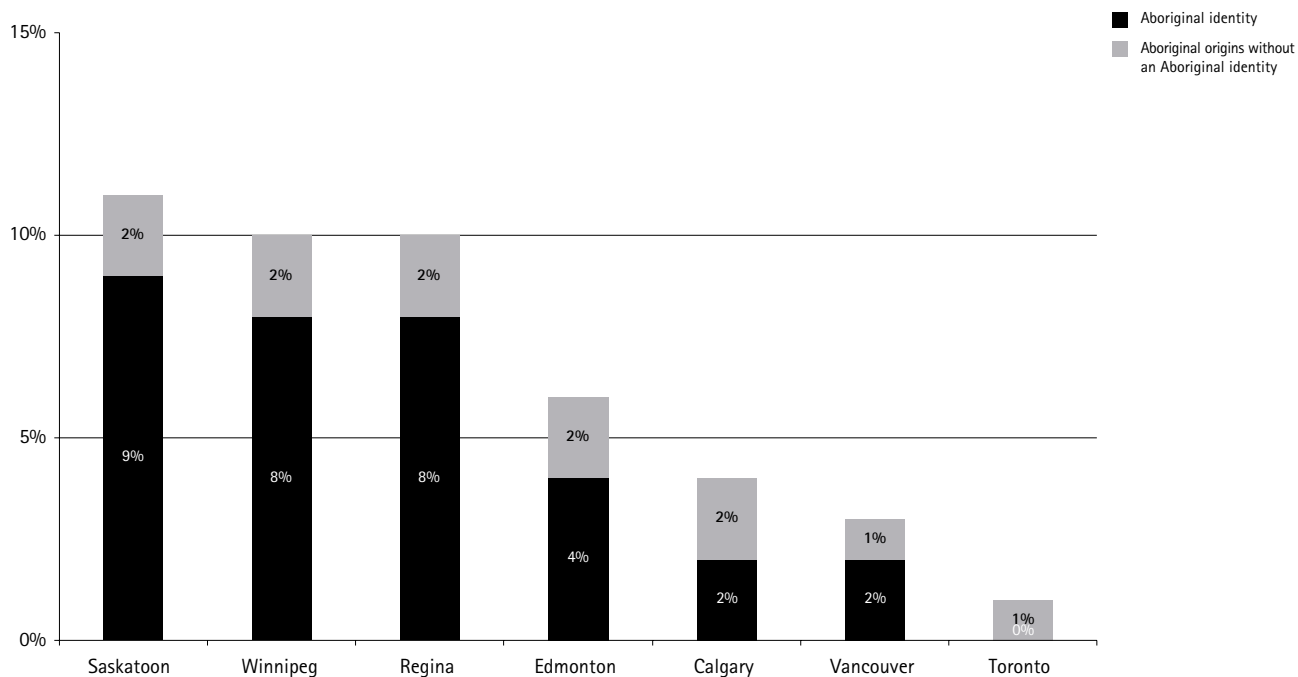
Source: 2001 Census – Department of Canadian Heritage Custom Tabulations

person. In the Prairie CMAs it seems either you are an Aboriginal person or you are not an Aboriginal person, whereas in the larger CMAs, the definition of who is and who is not an Aboriginal person is not so clear. The implication for individual CMAs having a large Aboriginal population that has Aboriginal origins with no Aboriginal identity is difficult to determine since these individuals likely vary in their degree of attachment to the Aboriginal population. For some people, reporting Aboriginal origins may be a stepping-stone towards Aboriginal self-identification.[11] Even though this population may not be incurring the same degree of socio-economic hardship, they may be sensitive to Aboriginal issues.[12] (Figure 4) Although this stepping-stone concept may be a reality, the Census results continue to reflect that the

Aboriginal identity population has a lower socio-economic standing when compared to the Aboriginal origin without an Aboriginal identity. When examining socio-economic indicators below, I will apply the Aboriginal identity population, since this will illustrate some of the different socio-economic circumstances between CMAs.

Aboriginal Languages
On the Census, the Aboriginal identity variable provides a limited indication of Aboriginal diversity, since we do not attain information on specific First Nations. Therefore, we rely on the Aboriginal language questions to provide us with insight into the cultural diversity of the Aboriginal population. The Census provides information on over 50 Aboriginal languages and language families.[13] Of the people who reported Aboriginal languages on the Census, the proportion living in CMAs and CAs is relatively small: 19% of the Aboriginal Mother Tongue population, 15% of the Aboriginal home language population, and 22% of the Aboriginal language knowledge. It has been shown that people in CMAs and CAs who learn Aboriginal languages are more likely to learn

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[10] Guimond identifies several different factors that have contributed to ethnic mobility: the impact of a proxy response on the Census form whereby a parent or spouse is reporting for other family members; children and have parents of mix backgrounds have the possibility of choosing their ethnic affiliation; socio-political events and their media coverage have raised public awareness and may have restored the image and pride of Aboriginal peoples; and, legal decisions e.g. amendments to Bill C-31 (Guimond, 1993, 44)

FIGURE 4
Selected CMAs by Aboriginal identity population and Aboriginal ethnic origin but without an Aboriginal identity population
2001 Census
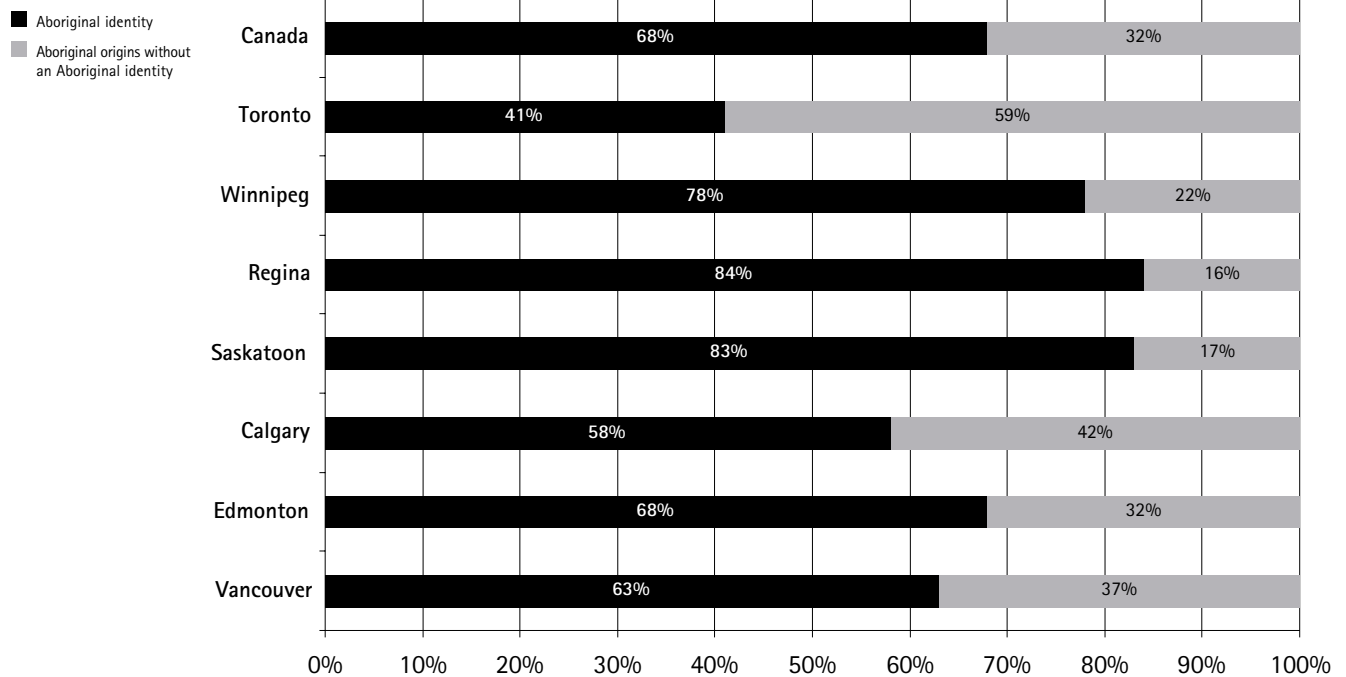
■ Aboriginal identity
■ Aboriginal origins without an Aboriginal identity

Source: Custom 2001 Census Tabulations produced for the Department of Canadian Heritage

these languages as a second language, and although it is positive that they are learning their language, learning it as a second language is not as effective as learning it as a first language or mother tongue (Norris, 1998). "It should be remembered that language outcomes of children are critical to the long-term survival, maintenance, and revival of Aboriginal languages, and that nowhere are these outcomes more jeopardized than in cities" (Norris and Jantzen, 2003). However, in 2001 the Aboriginal Mother Tongue population did not represent a large proportion of the Aboriginal identity population, especially in CMAs. Of the selected CMAs, Saskatoon has the highest proportion at 12%, while Toronto (4%), Calgary (5%) and Vancouver (5%) have low proportions. (Figure 5)

Since culture is connected so closely to language, understanding the Aboriginal language composition of a city is important. Whether a city has Aboriginal language diversity or whether there is a few Aboriginal languages being spoken may indicate the role an Aboriginal language has within an urban context. In cities where a few languages dominate the landscape, language could be used as a unifying factor. In Edmonton, Cree was

reported by 75% of the Mother Tongue, however it is spoken by numerous First Nations and could be seen as a unifying factor (Norris and Clatworthy). The situation is different if there are numerous smaller languages with few speakers, however it is hoped that having an Aboriginal language will prove to be enough of a unifying factor. In Vancouver, 68% of the mother tongue population reported languages

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[11] It should be highlighted that the ethnic origin provides us with no information as to whether someone who has reported their Aboriginality as part of a multiple response to the Ethnic Origin question has close ties to their Aboriginal background or whether it is a known connection to a very distant relative.

[12] Statistics Canada's post-censal 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey split respondents into two phases: Phase 1 was the population that self identified on the Census and Phase 2 was the population that reported Aboriginal origins without an identity on the Census. These results may help us to understand how strong the linkage is for people that have Aboriginal origins without an identity to the Aboriginal community in general.

[13] The Census provides us with a classification system for Aboriginal Languages in Canada, however it does not reflect the many language dialects. The Census classification system also rolls smaller languages into "nie" or "not included elsewhere" categories.

FIGURE 5
Proportion of Aboriginal identity population that reported an Aboriginal mother tongue*
2001 Census, 20% sample
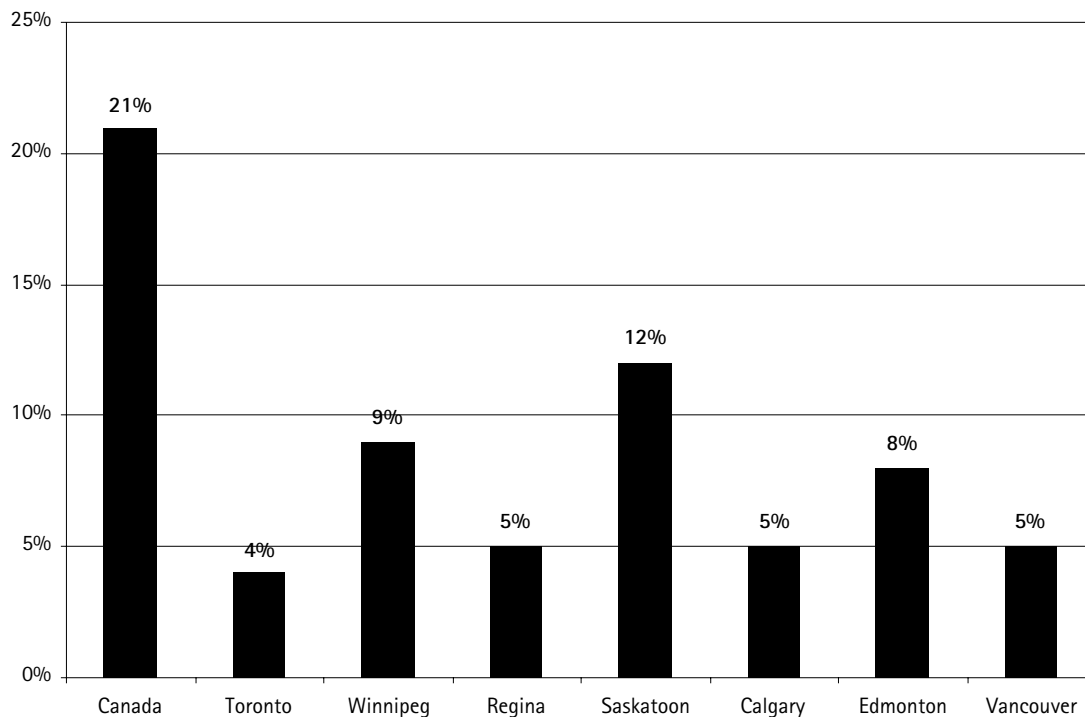
* An assumption has been made that people that report an Aboriginal Mother Tongue also report an Aboriginal Identity, however this is only the case for 99% of the Aboriginal Mother Tongue population

Source: Canadian Heritage 2001 Census Custom Tabulations

that make up less than 10% of the mother tongue population (e.g. Gitksan, Carrier, Nishga, and Nootka) (Figure 6). What is important is that no matter what the size of the Aboriginal language community, the status of Aboriginal languages within CMAs needs to be increased, making their Aboriginal language an integral part of their culture. Creating spaces and places where Aboriginal peoples can connect with their Aboriginal culture is necessary if we want to see Aboriginal communities thriving in an urban setting.

Families: Lone Parents

Across all the selected CMAs, the Aboriginal identity population has a much higher proportion of lone parents than the non-Aboriginal population

As shown on Chart 7 the proportion of lone parents is relatively stable (8% to 10%) for the non-Aboriginal population, while the Aboriginal identity population ranges from 19% in Toronto and Calgary to 34% in Regina and Saskatoon. (Figure 7)

Not only is it important to recognize that Aboriginal identity population within these CMAs have high proportions of lone-parents, it is also useful to consider what proportion of the lone-parent population reported an Aboriginal identity. The Aboriginal population makes up a disproportionate share of the lone-parent population, particularly in those cities where the Aboriginal identity population comprises a relatively "significant" share of the city's population. In Toronto, they comprise 1% and in Calgary and Vancouver, they comprise 4% respectively. In CMAs where the Aboriginal identity population comprises a larger share of the total population, the Aboriginal identity lone parents form a larger share of the lone parent population. (Figure 8) However, it should be noted that their share of the total lone parent population is at least twice as high as their share of the total population of the city: 18% in Winnipeg, 20% in Regina and 23% in Saskatoon of the total lone parent populations.

FIGURE 6
**Aboriginal languages that make up more than 10%
of the mother tongue population in selected CMAs**
2001 Census
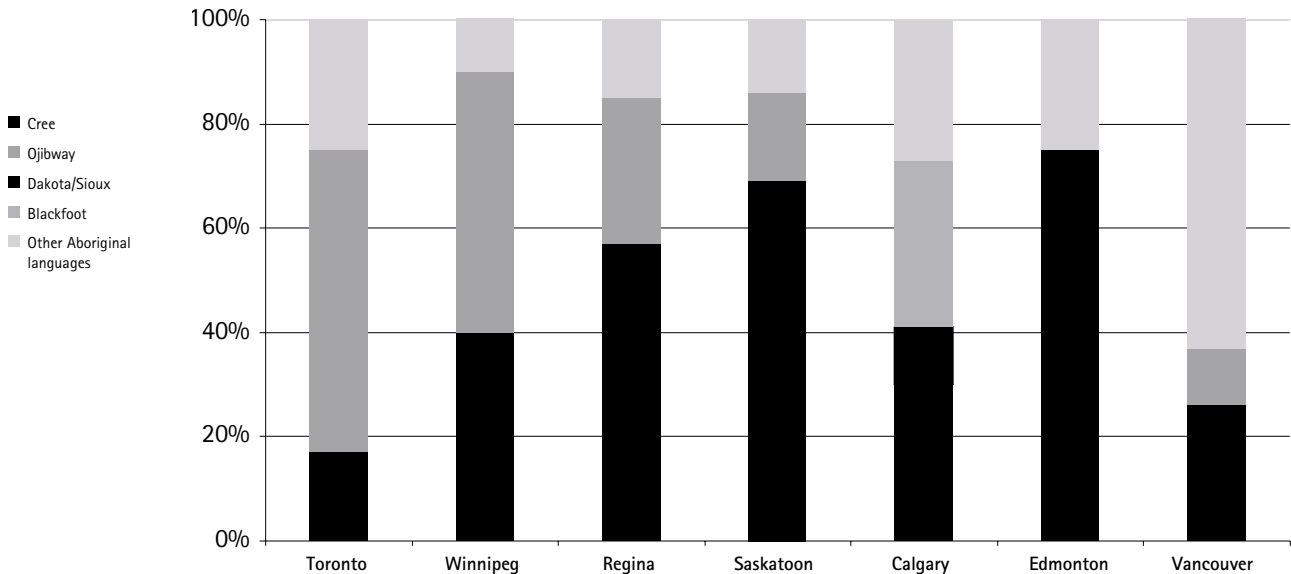
Legend:
- Cree
- Ojibway
- Dakota/Sioux
- Blackfoot
- Other Aboriginal languages

Source: Custom 2001 Census Tabulations produced for the Department of Canadian Heritage

Median Age

In the Prairie CMAs, the gap between the Aboriginal identity and the non-Aboriginal populations' median age is much greater than the gap found in larger urban centres

Most people have read or heard that the Aboriginal population is younger than the non-Aboriginal population and this pattern holds true across these selected CMAs. As shown on Figure 9, in all of the selected CMAs, the Aboriginal identity population has a lower median age than the total population. However, in the Prairie CMAs of Winnipeg, Regina, and Saskatoon the gap in the median age between the Aboriginal identity and the total population[14] is much greater than the gap found in the larger urban centres of Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary and Edmonton reflecting the differences in identity patterns by age across these metropolitan areas.[15]

Not Attending School

For Aboriginal Identity youth aged 15-24 years in Toronto and Vancouver, one third are not attending school, compared to a one half in Prairie CMAs.

The future of the urban Aboriginal population rests with youth. As shown in the recent Aboriginal Peoples' Survey release, some increases in levels of education for the Aboriginal identity population has

increased over time (Tait and O'Donnell). However, Aboriginal identity youth between the ages of 15-24 continue to have a lower rate of school attendance than the non-Aboriginal population. As shown on Figure 10, in almost all of the selected CMAs, one half of Aboriginal youth aged 15-24 is not attending school. Toronto and Vancouver have the largest gap between the Aboriginal identity and non-Aboriginal youth in terms of school attendance, but this is because their non-Aboriginal youth populations are more likely to be in school than they are in the Prairie CMAs.

The Aboriginal identity population aged 25-44 years is more likely to return to school as mature students than their non-Aboriginal counterparts.

For the age cohort 25-44 the story is somewhat different. In all of the selected CMAs, the proportion of non-Aboriginal individuals not attending school is higher than the Aboriginal identity population. The largest gap appears in Saskatoon where 87% of the non-Aboriginal population are not attending school while, 78% of the Aboriginal identity population are attending school. This indicates that the Aboriginal identity population is more likely to return to school as mature students than their non-Aboriginal counterparts. (Figure 11)

Aboriginal peoples are found across Canada in many cities both large and small. The top

FIGURE 7
Lone parents as a percentage of those individuals that reported as a spouse, common law partner or lone parent, by Aboriginal identity and non–Aboriginal identity population
2001 Census
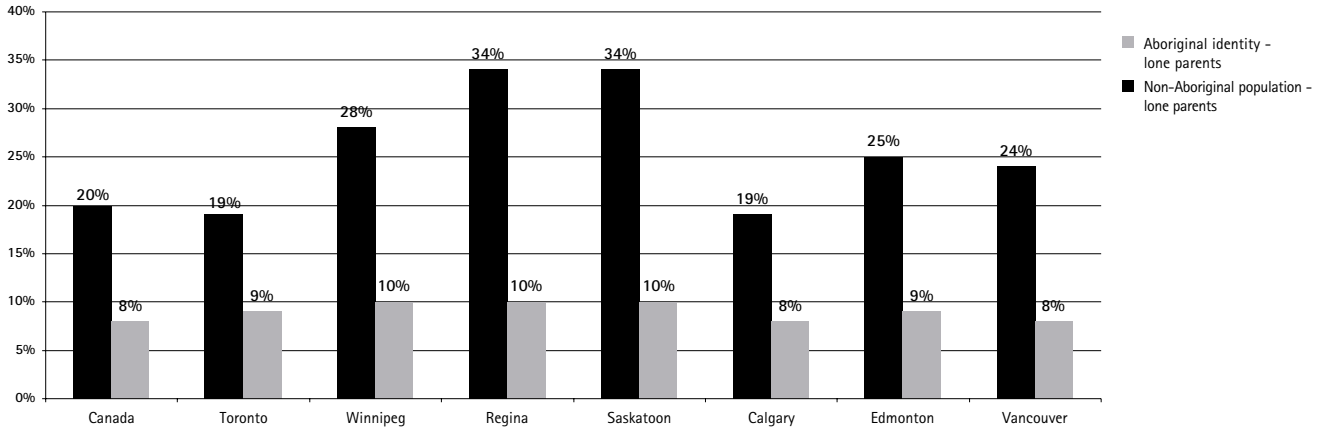
Source: Statistics Canada - 2001 Census – Aboriginal Population Profile (94F0043XCB) and Profile of All Levels of Geography in Canada (95F0296XCB)

seven CMAs reflect that, in these metropolitan areas, Aboriginal peoples are not faring as well as the non-Aboriginal population. However, their circumstances vary depending upon the CMA. In some of the larger centres, where Aboriginal people are a minority amongst many minorities, programs that target Aboriginal peoples are targeting a much smaller proportion of the total population. In those CMAs where Aboriginal peoples include a large proportion of the population, it may be easier to target their needs. However, their needs are more apparent with higher levels of lone-parents and lower levels of youth school attendance. The situation of urban Aboriginal peoples across these seven CMAs demonstrates that they have similar issues, but to varying degrees and, due to the different contexts, a solution in one CMA may not be the answer in another; it is safe to say that being an Aboriginal person in Toronto is very different than being an Aboriginal person in Saskatoon.

The socio-economic situation of the Aboriginal population varies across CMAs, and these differences reveal differences in the reporting of Aboriginal origins and identity. Defining who is

FIGURE 8
Percentage of lone parents that reported an Aboriginal identity by selected CMAs
2001 Census, 20% sample

Source: Statistics Canada - 2001 Census – Aboriginal Population Profile (94F0043XCB) and Profile of All Levels of Geography in Canada, 95F0296XCB

FIGURE 9
Median age of the Aboriginal identity population
2001 Census, 20% sample

■ Aboriginal identity
■ Total population

	Canada	Toronto	Winnipeg	Regina	Saskatoon	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
Aboriginal identity	25	31	25	21	21	26	24	29
Total population	38	36	37	36	34	35	35	37

Source: Statistics Canada - 2001 Census – Aboriginal Population Profile (94F0043XCB) and Profile of All Levels of Geography in Canada, 95F0296XCB

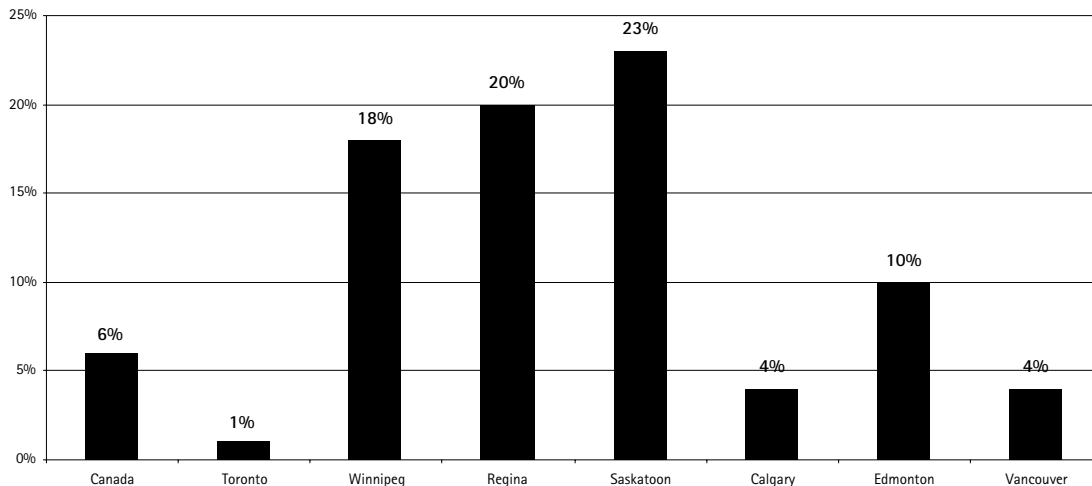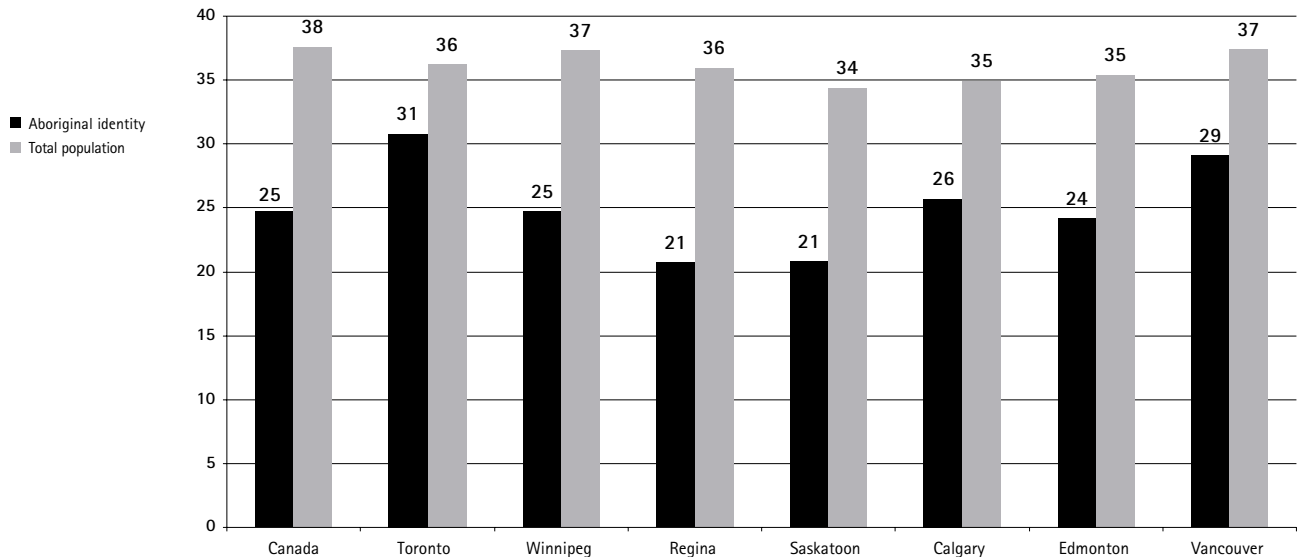and who is not an Aboriginal person may differ depending on the CMA in which someone resides. In the Prairie CMAs, the fact that there is not a large origin population with no Aboriginal identity seems to indicate that to be an Aboriginal person in the Prairie CMAs is clear cut. It also seems to indicate that mixed marriages have not been prevalent within these metropolitan areas and this, coupled with some of the socio-economic and demographic indicators such as education, median age, and family status, reconfirm that there are outstanding issues that need to be addressed.

In those CMAs where the Aboriginal populations comprise a smaller share of the total population, it is more difficult to define who is an Aboriginal person since a larger proportion of the Aboriginal population report Aboriginal origins without an Aboriginal identity. In these large CMAs, Aboriginal people are encountering barriers to full-participation in society, although not to the same degree as the Aboriginal people in the Prairie CMAs. The issue as to what role the population that has origins and without an Aboriginal identity will play in the future of the Aboriginal community is something that is not

clear at this point and should investigated further through the results of the Aboriginal Peoples' Survey.

Aboriginal languages are found in all cities and help to illustrate the diversity amongst the Aboriginal population. However the proportion of the population reporting an Aboriginal mother tongue, knowledge or home language is very low; only through a real effort to raise the status of Aboriginal languages in cities will increases in these numbers be realized. Aboriginal peoples culture is an important part of Canadian urban settings, no matter how diverse the setting may be.

For Aboriginal peoples to thrive in an urban setting, their needs should be taken into account, and it should be recognized that each city has different features; therefore, solutions must be flexible to suit the circumstances. Ensuring that there are adequate spaces and places for Aboriginal peoples in Canadian cities, no matter what the size of the Aboriginal population, would go a long way in recognizing that Aboriginal peoples are an important component of our cities. By ensuring that spaces and places are available, we raise the status of Aboriginal culture within an urban setting and reinforce the important role this population has played and will play within Canadian metropolitan areas.

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[14] Note that unlike the sections before this is Total Population rather than Non-Aboriginal identification populations; Total Population includes the Aboriginal Identity population

FIGURE 10
**Non–Aboriginal identity population and Aboriginal identity population,
by proportion of youth aged 15–24 not attending school**
2001 Census, 20% sample
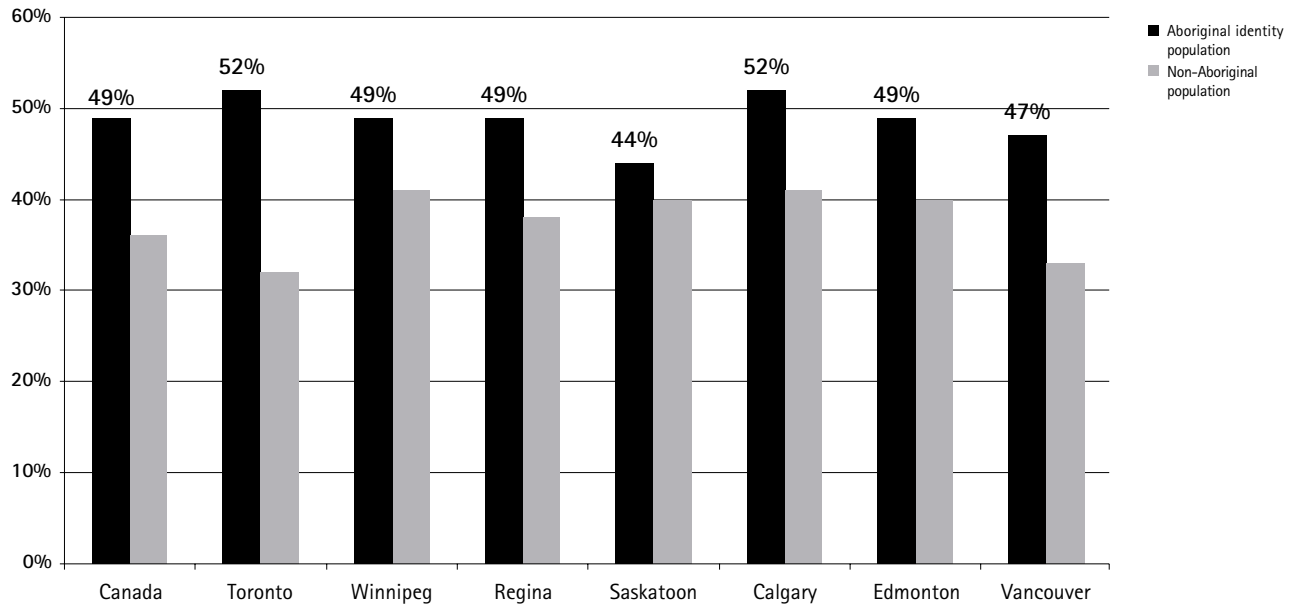
■ Aboriginal identity
population
▩ Non–Aboriginal
population

Source: Statistics Canada - 2001 Census – Aboriginal Peoples Profile and Geographic Profiles

FIGURE 11
**Non–Aboriginal identity population and Aboriginal identity population,
by proportion of youth aged 25–44 not attending school**
2001 Census, 20% sample

■ Aboriginal Identity
Population
▩ Non–Aboriginal
Population

Source: Statistics Canada - 2001 Census – Aboriginal Peoples Profile and Geographic Profiles

Folklorama is organized around approximately 45 pavilions, located throughout the city. Members of ethnic communities showcase their ethno-cultural heritage and current identity through entertainment, cultural displays, and food.

Mirror and Mortar: Ethno-Cultural Festivals and Urban Life in Canada

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This summer, Canadians from a variety of backgrounds will do what millions have done for roughly three decades: they will gather in stuffy church basements, theatre centres, school gymnasiums, and community clubs to get a taste of anot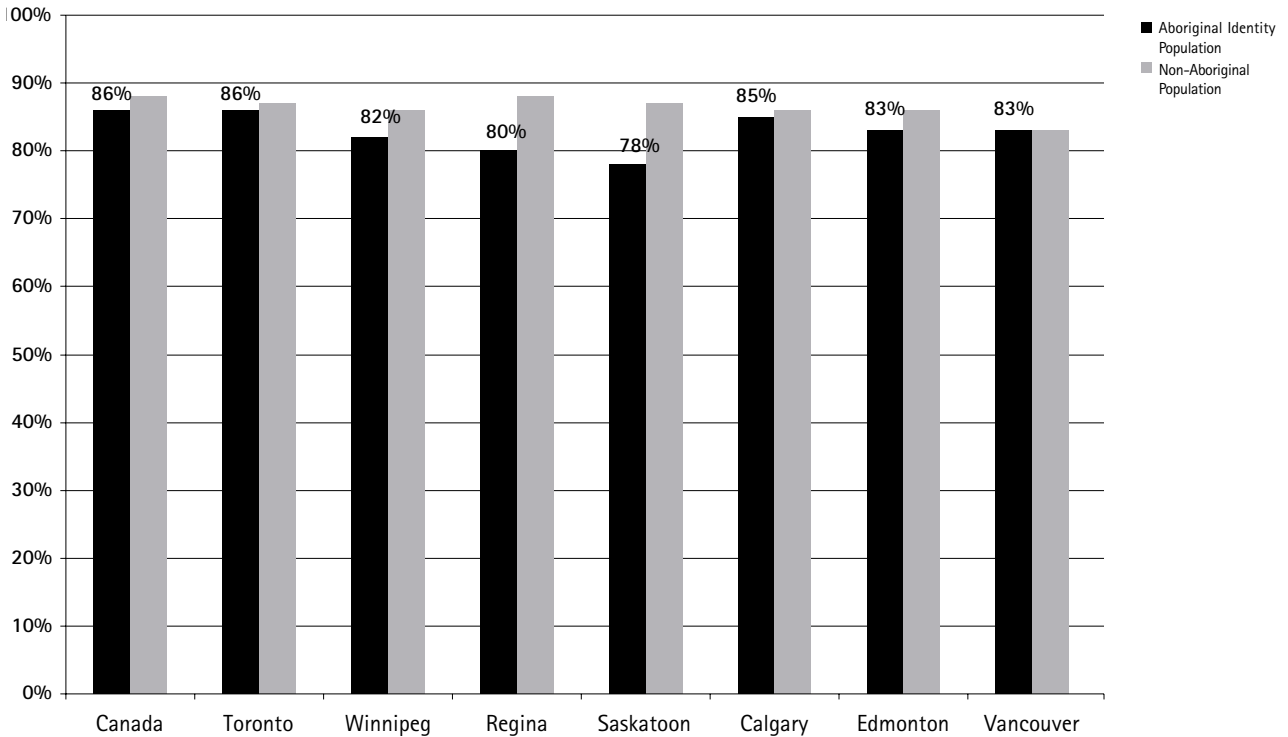her culture. Visitors to these urban spaces may differ with respect to their class origin, first language, birthplace, religious background or political perspectives. But they share a curiosity, either about some specific culture or about a perhaps quintessentially Canadian tradition: that of being able to celebrate ethnic diversity, even while debates about "core" values to which Canadians might "cohere" rage on. These festivals, held in various cities throughout Canada, mirror the kinds of changes we can observe in the Canadian tapestry, and influence our society as well.

In this article, I provide a brief and informal account of some of these ethno-cultural festivals, as well as a reflection on the roles they might play in contemporary cities.

Although these events have long been part of Canadian urban life, some people possess little or no understanding of what they typically entail. While each event is unique, I think one can argue that Winnipeg's Folklorama—one of the largest, most successful, and oldest of these events—can serve as what sociologists call an "ideal type" of other cultural events in Canada. Similar festivals include Toronto's Metro Toronto International Caravan, Edmonton's Heritage Days, and London's Panorama.

Folklorama is organized around approximately forty-five "pavilions," located throughout the city. Within these pavilions, members of ethnic communities showcase their ethno-cultural heritage and current identity through entertainment (usually dancing or singing), cultural displays (usually collections of photographs, maps, handicrafts or art work), and food (usually provided by a local restaurant owner or a group of participants from the community). While it once was a one-week event, Folklorama has expanded during the past years to two weeks, with half the pavilions allocated to the first week, and the other half to the second week.[1] Most other festivals in Canada are held during a single weekend.

Visitors to Folklorama pavilions typically remain for roughly one hour, during which they may watch a forty-five minute performance and move through the cultural displays. Performances range from semi-professional (with live music, elaborate choreographies and light shows) to charmingly amateur (with taped music and six-year-old performers). These festivals are typically multi-historical: one

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[1] This organization allows visitors to see more pavilions and allows pavilion volunteers to enjoy the festival during their week off.

pavilion might feature folk dances from the 18th century which are no longer practiced in the community and a cultural display based on the contemporary lives of local and overseas communities, while another pavilion might feature karaoke style rock-pop performances by teenagers of the community and a cultural display of the ancient history of the community.

Now that I have provided a brief overview of cultural events, I can turn my attention to the role of such events in contemporary Canadian cities. While I have previously explored the relationship between these festivals and the broader Canadian context (Bramadat 2001b; 2002), in this article, I focus specifically on urban settings.

Sites of self–definition

It is often said that major Canadian cities are the laboratories of multiculturalism and the sites of tremendous creativity with respect to individual and group identity. This is especially true for Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver, although mid-sized cities may also demonstrate such forces. While debate goes on over the definition of ethnic identity (e.g. Gleason 1983), I would argue that it has become untenable to think of it as a "thing" which is brought *intact and in toto* from some other place (Bramadat: in press). It is also insufficient to think of ethnic identity as a "thing" that emerges fully formed from a person's imagination, regardless of whether this person can speak the actual and symbolic language of the community, whether she has the tacit approval of the community, and whether she has a biological link to this tradition. Identity, it turns out, appears to emerge from a complicated kind of conversation between individuals, ethnic communities (those present in Canada and those actually or imaginatively from another place and time), and the broader society (which represents the context in which one "performs" one's identity). But most importantly, identity emerges on the streets, in the subways and in the schools and office buildings of our cities.

Ethnic festivals represent backdrops against which individuals and groups can participate in the so-called politics of identity. Thus, an event such as Folklorama may be considered a symbolic site where members of ethnic communities articulate a particular account (or "story") of themselves in the on-going and increasingly open-ended narrative of Canadian identity. When Folklorama pavilion organizers create a cultural display and choose what forms of entertainment they will use to represent themselves, group members are forced to clarify, long before the festival begins, the ways in which they want to be understood, by themselves and by outsiders (stories being as much about self-communication as about communication with others). Of course, the hundreds of decisions involved in the early stages of pavilion planning create a "text" against which non-conformist members of the community can juxtapose contrarian "subtexts" in the identity-generating dialogue.

The point is simply that the festival can represent an important narrative touchstone in the ways people define themselves. Whether or not individuals entirely embrace or utterly reject the portraits they see of themselves or of their communities during these events, ethno-cultural festivals are obviously not the only source, or even the main source, in the stories people tell about themselves. Although the frenetic pace of the modern metropolis is distracting, and the stronghold of quotidian lives of work and school is immense, it would be unwise to ignore these decades-old festivals, many of which remain the contexts within which members of ethnic communities can interact with formal, even reified images of themselves and their communities. Of course, the images presented in these festivals are dialogically engaged, consumed, and critiqued by visitors as well, and in the process, the ways in which outsiders interact with insiders are shaped (Bramadat 2001b).

Adventures in urban geography

While some festivals are held at a single site, the larger ones such as Folklorama and Caravan require visitors to travel to pavilions throughout the city. While this surely leads to frustration among some visitors, it also forces people to explore parts of their cities that might otherwise remain foreign to them. Since many pavilions are located in community centres and religious halls in the heart of past or present ethnic enclaves or neighbourhoods, a journey into these often unfamiliar spaces forces visitors to engage in what one might call the ethnic geography of their cities.

It must be said that some visitors will perceive these journeys to be dangerous. For example, in Winnipeg, most of the Slavic pavilions are

located in the fabled North End, which reflects the history of European immigration to the city. Many people from South and West Winnipeg rarely find themselves in this region of the city, largely because over the past two decades, a negative stereotype has been associated to the North End and to its often lower-income Aboriginal residents (and more recent African and South-East Asian residents). However, during Folklorama, visiting the labour temple, the churches, and other significant North End landmarks of Slavic immigration and culture may remind visitors of a feature of Winnipeg's history that is frequently obscured by the suburbanization and sprawl that now characterize the city. Since Toronto is so much larger than Winnipeg, participating in Caravan leads to an even greater navigational challenge for those residents who might be familiar only with their own suburb, exurb or urban component of the Greater Toronto Area.

Of course, these navigational difficulties are psychological as well as geographical in the sense that the relatively far-flung pavilions (sometimes located in "dangerous" neighbourhoods) compromise one's sense of security. Compromising the traditional spatial boundaries that separate neighbourhoods and communities in Canadian cities is arguably one of the main contributions festivals can make to civil society.

Challenging stereotypes and ignorance

When I attend national and international conferences devoted to the question of diversity, migration and cities, I often hear Canadian participants bragging about the successes our major cities have enjoyed in these arenas. After all, our representatives will claim, with a few exceptions, we've never experienced significant rioting, ethnic strife, or other examples of "diversity-managed-badly." The conclusions such commentators often draw from our relatively pacific history is that the (post-1970s) Canadian approach (Jenson and Papillon 2001) should, or at least could, be adopted by other countries to respond to the increasingly multicultural nature of contemporary urban spaces.

However, the relative calm prevailing in our cities may be fairly shallow, even temporary. The superficiality of the current mood may well be connected to the fact that while public schools may promote certain values such as

multiculturalism, they frequently do not (often because of budget restrictions) promote a deep awareness of the kinds of controversial issues that may later become "hot button topics" in civic discourse, such as female genital mutilation, the carrying of kirpans in public contexts, religious and political extremism, and the marriage of same-sex couples (Seljak in press; Sweet 1997).

Festivals[2] allow group members to convey or construct a fuller, or at least a different, self-image for a public that might harbour certain negative stereotypes of these groups. One of the most often misunderstood elements of ethnic identity is the relationship between religious and ethnic forms of identification. It is common, though usually incorrect, to assume either that a clear separation exists between ethnic and religious forms of identity, or that the lack of such a distinction is characteristic only of recent or elderly immigrants (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000).

Due to the misconceptions that abound with regard to world religions in contemporary Canada, many people may feel uncomfortable asking direct questions about another person's religious, or religio-ethnic, identity. Such a line of questioning transgresses one of the limits set by, and for, polite discourse. However, it seems to me that given the fact that our cities place people of various religious traditions in close proximity to one another, knowing something about this crucial dimension of multiculturalism should be considered mandatory. Although many of our politicians, school boards, and media figures have decided to sidestep or sugar-coat the complex issue of religious diversity in our cities (Bramadat: forthcoming), ethno-cultural festivals such as Folklorama provide a context in which people can address and ameliorate what is, in my mind, the alarming level of "religious illiteracy" that exists in our culture (due, at least in part, to the fact that very few classes in religious studies are offered or promoted in Canadian high schools (Seljak: in press). Through performances, cultural displays and the conversations that arise after the "show," ethnic groups are able to represent their multi-dimensional identities more fully to other Canadians and to answer questions outsiders might have about their deepest individual and shared convictions.

Ethnic show business and counter–hegemonic discourses

In a society so marked by large-scale corporate entertainment events, ethno-cultural spectacles such as Folklorama, Mosaic and Caravan might be understood as local renditions of global (though, in truth, mainly American) patterns; or, to put it another way, as "ethnic show business." Many writers (e.g., Baumann 1999; Bissoondath 1994; Thoroski 1997) see in this pervasive American style the distressing harbinger of cultural homogenization. However, the commercialized style of these events simply reflects the common and dominant consumerist ethos in which the majority of people in the developed or developing world lives (Halter 2000).

This nearly ubiquitous global style allows for more reinterpretation of, and resistance to, corporate hegemony than we normally assume possible. In fact, several years ago in Winnipeg, a group of gay, lesbian and transgendered people sought to include a pavilion celebrating gay culture within the existing Folklorama structure. Their request was turned down by the overseeing organization, ostensibly because the group did not represent a single ethno-cultural community, though there were likely other motivations at work. Nonetheless, they ran a subversive parallel pavilion. In other words, this community used Folklorama, now a part of popular culture in Winnipeg, as a stage for their semiotic and ideological "play" (in both senses of the word) (see Thoroski and Greenhill 2001). This, of course, underlines the fact that in contemporary urban spaces, nearly everything is subject to critique and rapid rearticulation (Willems-Braun 1994).

This kind of latitude also operates within the field of ethnic identity. While the expressions of identity found at Folklorama are certainly couched in the aesthetic and cultural language of American popular culture, the festival is open to play, allowing contemporary Indo-Canadians,

for example, to use the festival as a cultural and temporal space within which they may create a distinctly Canadian identity that blends Indian and American, contemporary and ancient, religious and secular traditions. Another, though less conscious, example of this spirit of playfulness was the 2002 Hawaiian pavilion in Caravan. Run almost entirely by Filipinos, it featured a show with one of the members of the 1950s band The Platters, it was located in a building that was originally a synagogue (the Hebrew stone inscriptions were plainly visible) and at the time of the festival, this building was a recreation centre for the local Chinese community. What could be more Canadian than this scene?

The future of festivals in Canada

It is interesting to note that in Toronto, arguably the most multicultural city in Canada and perhaps in the world, Caravan has declined both in terms of its audience size and in terms of the kind of organizational energy required to sustain this massive undertaking.[3] By contrast, Winnipeg's Folklorama continues to attract large numbers of visitors (roughly 450,000 visits each year in a city of 650,000 people) and shows no obvious signs of deterioration. What can we make of the different fortunes of these two festivals, both of which were initiated at roughly the same time, serve the same principles, offer very similar entertainment, food and displays, and cater to the same kinds of audiences?

There are at least two explanations. It is possible that these festivals are experiencing such different degrees of success simply because one is capable of delivering a better "product" to the consumers. It should not be overlooked that Caravan is much less centrally organized (e.g., when I visited Caravan, pavilion schedules were not harmonized) and must deal with a more diverse and much larger city, therefore facing obstacles unknown to Folklorama. It could be possible for Caravan to re-frame its product in such a way to appeal to a broader audience.

However, when I asked Caravan organizers and volunteers how they would explain the decline in the festival, virtually everyone provided another quite insightful interpretation: Toronto, they noted, has become so thoroughly multicultural that its residents may no longer "need" a festival to provide a context in which they can engage people from other ethno-cultural communities. Such cultural interactions

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[2] See those described by Ashkenazi 1987; Bramadat 2001a, 2001b; Cohen 1982; Cruikshank 1997; Halter 2000; Mato 1998; Piette 1992; Premeggia and Varacalli 1996; Shukla 1997; Thoroski 1997; Thoroski and Greenhill 2001; Willems-Braun 1994.

[3] On Caravan's Website, www.caravan-org.com, a more positive message is conveyed. However, when I conducted fieldwork in Toronto in 2002, I visited several pavilions where performances attracted very small audiences (sometimes as few as 10 people). Also, at no pavilion did I need to wait in line. The chief organizers I interviewed spoke openly of the possibility that the festival might cease to exist within a few years.

occur in the normal course of every day life, or so my participants explained. Moreover, if some people have no personal or professional interactions with members of a particular community, they can always visit the many restaurants and neighbourhoods frequented by this community. Since Winnipeg is much less diverse than Toronto, or at least its diversity is not as "visible," Folklorama may still serve a useful purpose as a context for intercultural engagement that might not otherwise occur with such regularity. While this explanation strikes me as plausible, it seems to me that the first, more easily remedied problem also plays a significant role in the fortunes of these two events.

While each festival finds its own way to articulate and update its mandate in a rapidly changing urban environment, it is clear that these events can continue to address the shifts we are witnessing in Canadian cities. By providing a context in which people can challenge stereotypes, engage in dialogical identity formation, reappropriate popular culture for their own use, and explore foreign (yet nearby) cultural and physical terrains, these events continue to serve a useful role in the Canadian urban conversation.

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Bilingualism and Diversity in Postmodern Moncton

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Moncton, Atlantic Canada's "Petit Montréal," has become a provincial metropolis providing everything that urban life can offer: official bilingualism following the example of the province and country, cultural diversity, microcosmopolitanism, an international airport, the strongest levels of in-migration in Atlantic Canada, a low unemployment rate, the best cost of living in the country, a central main shopping area for Atlantic Canada, and a growing number of cultural festivals that enliven the downtown and community life. Moncton has shown significant, sustained development since the 1980s, evolving from a blue-collar economy to a knowledge-based environment where the population's cultural potential is valued. The city established a new direction when it opted to value cultural diversity and interculturality, reducing its dual bilingual autarky, which was the source of confrontations in the 1960s and 1970s.

The achievements that Moncton is witnessing in the early 21st century involve reciprocity between the city and cultural life, a reciprocity that has helped transform the city's historic, economic, political and cultural conditions, stopping the perpetuation of the dominant-dominated relationship between majorities and minorities. The new relationship that has gradually developed between the two language groups must be viewed from a fresh perspective, that of a bilingual, modern and multicultural city with an attractive force that is equalled only by its cultural dynamism. Over the past decade, major events have been held in this city of 125,000 inhabitants, highlighting its French–albeit minority French–character, including the first Congrès mondial acadien in 1994 and, despite its small size in comparison with the capitals and metropolitan areas of "la francophonie," the VIIIe Sommet de la Francophonie in September 1999, which welcomed 52 Francophone heads of state for a three-day event. Moncton therefore seems to be a city that is undeniably open to the world. This development cannot be dissociated from the presence of the Université de Moncton, which, since 1963, has modernized this mainly English city, transforming it into a university centre that generates literary and cultural life, particularly in the context of Acadian production and exchanges. The Anglophone population initially felt a great deal of apprehension in this regard and yet, presented with the evidence of positive effects, it has learned to appreciate and benefit from it. Moncton has become *the* city of the Acadian community and it is through this channel that an urban identity has materialized. The place that Moncton now occupies in the context of Acadian community life is modernizing Acadian culture, which has always traditionally taken its inspiration from the sea.

As for the Anglophone community, Moncton's role is different, since until quite recently it has

been in the shadow of the capital, Fredericton, a university, literary and cultural city with a history of over two centuries. However, Moncton has been through a period of transition in linguistic, economic, cultural and social terms, and the vitality of the Acadian community has influenced Anglophone cultural life, which is becoming increasingly dynamic. The Anglophone community of Moncton is gradually opting for the alternative of interculturalism, based on exchange and on the development of each of the language communities. In recent years, Anglophones and Francophones have been rubbing shoulders in the cultural sense by sharing the Capitol Theatre on Main Street. The two language groups can also be seen together at the bilingual Northrop Frye Literary Festival, at the HubCap Comedy Festival, at the Wine Festival, the Seafood Festival and other events. Indeed, sharing has become a reality in the downtown's cultural space.

Moncton is the largest French urban agglomeration in Acadie, though English is still the main language. While the City of Moncton has been officially bilingual since August 2002, the two neighbouring cities, Dieppe and Riverview, are French and English respectively. Moncton's importance in Acadian community life can be partly explained by the fact that over the decades, the city has become a centre of diverse activity, particularly for the Acadian community. A number of cultural institutions are in Moncton, and most of them are French, such as the Aberdeen Cultural Centre, Éditions Perce-Neige, Éditions de la Francophonie, Éditions Bouton d'or d'Acadie, the Théâtre de l'Escaouette, Moncton-Sable, the Galerie Sans Nom, the Galerie 12, the Galerie d'art of the Université de Moncton, the Acadian Museum of the Université de Moncton, the Ciné-campus, the Festival international du cinéma francophone en Acadie, the DansEncorps company, the Société nationale de l'Acadie, the Moncton Archdiocese, a regional station of Radio-Canada (radio and television), not to mention the Université de Moncton, whose role and contribution are particularly decisive.

With the advent of a bilingual and multicultural post-modern Moncton, strong images of the city are increasingly coming out of literary works. Between the literature and the concrete city there are symbolic places where the urban aspect reflects the heterogeneous nature of urban life in various ways. The city has thus become a literary issue and thereby acquired a literary existence. No socioliterary study has been conducted on Moncton until our recent works. Our project, "Moncton imaginaire: représentation littéraire et culturelle de la métropole du Nouveau-Brunswick," is a response to the observation that there were no studies on the urban literary space; this observation was made in the wake of the work done by the Montréal imaginaire research group from 1986 to 1994, by the literary geographer Marc Vachon (2001) in "*Survol critique de la géographie littéraire et des études littéraires sur l'espace romanesque montréalais.*" According to Vachon, there are a number of critically unexplored literary spaces and avenues in Canada, and he suggested a series of questions that inspired in part the direction we gave to our analysis of the literary and cultural representation of "Moncton imaginaire": "What place does the city occupy in the novels of Francophone minorities in Canada? Can the study of the development of an urban literature of a linguistic or ethnic minority illustrate the process of entrenchment and the appropriation of the urban environment by a social group? Can changes in the image of a city be measured through literature? Does the literary discourse on the city differ from the official line taken?" [*translation*] (Vachon 2001) To these questions, we would add those regarding the stresses that cannot be dissociated from Acadia's identity issue, Moncton being the quintessential example of that issue. It is in Moncton that the language issue is the focus of the most intense attention, and the Moncton Francophone corpus brings this issue to the fore, just as it lays claim to its special Acadian character, which is developing and is seeking its own identity within North America, showing traces of US culture, with all the apprehension and pleasure that this represents. We also note the issue of relationships between the two language groups. In this perspective, the literature that records Moncton's transformation is becoming a mandatory waypoint of intercultural life, as defined by Gilles Verbunt (2001): "Intercultural life is a particular way of living with multiple cultures. In society and for the individual, it presupposes a certain type of relationship to cultures and a willingness to overcome the communication barriers stemming from the cultural differences in order to benefit from the treasures that each offers." [*translation*] In a

broader perspective, we are endeavouring to develop an understanding of how the literature becomes a place of exchange making "Moncton imaginaire" a microcosmopolitan city, in the sense suggested by Michael Cronin (2002): "Microcosmopolitan thinking is a process that consists not in opposing small entities to large entities (national or transnational) but that, in the context of the above-noted ideals of cosmopolitanism, seeks to add complexity and diversity to the smaller entity... this concept encompasses the cultural complexity that is a constant value from the macro to the micro scale. That is to say, the same degree of diversity may be found in entities considered small or insignificant as in large entities." [*translation*]

"Moncton imaginaire" is being born in a socioliterary context emerging from a situation experienced for over two centuries between languages in contact and cultures in contact, not only in the suburbs of Toronto and Montréal but also in more confined areas, thereby creating an exception in the bipolarized literary reality of our country. The context in which literary works in New Brunswick are developing, in French and English, is obviously not the same for both language groups, one being in the majority and the other, in the minority. The comparative reconciliation of literary works seems to be the process that facilitates a sociocritical study of a bilingual corpus participating in the literary and cultural representation of New Brunswick's metropolis. The examination of the Monctonian corpus, made up of novels, poetry collections and plays, aims to achieve a literary and social understanding of any text in which Moncton appears; this may be in the form of its names, references, symbols, metaphors, memory or history. What are the creative literary practices of a sociodiscursive space involved in the representation of an urban world?

The first challenge is to grasp the reciprocity between city and literature; the literature records Moncton's linguistic, economic, cultural and social transformation. The second challenge is to survey the paradoxical nature of the Moncton corpus, the French-speaking component of which is far more voluminous than the English component, reversing the city's demographic reality. Because of the historical situation, there is a certain urban schizophrenia marked by a permanent confrontation in which Acadian literature has in fact found its *raison d'être*. In such a context, above all in the minority group, literature constitutes an attempt to counter the threat and to cheat death. Language occupies an important place in Acadian literature, particularly among Acadian writers in Moncton, since their language is subject to the threat of being minoritized and weakened in this city where English is omnipresent. This is one of the paradoxical relationships that the authors maintain with this predominantly English city of Moncton. Studying the presence of social life in the written word, that is, a reality outside the written word, will reveal Moncton's particularly important role in the literary and cultural expression of Acadians, particularly over the past 30 years, although it is not exclusive to them. Today, Moncton also exists differently in the imagination of Anglophones, as expressed by English-language writers, mainly because of the sociohistorical context that has not involved the same conditions of transformation. English-language literature, for its part, recognizes the multiple forms and modes of presence that exist in this city in transformation.

Drawing on my research, I can suggest, first, that the linguistic duality creates a dual representation of this same urban space although there are numerous cultural transfers and, second, that the search for an urban identity in the context of cultures in contact goes hand in hand with separate forms of written and oral expression among the two language groups, but opens the way toward microcosmopolitanism. This research project and our work in progress are designed to open the way to a better

understanding of intercultural phenomena and to decompartmentalize, in particular, the Acadian experience in Moncton, New Brunswick and Canada by revisiting it in the presence of the demographically dominant "other."

This research allows a new direction to be adopted, that is, the interculturality of Moncton's literary and sociocultural world in this bilingual and multicultural city. It brings out not only differences but also similarities to provide an account of how this unique city is absorbed into the literature, as well as covering what the literature says about the city in connection with both the past and the prospects for the future. The conclusions will probably shed some light on certain paradoxes, including the paradox of the new status of the only officially bilingual Canadian city, a city that Moncton writer Gérald LeBlanc called "l'extrême frontière," or the ultimate frontier.

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While the bilingualism issue was still consuming a great deal of ink in the federal capital, Moncton, a medium-sized city, was putting itself at the forefront of official languages and cultural diversity, becoming Canada's first and only officially bilingual city.

Moncton, a Linguistic and Cultural Crossroads

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Talking of cultural diversity in Greater Moncton means, first and foremost, taking a look at an urban community divided into three municipalities—Moncton, Dieppe and Riverview—each reflecting a distinct cultural and linguistic profile on either side of the Petitcodiac. While the populations of Dieppe and Riverview remain largely polarized (the vast majority Francophone in the first and Anglophone in the second), the City of Moncton appears to be a more varied demographic entity with over a third of its population Francophone. This community is nonetheless in a minority situation. In light of this fact, I will address the issues of cultural diversity and immigration in this part of Atlantic Canada. I will therefore be looking not only at efforts and initiatives, but also at deficiencies and obstacles involved in implementing a cultural ecology, that is, in creating an environment conducive to the recognition of Moncton's cultural diversity, where this recognition is based on complementary rather than competing factors.

Laudable efforts by the municipality

In the City of Moncton Annual Report published in 2002, Mayor Brian Murphy was pleased to make the following statement: "...on August 6th, 2002, I was proud to be chairing the meeting of City Council when Moncton, by unanimous vote, became Canada's first and only officially bilingual city."[2] This was an unprecedented event in Canada: while the bilingualism issue was still consuming a great deal of ink in the federal capital, a medium-sized city was putting itself at the forefront of official languages and cultural diversity. While not questioning the sincerity of this action taken by the City Council, we must recognize that this decision came in the wake of the new *Official Languages Act of New Brunswick*, with all that it entailed. This Act, which was meant, among other things, to clarify the responsibilities of the province's various levels of government regarding linguistic access and recognition, imposed a de facto requirement on all municipalities with an Anglophone or Francophone minority population of at least 20% to comply with obligations under the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom* in this regard. So should we be surprised at the announcement on the front page of *L'Acadie Nouvelle* (April 23, 2004), that a Conseil d'aménagement linguistique du Nouveau-Brunswick had been created? *L'Acadie Nouvelle* described the Conseil as a new organization with a mandate of defending and promoting the French language.

While legislation ensures recognition of cultural diversity from a legal standpoint, it nonetheless remains dependent on the way jurists interpret it and on the resulting political

and community applications. In its own report for 2001-2002, the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages clearly stated: "Where official languages are concerned, leadership by parliamentarians and heads of federal institutions must create an atmosphere of co-operation that encourages everyone to share a vision and provide an ongoing contribution to achieving a common goal. Without this political and administrative leadership, it is difficult to see how one can expect provincial and territorial leaders to rally around the vision for official languages."[3] Consequently, if cultural diversity is to be recognized, whether it is specifically linguistic or whether it relates to all the cultures that exist in a given area, the process involved in achieving that recognition must entail political intervention that is strong enough to protect minority rights. Passing a by-law that recognizes the bilingual status of a city certainly opens the door to the principal of complementarity noted above and might ultimately serve as a model for linguistic and cultural cohabitation elsewhere in the country.

Over the past few years the initiatives undertaken by the City of Moncton have not been limited to this single by-law: numerous activities have been organized to showcase the contributions of diverse ethnic communities to the cultural life of the city. Examples include the Northrop Frye Literary Festival, which attracts writers from all parts of the country, the Festival international du cinéma francophone and the showcasing of the city's historical and architectural heritage by way of conferences and exhibitions recalling the contribution made to the development of the area by the first settlers and early immigrants.

In conjunction with the municipal efforts, two community organizations have made an outstanding contribution to the city's cultural diversity and to immigration to Moncton: the Multicultural Association of Greater Moncton Area (MAGMA) and the Société des Acadiens et Acadiennes du Nouveau-Brunswick (SAANB). While the first organisation provides a variety of courses and services to help welcome and integrate immigrants into the Moncton area, the SAANB, whose mandate is to meet the specific needs of the province's Acadian community, is currently working on developing a policy for all

of New Brunswick regarding immigration and the retention of Francophone immigrants. SAANB's organization of issue tables was, among other things, an opportunity to bring together all government, community and university stakeholders involved in this field around the same table, from February to June 2004, for the purpose of identifying the issues and obstacles associated with immigration questions in the province, specifically in the minority context.

University research

Researchers from the Université de Moncton have made a significant contribution to the issues of bilingualism, multiculturalism and immigration. It would be impossible to name here all the projects and researchers involved in this field, but I would nonetheless like to note the following: the work done by the Centre international de la common law en français (CICLEF), which was responsible, among other things, for reviewing and critiquing laws governing Francophone minority rights in the province and for translating most of the by-laws for the City of Moncton; the work accomplished by the Centre de recherche en linguistique appliquée (CRLA), whose former director, Annette Boudreau, and her colleague, Lise Dubois, were among the main driving forces behind the creation of the Conseil d'aménagement linguistique du Nouveau-Brunswick. As well, their work on the linguistic representations of Francophones and Anglophones in the province and their numerous publications on the issue of the ecology of languages serve as a reference on this subject. We should also note the contribution made by Sylvia Kasparian in the field of language contact and the work of the Centre d'études acadiennes, which, under the direction of André Magord, published an important work in 2003 entitled: "L'Acadie plurielle. Dynamiques identitaires collectives et développement au sein des réalités acadiennes."

Since December 2003, through the combined efforts of researchers associated with the universities of St. Mary's, Dalhousie, St. Thomas and Moncton, a Metropolis Research Centre has been established in Atlantic Canada. Born of the need and the urgency to encourage the integration of new arrivals and to promote respect for cultural diversity, the project was based on the principal that for a public migration and integration policy to succeed, it needed to be

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[3] Annual Report 2001-2002, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, p. 19.

actively supported by the various levels of government, by NGOs, by private enterprises and by the various communities. This is why the Metropolis Centres tend to work not with a particular interest group, but rather with a network of contacts that enable them to unite government and NGO objectives with university research programs.

In the context of this project, two research fields were assigned to the Université de Moncton. The first, directed by Chedly Belkhodja and Nicole Gallant, relates to the speech, values and attitudes associated with the phenomenon of immigrant integration. In conjunction with other researchers, they aim more specifically to analyse the components of intercultural understanding in "homogeneous" environments and, in the case of Acadia, in minority environments. They will therefore be focussing on avenues whereby immigrants may be integrated and on adjustment strategies. The study of these factors will ultimately inform political decisions likely to influence immigrant integration and recognition of cultural diversity.

The second field, in which the author of this article are taking a lead role, concerns issues of culture, language and identity. The choice of this field, the result of a long discussion process between the universities, stems not only from the central role that language and culture play in building community identity, but also from the very nature of the cultural composition of the Maritimes. As noted above, welcoming and integrating new arrivals into groups that are themselves in the minority is a complex issue that has not yet been extensively studied but does indeed need to be analysed, particularly if it is put in a context of economic, cultural and media globalization.

On the basis of an intercultural perspective conducive to the examination of contacts between cultures, three main research objectives were identified to address the phenomenon of cultural diversity in the Acadian context. The first relates to the conditions for welcoming new arrivals within a minority Francophone group, where the capabilities for welcoming and integrating them seem limited by the lack of institutional resources and the absence of any citizen identity linked to the existence of a clearly defined state and territory. Along these lines, it would be interesting to examine what contribution might be made by current and future migratory movements in the necessary evolution of the Acadian identity, mainly in the context of globalization.

As for the second objective, we propose to study the representation of multiple forms of otherness, not only in literary and artistic productions, but also in school programs (particularly in textbooks) to better understand the dynamics of these representations and to facilitate the process of welcoming new arrivals. Finally, in the context of the third objective, the many cultural and linguistic interactions that occur between the welcoming society and the new arrivals will be analyzed to unlock the creative and integrative potential of these contacts resulting in reciprocal culture transfers, contacts that may change the identities in question and lead to a reshaping of the Acadian identity.

For the coming three years, it will not be possible to see this research program through to its conclusion without the co-operation of NGOs and the political players involved. We trust that the results of this project will allow new policies to be established that are better suited to the realities of cultural diversity in a minority environment and to immigration in the Maritimes. The by-law of August 6, 2002, was a step in the right direction; one hopes that all initiatives mentioned lead to other equally representative and laudable policies at the municipal, provincial and federal levels.

Cities that have great public transit are almost always cities that also have great artistic communities. You could draw a line around most cities' arts communities based on where public transit stops. At the end of the subway line, at the end of the streetcar or bus lines, you also find the end of the arts industries.

Getting it Wrong in Ottawa

CLIVE DOUCET
City councillor, Ottawa

Clive Doucet, Councillor, Capital Ward, is an astute observer and outspoken advocate of arts and social issues. Holder of a Bachelor of Arts in Urban Anthropology and a Masters Degree (MSc), Councillor Doucet is also a published poet and playwright.

Charlotte Whitton is revered as a feisty, colourful, first woman to wear the Mayor's robes in Ottawa. What isn't so well remembered is that she backed the two most destructive decisions that Ottawa City Council ever imposed on the city. Decisions from which, 50 years later, the city still suffers. The first was the elimination of more than 300 kilometres of electrified streetcar lines in 1959 and 1960. These were pollution free (the electricity was water-generated), robust and fast. Yet, 50 years later, the City still has trouble providing the frequency, the speed and the area coverage that these streetcars once delivered. If the City had invested a billion dollars in upgrading these streetcar lines instead of a billion dollars in 60 kilometres of busways, Ottawa would be a different city today.

The second disaster was cultural. Mayor Whitton, invoking the sacred task of the politician to "save the taxpayers' money," refused the Canadian Repertory Company's request of $50,000 for financing a theatre of its own. (In 1952, Ottawa's Canadian Repertory Company was the largest professional theatre in Canada, employing over 50 actors, including Christopher Plummer, Martha Henry, Bill Hutt and Lorne Green: a whole galaxy of post-war stars.) When Mayor Whitton "saved" Ottawa taxpayers $50,000, Canadian Rep's was forced to close its doors and move to Stratford, beginning a "little festival." It started under a tent and what may have once been a "little festival" soon grew to be the largest Shakespearian Festival in North America.

This loss cost Ottawa billions and the city has never completely recovered from the sudden evacuation of so much talent. Overnight, Ottawa lost its place as national leader in this field and has never really reclaimed it. Fifty years later, the arts are more important than ever, but it's a shift that Ottawa City Council still hasn't really figured out.

In the 1950s, when Charlotte Whitton was mayor, the pulp and paper and timber industries were still the second-largest employer in the city. Those days are long gone. Top-employers are now in the high-tech and the art sectors. Three out of four visitors to Ottawa come to see, hear and enjoy the arts in events such as the International Chamber Music Festival, the Ottawa International Jazz Festival, Ottawa Bluesfest, Ottawa Winterlude and the Canadian Tulip Festival. Some 35,000 people are employed directly or indirectly by arts activities.

But the change is even more profound than these cursory statistics indicate. Fifty years ago, it was hard to go to any dinner party without meeting someone who was working in or related to someone from the wood industries. You looked out from Parliament Hill and the edge of the river was littered with mills producing newsprint, fine papers, toothpicks or lumber; during the summer months, the river was covered with massive log rafts.

Today, you can't go to a dinner party and not meet someone who isn't working in the arts or in high-tech. The high-tech industry is very similar to the cultural industries. They are both interpretative, synthetic, creative enterprises, where new wealth is created by like-minded people coming up with new ideas that create new software programs, videos, books, magazines, films, paintings and so on. (Richard Florida refers to the folks who work in these industries as the "creative class.") Today's city depends on the arts and high-tech industries to provide the backbone of its economy.

The power of the cultural industries was evident when City Council tried to slash the arts budget in this year's City budget. The largest demonstration the city has ever witnessed mobilized in front of City Hall. Over a thousand people gathered. Captains of the high-tech industry wrote to the Mayor protesting the cuts. Councillors' e-mail was flooded with thousands of letters from ordinary people complaining of the cuts. The outcry was so intense, so angry, so constant that Council voted 19 to 2 in favour of maintaining the City's arts funding.

City councillors know heat when it is applied and the heat against any arts funding cuts was clear, but I doubt that my colleagues really understand the importance of the arts industries to our city or the depth of under-funding that already exists. If they did, the funding cuts would never have been proposed in the first place. Consider that prior to the 57 cents per capita that was proposed for the 2004 Budget, Ottawa was already at $3.80 per capita or, when compared to other Canadian cities, at the bottom of the barrel on every front.

Toronto invests about $8, Vancouver about $10 and Montréal about $12. Consider also that Ottawa receives less per capita from federal, provincial and business treasuries than every other major Canadian city and if you remove national monuments, such as the War Museum, the numbers drop right off the chart.

Consider that Edmonton invested more money in the Winspear Symphony Hall, with a $4 million donation of land, than Ottawa invests in the entire arts community.

Consider that Ottawa refused a similar request from Bill Teron to build a chamber music recording hall.

Consider that it took Ottawa 20 years to arrive at the dollar per capita funding that Toronto achieved in the early seventies and you begin to get an idea not only of the under-funding of the arts in this city, but also of the fundamental ignorance of what a modern city's economy is all about.

All of which brings me back to streetcars and public transit. Most people working in the arts industries, just like the folks employed in the mills fifty years ago, don't earn much money. They need cities to be formed such that interesting, connected lives and activities can be had on small budgets. Cities that have great public transit are almost always cities that also have great artistic communities. You could draw a line around most cities' arts communities based on where public transit stops. At the end of the subway line, at the end of the streetcar or bus lines, you also find the end of the arts industries.

In the 1950s, Ottawa had the chance to be at the forefront of the Canadian urban pack. But councillors of the day did not lead the way to keep the Canadian Repertory Company, instead chasing it away in order to save money. If we had kept our streetcar lines, we would not be battling today at great expense to bring some city rail service back to Ottawa. We would not be forcing the artists who are here to devote weeks to defending their right to exist. We would be a different kind of city, less suburban, funkier, cheaper to administer, and happier, because like any creative activity, the arts are good for your soul and the poetry of your city's existence.

Cities and the Challenge of Cultural Diversity: Arts, Culture and Social Cohesion

LES ARTS ET LA VILLE
Founded in 1987 by Phyllis Lambert, Les Arts et la Ville is a coalition uniting municipal government (elected officials and public servants) and cultural organizations, with a view to promoting and maintaining local cultural development within the province of Quebec.[1]

Having various cultural communities in our cities provides a powerful stimulus to cultural life. Multiculturalism, which is an integral part of being open to the world, plays a role in a city's corporate identity, quality of life and economic development.

However, cultural diversity poses a major challenge to municipalities: how to maintain the social cohesion that is essential to urban vitality. If there is one sector of human activity that has the power to bring people together, it is surely that of arts and culture. Our cities have understood this and are working to encourage ethnic communities to express themselves culturally and to foster relationships between the communities that form its social fabric.

Montréal, a multicultural metropolis, attracts 88% of the immigrants settling in Quebec. An impressive list of events contribute to Montréal's cultural vitality, such as the Nuits d'Afrique, the Montréal Jewish Film Festival and the Festival du Monde Arabe, not to mention the foods, traditions and religious heritage that enhance Montréal's urban life. This cultural diversity has an enormous impact on the city and is becoming increasingly complex. We can no longer refer to "ethnic neighbourhoods," as these are being increasingly replaced by "multiethnic neighbourhoods."

Public libraries, often the first cultural sites visited by new immigrants, are the best example of how municipal cultural services are adapting. The new library in the Parc-Extension neighbourhood, for instance, has recently acquired a multilingual collection (70,000 documents, including 10,000 in 10 languages) in order to meet the needs of the multiethnic community. Not only does the library offer services to help immigrants integrate into society, such as French courses, and an employee to provide liaison between the library and people in the area, but it has also been decorated to reflect the neighbourhood's multicultural character.

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[1] For more information, visit our Web site at <www.arts-ville.org>.

In a joint effort, Montréal, along with the provincial ministère de la Culture et des Communications, implemented the *Programme de soutien à l'interculturalisme*, which fosters cooperation between cultural organizations, Montréal artists from ethno-cultural communities, and the established professional network. The program also targets organizations whose projects focus on promotional activities to increase awareness among new audiences from all backgrounds.

Other urban centres in Quebec are doing all they can to attract immigrants. The cities of Québec and Sherbrooke have adopted immigration policies. The capital city of Québec, which is also the province's cultural capital, set up programs such as *Les cultures de la Capitale*, a summer program that helps introduce newly arrived professional artists at various sites around the city. The City of Québec is also working on a project to build a multicultural centre, which will serve as a meeting place for the various ethnic communities, as well as an information centre for introducing and promoting the cultural assets of these communities.

Outside the metropolitan area of Montréal, the main challenge facing cities is how to make themselves known to potential immigrants to Canada.

In the province of Quebec, multiculturalism is grounded in a context that reflects the cultural diversity of the founding people (Anglophones, Aboriginal persons, Francophones). This context led to *Bill 101*, which encourages new immigrants to learn French. This merging of cultures adds to the continuously evolving cultural mosaic and forces municipal organizations to be constantly vigilant

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The Economics of Immigration and Canada's Cities
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Guest editors: Hugh Grant and Arthur Sweetman

Explaining the significant decline in the economic circumstances of recent immigrants has been, and will continue to be, a central focus of research and policy attention. We address this issue in light of the timing of immigrant flows relative to the business cycle, the increasing concentration of immigrants in urban regions and the changes in the immigrant selection process that have a bearing on the rate of economic integration of new arrivals. We then document the decline in labour market outcomes and, finally, consider selected broad implications of immigration for the Canadian economy.

Institute for Research on Public Policy, Montréal
Metropolis' Prairie Centre of Excellence

In several locations, migration and population mobility are invalidating many of the concepts of international health and geographic medicine. Illness, the practice of "ethnic" or local medicine, the use of non-traditional drugs and medications and the manifestation of previously geographically-isolated diseases are becoming routine occurrences. Providers and medical educators must contemplate modifications to training and educational programs and reference materials, in order to ensure that the providers of the future are equipped with the awareness and the capacity essential to meeting the needs of a progressively diverse patient population.

One Global Clinic: Diversity, Population Mobility and Health Outcomes

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The concept of the global village has been appreciated since the classic reference in McLuhan's *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, published in 1964. Commenting on the evolution of communication technology, he noted, "since the inception of the telegraph and radio, the globe has contracted, spatially, into a single large village."

Approximately a decade after the publication of McLuhan's book, the impact of similar processes of global contraction began to significantly affect human migration and population mobility. Previously existing patterns of movement and immigration evolved in response to new and more complex social, political and economic stimuli. In 1964, 90% of immigrants to Canada were of European or American origin, a proportion that reflected the ethnodemographic distribution of the country. Over the next two decades, immigration contributed to an increasingly diverse Canadian population (culturally and ethnically), as temporary and permanent migrants arriving in

Canada originated from different areas of the world.

This expansion and the diversity of population flows have truly created a global village where individuals and groups can easily travel between different and often isolated environments. The new connections between these diverse environments have implications that affect many aspects of society, including health. As the world effectively shrinks in terms of physical distance and isolation, we are continually moving towards a globalized community where all health risks and benefits become, to a certain degree, shared.

This concept, while simple, is important today and will become increasingly important in the foreseeable future. Its importance lies in the fact that in an integrated and globalized world, health characteristics at one location are shared, through travel, with a distant location. This would be a self-evident and trivial observation if the world was a place of equality in health determinants and equity in health promotion

and protection services. However, this is not the case, and disparities in health care and disease epidemiology continue to exist, and in some situations are increasing. We live on a planet marked by great disparities in health, in well-being. and in distribution of health care services—and globalization often brings those disparities into contact.

The ever-increasing levels of migration and the rapidity of population mobility, all taking place against a background of sustained, and in some cases, growing disparity in heath and health outcomes, will increasingly challenge aspects of existing health care systems and the very concepts of what constitutes "sustainable health and health service provision." Through migration, Canada and other immigration-receiving nations are faced not only with the health challenges of *local* origin but also with the consequences of a number of health concerns coming from the rest of the world.

One may suggest that several of these issues are common and solutions lend themselves to a similarity of basic approach. This is true, but global diversity extends beyond epidemiology and disease prevalence and extends to language, culture, religion and other social constructs. This is another important factor with regard to population mobility, as it is also widely acknowledged that medicine and health care represent more than the simple delivery of therapeutic interventions, medications or procedures. The effective provision of health care is facilitated by the understanding and appreciation of all aspects of patients' lives. In a diverse world, those factors can vary dramatically creating additional challenges for the global medical practice of the future.

Mobility as a bridge between diverse health, health determinants and health care systems

Immigration and population mobility bring to the world of health care functional bridges between health systems. Traditionally, these bridges have often been considered in terms of the differences in disease epidemiology between origin and destination countries. Migrants originating from areas where diseases are more or less common than in their new destination come to represent populations with higher or lower rates of these diseases when compared to the host population. Health system measurements provide a downstream reflection of the health and health determinants of a population. Diversity in migrant populations is not limited to language, culture or religion. Other factors of diversity, such as health and health determinants related to biology-genetics and environmental exposures in the place of origin, as well as the means of arrival in the destination country, may have a greater significance than other traditional health determinants such as socio-economics.

Both historic interest and existing programs in this regard are predominantly directed towards infectious and communicable diseases, resulting in heightened attention given to infectious illness in migrant populations as a threat or risk to the receiving population. Global disparities in national capacity to manage some transmissible infectious diseases are significant and the prevalence of many serious infectious diseases in areas of the world where migrants originate can be hundreds of times greater than that observed in Canada and other developed nations. For this reason, diseases such as tuberculosis, hepatitis, malaria and HIV are more common among migrant communities than among host populations (Gushulak and MacPherson 2000).

Extensive studies have indicated that there is very little secondary transmission or spread of these diseases beyond migrant populations. However, the higher rates of diseases among certain arriving groups do require attention at the new destination. Several illnesses and diseases that have been nearly eliminated or are only rarely encountered in the developed, immigration-receiving nations are routine health issues in many areas of the world. Many health care providers who have been educated and who practice in immigration-receiving nations may be unfamiliar with common public health concerns prevalent in migrant-origin nations.

It is important to note that despite the current heightened interest in global infectious disease spread, the migration-associated bridging of disparate health systems extends beyond the realm of infections. The epidemiology of many chronic non-infectious diseases can vary considerably between regions of the world, and several of these conditions are associated with considerable morbidity and mortality. Smoking-associated respiratory and cardiovascular diseases are one example. Other examples include malignancies and some types of endocrine disorders such as diabetes. In addition, genetic or congenital diseases historically localized in regional or ethnic populations

are now increasingly likely to be present in distant locations due to globalization and migration.

Aside from the variations in the global distribution of the diseases and illnesses themselves, there are significant regional differences in the ways national health systems and health care providers recognize, manage and treat illness and chronic disease. Many of those differences are due to the simple economic realities of the less-developed countries, where there are fewer resources to manage complex or chronic diseases. The availability of organ transplantation or complex cancer care are obvious examples. Other important differences result from aspects of the social or cultural approaches to health and well-being that may differ from the Western or allopathic model of medicine.

However, independent of the cause of health disparities and unrelated to specific disease or illness, the trans-national bridging of these different health situations presents current and increasing challenges for immigration-receiving nations. As migrant communities increase in size, proportion and diversity, the health care sectors in the host countries will have to adapt to the sustained impact of globalization, decreasing the physical and temporal distances between disparate health environments. This adaptation will be necessary to ensure that appropriate and effective services are available to serve diverse migrant communities

General health issues that can occur in new migrant communities

The growth of migrant populations that originate from diverse health environments poses challenges to existing health delivery systems at the migrants' destination. As globalization and migration make the world functionally smaller, the most obvious implications for providers are those related to language and culture. The delivery of appropriate health care which includes aspects of prevention, education and engagement of patients in the maintenance of their health and well-being involves extensive communication. Health care providers and other partners in the health sector are often required to communicate complex and detailed information to patients and patients' families. This can be particularly true in situations of psychosocial and mental health care where communication and the appreciation of different cultural norms may be important aspects of diagnosis and therapy.

The cultural and linguistic diversity of many modern immigration-receiving countries can challenge the communications abilities and capacities of health care providers and institutions. Providers and institutions are increasingly turning to interpreters and hiring members of migrant communities to improve their linguistic and cultural capacities in health services delivery. Additionally, more attention is being given to patient education and reference material that may have to be produced in multilingual formats to be effective in migrant communities.

Beside language, the cultural history and background of the migrant can influence both the use of the health care sector and response to it. Several concepts related to health and disease have strong cultural overlays in some societies. Additionally, long standing cultural practices in the management and treatment of some conditions may differ from the norms and standards of the health care sector at the migrants' new destination. The recognition and appreciation of these cultural differences by health care providers is necessary to improve health intervention outcomes and compliance with health recommendations, to provide the opportunity for synergistic approaches as well as to reduce risks to patients.

Current patterns of migration differ from traditional experiences in that they occur in a world that is increasingly integrated and able to communicate. As a consequence, migrant communities are much more likely to maintain regular and current contact with relatives, friends and even health care providers in their country of origin. The ease and regular frequency of this communication can impact on the provision of health care following migration. Examples include the verification or questioning of health care advice provided at the new place of residence with traditional or trusted individuals at the migrants' origin, a contact now easily made by telephone or by e-mail.

Drugs and pharmaceuticals may be mailed from the old country and ethnic practitioners are common in some migrant communities. Providers working with migrant communities must often be aware of the current practices or therapies used in the migrants' country of origin to explain differences in therapeutic approaches or balance the impact of traditional medicine.

Health issues related to diversity and specific migrant groups

Not only are the origins of modern migrant populations more diverse, there is often great diversity in the very nature of migrant groups. Because of their backgrounds and characteristics, some migrant sub-populations are at greater risk of specific health and medical conditions. Refugees and asylum seekers may have experienced violence or trauma that left them with psychosocial illness or complications. Similarly, trafficked or smuggled migrants are often subject to risks and situations that can affect their health.

Migrant workers, particularly those who have entered the country by illegal or irregular means, can find themselves working in dangerous or unregulated workplaces. This can increase their risks of work-related injury or exposure to harmful agents. If injured in the workplace, a migrant worker's access to health services may be constrained by an irregular or illegal immigration status as a barrier to occupational, health or legal services, as well as by a fear of interacting with the official social services systems or of potential loss of employment.

Additionally, increased ease of travel provides many migrants with the opportunity to visit their country of origin more often than previous waves of immigrants. If these more recent migrants have been residing in a highly-developed area, they may be re-exposed to health risks upon returning to their home-country. These groups who travel to visit friends and relatives are known by travel medicine providers as VFR (Visiting Family and Relatives) travellers (Gushalak and MacPherson 2002). When accompanied by children born after the family immigrated, these return visits can expose the children to risks that their parents may not anticipate or appreciate. An increasing number of cases of malaria are being reported among VFR travellers returning to Europe and North America.

Medical consequences of the global village

All the examples and situations described in this short review interact to affect and influence the delivery of health care and the nature of medical care in our globalized and ever more mobile world (MacPherson and Gushalak 2001). The influences of the global village will require the modification and the evolution of current medical education and practice.

As the migrant population increases within immigration-receiving destinations, the practice of medicine will have to become progressively diverse. Illnesses that were once rare will become more commonly encountered, requiring providers and diagnostic services to become more attuned to international disease epidemiology. As patient populations become more diverse, their health issues will differ from historical norms, creating a pressure to respond to migrant diversity through education and training, as well as through the design, delivery and evaluation of health promotion, prevention and intervention services.

In several locations, migration and population mobility are invalidating many of the concepts of international health and geographic medicine. Illness, the practice of "ethnic" or local medicine, the use of non-traditional drugs and medications and the manifestation of previously geographically-isolated diseases are becoming routine occurrences. Providers and medical educators must contemplate modifications to training and educational programs and reference materials, in order to ensure that the providers of the future are equipped with the awareness and the capacity essential to meeting the needs of a progressively diverse patient population.

Differences will remain and the impacts of social and economic disparity will continue to be more heavily apparent in the developing world. However, the growing diversity produced by migration will increasingly affect the nature of health care and the health sector in the foreseeable future.

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*We are committed to excellence and innovation in public health
practice and work within a social justice paradigm.
We carry this out by integrating research results
into the development of policies and programs.*

Health Access and Equity:
A Local Perspective

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With a population of over 2.5 million, and the primary recipient of immigrants and refugees to Canada, Toronto is Canada's largest and most diverse city.

Toronto Public Health (TPH) plays a vital role in promoting and protecting the health of Toronto's community. Our mission is to make Toronto the healthiest city possible where all people enjoy the highest achievable level of health. We accomplish this through health promotion, advocacy, health protection and health assessment. We are committed to excellence and innovation in public health practice and work within a social justice paradigm. We carry this out by integrating research results into the development of policies and programs.

Theoretical and applied research are critical to the development of effective and appropriate policies and programs. This includes analysing data on population diversity, working with communities on needs assessments, and identifying health disparities between population groups. Applying an access and equity lens to research calls for innovative strategies and uses a variety of qualitative and quantitative methods.

Evidence on health status and the determinants of health and research on the effectiveness of interventions are used to design policies, set priorities and develop new strategies to improve health. These are currently being used, for example, in program planning for the mental health, sexual health, reproductive health, and dental and oral health programs.

Analyses of information from the census, immigrant landings data, health surveys, neighbourhood health profiles, vital statistics, client statistics, and other data sources are used to identify priority groups for translation, to hire staff to provide culturally and linguistically relevant services (such as family home visiting and tuberculosis prevention), and to locate services to address the needs of traditionally excluded groups (for example, peer nutrition programs, and tailored services for street-involved youth).

However, significant knowledge gaps still exist. Traditional survey methodologies do not always reach diverse urban population groups. Data collection and screening tools often have not been validated for use with different cultural groups. Also, there is little research addressing multiple dimensions of identity and little has been done in understanding health inequities that result from the combined impact of racism, income, gender, and immigration status.

TPH supports research that builds on the expertise within the organization. In the fall of 2000, TPH embarked on a qualitative research process to obtain a "snapshot" of the complexities, challenges and opportunities to integrating access and equity into daily practice. *Access and Equity: A Case Study on TPH's*

Current Practice and Organizational Needs included a literature review of best practices, as well as focus groups and individual interviews with staff from across the organization.

The case study yielded rich data that guided the development of the Access and Equity (A & E) Policy Framework and a multi-year action plan. The A & E Policy Framework provides the direction for TPH staff to identify the emerging urban health issues and the changing health needs of Toronto's diverse population, and the direction to respond to these issues and needs. It also guides TPH as an organization in prioritizing, planning, implementing and evaluating programs and services to improve health outcomes of all residents and to reduce health disparities.

Effective and inclusive policies serve the best interests of all citizens. Diversity demands that municipal players have new ways to deliver effective and efficient programs and services. As such, TPH continues to build staff capacity in research and evaluation and welcomes opportunities to partner with external organizations. As public health professionals and social justice advocates, TPH will respond appropriately to the social challenges associated with diversity by using research to inform practice, particularly in the areas that fall within the purview of public health.

For community organizations, community-based research can inform the development of programs and services and potentially mobilize communities, affecting change at local and policy levels.

Building a Research Culture: Perspectives from a Community Health Centre in Toronto

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Research plays an important role in decision-making and policy development in Canadian society. However, the process and practice of conducting research on Canada's marginalized communities, including immigrant and refugee groups, may be of negligible benefit to these communities and to the front-line workers who serve them. Community-based research (CBR)—or research conducted by, with or for communities—serves as one tool for generating knowledge, building capacities and skills, and fostering social change within marginalized communities. For community organizations, CBR can inform the development of programs and services and potentially mobilize communities, affecting change at local and policy levels. In a broader sense, CBR can promote principles of inclusion, equity and empowerment that are central to social change in Canadian society.

When attempting to engage meaningfully in CBR or "conventional" research, community-based organizations (including community health centres, settlement agencies, and community legal clinics) unfortunately face multiple barriers and challenges. There may be limited knowledge and understanding of what "research" means, why it is done, and how it is carried out. Furthermore, there may be lack of confidence regarding ability to direct research activities,

limited resources and incentives for community organizations to be actively involved in the research process, or a lack of trust between academics and community staff.

Founded in 1989 in downtown Toronto, Access Alliance Multicultural Community Health Centre endeavours to promote the health and well-being of immigrants and refugees, as well as improve their access to services, by addressing medical, social, economic and environmental issues. One of Access Alliance's strategic directions is to build research capacity, making it possible for research to inform and influence the delivery of programs and services while furthering the development of policies on immigrant and refugee-related issues. Access Alliance works together with academics, community organizations and hospitals, in a joint effort to identify emerging issues among immigrants and refugees in Toronto, and to mobilize communities by engaging them in the development of research questions, methodologies and outcomes.

A wide range of research, both internal and external to Access Alliance, has been instrumental in the organization's growth and development. Michael Ornstein's "Ethno-Racial Inequality in Toronto: Analysis of the 1996 Census" (Institute for Social Research, York

University, March 2000) and Grace-Edward Galabuzi's "Canada's Creeping Economic Apartheid: The Economic Segregation and Social Marginalisation of Racialised Groups" (Centre for Social Justice, May 2001) have provided valuable data on emerging and deepening socio-economic disparities between racialised communities (many of whom are immigrants or refugees) and non-racialised communities in Toronto and other urban centres in Canada. These reports served as background to "Advancing Knowledge, Informing Directions: An Assessment of Immigrant and Refugee Needs in Toronto" (Access Alliance Multicultural Community Health Centre, 2002) which details the barriers faced by Toronto's immigrants and refugees in accessing the determinants of health, and calls for the removal of language barriers, increased outreach to priority populations, and enhanced community alliances.

Access Alliance is striving to build a research culture within the organization and is simultaneously collaborating with other immigrant and refugee-serving community agencies to ensure that research, research funding, and policies and programs are relevant and accountable to immigrant and refugee communities. Currently, Access Alliance is funded by the Canadian Institutes of Health Research *Reducing Health Disparities* initiative, for the development of a long-term program of research that addresses the social determinants of health among racialised communities in Toronto. This project, entitled "Racialised Groups and Health Status: Exploring Poverty, Housing, Race-Based Discrimination and Access to Health Care in Toronto," brings together an extensive network of community, hospital and university partners, with the objective of pinpointing research priorities and developing sustainable research partnerships.

Building a research culture within community-based agencies is critical to the development and implementation of research that is responsive and transformative. This "culture" can be strengthened by way of several strategies:

- demystifying "the what, the why and the how" of research within organizations, through training and in-services;

- developing sustainable relationships with academics and other researchers;

- increasing the dialogue between community organizations and funding agencies, on principles and models of research and eligible funding criteria; and

- advocating, among academics, the value of community-based research within universities and colleges.

These strategies will be successful if communities, community-based organizations, academics, and funding agencies devote their combined efforts and capacities to the establishment of a meaningful and sustainable dialogue on the principles and practices of research with marginalized communities across Canada. We recommend that Canada's major research funding bodies join forces with stakeholders to carry forward this dialogue through project funding, conferences, consultations, workshops and other venues for the exchange of ideas.

Municipal governments play a crucial part in the area of public health as well as in establishing standards for environmental determinants of health, whether social or physical.

Research on the Health and Well-Being of Diverse Populations in Canada: Informing Municipal Policy and Practice

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Ensuring the physical, mental, emotional and social health of Canada's diverse population is the responsibility of all three levels of government. At the federal and provincial levels, attention is focused on secondary and tertiary prevention and care, leaving municipal governments with much of the task of providing the essentials for health promotion and disease prevention, such as clean air, water and public safety. Importantly, prevention applies at all levels of the disease spectrum, from health maintenance and disease screening to diagnosis and treatment. Primary prevention strategies at the population level are aimed at risk reduction–promoting health among healthy individuals. Secondary prevention programs target early detection, screening and treatment of already developed diseases at pre-clinical or asymptomatic stages. Finally, tertiary prevention is geared toward increasing quality of life and assisting already diseased individuals by minimizing disease-related complications and comorbid conditions. Not surprisingly, upstream investment in primary prevention programs at

the municipal level can curb sky-rocketing secondary and tertiary health care costs by diminishing the financial burden of chronic disease, accidents, violence, and even untimely deaths. Unfortunately, little or no attention is paid to the health concerns of diverse populations within municipal jurisdictions, resulting in a paucity of evidence-based information in this area. In order to fill this gap, we have conducted three studies: two with adult immigrant women and one with adults from rural Black communities in Nova Scotia. The voices of these marginalized populations are often diminished and their representation at all three levels of government is sparse. Municipal governments have the capacity to identify the health needs of these communities, and could act as a mediator and an advocate, bridging the gap between diverse groups and the upper levels of government, allowing these otherwise silent voices to be heard. The focus of

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[1] We thank Pam Talbot for her literature search and editorial support in the preparation of this document.

this paper is to examine the role of municipal governments in the health and well-being of such diverse populations. Furthermore, we will propose a number of recommendations for the development of primary prevention programs and policies.

Framework for understanding population health

The definition of health adopted in this paper is broad and complex, encompassing a state of physical, mental, emotional, and social well-being, thus moving away from the traditional biomedical, disease-oriented model to include the specific needs of diverse marginalized populations. This interpretation is in line with the *Canada Health Act* definition, which emphasizes the well-being of all individuals through disease prevention and physical and mental health promotion, while making efforts to eradicate the social, environmental, and occupational causes of disease (Purnell 2002).

Health Canada has identified the "population health approach" as a fundamental guide for program and policy development. The population health framework introduced therein addresses key determinants, two of which are the sociological and the physical environments[2]. Among the health determinants pertaining to the social environment, those that are under municipal control are social stability, recognition of diversity, safety, good human relationships, and community cohesiveness. In the physical environments, factors relating to housing, workplace safety, traffic safety and quality of air, water and soil, are among the health determinants under municipal jurisdiction. These determinants are often interwoven with markers of diversity such as race, ethnicity, language, age, gender, socio-economic status, region (urban or rural), sexual orientation, and immigration status (Weerasinghe 2003). For example, those who live in rural areas, the poor, youth, seniors, women, African Canadians, Aboriginals, non-English speaking visible minority immigrants, sexual minorities, and the disabled, are all vulnerable to being disadvantaged with respect to health. The role of research in informing municipal governments about public health, community safety, and

public access for men and women bearing diverse characteristics will be discussed.

Role of municipalities in public health

The role of municipal government in influencing public health falls partly in their ability to manage drinking water, sewage treatment, solid waste, and pesticide use. Those who live in metropolitan areas are privileged to have access to a routinely tested municipal supply of safe drinking water while those living in rural areas depend on residential well water, often without regular monitoring in place. Indeed, in some rural areas, it is suspected that well water may be contaminated with chemical, physical, and microbiological matters–to make matters worse, individuals residing in these areas only have their water tested at their discretion and cost. Similarly, many urban residents benefit from by-laws enacted to protect them from the exposure to harmful pesticides. In contrast, such by-laws are uncommon in rural areas, leaving residents at increased risk of respiratory illnesses resulting from exposure to pesticides. The recent controversy surrounding the existence of above threshold levels of toxic chemicals (arsenic, for example) in urine and blood samples of children living near the Sydney Tar Ponds, highlights the need for quality research that would inform municipal policy. Many of the individuals living in this area were economically disadvantaged, impeding their ability to advocate for environmental clean-up. However, as a result of scientific research into the hazards of living in this region, the government covered the cost of relocating a number of these residents.

Role of municipalities in community safety

According to immigrant women, social health is marked by comfort in both familial and social environments. To achieve this comfort, immigrant women require a sense of control over their lives, which necessitates freedom from undue societal barriers such as language difficulties, racism, and discrimination. Here, municipal governments play a vital role in assuring safety at the familial and societal levels. This safety depends upon policies surrounding such issues as societal and familial violence, illegal drug use, and sexual offence. Importantly, research has shown that the rate of familial violence among immigrant women is greater than among Canadian-born

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[2] For more on the population health approach and the determinants of health, visit Health Canada's Website "Population Health," at <www.hc sc.gc.ca/hppb/phdd/index.html>.

women. In fact, nearly 61% of immigrant women living in Halifax, Nova Scotia, reported psychological abuse, emotional abuse or a combination of the two (Weerasinghe 1998). Moreover, nearly 50% of immigrant women who were married or living with their partners claimed to experience spousal abuse or abuse from their children, while 10% reported abuse exclusively by their children. Additionally, 33% of those who were either divorced or widowed reported abuse by their children. In most instances, this abuse was verbal or emotional, however, in 20% of cases, financial and material abuse were reported in addition to verbal and emotional abuse.

Similar results have been described in studies on violence against immigrant and visible minority women conducted in other parts of Canada,[3] in reports revealing the existence of elder, wife and child abuse in immigrant homes. To exacerbate this problem, many of the immigrants who sought help from outside resources, such as counseling, expressed dissatisfaction due the cultural insensitivity of their treatment.

Research has also shown that children and youth of immigrant families go through psychological malaise due to the double familial and societal burden. Indeed, racism, discrimination and bullying of marginalized youth in the school system have already cost many young lives across Canada. Diverse youth who are subject to a relatively higher degree of harassment and bullying in the school system include immigrants, sexual minorities, and youth with special needs (physical or cognitive). Some of the tactics employed to carry out psychological harm to these marginalized youth do not fit into the standard criteria of violence. Hence, the perpetrators often are not brought to justice. For example, anecdotal evidence suggests that derogatory comments targeted at sexual minority youth are tolerated within the school system, whereas racial slurs seldom go unsanctioned. There are two major reasons why these cases of societal abuse are rarely brought to the attention of the law enforcement sector: 1) victims fear repercussions by the perpetrators, and 2) remedial help offered by law enforcement professionals is not culturally sensitive and does not meet the needs of victims (Adrian et al. 1995).

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[3] Personal communication with Barbara Cottrell.

Role of municipalities in public access to services

Parks, recreational facilities, and libraries play a key role in health promotion at the local community level. However, access to these services by diverse populations such as persons with disabilities, immigrants, and groups with literacy problems are limited. Research conducted among four rural Black communities in Nova Scotia revealed that access to community recreation facilities was limited due to lack of public and affordable transportation (Wong et al. 2002).

Multicultural associations are urging municipal governments to make public parks and libraries culturally sensitive, for instance, by portraying the different cultures present in Canada. Despite local libraries being a key information resource for many marginalized groups in rural and urban areas, the challenges of immigrants, illiterate Canadians, and sensory impaired individuals are not properly addressed within these facilities. Another key resource for ensuring the health of the population is access to screening and diagnostic services. However, the availability of these services is often unknown to many people living in rural and remote areas. For example, health-screening facilities such as mammography are available only in cities, with a few mobile clinics available in some rural areas.

Implications for program and policy development

Taking into consideration the author's limited knowledge in the area of health and diversity within municipal jurisdictions, a number of recommendations have been formulated for program and policy development. The ageing of the population and increased international migration are causing Canadian demographic trends to change rapidly towards increasing numbers of diverse populations. Faced with this reality, the roles of each level government must be revised and reconciled. There is a need for paradigm shifts within each jurisdiction, resulting in more resources being allocated at the municipal level to fund prevention initiatives that target the special needs of marginalized and diverse communities. Moreover, it is paramount that these groups be included in the planning and policy development process. The role of municipal governments in health promotion among diverse populations should not be

limited to filling the vacuum left by provincial and federal governments. It is essential that already existing by-laws, programs, and policies be revisited, making necessary revisions in response to the special requirements of the diverse populations.

A primary prevention health model among diverse communities is complex and moves beyond the traditional biomedical model. Municipal governments play a crucial part in the area of public health as well as in establishing standards for environmental determinants of health, whether social or physical. We stress the importance of considering specific needs of diverse populations, such as culture, language, and communication, when developing municipal programs and policies.

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Immigrants have been shown to under-use preventive services and may be at risk for misdiagnosis and inappropriate treatment. The need for culturally competent and gender-sensitive health care services has been argued by many.

Research on Diversity: Contributions to Better Health Policy and Practice[1]

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Cities and public health

Cities have long been concerned with the health of their citizens. A healthy living environment and healthy citizens encourage citizen satisfaction, resident stability and economic investment. From the earliest days of the Industrial Revolution, however, the high concentration of population within cities has had important health implications. Municipal officials have taken measures regarding public health, including such things as public sanitation, housing codes, air quality and plans to contain contagious diseases. Today, with infrastructure issues already accepted as part of municipal concerns, cities have been turning to more social considerations. There is increasing recognition of the role of municipalities in facilitating *access* to health and health services. Public transportation, urban planning and public education programs can all have important impacts on the health of city residents.

Diversity and health experiences

Not all residents experience the city in the same way, however, and not all city residents experience health and health services in the same way, either. Reports produced by Metropolis (Weerasinghe and Williams 2003), Health Canada (2002) and Status of Women Canada (Langevin and Belleau 2002) have all documented the importance of gender, language, age, socio-cultural context and immigration policy in accessing health and related social services. However, how these different factors come together to shape health has been neglected (Gushulak and MacPherson 2000).

International migrants, increasingly present in Canadian cities, are especially likely to have specific health needs. Migrants with insecure immigration status or who are financially and emotionally dependent on third parties face heightened barriers in accessing services and protecting their physical and mental health

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(Agnew 1998, Mulvihill, Mailloux and Atkin 2001). In a Health Canada report on access to health services for underserved populations, it was underscored that immigrant and refugee populations have varying experiences in terms of both health status and access issues (Bowen 2000).

Generally, however, newcomers to Canada face more barriers in *seeking help* for their health problems than with the *availability* of services per se; unfamiliar with the Canadian system, migrants may not be aware of their right to services, the roles of providers or the expectations of users. Inability to communicate easily in either English or French can complicate the situation even further. Immigrants have also been shown to under-use preventive services and may be at risk for misdiagnosis and inappropriate treatment. The need for culturally competent and gender-sensitive health care services has been argued by many (Vissandjee et al. 2001, Gastaldo et al. 1998).

Although structural inequities within the health care system play a dramatic role in immigrant health experiences (Anderson 1996), there are also important socio-cultural factors that influence immigrant health. Individual and family behaviours such as traditional health practices (Edwards and Boivin 1997), diet (Satia-Abouta et al. 2002) and lifestyle, intersect with more social phenomena such as incidents of racism (Moghaddam et al. 2002) as well as health and safety in employment (Bolaria 1990).

Public policies and health

Cities should be aware that Canada's 2001 *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* provides for a number of immigration categories that are dependent on third parties and are "precarious" (meaning that they have yet to obtain the right to stay permanently in Canada). These categories are refugee claimants, sponsored family members, those with temporary visas (work, student, visitor) and live-in caregivers. The same Act increases penalties for human smugglers and traffickers without giving clear protection to their victims. Such precariousness is experienced differently depending on gender, age, race, ethnicity, religion, language, social location, and the health or migration path used (Oxman-Martinez and Lapierre Vincent 2002). While Canadian work on the topic is scarce, research in other countries has established a link between immigration status and access to (or use of) health services (Carmel 2001, Sudha and Mutran 2001, Meyerowitz et al. 2000). In particular, women with precarious status may often face language obstacles, be socially isolated, fear state authorities, live in unhealthy environments, work in unsafe conditions or be vulnerable to abuse (Bannerji 1999, Oxman-Martinez et al. 2002). All these factors may compromise their health and well-being.

Immigration status also mediates access to health care through its role in determining eligibility for health insurance coverage. Undocumented migrants or those with temporary statuses, such as Student or Visitor, are excluded from public health insurance. In many provinces, sponsored family members who arrive as landed immigrants and temporary workers now face a three-month waiting period before becoming eligible for health insurance. Refugee claimants have limited coverage under the Interim Federal Health Program, established in 1996 and administered by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. These less than adequate forms of health coverage limit migrants' ability to seek appropriate health care when necessary and have an impact on a city's overall public health situation.

Research contributions

At a time when almost 20% of Canada's population is foreign-born—the highest proportion in 70 years—and European immigration has been replaced by the arrival of more visible minorities (Weerasinghe and Williams 2003), research can contribute to an understanding of the ways this diversity intersects with immigration policy when it comes to accessing health services in urban areas. Cities stand to improve their health-related policies through multi-disciplinary research that compares and contrasts Canada's major immigrant-receiving cities.

The Montréal-based authors are currently involved in such a project, collaborating with Drs Nazilla Khanlou (Toronto), Swarna Weerasinghe (Halifax) and Vijay Agnew (Toronto) in order to explore the issue of *equity in access to health for women with precarious immigration status*. Municipalities might examine disparities affecting the health, well-being and quality of life of vulnerable populations by addressing the following question:

In what way does precarious immigration status as a health indicator influence women's access to health and in what ways can cities improve such access?

As stated in a report by the various levels of Ministers of Health (1994), there are several key determinants that influence health. The *social* determinants of health outlined by Health Canada are particularly relevant given our focus on access disparities related to precarious immigration status and the concurrent economic inequality, sexism and racism. The problems encountered in ensuring health can be due to two types of obstacles: (1) *structural* barriers to access that exist within the health care system and (2) *socio-cultural* barriers that exist at the community, family and individual levels (Frank 1995, Bronfenbrenner 1979).

A first step in research aimed at improving municipal public health policies for immigrants would be to analyze how the key social determinants of health interact with the health of immigrants with precarious status. These health determinants are: income and social status, social support networks, education and literacy, employment/working conditions, social environments, physical environments, personal health practices and coping skills, health services, gender, and culture. The existing literature on this underserved population suggests that they are disadvantaged in most, if not all, of these categories (Bowen 2000: 16).

A next step would be to determine the barriers in access to health care at either the structural or socio-cultural level, especially those that can be addressed by the municipality. In terms of structural barriers within the health system, it is important to focus on: (a) cultural appropriateness and sensitivity (language, information outreach, recognition of traditional practices and cultural constructions of health), and (b) inequities of gender and race (gender and racial stereotypes, differing needs according to gender and socio-cultural background, economic inequities). There is also a need to explore socio-cultural barriers at the community, family and individual levels, focusing on: (a) socio-economic factors (urban planning, underemployment, work conditions, family responsibilities), and (b) socio-cultural constructions of health (individual's assigned meaning of health and illness, knowledge, attitudes and beliefs regarding the use of health services and measures for disease prevention).

A greater understanding of the intersection of these variables will shed light on the ways in which cities might eliminate or decrease these barriers, thereby improving the health prospects of immigrants with precarious status.

Cities' contributions to migrant health

It is interesting to note that, for migrants with precarious status, the municipality is usually the least threatening level of government. The municipal government is not involved in immigration status determination or in the determination of health, education or income security eligibility. In order to access most municipal services, it suffices to prove that one lives in the city; questions about immigration status are extremely rare. For these reasons, municipalities have a remarkable opportunity to have a positive impact on the health of migrants. Cities can influence health through both infrastructure and programs.

In terms of the enormous contributions to good health made through municipal interventions—sanitation infrastructure, housing codes, social housing, recreation facilities (library, pools, sports, theatre), green space, public transportation and urban planning—cities can remain vigilant so that the benefits of these investments are shared equitably among their residents, regardless of gender, race, class, immigration status, etc. Direct and active participation and continuous citizens' involvement are requirements to successfully achieve any of these purposes. Health promotion related to children, youth, adults and seniors can be integrated into a variety of municipal recreational and educational programs and information on health services and health rights can be made available at municipal service points.

Municipal policy is central to residents' experience of day-to-day life, eventually having an impact on health itself as well as on access to health services. At present, however, there is a lack of understanding of how gender, ethnic and other forms of diversity influences health, not only at a municipal level but also at the other levels of government. Collaborations between researchers and municipalities offer the possibility of creating new collaborations and generating relevant information to shape municipal public health policy in such a way that all city residents can benefit.

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The face of homelessness has changed greatly in the past ten years with an increase of homeless youth, Aboriginal people and women and families. Unfortunately, another growing trend is an increase in the number of new immigrants and refugees who become homeless.

The Changing Portrait of Homelessness

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Moving towards a more divided society

Rethinking Government 1996-2003, a publication by EKOS Research Associates, revealed that 71% of Canadians are worried that Canada is moving towards a more divided society of "haves and have nots." The growing number of homeless people on Canadian streets is an illustration of this income polarization. An additional indication of this polarization is socio-demographic change within the homeless population.

The usual portrayal of a homeless person is that of an older man with a substance abuse problem or some kind of mental illness. Although this description still depicts a significant part of the homeless population, the face of homelessness has changed greatly in the past ten years with an increase of homeless youth, Aboriginal people and women and families. Unfortunately, another growing trend is an increase in the number of new immigrants and refugees who become homeless and must turn to infrastructure developed to respond to the needs of the more "traditional" homeless population. This new trend has a major impact on Canada's largest cities, on organizations serving immigrants and refugees and on those working with the homeless population.

Homelessness and immigration

The United Nations defines homelessness in two ways: "absolute homelessness,"where people live outdoors, using the various shelters available in their community, and "relative homelessness," where people are housed in precarious situations (run-down buildings, overcrowded apartments, etc.).

Historically, new immigrants and refugees have often been housed in precarious situations until their economic situation improved. The situation differs today in that immigrants and refugees are increasingly falling under the category of absolute homelessness. They are more frequently using the emergency homelessness assistance infrastructure originally designed to respond to the needs of an entirely different population. In fact, in Toronto, the situation has deteriorated so much that new immigrants and refugees are now part of the new face of homelessness.

Why are newcomers becoming homeless in Canada?

Although very little empirical data exist and more investigation needs to be done, existing research on immigrant homelessness shows that the majority of newcomers who become homeless are those entering Canada outside of the legal selection process or those who enter and do not have family living in the country. Immigrants unable to work in their profession due to non-recognized prior education or experience are more likely to experience poverty, and may find themselves homeless. However, the newcomers most likely to become homeless are refugees, a group that represents about 11% of all newcomers arriving in Canada.

Some statistics:

- 24% of families requiring emergency shelters in Toronto in 1999 were refugee claimants (City of Toronto 2001a).[3]

- Among the episodically homeless in Toronto (staying in a shelter more then five times in one year) in 1999, 23% of singles were refugee claimants (City of Toronto 2001b).

- In 2001, the City of Toronto housed 800 refugee claimants in city shelters at any given point (City of Toronto 2001a).

- In 1998, 12% of households using family shelters in what is now the city of Ottawa cited "new immigrant/refugee" as a primary reason for service (British Columbia 2001).

There are four types of refugees arriving in Canada: Government sponsored, privately sponsored, spouses and children reunited with family, and those who claim refugee status (the latter account for almost 50% of all refugees coming to Canada). Refugee claimants, though a small proportion of all newcomers, receive little support from governments until they have been granted refugee status and must live with the funds they have brought with them into Canada.

They are often not allowed to work until their application has been approved by the Immigration and Refugee Board.

It is during this period of indeterminate status—sometimes lasting more than one year—that refugee claimants are most likely to find themselves homeless. To a lesser extent, privately sponsored refugees whose sponsorship breaks down can also find themselves without support. These newcomers are the most vulnerable and the most likely to become homeless.

Problems faced by newcomers in the existing homeless infrastructure

Many immigrants and refugees experience shock upon entering a homeless shelter. Refugees coming from war-torn countries are often affected by psychological problems due to trauma they have been through in their country of origin. They are also adapting to a new country and a new way of life and are facing the additional anxiety of living in a homeless shelter. And because newcomer homelessness is a relatively new issue, settlement agencies do not always have the resources and experience to address the specific challenges this clientele poses.

Additionally, the workload of homeless shelter workers has increased and their clientele has changed significantly due to the influx of new immigrants and refugees. In most cases, employees have been trained to work with people with mental health or substance abuse problems, but they now have to deal with clients faced with entirely different challenges. Workers from homeless shelters in Toronto have expressed the need for training on immigration

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[1] Romero House resident, cited in Ryan and Woodill (2000).

[2] Though more recent data are unavailable, the 2003 Toronto Report Card has noted a decrease in the number of refugees and other newcomers seeking temporary shelter due to more restrictive federal immigration policies.

policy and also on completing refugee-related forms. They have also expressed the need to improve the coordination between homeless shelters, settlement agencies and legal aid services.

What does this mean for cities?

An urban or a Toronto phenomenon?: Poverty rates among recent immigrants and refugees remain higher than those for the general population and, in recent years, this gap has further widened (Statistics Canada 2003). Complicating this, the concentration of poverty has become denser in urban centres—the destinations of a majority of newcomers searching for economic opportunity and people of their own culture. While Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver account for just one third of Canada's population, 83% of immigrants settle in these three cities, 43% in Toronto alone. Furthermore, within such large urban centres, evidence shows a correlation between neighbourhoods of concentrated poverty and immigrants. Increasing income gaps affect housing stability, particularly for those within the rental market and, as such, create barriers for a newcomer population.

Supporting municipalities: While immigration supports the diversity, vitality and economic competitiveness of the entire country, the additional service costs of newcomers often outpace the availability of resources at the municipal level. It is widely recognized that while cities have limited political and fiscal autonomy, they are facing ever-increasing social and economic pressures. Cities, such as Toronto, that have been devolved responsibility for social services are well placed to address priority issues related to local integration. However, they require the resources to do so. As the February 2004 Speech from the Throne (SFT) states, "municipalities can play a crucial role in helping the Government meet its national priorities, [including] the integration of immigrants, [and] tackling homelessness." The SFT further recognizes that local governments require the tools to address these challenges.

Preventing and alleviating homelessness among the newcomer population

Dealing with linguistic and cultural differences: Apart from income issues, homeless newcomers share similar challenges with the wider homeless population, including mental health issues, addictions, family violence, housing affordability and unemployment. Linguistic and cultural differences only compound these challenges, and make the search for housing and the negotiation of the shelter system even more difficult. Clearly, these differences can become obstacles to accessing necessary services. Front-line staff working with homeless newcomers stress the importance of funding neutral and appropriate translation and cultural facilitation.

TABLE 1
UNHCR[3] 2001 figures for Canada

	Number	% of total immigrants
Government-sponsored refugees	7.314	2.9%
Privately-sponsored refugees	3.560	1.4%
Spouses and children of refugees reuniting with family in Canada	3.746	1.5%
Successful refugee claimants	13.336	5.3%
Other immigrants	**222.430**	88.8%

Proper identification documents: Identification documents are often required for accessing key services and supports. However, those working with the homeless population report that the introduction of the Permanent Resident Card and the inconsistent requirement of a Social Insurance Number often present challenges to newcomers, who often do not possess these documents. Without them, employment support services, shelters, welfare agencies and banks frequently refuse access. Government partners must continue working together to address the criteria for services and to reduce costs and delays associated with accessing documentation.

Recognizing education and experience: The earnings gain associated with immigrant skills, among them language and university education, has fallen during the last decade. Many degree holders who arrived in Canada in the 1990s continue to work in lower-skilled jobs. As such, even after a period of sponsorship and settlement assistance, newcomers face frustrating barriers to becoming self-reliant. And, regardless of employment in a high or a low-skilled position, recent immigrants earned less than their Canadian-born counterparts.

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[3] United Nations High Commission for Refugees
[4] Dunn (2003).

"The role of shelters has changed, and the clientele has truly changed in the last four years. The number of newcomers going to shelters is just growing in leaps and bounds. From youth shelters to adult shelters, a population that was less than one percent is now at least 50 percent."[5]

Foreign credential recognition and accreditation practices need to be addressed in order to deal with this income gap.

The importance of coordination

Coordination across the government orders and the various sectors that address the needs of newcomers, as well as between the homelessness assistance system and settlement and integration system, is necessary. Funds are often directed through separate streams—including shelter capital costs, settlement and integration staff and employment supports—inherently limiting the dialogue among those involved. Coordinating Councils within specific communities, such as that proposed by Toronto's Access Alliance Project on Working with Homeless Immigrants and Refugees, would be a positive step. Councils could include service delivery and policy/program officials from settlement agencies, governments and homeless shelters, working jointly to assess local needs and to develop appropriate responses. Funding for local facilitators to convene such Councils would be required.

Bringing homelessness into the open

Supports for newcomers cannot be regarded as a rationale for revisiting policies that first granted settlement to newcomers within Canada. We know, for example, that newcomers are less likely to rely on formal support networks, such as NGOs, than on informal networks, such as family and friends. Though linguistic and cultural differences present accessibility issues, Eberle and Zizys (2003) also cite reluctance on the part of immigrants to discuss homelessness. This reluctance arises from fear of being perceived as a burden on public services and from fear that the information they provide may compromise their immigrant status. These factors suggest a high incidence of hidden homelessness in immigrant and refugee communities is likely. It also suggests that newcomers' fear of recrimination be addressed to further reduce barriers to integration.

Federal commitments

In December 2003, the Government of Canada made a number of commitments to strengthen its work on addressing the needs of marginalized newcomers. Parliamentary Secretaries were asked to place special emphasis on Cities, on New Canadians, on the Social Economy and on Foreign Credentials—all with important mandates to support the integration of newcomers and the prevention of homelessness in this population.

The federal National Homelessness Initiative (www.homelessness.gc.ca) has made Immigration and Homelessness one of six priority themes in its National Research Program. This research will help policy-makers and communities understand the pathways into and out of homelessness for newcomers. Further, while hostels do not track the immigration status of its clients, information received from the Homeless Individuals and Families Information System (HIFIS) Initiative may offer insights on pathways into homelessness for newcomers, while helping to determine the extent of costs incurred.

Conclusion

Though not exclusively, homelessness and immigration currently intersect most pointedly in Toronto. However, evidence suggests an increasing concentration of immigrants in distressed neighbourhoods, a national increase in the number of distressed neighbourhoods, and a widening net of destination cities for new arrivals. These trends suggest that the Toronto scenario could soon be replicated elsewhere. For example, newcomer shelter facilities recently opened in Winnipeg and in Halifax, and expressions of need have been identified elsewhere. The time for a coordinated approach is now.

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This special issue of the Canadian Journal of Regional Science deals with a comparative analysis of development in Montréal and Toronto. It represents a significant contribution to one of the major orientations that has characterized many research publications in the Journal over the last 15 years, that of the structure and dynamic of metropolitan centres and regions.

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Implications of Urban Diversity for Housing

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ALDERMAN BOB HAWKESWORTH
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Alderman Bob Hawkesworth has served as a Calgary City Council member from 1980 to 1986 and from 1993 to this day. Furthermore, he has represented Calgary Mountainview in the Alberta Legislature from 1986 to 1993. He has a keen interest in housing and is currently Co-chair of the Canadian Municipalities National Housing Policy Options Team.

Canada is one of the most urbanized countries in the world and our cities are among the most ethnically diverse (CPRN 2003). Urban planners and policy makers therefore face the challenge of creating inclusive cities in which all citizens may live and work together and participate fully in the economic, social and political life of the city.

In order to attract and leverage this diversity, we must pay more attention to the needs of culturally and racially diverse populations in the planning process. Immigrants face a number of difficulties when seeking suitable employment, housing and education in their chosen communities. Current mismatches exist between settlement needs, services, mandates and resources. Inter-governmental and community cooperation in policy, planning and service delivery decisions are required to address this situation (McIssac 2003). Due to their often disadvantaged economic position, newcomers may be streamed into low-cost housing that, when clustered, can create ghettos.

In Toronto, for example, research has revealed that individuals who are poor and non-White suffer significant disadvantages when it comes to the housing market (Ornstein 2000). Not only are these people concentrated in unsafe and run-down buildings, but also the cost of their housing is almost identical to the price paid by their more affluent neighbors, a few streets over. Indeed, very few can ever hope to own their own homes. Standardized suburban neighbourhoods use models designed for more homogeneous populations, so we continue to see the spread of models that support white, middle-class urban environments. The outward growth of cities often tends to be expensive, low density and semi-rural. When housing types lack variety, it is more difficult to sustain both cultural diversity and a mix of income levels (Conservation Economy 2001).

Planning controls may also have an adverse effect on minority groups (Miller 1988). Research has shown that the racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds of new immigrant groups and Aboriginal people impact housing decisions and waiting lists. Successful settlement is likely "the major social and political challenge facing cities and neighbourhoods now and in coming decades" (Hulchanski 1997). Integration of

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1   CMHC (1999).

2   Hulchanski (2002).

social housing, social planning and policy functions would move social housing beyond a "landlord/tenant focus" to a social policy focus that would work in cooperation with other social services to examine barriers to access for marginalized groups.

The majority of users of social housing are single women, women-headed families, low-income individuals and families, and other marginalized groups, such as visible minorities. Reports on housing and homelessness clearly show that for these groups, provision of affordable housing goes beyond physical availability, and extends to issues of safety, child care requirements, access to transportation and community services, gender equity in planning, and design and management (FCM 1995, 1997, Manning Thomas and Ritzdorf 1999, Milgrom 1998, Miller 1988).

Many members of visible minority communities face racism and discrimination, making it difficult–if not impossible–to secure decent affordable housing (Torjman and Leviten-Reid 2003). All these issues are directly linked to social and government policy decisions, suggesting that closer partnerships between governments and social housing agencies should be established (FCM 1997).

Conclusion

Affordable housing is a major challenge affecting economic competitiveness and quality of life, yet municipal governments and housing providers cannot meet the demand for affordable housing and emergency shelter. This inability is due to major policy and program changes that have occurred over the past twenty years (Caucus 2002). The growing racialization of poverty, especially for recent immigrants, lends an added chill to Hulchanski's (2002) observation: "In Canada, if you have little or no money, you have no housing. If you have no housing, your physical and mental health suffers, and you may die."

It is time for us to take housing issues seriously, for all Canadians, and especially for new Canadians, if we wish to grow and prosper in our communities.

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*Fairness and equity, rich social interactions and the inclusion
of all in community life improve quality of life in cities.
CMHC's research and information activities will boost
the capacity of Canadian municipalities to prepare
for such challenges and find practical solutions.*

Creating the Knowledge
to Enhance the Capacity of Canada and Its Housing Sector to Receive and Integrate Newcomers

CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORPORATION (CMHC)

CMHC's Research and Information Transfer (RIT) activities

Canada is recognized worldwide for the high quality of its housing. The Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) and its continuing commitment to research that helps Canadians understand and improve the technical, economic, environmental and social aspects of housing partly explains this standard.

The CMHC's Research and Information Transfer (RIT) activities improve housing and support the housing market; it is the key Canadian source of reliable and objective housing information. RIT's mandate is to:

- identify and increase understanding on a wide range of housing issues and to develop and recommend solutions to the physical, technical and socio-economic challenges faced by the housing sector;

- influence decisions and the direction of change;

- introduce the public and the housing industry to new approaches and ideas;

- develop national awareness of housing issues; and,

- develop a base of housing expertise in Canada, and contribute to federal priorities.

CMHC's Research and Information Transfer function is carried out through six key business activities in two component areas:

Component Area 1: Knowledge creation
Business activities:

- Research: Investigate specific housing-related topics in order to increase understanding, establish facts and reach new conclusions. The Directed Research Program is the primary mechanism through which RIT defines the nature and desired outcome of specific projects and then commissions the work. RIT supports innovative research by awarding grants to researchers who submit proposed projects. RIT also makes contributions to the research done by other organizations, such as the Metropolis Project.

- Data development: Collect, organize and analyze data on household and housing conditions from censuses and surveys, providing fundamental information on household and housing conditions in Canada to a wide variety of stakeholders.

- Product development: Create new information products each year in a variety of formats for target audiences such as industry, academia or consumers.

Component Area 2: Information transfer

Business activities:

- Product dissemination: The results of CMHC research and data development work are clearly of most value when transferred to Canadians who then apply this new knowledge. Research and Information Transfer gets research "off the shelf" and into the hands of Canadians.

- Education: RIT delivers educational events such as presentations and seminars across the country and internationally. Educational institutions are encouraged to incorporate CMHC research into curricula and training programs.

- Provision of input, advice and information: Subject-matter experts provide input, advice, and information to CMHC partners, thereby promoting the uptake of research into a wide variety of disciplines.

There are five defined research themes encompassing 26 programs of work that form RIT's Research framework:

- Improving market effectiveness: This theme deals with housing costs, supply, factors of housing production, innovation and productivity, housing finance, and information for the consumer.

- Strengthening community well-being: This theme addresses issues in sustainable community planning and design. The focus is on developing tools and innovative solutions to implement alternative approaches to planning and development. Social inclusion as well as housing and population health issues are also explored.

- Addressing distinct housing needs: This theme continues CMHC's long history of conducting research related to specific populations with distinct housing needs (Aboriginal people, homeless people, low-income Canadians, newcomers, persons with disabilities, and seniors). While progress has been made to meet needs, a number of challenges, such as homelessness, increasing seniors population and accommodating shelter needs of newcomers, remain.

- Improving building performance: This theme develops energy and environmental solutions for residential buildings, explores ways to control moisture and improve the indoor environment, and addresses the durability performance of residential buildings.

- Developing housing data and exploring trends: This theme involves the gathering of data, the development of indicators and the further exploration of trends and issues that emerge.

How does CMHC's directed research and CMHC's contribution and support to research undertaken by individuals and organizations inform policy and practice related to housing and immigration?

There are numerous ways in which CMHC's directed research and the external research supported by CMHC inform policy and practice related to immigration and the integration of newcomers:

1. CMHC's policy and research activities are guided by emerging issues, trends, and the need to analyze problems of newcomers in accessing adequate, affordable housing.

A recent review of the literature on "Immigration/Diversity and Homelessness" undertaken by the National Secretariat on Homelessness (NSH (2004) emphasized that "Some data and several indicators suggest that recent immigrants are currently confronted with more serious problems in adjusting to life in Canada than those faced by their predecessors. They must contend with higher levels of poverty and unemployment and have difficulty accessing affordable housing and specialized occupations. For some, the situation is exacerbated by racial discrimination and both language and occupational barriers."

Housing and social inclusion

Successful integration of immigrants into the host community, particularly in terms of access to basic societal needs, depends on a variety of factors, including barriers and strategies to overcome them. Housing represents a fundamental mechanism of the cultural, economic and social integration of immigrants and refugees (Chambon, et al. 1997). However, consider the following:

- Approximately 20% of immigrant households are struggling with core housing needs[1]

(as compared to 17% of non-immigrants). In the major receptor CMAs of Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal, 57% of immigrant households are in core need compared to 33% of non-immigrants (CMHC 2003).

- Furthermore, the amounts allocated to housing expenses by immigrants are higher than those of non-immigrants. For example, the shelter-cost-to-income ratio (STIR), at 33% for most immigrant groups in the Toronto CMA, is considerably higher than the STIR for non-immigrants (23%).

- Finding adequate housing thus proves to be a greater challenge for immigrants and refugees. This leads to a situation where "certain households are increasingly excluded from access to housing," according to Hulchanski (2003).

The disadvantages faced by the immigrant population with respect to housing relate to both economic problems (low incomes, high rents, saturation of social housing inventories), problems related to the imbalance between the housing supply and the specific demand of certain households (insufficiency and high cost of large-capacity housing) and socio-cultural problems (existence of discriminatory practices in access to housing).

Recourse to Informal Housing Networks
Newcomers' social relationships and networks offer a channel for accessing information and obtaining material assistance, support in the search for housing or simply shelter (Rose, Carrasco and Charbonneau 1998).

Proximity of relatives or members of the community is sometimes the first criterion in the search for housing in a particular area, region or city.

Homeless Immigrants: Reality and Trends
Homelessness like immigration itself is primarily an urban phenomenon, as large cities (Toronto, Montréal, Vancouver) offer more job opportunities and are already home to immigrant communities in which new arrivals look for support.

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[1] A household is said to be in core housing need if its housing falls below at least one of the adequacy, suitability or affordability standards and it would have to spend 30% or more of its income to pay the median rent of alternative local market housing that meets all three standards.

Immigrants and refugees are at greater risk than other persons of experiencing "Secondary homelessness," that is of living with friends, in insecure housing, in overcrowded conditions or in housing that does not meet standard conditions.

Newcomers' use of the traditional shelter network for homeless persons raises the challenge to service providers to adapt support services and improve the sensitivity of staff and other clients to cultural differences.

In its research planning process, CMHC scans trends and indicators such as those summarized above. This ensures that research is relevant and timely. The Corporation strives to know which knowledge is needed by conferring with partners and clients who are key users of this reliable and objective information.

2. A new Program of Work on Newcomers has been added under the 2004–2008 Priority Research Theme: Distinct Housing Needs
This Program of Work will treat a multitude of subjects and trends:

- It will investigate the role of housing and communities as an integrative tool in the successful reception and social inclusion of newcomers in Canadian society.

- Research will focus on housing needs and preferences, housing conditions, living arrangements, lifestyles, housing suitability and housing experiences of newcomers.

- Barriers, obstacles and success in different jurisdictions across Canada will be examined, such as the risk of homelessness, housing accessibility, stability and discrimination, experiences and trends in housing tenure and financing.

- Research will also address a number of other issues, including impacts on housing markets (for example, real estate market, housing costs, rental vacancy rates, subsidized housing).

3. CMHC's research results are usable tools for a variety of clients and practitioners
Although a new Program of Work has been established, RIT initiatives have creatively been addressing the housing situations of immigrations and refugees. Below are examples of CMHC RIT projects.

- **Special analyses of housing data:**
  Special analyses of census data on the housing and living arrangements of newcomers have been done (CMHC 2003a, 2001, 2000). Comparisons are made on the housing conditions of immigrant and non-immigrant households, and profiles are provided on housing conditions based on respective length of time in Canada. Core housing needs and rent to income expenditures are analyzed. A project planned for 2004 in co-venture with Metropolis Centres of Excellence will entail research and analysis of the 2001 Census and Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) data, focusing on housing needs and preferences, housing conditions, living arrangements, household formation, and housing experiences and obstacles of newcomers.

- **Settlement patterns, neighbourhood and mobility within the housing market:**
  A research project undertaken by Immigration et métropoles "Volet 2" and INRS - Urbanisation, Culture et Société was recently *published on the Residential Integration of Youth with Immigrant Backgrounds in Montréal* (Séguin et al., 2003). The study described the 1996 residential situation of young Montrealers, aged between 15 and 29, both immigrants and with immigrant parents. *A Comparative Study of Immigrant Housing, Neighbourhoods and Social Networks in Toronto & Montréal* (CMHC 1998) examined the relationships that exist between housing, neigbourhoods and social networks among visible minority immigrants living in these two CMAs.

- **Guides and tools for newcomers to assist in the integration process:**
  "*A Newcomer's Guide to Canadian Housing*" (CMHC 2002b): This updated guide provides advice on Canadian housing culture, describes the entire process of buying a home, offers guides on how to inspect a rental property, tenant rights and obligations and what to look for in a neighbourhood.

  "*Your Guide to Renting a Home in Canada*" (CMHC 2003b): This guide to the rental process, provides tenants and landlords with an overview of their rights and responsibilities. Provincial and territorial contacts and fact sheets are also included.

"*Your Next Move: Choosing a Neighbourhood with Sustainable Features*" (CMHC): This twelve page guide helps all consumers find a home in a sustainable community, that is a type of neighbourhood that is safe, convenient, environmentally-friendly and affordable.

Homeownership

CMHC provides information for consumers including newcomers wishing to buy or to renovate a home. The CMHC Website offers a wealth of products on housing design, financing, technology and home adaptation.

- Assessing and meeting housing needs of newcomers/immigrants

Research in this area examines the role of housing and communities in the successful reception and social inclusion of newcomers. Distinct and special needs of newcomers are also documented.

A soon-to-be-released study entitled *Examining the Housing Cycle and Housing Needs of Refugees and Immigrants in the Niagara Region* identifies housing options available to refugees in the Niagara region, their housing information needs, and how these needs might be met. Municipal leaders, policy analysts and other key players can use results to make proper decisions regarding housing and support services for refugees. A study on the housing needs and satisfaction of newcomers to Calgary has also been completed (CMHC 1992).

Case studies of transitional housing facilities were recently completed; these included a look at Romero House, a facility for refugees in Toronto (CMHC 2004). Transitional housing is intended to offer a supportive living environment as an intermediate step between emergency shelters and supportive housing.

The Canadian-African Newcomer Aid Centre of Toronto (CANACT) was supported through the Affordability and Choice Today (ACT) program to undertake a case study of an adaptable housing model for refugees considering unique needs and short- and long-term changes in the lives and status of refugees (ACT 1999).

A review of research methodology and literature pertaining to housing-related discrimination in Canada was done in 2002 (CMHC 2002a). The relationship between newcomer tenants and their landlords was assessed to determine how potential conflict could be avoided (CMHC 1991).

Research is underway on Seniors Housing in the South Asian Community. It is examining the suitability and effectiveness of South Asian older adults' current housing options and support services.

4. CMHC is a federal partner in the Metropolis Project

The Corporation joined with the other federal agency partners and stakeholders to provide annual funding support to the Metropolis Project in 1997. Research at the Centres of Excellence promises results of high utility to federal policy-makers and planners. CMHC provides advice on the research agenda of the Centres ensuring that research is policy relevant, especially in the area of housing and community planning.

Continuation of CMHC funding to the Canadian Metropolis Project is based on several reasons. The research, publications, and events undertaken by the Metropolis Project and the universities' Centres of Excellence is relevant to CMHC's client groups, especially newcomers as well as the agencies and individuals that help them meet housing needs. Metropolis-supported research complements RIT activities and presents opportunities for collaborative research with key academics and NGOs in the housing and community domains.

Housing research and information transfer on newcomers : A continuing priority

CMHC's research momentum will continue to provide consumers, policy-makers, government partners and service providers with a pool of usable information on socio-demographic trends, "housing stress" experienced by newcomers related to access, affordability and barriers to be surmounted. Development of guides and tools and documentation of best or promising practices will continue to support consumers and community service providers in the integration and adaptation process.

CMHC's clear and concise Corporate Plan 2004-2008 (CMHC 2004b) takes a look at planned research and information transfer activities and performance measures that recognize newcomers, their impact on the housing sector and the need to examine the role of housing and communities as integrative tools. Policy research on social inclusion and social capital and furthering research on distinct housing needs are explicit goals.

Corporate planned activities to improve housing, living conditions, choice and affordability for all Canadians directly enhance the well-being of newcomers. The goal of assuring that Canadians are aware of the federal government's role, initiatives, programs and investment in housing is important to newcomers, providing them with information that helps them in becoming housing consumers.

The Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM), through its Quality of Life Reporting System (FCM 2004), speaks of growing challenges facing municipalities. Immigration and diversity are recognized as benefits bringing new talent and cultural richness to cities. However, this phenomenon also exerts sustained pressure on urban services, forcing them to keep pace with expanding and changing needs. Fairness and equity and supporting rich, social interactions and the inclusion of all in community life are seen to improve quality of life in cities. CMHC's research and information activities will boost the capacity of Canadian municipalities to prepare for such challenges and find practical solutions.

Bob Murdie (2001), when looking at ways public policy might enhance the capacity of cities to "absorb" immigrants and minorities, provides an excellent inventory of ideas and suggestions on research studies needed to allow government to better develop policy and programs for newcomers. CMHC, in partnership with its stakeholders and clients, will assure that its policy and research activities relate to such emerging issues, trends, and areas of inquiry. As Canada continues to welcome newcomers, it is imperative to increase our knowledge and understanding of housing as an important, effective integrative tool.

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Toronto's population density and geography allow it to put in place public transit methods that would not be appropriate in Iqaluit or in Fredericton. Victoria requires transportation infrastructure that accommodates ferry travel, Red Deer is adopting special services to suit its low-density public transit and Yellowknife remains heavily dependent on air transport.

Diversity and Canada's Public Infrastructure

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Diversity and public infrastructure interact in Canada's cities in many ways. This complex and multi-dimensional interaction is also at the heart of the diversity of policy instruments that must be employed to modernize Canada's public infrastructure for the long-term economic, social and environmental well-being of Canadians: one of the fundamental commitments made by the Government of Canada in the 2002 and 2004 Speeches from the Throne.

Diversity and public infrastructure: What are the links?

Cities across Canada have diverse systems of public infrastructure,[1] including water treatment facilities, recreational centres, bridges, roads and public transit, as a result of investments that have been made over the years and, in some cases, over more than a century or two. These systems reflect the different geographies and climates of Canada's cities. Just think of Vancouver's mountainous, coastal landscape and temperate climate, Winnipeg's long, cold, prairie winters and the maritime geography of New Brunswick. The diversity of the stock of public infrastructure in Canada's cities is also a natural extension of the richness of their ethnic and demographic contexts.

At the same time, cities across Canada have diverse current and future infrastructure requirements owing to a wide range of additional factors. These include socio-economic trends, patterns of urban development, migration, technological advances and increased awareness, in all sectors, of the fundamental role that public infrastructure plays in the economic well-being and overall quality of life of Canadians.

Again, consider a few examples. Toronto's population density and geography allow it to put in place public transit methods that would not be appropriate in Iqaluit or in Fredericton. Victoria requires transportation infrastructure that accommodates ferry travel, Red Deer is adopting special services to suit its low-density public transit and Yellowknife remains heavily dependent on air transport. Sewer system construction and maintenance in the far north requires different techniques than in the urban south, given the effect of soil type, the depth of the groundwater table, other buried or

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* Views expressed in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of Infrastructure Canada or the Government of Canada.

[1] Public infrastructure – the core physical assets instrumental to supporting the delivery of public services – includes tangible and intangible assets such as roads, sewers, cultural centers, telecommunications, government supported research, meteorological services, housing for First Nations, and government facilities.

[2] "Workshop Primer Transit Best Practices for the National Guide to Sustainable Municipal Infrastructure." 2003. National Guide to Sustainable Municipal Infrastructure. (http://www.infraguide.gc.ca/docs/transitprimer.pdf), accessed on January 26, 2004.

surface infrastructure and the availability of various technologies, some of which are not yet available in certain geographic areas of Canada.[3] Finally, the Chinese Cultural Centre of Greater Toronto reflects the cultural needs of Toronto's immigrant population, while the Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia in Dartmouth reflects its cultural history.

Shifts in the roles of Canada's cities are also affecting the diversity of current and future infrastructure requirements. As a growing body of literature shows, cities are having to keep up with the demand for traditional services provided by public infrastructure, while addressing, often through investments in public infrastructure, a whole set of issues such as homelessness, poverty and illegal drug use.[4] Cities are also being confronted with an expanded list of responsibilities due to federal and provincial downloading, including responsibility for the provision of affordable housing and a larger role in community and social services. These new activities are translating into the adoption by Canada's diverse cities of increasingly diverse approaches to meeting the public infrastructure needs of their local communities.[5]

Diverse policy instruments:
A look at Infrastructure Canada

In fact, these approaches are a more generalized phenomenon. Evidence shows that in the United States, Australia, Great Britain, Asia and other parts of the globe, an increasingly diverse range of policy instruments are being brought forward, individually and in combination, on a growing diversity of infrastructure issues. This is part and parcel of the more strategic approach to infrastructure policy observed across OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries and responds to, among other things, the inherent variety, complexity and multi-dimensionality of the links between diversity and urban public infrastructure.

Infrastructure Canada provides a good example of diverse policy instruments in action. Created in 2002 as a focal point for infrastructure issues in the federal government, the department has developed a set of instruments (policy development and administration of investment programs, research and knowledge dissemination) in order to support the federal government's enhanced involvement in public infrastructure and the implementation of a long-term strategy to meet the modern, diverse infrastructure needs of communities across Canada.

Policy development
and investment programs

Infrastructure Canada is responsible for the development, co-ordination and implementation of four federal infrastructure investment programs: the Infrastructure Canada Program (ICP), the Municipal Rural Infrastructure Fund (MRIF),[6] the Canada Strategic Infrastructure Fund (CSIF)[7] and the Border Infrastructure Fund (BIF).[8] Each of these programs responds to the diversity of public infrastructure needs that cities and small communities are facing. Infrastructure investments are made in green infrastructure such as water and wastewater systems, water management, solid waste management and recycling, but also in local transportation, urban transit, highways and railways, tourism and urban development, cultural and recreational facilities, rural and remote telecommunication, and borders. These programs, designed to support large- and small-scale infrastructure investments, respond to local, regional and national priorities, support sustainable growth and economic growth, and enhance the quality of life of Canadians in communities of all sizes. Since 2000, Infrastructure Canada has announced investments totaling $3.45 billion in 833 infrastructure projects[9] in cities across Canada.[10] This represents just under 82% of

3   "Selection of Technologies for Sewer Rehabilitation and Replacement." A Best Practice by the National Guide to Sustainable Municipal Infrastructure. <www.infraguide.gc.ca/docs/SelectionofTechnologiesforSewerRehabilitationandReplacement.pdf >, accessed on January 23, 2004.

4   C. G. Vander Ploeg, Big City Revenues—A Canada-US Comparison of Municipal Tax Tools and Revenue Levers. Calgary: Canada West Foundation, 2002.

5   Ibid.

6   Eighty percent of the MRIF is allocated to communities of less than 250,000 people, and the remainder to municipalities with populations larger than 250,000.

7   The CSIF supports infrastructure projects of national and regional interest and significance that are vital to sustaining economic growth, and which have the capacity to be transformative to the economy.

8   The BIF supports the joint Canada-U.S. Smart Borders Action Plan by reducing border congestion at Canada's key border crossings and increasing infrastructure capacity over the medium term. This Fund affects cities, since many major border crossings are located in cities such as Windsor, Niagara Falls, and Sarnia.

total announced investments under the four Infrastructure Canada programs. All of these investments are being made in close partnership with provinces, territories, communities and federal regional agencies.[11]

Research

Horizontal research on key infrastructure issues is another instrument that Infrastructure Canada is developing in order to increase its capacity to respond to the diversity of public infrastructure needs. Research is necessary to ensure that a more comprehensive knowledge foundation is in place to support and inform policy- and decision-making as the Government of Canada continues to develop a long-term strategy for meeting Canada's infrastructure needs. Research on the state of infrastructure, on infrastructure financing and on the economic, social and environmental impacts of infrastructure, for example, can help to uncover the differing needs of cities, and to prioritize, for policy purposes, current and future infrastructure needs.

Indeed, the state of public infrastructure is an important issue. The lack of infrastructure funding during the 1980s and 1990s created a backlog of neglected, poorly maintained infrastructure, some in desperate need of repair or replacement. The cost of addressing this gap between infrastructure funding and infrastructure needs is known as the infrastructure "deficit," or more accurately, as the infrastructure "debt."[12] Funding infrastructure requires an understanding of the nature and level of infrastructure needs in order to assess and quantify the infrastructure debt. However, there are many different types of estimates and methodologies for measuring this debt. Such differences result in a variety of estimates of the infrastructure debt: "(while) there is almost universal consensus among analysts that Canada does indeed have an infrastructure debt, there are widely diverging estimates of how large this debt might be."[13]

The fact that empirical evidence produces such wide-ranging results raises serious questions about the usefulness and meaningfulness of the data and information available on the state of infrastructure. One of the key challenges for Infrastructure Canada is to work with provinces, territories, municipalities, stakeholders, and the academic and professional community (e.g. engineers and urban planners) to arrive at a common understanding of the extent of the

"infrastructure debt." For individual cities, the next step is to uncover where the infrastructure debt has the largest impact. For example, according to the Canada West Foundation, "For most western cities, the largest portion of the infrastructure deficit resides in transportation—roads, traffic control, bridges, interchanges, and public transit."[14]

The issue of the "infrastructure debt" raises another important research question related to the financing of public infrastructure and the best mechanisms for increasing municipal infrastructure financing. Over the last few decades, all levels of government in Canada have changed from traditional financing mechanisms to an increased reliance on debt servicing for infrastructure investments. The Canadian federal government, which once relied primarily on transfers to provincial and territorial governments and to municipalities for infrastructure financing, has expanded its repertoire of infrastructure financing methods (e.g. partnership investment programs) because transfers are no longer sufficient to meet the rising costs of maintaining and rehabilitating deteriorated infrastructure. Municipalities also increasingly rely on innovative financing methods and experts are increasingly advocating municipal tax reforms to enable Canadian cities to generate more revenue for infrastructure investment.

Infrastructure quality directly affects the quality of life in all Canadian communities.

9   These numbers include announced projects only; they do not include investments that have been committed but have not yet been announced.

10 Cities include Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) and Census Agglomerations (CAs). A CMA includes an area with an urban core of 100,000 or more people and neighbouring municipalities where 50 percent or more of the workforce commutes to the urban core. A CA includes an area with an urban core of between 10,000 and 99,999 people and all neighbouring municipalities where 50% or more of the workforce commutes to the urban core.

11 Regional agencies include: Western Diversification, Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency and Economic Development Agency of Canada for Quebec Regions.

12 C. Vander Ploeg, A Capital Question: Infrastructure in Western Canada's Big Six. Calgary: Canada West Foundation, 2003. p. 5. According to Vander Ploeg, the infrastructure "deficit" is the annual shortage in funds available or budgeted to meet required infrastructure spending for the year, whereas the infrastructure "debt" is the accumulation of past deficits over time. Annual deficits add to the overall infrastructure "debt."

13 Vander Ploeg, 2003, p. 5.

14 Ibid., p. i.

The reliable provision and effective management of potable water, waste treatment facilities, highways, municipal roads and bridges, transit systems, broadband telecommunications, and culture and recreational facilities all impact on our economic and social quality of life, and many also have strong environmental implications. Infrastructure Canada is working with federal government departments and researchers in other sectors to determine the type and extent of the impacts of infrastructure. For example, transportation and cultural infrastructure have economic impacts, but research is needed to determine what infrastructure investments will optimize economic development while minimizing negative environmental impacts.

Knowledge Dissemination

Undertaking research on priority issues cannot be done without ensuring that the results are disseminated to key policy- and decision-makers and also to street-level officials and citizens. In that context, Infrastructure Canada launched last fall its Gateway to Infrastructure Research (www.infrastructure.gc.ca/research), a Website that will play a key role in helping to build—through the sharing of knowledge—a vibrant, multi-disciplinary research community across Canada interested in infrastructure issues.

The dissemination of knowledge can take other forms. This is the case with The National Guide to Sustainable Infrastructure (www.infraguide.gc.ca) that has been developed as a joint initiative by the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, the National Research Council and Infrastructure Canada. Based on Canadian experience and research, the reports presented in the Guide set out the best practices to support sustainable municipal infrastructure decisions and actions in six key areas: municipal roads and sidewalks, potable water, storm and wastewater, decision making and investment planning, environmental protocols and transit. The Guide aims to help communities maximize their infrastructure investments, while respecting the social and environmental implications of their decisions over the life of the assets.

Conclusion

There are inherently strong, complex and multi-dimensional linkages between diversity and the public infrastructure of Canada's cities. From a policy standpoint, these linkages both underlie and are influenced by the adoption of more strategic approaches to modernizing Canada's public infrastructure at Infrastructure Canada and in other sectors. One of the key elements in many of these more strategic approaches is the recognition that diversity in policy problems necessitates diversity in the policy instruments used to address those problems.

As Infrastructure Canada and others move forward on tackling, together, the infrastructure challenges facing Canada, improved understanding of the governance issues related to investing in public infrastructure is critical. One important question for research is: How do we ensure the on-going responsiveness of investments in public infrastructure to the diversity—in all its dimensions—of Canada's urban (and other) public infrastructure?

Researchers have claimed that economic prospects were the most important factor explaining immigrant settlement in the major cities. However, recent findings suggest that when immigrants choose where to settle, economic prospects are less important than originally assumed.

Does the Concentration of Immigrants in Major Cities Provide Greater Economic Benefits?

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Policy-makers have legitimate reasons to be more and more preoccupied by the uneven distribution of immigrants across the country and are, therefore, looking for strategies to encourage immigrants to settle in places other than Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver (MTV). In 2000, 75% of new immigrants settled in one of Canada's three largest cities, and the flow of immigration toward MTV has remained high for at least fifteen years. These communities have experienced rapid growth, much higher than provincial and national averages.

The debate on the concentration of immigrants has evolved in many directions. Immigrant concentration has an impact on the capacity to meet one of the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act's objectives, "to support the development of a strong and prosperous Canadian economy, in which the benefits of immigration are shared across all regions of Canada." If we look at the benefits for immigrants (as opposed to the benefits they bring to the country), the premise would be that immigrants are doing better economically in MTV. Research findings suggest that living in these metropolitan areas provides economic and social advantages for immigrants, specifically, because they have more opportunities to find a job with a good income in these areas. If this is the case, living in the three major metropolitan areas should provide greater economic benefits than living in other regions in Canada. This paper demonstrates that when examining the benefits experienced by immigrants, the comparison between MTV is not as important as the comparison between MTV and other census metropolitan areas (CMA) and non-CMAs.

The longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB) contains information from the immigration and taxation records of immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1980 and 2000. The landing files include demographic data, immigration program data and personal characteristics, while the income tax files include demographic data, labour market information and data on certain government transfers. Therefore, the IMDB provides information on the place of residence of immigrants in Canada, and on certain economic indicators.

Based on the IMDB, this paper presents the economic results by city of residence for the 2000 tax year. Two economic indicators are examined: the average of employment earnings and the incidence of Employment Insurance (EI). This analysis concludes with a discussion on the findings presented.

Figure 1 illustrates the average employment earnings in the 2000 tax year, by place of residence and by number of years in Canada. This figure shows that, in general, the longer immigrants had resided in the country, the more they earned. Of all immigrant groups, those living in Montréal had the lowest average employment earnings, followed by residents of Vancouver. The average earnings of immigrants in Toronto, other CMAs and non-CMAs were very similar to one another. Surprisingly, of all immigrants, those who reside in non-CMAs and have been living in the country for fourteen years or less had the highest average of employment earnings. For non-CMA residents who have been in the country for more than fourteen years, the average income was just marginally less than the earnings of immigrants living in Toronto.

In the past, researchers have claimed that economic prospects were the most important factor explaining immigrant settlement in the major cities. However, recent findings suggest that when immigrants choose where to settle, economic prospects are less important than originally assumed. In fact, according to the results of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), joining family or friends is the most important reason for the choice of destination. This is true for 90% of immigrants in the family class and for 44% of principal applicants in the economic class. However, when examining reasons for settling outside of MTV, the survey findings indicate that job prospects

and proximity to family and friends are of roughly equal importance (32% and 36%, respectively).

Results presented in this paper support the view that the most important reason for settling in MTV is not the greater economic benefit. On average, immigrants in other CMAs (other than MTV) had:

- higher average employment income than those who lived in Montréal and Vancouver, and

- higher average employment income than immigrants who lived in Toronto, but only for those who had been in the country for eight years or less (cohorts of 1992 to 2000).

Indeed, recent immigrants living outside of MTV had higher average employment incomes than those living in these cities. Thus, the average employment income of immigrants in different Canadian cities does not support the thesis that the concentration of immigrants in MTV provides them with greater economic benefits.

The second economic indicator discussed in this paper is the incidence of Employment Insurance among immigrant groups. Figure 2 illustrates these rates for the 2000 tax year, by place of residence and by number of years living in Canada. The data show that the incidence of EI was at its lowest during the first two years of residence. This is to be expected, since eligibility to EI depends upon contribution to the program: newcomers must work within the Canadian

FIGURE 1
Average employment earnings for immigrant taxpayers,
by place of residence and number of years since landing, for the 2000 tax year
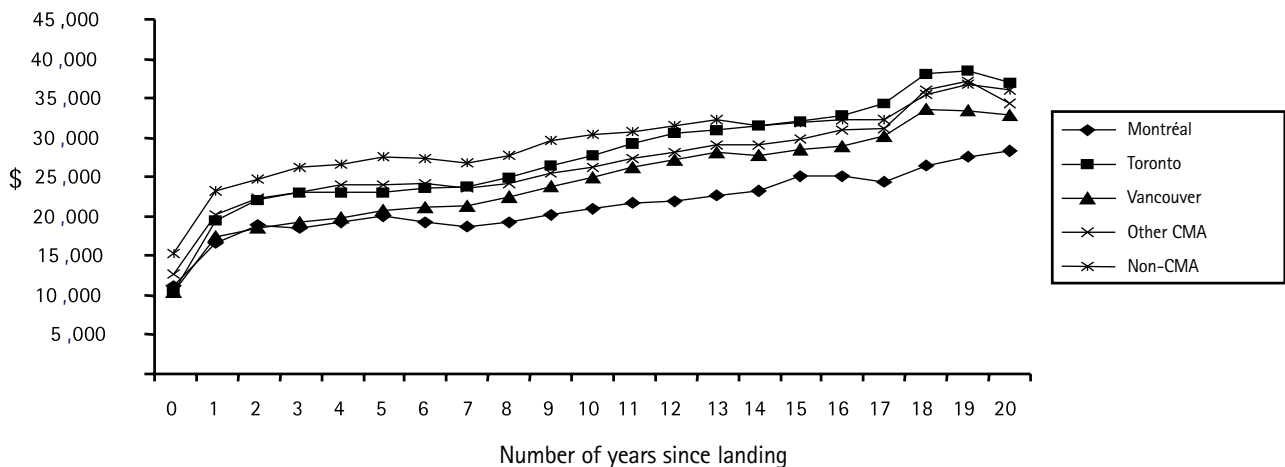
labour market, and contribute to EI for a specified number of weeks before becoming eligible for compensation.

We can also observe from Figure 2 that, in general, EI incidence tends to decrease over time—albeit slightly, with a decline of approximately 2%. The difference in percentages seems marginal when observing the data in terms of years of residence, but they are important when comparing the regions. We note that Toronto has the lowest rate of EI, while Montréal has the highest, and the three other areas of residence (Vancouver, other CMAs and non-CMAs) are situated between the two.

In 2000, with the exception of immigrants who have been in the country for two years or less (and are thus much less likely to be eligible to EI), the average incidence of EI in Toronto was of 7.7%. Among other immigrants who have landed in Canada between 1980 and 1998, approximately 9% of residents of Vancouver, other CMAs and non-CMAs reported receiving EI during that same year (9.2%, 9% and 9.8%, respectively). As for Montréal, the average EI rate for immigrants who landed between 1980 and 1998 was of 11.5% in 2000. Once again, the information presented in Figure 2 does not support the thesis that the concentration of immigrants in the three major Canadian cities provides greater economic benefits for immigrants.

The comparison between the different regions should be done carefully and should acknowledge other considerations. Although the two economic indicators observed (average employment earning and incidence of EI) are calculated the same way for each region, the living standards differ. A possible explanation is that while income is lower and the EI rate is higher in Montréal, the cost of living is much lower than in Toronto and Vancouver. Also, the concentration of immigrants in the three major cities causes an increase in supply and may therefore depress wage rates. In this context, a regionalization policy could decrease immigrant concentration in MTV and increase wage rates.

In conclusion, it seems that concentration of immigrants in major cities does not provide greater economic benefits to these groups. It is thus recommended that policy-makers undertake more research in order to analyze the social benefits in these cities if they want to better address a dispersion policy. Among the social determinant factors, the composition of the receiving communities (the critical mass, linguistic enclaves, etc.), in relation to characteristics of immigrants, could be examined. In order to adequately identify the needs of immigrant groups, networks with local communities should also be created and consolidated.

FIGURE 2
Incidence of Employment Insurance for immigrant taxpayers,
by place of residence and by number of years since landing, for the 2000 tax year
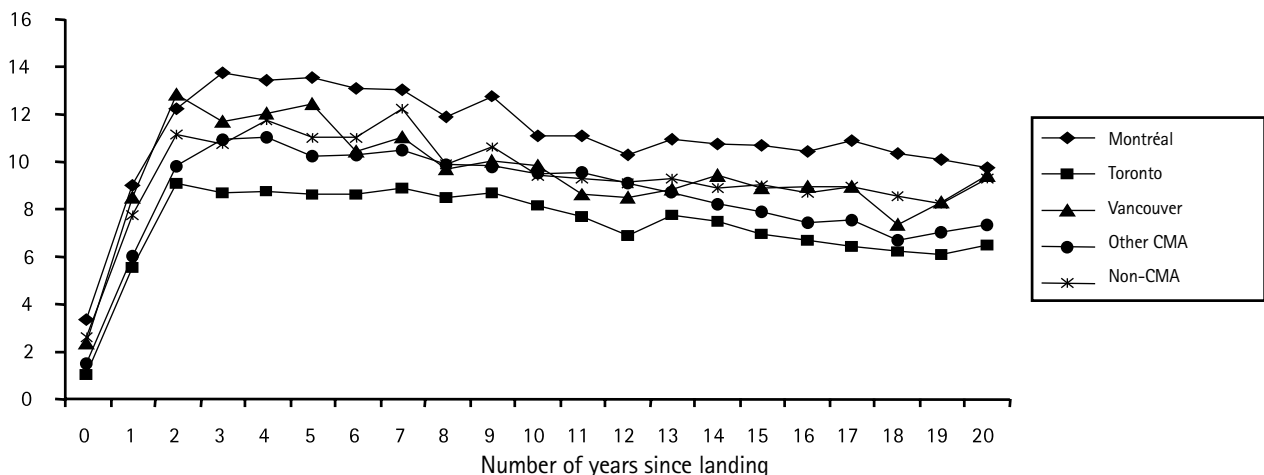
Any public policy that aims at retaining immigrants in the Atlantic region should focus on economic and social needs of the young and the educated. A formal system for recognition of foreign credentials should also be put in place to help the integration of newcomers into the labour market.

Economics at the
Atlantic Metropolis Atlantique

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Soon after assuming office in December 2003, Prime Minister Paul Martin announced that when designing future economic and social policies, his government will attach greater importance to consultations with cities. Although these policies are mostly developed at the federal level, in consultation with provincial governments, the cities are those mostly affected by them.

Immigration policy is no exception to the above rule. It eventually becomes the responsibility of Canadian cities to create conditions necessary for successful absorption of populations of various origins.[1] The Mayor of Winnipeg, Glen Murray, has correctly pointed out that cities are effective when "they have high degrees of social inclusion, when they are not just tolerant but they celebrate human diversity."[2] However, the key to a successful program of immigration, integration and diversity is an informed policy decision process. This is precisely where the Metropolis Project plays a central role.

Indeed, a major objective of the Metropolis Project is to contribute towards such a decision process, enabling Canadians to gain the most from immigration and population diversity. While each of the four Metropolis Centers has contributed a wealth of knowledge on immigration and diversity issues, an investigation of these issues in the Atlantic region has been lacking. The creation of the Metropolis Center of Excellence in Atlantic Canada, also known as Atlantic Metropolis Atlantique (AMA), is a step in that direction.

Research in the economics domain of the AMA and its potential benefits for city planners

By facilitating discussion and information exchange, the Metropolis Project provides a platform for researchers to discuss and highlight immigration, integration and diversity issues. Governments at all levels benefit from the Metropolis Project, as it offers them access to a pool of researchers with relevant expertise.

The Atlantic Provinces are experiencing a population decline at a faster pace than Canada as a whole. This trend was the impetus that prompted the former minister of Citizenship and Immigration to create the AMA. Declining population can have a negative impact on the economy in at least three ways. First, it can result in a decline in the young labour force, creating skill shortages in the labour market.

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[1] Canadian cities have grown rapidly over the past decade, through immigration from abroad as well as migration of rural populations towards urban centers.

[2] *The Chronicle Herald*, Halifax, March 7, 2004, p. A6.

Second, this decline in young members of the labour force can present challenges for social programs whose funding depends on tax revenues. Third, a declining population means a shrinking market for goods and services produced in the region.

As a result of population decline in the Atlantic region, there is a growing interest in immigration and diversity issues and in their impact on economic development. Several recent initiatives by provincial and municipal governments, as well as by the private sector, have been launched to capitalize on the economic benefits of immigration. For example, the governments of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have each created an Immigration Secretariat and are in the process of developing provincial strategies on immigration. The Canada-Nova Scotia Skills and Learning Framework, established in 2002, has set up an immigration sub-committee with the objective of examining how skill shortages can be addressed through immigration. In August 2002, the governments of Canada and Nova Scotia signed the Canada-Nova Scotia Agreement on Provincial Nominees, by virtue of which the province may select and nominate prospective skilled and economic immigrants according to Nova Scotia's labour market needs. A similar agreement has been ratified between the governments of Canada and New Brunswick. In Nova Scotia, the Atlantic Canada Opportunity Agency (ACOA) will soon launch a study examining the economic benefits of immigration.

Interest on immigration issues has also increased within non-governmental organizations (NGOs) of the Atlantic region. For example, the Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Agency (MISA) organized a conference on issues of immigrant settlement, attraction and retention, with a special focus on how to draw business immigrants to Nova Scotia. The event was designed to promote partnerships between public and private sectors and encourage their collaboration on issues of immigration. MISA has also commissioned studies on foreign credential recognition and on labour market attachment of immigrants in Nova Scotia.[3] Furthermore, two years ago, the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council conducted a study on demographic and labour market characteristics of immigrant population in Atlantic Canada.

Any initiative designed to encourage immigration will have an impact on the cities, as these are the final destinations of newcomers. We can in fact expect immigrants to create challenges for the municipalities in at least three areas: schooling, housing and transportation.

Property tax revenues provide funding to municipal school boards, who in turn invest it in elementary and secondary levels of schooling. The immigrant population exerts additional pressure on the resources of school boards, as most immigrants tend to be either young single persons who will later on marry and have children, or young married couples with small children or who will soon be starting a family. As a consequence, one would expect immigrant families to represent higher educational costs than non-immigrant families, for an extended period of time following their arrival in Canada. Research on economics conducted within the context of the AMA confirms this assertion. The following table illustrates the amount of public funds required to cover the

TABLE 1
School board costs
for immigrant and non-immigrant families, elementary and secondary levels, 1995.[5]

Year of arrival	Cost per family
Before 1961	$1,326
1961 to 1970	$2,798
1971 to 1980	$4,225
1981 to 1985	$4,045
1986	$3,534
1987	$4,240
1988	$3,640
1989	$3,458
1990	$3,432
1991	$3,279
1992	$3,068
1993	$3,192
1994	$3,314
1995	$3,126
All immigrants	$2,964
Non-immigrants	$2,824

3 This conference was held in collaboration with ACOA, the Canadian Manufacturers and Exporters (Nova Scotia Division), and the Nova Scotia Chamber of Commerce.

4 It is also important to consider educational costs as investments that will provide future returns to the society. However, the higher demand for education resources by immigrant populations may require the diversion of resources that would have otherwise been allocated to programs that provide benefits to native-born Canadians.

costs of education for children of immigrant families, according to length of time living in Canada, and of non-immigrant children.

Although these numbers suggest that as far as education is concerned, immigrants represent a costlier group than non-immigrants, it is important to compare their public service consumption with their levels of contribution to the public coffers.[4] Research reveals that the amount of taxes paid by immigrants, at the national level, far exceeds their use of public services, namely of government transfer payments (Old Age Security, Guaranteed Income Supplement, Canada or Quebec Pension Plans, employment insurance, education and health care).[6] An extension of this research should analyze data at the provincial and municipal levels.

Immigrants also require housing—and housing ownership entails property taxes that are paid to municipal governments for the provision of services such as education, policing, garbage collection, road and sidewalk maintenance and construction, and so on. Lately, a number of Atlantic Canada cities, Halifax for instance, has witnessed a dramatic rise in housing demand, in large part attributable to the inflow of persons employed in the services and oil sectors. It will be informative to analyze and compare the housing demands of immigrants and native-born Canadians in this region.

Another aspect of housing is the incidence of homelessness. Research indicates a growing homeless population in Canadian cities. The Halifax Regional Municipality has recently published a report on homelessness, revealing that there are approximately 16,000 homeless people in the city of Halifax and that almost 10% of these individuals are immigrants. Further analyses of the causes of homelessness and the demographic composition of homeless populations can help design appropriate policies addressing this problem. Such studies may also

be conducted for other Atlantic cities, and the AMA could provide a useful input and a platform for dissemination of this research.

Transportation also presents new challenges for the city planners of Atlantic Canada. While this area has received little attention in the past, there is now a growing awareness of transportation issues among planners. Furthermore, as cities attract more immigrants, transportation issues will become even more obvious.

The issue of immigrant attraction and retention

There is now an increasing awareness of the issue of out-migration from Atlantic Canada and its impact on the economic development of the region. Simultaneously, there is a growing concern over attraction and retention of immigrants. For example, between 1991 and 2001, residents of the Atlantic Provinces represented 7.6% of Canada's entire population. However, only 1.7% of Canada's new immigrants settled in Atlantic Canada. While the rate of out-migration from the region is lower among immigrants than among Canadian-born residents, it remains significant.[7]

Studies on immigrant attraction and retention are an important component of the research agenda in the economics domain.

A research project on the economics of immigration examined 2001 Census data to determine the characteristics of foreign-born and native-born migrants in Canada as well as in Atlantic Canada in particular. This investigation showed that native-born Canadians are more likely to emigrate than their foreign-born counterparts. Demographic and human capital variables such as age and education proved to be important determinants of mobility. Thus, any public policy that aims at retaining immigrants in the Atlantic region should focus on economic and social needs of the young and the educated. A formal system for recognition of foreign credentials should also be put in place to help the integration of newcomers into the labour market.

Another research project has analyzed social factors as determinants of the mobility of foreign-born people in Atlantic Canada, and revealed that ethnic and religious networks play an important role in the mobility of these groups.[8] An implication of this research is the recognition and promotion of ethnic and religious diversity in Atlantic Canada's economic

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[5] Source: Computations performed by the author, using the number of children per family, extracted from the 1996 Census micro data files and published school board operating costs.

[6] Results of this study have been discussed at the Seventh National Metropolis conference, March 25 to 28 2004, Montréal.

[7] Newfoundland and Labrador has had the highest rate of out-migration, with roughly 55,000 people leaving the province. The total loss for the Atlantic region was of approximately 74,000 people.

and social policies. Although such recognition has already taken place, further work must be accomplished in this area.[9]

The economics domain of the AMA also plans to hold a national conference on the issue of out-migration in November 2004, in collaboration with its partners. This conference will bring together some key researchers, policy-makers and NGOs from Atlantic Canada and from across North America, to discuss the issues of out-migration, integration and diversity in smaller regions. It is expected that this event will highlight some key issues of historical importance, will provide directions for future research, and will attract attention of researchers nation-wide, on the issues of population decline and retention in Atlantic Canada.[10]

In sum, research issues addressed in the economics domain of the AMA, some of which have been highlighted above, will provide useful information for 1) labour market, education, health, transportation, housing, social and multicultural policy-makers, at federal, provincial, and municipal levels, 2) NGOs interested in immigrant settlement issues and in understanding the role of immigration in regional economy, and 3) business organizations interested in cross-cultural issues and issues of transferability of skills. This research will also contribute to academic literature on the economics of immigration.

Finally, the training of university students in the area of immigration policy and research is an important component of the AMA's agenda. Such information and instruction will be fruitful in attracting interest on immigration issues in the region, as well as in enhancing the effects of population and immigration policies that can be crucial to the economic development of Atlantic Canada.

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[8] These two studies have been discussed at the Seventh National Metropolis conference

[9] The City of Halifax has recently introduced ethnic diversity as an important component of the employment and training programs of the Halifax Regional Police Department.

[10] An economics domain researcher based at Memorial University of Newfoundland intends to pursue the issue of retention of foreign physicians in rural Newfoundland, using primary data.

Approximately 35% of the some 800 places of worship on Montréal Island are associated with specific immigrant or ethno-religious groups. There has also been a rise in Eastern, non-Christian religions, such as Islam, Sikhism and Buddhism, and an increase in churches associated with Reform Protestantism.

Religious Diversity: A Problem for Municipalities?

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Introduction

In recent years, most Canadian metropolitan centres have taken an interest in immigration, although this public issue falls under federal and provincial jurisdiction. Ethnocultural diversity is part of municipal administration, whether it takes the form of definite intercultural policies, the adaptation of specific services, or even an *ad hoc* policy. This is not surprising given the roles of people of immigrant origin in metropolitan populations. What is surprising is the reaction to one component of ethnocultural diversity: religious diversity. In the Montréal area, where increasingly diversified immigration, in terms of country of origin, is commonplace, the establishment of places of worship associated with cultural minorities seems to have taken municipal officials by surprise, both in the downtown core and in the suburbs. Some officials have even declared a moratorium to give themselves time to review their zoning regulations or to seek the intervention of higher authorities (the courts or the government). As a result, in many municipalities, the construction of new places of worship is not automatically allowed and must follow an often complex and highly political process of special permits.

The purpose of this article is to provide a better understanding of this highly paradoxical situation, given both the importance of immigration to Canada's economy and demographics and the tradition of openness to differences. The discussion will be limited to the case of Montréal in order to highlight its complexity, but it should have a national resonance. Admittedly, religious diversity did not surprise only the municipalities; researchers, too, were surprised, and there is still very little Canadian research on the establishment of places of worship for minorities. In other words, religious diversity is like finding strangers where they are least expected. There is, of course, the possibility for productive partnerships. However, it will be seen that municipalities tried to be somewhat discreet with regard to this topic and keep information, and their problems, to themselves.

An ethno-religious landscape in transition

It is important to note that some of these situations are relatively new. Immigration did not begin to diversify, that is, in terms of the numbers of non-Europeans, until about 30 years ago, and the immigration figures have also increased significantly in the last 10 years. The length of time people have been immigrating to a community and the community's volume of immigration are often preconditions to plans to build a place of worship.

Of course, Montréal's religious landscape already included more than just Catholic and Protestant churches (which are still dominant, however). For a long time, a variety of places of worship have succeeded one another to Mile End, sometimes in the same building, and at other times in private residences. Today, they are part of Mile End's heritage (Bronson, 2002). Moreover, the urban fabric of Montréal, which has long been called "the city of 100 steeples," has always been marked, if not structured, by religious institutions. So what's changed?

First, the volume of immigration has had an impact on the urban landscape: approximately 35% of the some 800 places of worship on Montréal Island are associated with specific immigrant or ethnoreligious groups (all information provided here has been taken from Germain et al., 2003). There has also been a rise in Eastern, non-Christian religions, such as Islam, Sikhism and Buddhism, and a considerable increase in churches associated with Reform Protestantism, which attracts both immigrants and native-born Canadians. However, the fluidity of the phenomenon has made it difficult to come up with specific numbers.

In terms of space, many small communities, which often have limited resources, have established themselves in industrial parks and unused commercial zones, if not in the privacy of residences. There has also been an increase in bigger and more visible megaprojects (specific architectures). The fact that so-called visible minorities frequent these places obviously accentuates the phenomenon. In addition, these places of worship are no longer concentrated in inner cities; they can now be found in the suburbs and on the outskirts of the city. Finally, and this phenomenon is not without consequence, in addition to being built away from the downtown core, they are no longer neighbourhood facilities, as parish churches were. Because the communities are scattered throughout the metropolitan area, and because land is scarce and expensive, places of worship increasingly operate regionally and, consequently, often have neighbours who do not share their religious convictions.

A difficult economic and fiscal situation
Why do so many municipal officials consider this explosion of places of worship to be a problem?

First, there is the issue of economics. In Quebec, places of worship are exempt from property and school taxes. This means that, for municipalities, which receive more than three quarters of their revenue from these types of tax, a place of worship is not a very valuable facility (officials would say this translates into a loss of revenue). Their value decreases further when they incorporate community facilities (gymnasium, school, social assistance activities and homeless shelters), some of which are available to the people in the neighbourhood. This does not present a problem in difficult economic times, as in the early 1990s, or when land is not scarce. In fact, municipalities granted numerous building and expansion permits to places of worship at that time. However, when the economy begins to grow again, as it did in the mid-1990s, municipalities tend to give preference to a high-tech firm rather than a Hindu temple when they develop their industrial parks. They may also try to limit the tax exemption to the place of worship itself, or else to convince the provincial government to repeal its legislation outright. Sometimes, the communities have to interrupt or abandon their construction plans due to a lack of funds or, mid-way, they begin to use lower-quality materials. Of course, this phenomenon is not limited to religious congregations, but it does not improve the image of places of worship in the eyes of municipal administrators.

Delicate policy issues
Municipalities are still ill-equipped to manage such complex issues, and zoning indeed has its limits (beginning with classifying places of worship). Therefore, decisions cannot be based solely on regulations. It is no coincidence that many issues surrounding the building of places of worship have created controversies and resulted in delicate political compromises. Controversies arising from the dissatisfaction of Montréal residents have increased in recent years, forcing the municipalities to mediate in order to avoid the spiral of legal confrontations. Luckily, religious congregations generally dislike confrontations and prefer negotiations to find a reasonable solution. However, the residents of some neighbourhoods have not hesitated to take their case to the courts (which often in the end remind the municipalities of their obligation to find reasonable solutions). In addition, the make-up of city councils often becomes a sensitive

issue, given the religious affiliation of some elected officials. However, this is a two-way street, and it may or may not favour the granting of a permit.

To top it off, in the city of Montréal, these issues are managed by the boroughs. Before amalgamation, the NIMBY attitude ("not in my backyard") was common, and municipalities sometimes required congregations to provide the addresses of their members. This being said, it is unclear whether there will now be a different dynamic in the boroughs, given the highly decentralized model adopted in Montréal.

Conclusion

Religious diversity, at least in terms of places of worship, poses quite a challenge to municipalities. In the past, some did not want to divulge information on the number of building permit applications from places of worship for fear of encouraging an already considerable increase. However, the complexity of the issue requires a different attitude today.

The management of religious diversity increasingly raises the issue of the nature of public space (must it be neutral to be inclusive? is a neutral public space possible or desirable?) in the face of both a rise in discussions on secularism (which are relatively new here) and the desire of some communities to further assert themselves as contributors to the city. Moreover, much work remains to be done to gain a better understanding of the social functions performed by the various places of worship for their members, as well as to clarify the relationships between their more community-oriented activities (social assistance, recreation, daycare, etc.) and the neighbourhoods concerned. Finally, another area for exploration is the sharing of places of worship, a phenomenon that is more common than might be thought.

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The extent to which observed progress can be attributed to the research projects may be difficult to determine. However, what matters is that the research, discourse and action on the issue are gaining momentum and that systemic change is being made.

TRIEC: A Research Proposal in Action

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In September 2003, the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC)[1] was established with the mandate to improve access to the labour market for skilled immigrants in the Toronto Region. It was launched as part of a broader set of actions emerging from the Toronto City Summit Alliance (TCSA), a civically led initiative to restore and improve the vitality and prosperity of Toronto.

Although TRIEC was a recommendation of the TCSA report, *Enough Talk: An Action Plan for the Toronto Region*, its principles and objectives were grounded in ideas developed through the research of Naomi Alboim and the Maytree Foundation, and documented in *Fulfilling the Promise: Integrating Immigrant Skills into the Canadian Economy* (Caledon Institute of Social Policy 2002). This paper, the result of extensive research, interviews, focus groups and presentations across the country, identified the need for an integrated systems approach, in order to expedite the integration of skilled immigrants into the labour market.

Practical solutions involving all levels of government and relevant stakeholders were put forward. The solutions within the proposed system included the development of an Internet information portal, improved processes for academic, skill, and language assessment, mentoring programs, integrated bridging programs to fill identified gaps, labour market language training and work experience opportunities. In addition, access to student loans for immigrants was recommended, as were incentives for all the stakeholders (including employers, occupational regulatory bodies, educational institutions and immigrant associations). Finally, the paper proposed the establishment of a leadership council to bring together the various players involved, in a collaborative effort necessary to make the system a functioning reality.

TRIEC has become the leadership council proposed in *Fulfilling the Promise*. It was established with funding and support from the Maytree Foundation, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, and Canadian Heritage. It is comprised of representatives of all stakeholder groups, employers, labour, community, occupational regulatory bodies, post-secondary institutions, foundations and all three levels of government. TRIEC is chaired by Dominic D'Alessandro, President and CEO of Manulife Financial, and has set an ambitious agenda of change.

Its first effort was to establish an internship program for internationally trained immigrants

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[1] For more information, please visit TRIEC's Website at <www.triec.ca>

called Career Bridge. This project is supported by the provincial government and has already successfully placed approximately 40 interns.

Other committees of the council are developing initiatives for public education, information and recognition, mentoring activities, employer best practices, actions that will improve matching between the supply of immigrant skills and the occupational demand, as well as ways to enhance intergovernmental collaboration.

Apart from TRIEC, there have been other related activities since the publication of Fulfilling the Promise and substantive progress has been achieved. Real movement can be observed at different levels, most notably in the development of a number tools identified in the research: a national information portal, pre-arrival access to skills upgrading, credential recognition, enhanced labour market language training and bridging programs. As well, different stakeholder groups, including employers, occupational regulatory bodies and community colleges, are working to increase their capacity to provide better access to immigrants.

The extent to which this progress can be attributed to the research projects may be difficult to determine. However, and most importantly, what matters is that the research, discourse and action on the issue are gaining momentum and that systemic change is being made.

No North American city-region has been more affected by immigration, at least in recent years, than the one commonly referred to as the Greater Toronto Area, which has absorbed more than one third of all immigrants who have come to Canada since 1970.

Meeting the Challenges of Immigrant Settlement: Is Your Municipality Ready?

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Do municipal governments have a role in immigrant settlement? Municipal officials and policy analysts often dismiss the idea of municipal involvement as unrealistic. Immigration and immigrant settlement, they point out, are federal government responsibilities (or federal-provincial responsibilities in some provinces), and do not fall under municipal jurisdiction. Moreover, they say, the ability of Canada's municipal governments to initiate new programs is severely constrained by their legal status as creations of provincial governments. Provincial laws and regulations define what municipal governments may or may not do, and immigrant settlement is not a responsibility the province delegates to municipalities.

This legal reasoning is often buttressed by an economic argument. Municipal governments cannot afford to initiate new programs, even if provincial governments let them do so—or so some municipal officials and policy analysts insist. Recent cuts in provincial aid to municipalities have strengthened this argument, both by reducing municipal ability to innovate, and by making municipalities more dependent on own-source revenues (principally property taxes and user fees) that are highly sensitive politically.

Despite these barriers to action, there remain compelling reasons for municipal governments to look for ways to accommodate immigrant settlement. As a municipality's immigrant population grows, so does the importance of that population to the local labour force and the local tax base, making its well-being a matter of increasing interest to local government. Moreover, cities are usually at the forefront of social change and their councils and agencies are often called upon to deal with unfamiliar and perhaps disruptive situations for which central governments have not made specific provisions. This was certainly the case in the Greater Toronto Area, the locale for the research on which this article is based.

The Greater Toronto Area, and how we conducted the research

No North American city-region has been more affected by immigration, at least in recent years,

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[1] Views or opinions expressed here are solely the authors' and do not imply any endorsement by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing or the Province of Ontario.

than the one commonly referred to as the Greater Toronto Area, which has absorbed more than one third of all immigrants who have come to Canada since 1970. These immigrants have increasingly settled outside the core city, first in suburban municipalities within the former Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto (Metro) and then in newer suburbs outside Metro. In 1998, when the Ontario government consolidated its government with those of its six member municipalities, Metro became the new city of Toronto. The research for our study began in 1997, just before the establishment of the new city, and therefore spanned a period marked not only by Toronto's consolidation but also by a large-scale realignment of provincial and municipal responsibilities (commonly referred to as downloading). Thus, it severely tested the ability of municipal officials to do anything more than deal with institutional and financial changes. Nonetheless, some of the area's local councils and service agencies tried in various ways to adapt their programs and policies to their changing populations. Their experience and observations provided the material on which this article is based.

Our research had three objectives: 1) to promote understanding of the challenges that immigration presents to municipal governments, 2) to document the different ways in which municipal councils and agencies responded to those challenges, and 3) to account for differences in responses.[2] This investigation was carried out in three phases. During the first phase, we compared municipal council responses to immigration in seven Toronto-area municipalities (Metro, the former core cities of Toronto and York, and the suburban municipalities of Brampton, Mississauga, Markham and Vaughan) (Wallace and Frisken, 2000).

In the second phase, we expanded the study to encompass the governments of the new Toronto and those suburbs with large immigrant populations (nine cities contained in four regional municipalities—see Figure 1) and examine how their service providers dealt with immigrants (Frisken and Wallace, 2000b). We interviewed municipal staff in ten service-delivery sectors: economic development, education, housing, land-use planning, libraries,

recreation, public health, policing, public transit and social services. We also interviewed individuals who were knowledgeable about local immigrant-related issues and aware of the response of municipal councils and agencies to these issues.

The study's third phase consisted of meetings with regionally dispersed focus groups composed of representatives and clients of community-based organizations (CBOs) that deal with immigrants. We asked participants to comment on the study and its findings and to discuss their own experiences dealing with municipal services (Frisken and Wallace 2000a).

Principal findings

The study revealed large variations in responses to immigrants by different municipal councils in the Greater Toronto Area, by service-providing agencies and by individual staff members in single municipalities. Municipal agencies also differed in their reactions to downloading, to cuts in provincial financial support for programs and to the repeal of provincial laws (like employment equity legislation) relevant to immigrant settlement. Some staff members cited these factors as reasons why they were not doing more to assist immigrants or why they had cut programs themselves. Others were struggling to find new, less costly ways of maintaining existing programs or even to add new ones. These findings led us to conclude, "a national policy that places much of the onus for accommodating immigrants on municipal governments implies large disparities in the services provided in different municipalities, even within the same urban region" (Frisken and Wallace 2003: 176). Nonetheless, there was enough evidence of local initiative to show that municipal governments are able to adapt their programs to specific circumstances despite the legal and financial constraints placed on them by provincial governments.

Options for municipal decision-makers

What, then, do municipal decision-makers need to know to better address immigrant needs and increasing ethnoracial diversity in their communities? Where should limited resources be targeted? Our research identified five types of challenges that immigrant settlers present to local governments and a substantial number of ways in which local governments may respond to them.

Challenge #1:
Overcoming barriers to communication

Although immigrants are expected to learn English or French as soon as possible after they arrive in Canada and although the Canadian government sponsors courses to help them do so, many people who seek help from municipal agencies know little of the language in which the municipal government operates. Those most likely to belong to this category are persons who have just arrived in Canada, women who have stayed home with small children, and elderly persons. Even those who have mastered the language of everyday speech may be unfamiliar with the special vocabularies (jargon) used by the professional staff of municipal agencies. Municipal service providers also face the challenge of informing immigrants of the services they offer. Finding ways to overcome language barriers is thus a major challenge for municipal agencies with immigrant clients. For their part, immigrants identify lack of fluency in the commonly spoken official language as a key barrier to locating and taking advantage of government services.

Different cultural norms and expectations can also stand in the way of effective communication between service providers and their clients if these differences lead to serious misunderstandings on either side of the agency-client interaction.

Municipal governments may address language barriers in several ways. The most straightforward approach is to employ in-house translators who will translate information about municipal government and its programs into the non-official languages most commonly used in the community. Immigrants may then access this material when it is distributed in municipal offices and CBOs, posted on municipal Web sites, published in ethnic newspapers or deposited in local public libraries, which immigrants tend to use and value.

A municipal government can also employ cultural interpreters who will advise its staff (perhaps during special training sessions) about the cultural norms and expectations of the immigrant groups. These same people may work with staff members and individual clients in face-to-face meetings.

Adding staff for the specific purpose of dealing with language and cultural barriers is likely to be expensive, however, and will become increasingly so as a municipality becomes more multicultural. Thus, municipal agencies may consider less costly options. One alternative course of action is to engage the services of a professional translation agency as the need arises. Another is to compile and distribute a roster of municipal staff members able to act as linguistic or cultural interpreters for their colleagues. A third is to contract with members of CBOs to accompany their clients to meetings with municipal staff, to assist with staff training or to prepare profiles of different ethnic groups that highlight areas (like family and child-rearing norms) that may cause inter-cultural misunderstandings. A fourth is to draw volunteers from different language and cultural groups to conduct home visits or otherwise assist agencies serving immigrants.

In deciding how to deal with communication barriers, municipal agencies should take into account what these different options entail for immigrants. For example, asking clients to provide their own interpreters may mean asking them to discuss personal and sensitive issues in front of friends or family members. Requesting they employ their own translator means imposing additional expenses on persons who are already struggling to make ends meet.

Challenge #2:
Developing a multicultural workforce

As suggested above, a municipal government can draw important benefits from a multicultural workforce. Namely, it strengthens the linguistic diversity of municipal staff and ensures that municipal institutions reflect the ethnocultural diversity of the community they serve. For these reasons, some municipalities invest considerable effort in building multi-ethnic workforces, although they often face barriers of various sorts. Funding constraints can limit hiring opportunities and even force municipalities to cut staff. Services such as policing may attract fewer recruits from ethnic communities whose members hold negative attitudes toward this career field, or who view the institutional structures as discriminatory. In fields that rely mainly on candidates with professional qualifications (e.g. land use planning, recreation, public health, libraries, social services), opportunities for increasing staff diversity are constrained by the limited diversity found among graduates of professional programs.

Developing a multicultural workforce is not easy, and therefore takes time to achieve. A

municipal government can nonetheless assist in the process by committing itself formally and publicly to employment equity, by advertising job opportunities to immigrant communities through the channels of communication described above, and by sending recruitment officers to confer with community groups.

Challenge #3: Securing corporate backing

Staff members may believe that adapting services to immigrants makes good political, social and economic sense but they may also find this idea a tough sell to municipal councils, which may not want to be accused of favouring newcomers over long-term residents. Indeed, our findings suggested that municipal councils tend not to respond to immigrant-related changes in their communities until a well-publicized incident or a political controversy demands attention. A typical council response at this stage of ethnoracial change is to set up a committee or task force that will offer advice on matters of race and community relations. Some municipal governments move on to more sophisticated plans of action, such as adopting equity or human rights policies, initiating multilingual and translation services, setting up staff training programs, appointing one or more staff members to ensure that all departments deliver their services equitably, or even establishing municipal grant programs to assist CBOs in providing services to particular ethnocultural groups. The most successful approaches recognize that immigrants do not comprise a single group and that their presence calls for a number of different approaches.

Municipal council policies can play an important role in improving immigrant access to services, increasing staff understanding of their changing community, providing a vehicle for public education and awareness, and enabling staff to adopt and justify new programs. From a more abstract perspective, these policies reassure the staff members that they are acting with the support of the municipality that employs them, and not in an indifferent or non-supportive environment.

Challenge #4: Securing leadership

Provincial directives or federal government programs can provide incentives to municipal governments to develop or change their programs and practices in order to make them more immigrant-friendly. When such incentives are weak or non-existent, however, local leadership becomes particularly important. Such leadership may come from a mayor, individual councillors or senior staff members who are intent on raising awareness, among other local officials, of what is happening and what can be done. The most successful leadership efforts are those that define immigrant-related programs as aspects of "city-building" and emphasize the key role that immigrants can play in their communities' economic and social life.

Challenge #5: Building effective partnerships with community-based organizations

The wide range of services provided by CBOs may complement or supplement those provided by municipal agencies. These organizations often have better access than city employees to ethnoracial groups and are able to deliver services to the newer immigrants, for which city agencies are often unprepared. Their members can also provide immigrants with information about available government services, act as advocates for immigrants in public forums, and provide valuable assistance like translation and cultural interpretation for municipal staff.

Despite these overlapping or intersecting activities, however, relations between municipal agencies and CBOs are complex and sometimes strained. These two types of organizations often have very different agendas. Whereas municipal staff is responsible for serving the entire local population, CBOs may wish to prioritize the needs of one or more specific group. It is also possible for CBOs to feel like unequal partners in their dealings with municipal agencies. If they depend on municipal grants or on contracts-for-service with municipal agencies, they may feel pressured to tailor their activities to municipal priorities. Senior governments can add to such feelings by requiring municipal agencies to "partner" with CBOs when they seek funding for new programs. While partnerships can be valuable to both sets of participants, they can also be difficult for those involved. They seem to work best when they grow out of a mutually recognized need rather than out of a desire by municipal staff to have recourse to CBOs for their own purposes.

Conclusion

The challenges that immigrant settlement presents to municipal governments are numerous and complex, and not every municipal

government is eager to grapple with them. The benefits of addressing this issue should not be overlooked, however. As Canadian cities grow in the next century, so will the diversity of their residents. Municipal governments that attempt to ease the process of immigrant settlement indirectly promote harmony and stability in their communities, produce a satisfied resident population, and encourage all its members to become as self-reliant and productive as possible.

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The achievement of a rich multiculturalism depends first and foremost on increased spending over a wide range of locally-based multicultural programs, designed to bridge cultural differences and to encourage intercultural exchange and collaboration. The support of such programs implies increased federal funding to municipalities.

Sustaining Canada's Multicultural Cities

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Introduction

Arriving and departing travelers at Vancouver International Airport are greeted by a huge bronze sculpture of a boatload of strange, mythical creatures. *The Spirit of Haida Gwaii*, a 20-foot long, 11-foot wide and 13-foot high masterpiece, is by the late Bill Reid, a member of the Haida Gwaii First Nations band from the Pacific Northwest. The canoe is crammed with thirteen passengers, spirits or mythical creatures from Haida mythology. Grizzly Bear and Bear Mother (who is part human) sit at the bow facing each other, with their two Bear cubs snug between them. Beaver is paddling menacingly amidship, and behind him sits the mysterious intercultural Dogfish Woman. Shy Mouse Woman is tucked in the stern. Ferociously playful, Wolf sinks his fangs into the Eagle's wing, while Eagle is attacking Bear's paw. Frog, who symbolizes the ability to cross boundaries between worlds, is partially inside and partially outside the canoe. An ancient reluctant conscript paddles stoically. In the center, holding a speaker's staff in his right hand, stands the chief, whose identity, according to the sculptor, is deliberately uncertain. The legendary Raven (master of tricks, transformations and multiple identities) steers the motley crew. *The Spirit of Haida Gwaii* is a symbol of the "strange multiplicity," the astonishing cultural diversity that characterizes the cities and regions of the 21st century.

In my view, this sculpture is a powerful metaphor of the contemporary urban condition, in which people hitherto unaccustomed to living side by side are thrust together in cities of incredible cultural and social diversity. There have been record numbers of newcomers arriving in most Western nations in recent years, according to a study released by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in January 2004. In 2001-2002, the number of permanent immigrants reached new heights in Canada. During the same period, New Zealand also recorded an unprecedented flow of immigration, while the rate of immigration in France, Switzerland and Austria increased by 15%. In the City of Vancouver, which boasts a population of just over 700,000 inhabitants, the majority of residents (51% at the 2001 census) are from a non-English-speaking background. Profound changes to the urban social fabric have thus taken place in the past twenty years or so.

Most Western nations today are demographically multicultural–none more so than Canada–and this diversity is likely to increase in the foreseeable future. But how does a demographically multicultural nation become a cohesive multicultural society? Four years ago, the federal Privy Council and the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs hosted a special workshop that came to the following conclusion: the challenge of integrating immigrant populations was *the leading policy challenge for Canada's largest cities*. With the recent announcement of a new urban agenda by the

Martin government, it seems timely to remind ourselves that the reality of the multicultural nation, as it is actually lived, is primarily an urban reality. Indeed, multiculturalism is fundamentally an urban issue. The greatest impacts of immigration are felt in our cities. How do we manage our co-existence in the shared spaces of 21ˢᵗ century multicultural cities? What happens when strangers become neighbours? What type of a challenge is this for urban policy, for the urban planning profession, for citizens and for urban governance?

Learning from the local

When looking at cities, it is possible to observe the workings and failings of multiculturalism, the successes and failures of multicultural societies. As in other countries, newcomers to Canada overwhelmingly choose to live in the largest cities: Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver. When immigrants with different histories, cultures and needs arrive in global cities, their presence disrupts taken-for-granted categories of social life and urban space, as they struggle to meet the conditions for belonging in their adoptive society. How do societies establish civility, then conviviality, in spite of cultural differences? How do we, as newcomers or as members of the host society, generate an everyday capacity to live alongside and work with those we perceive as different from us? Becoming a multicultural city and society means more than ethnic restaurants or citizenship legislation. *It requires the active construction of new ways of living together, new forms of spatial and social belonging.* Building new communities is a long-term process, during which fears and anxieties cannot be ignored or dismissed but must be tackled. There are fears, on the part of the *host society*, of loss of identity and a familiar way of life: outsiders are perceived as a threat to a cherished way of life and traditions. Conversely, there are anxieties and fears, on the part of newcomers, about acceptance, belonging, security, and loss of their traditions and familiar ways of living.

In multicultural cities and neighbourhoods, both newcomers and hosts undergo a process of adaptation. Newcomers struggle to establish collective cultural expressions of their identity in places of worship, commercial environments, recreational facilities, and community centers. They also make claims on the use of public space in everyday life, seek the possibility of transforming the built environment in ways that reflect cultural diversity and strive to attain a subjective sense of belonging. Hosts struggle with the many changes to their once familiar local environment. Some of these changes are welcome, while others are less so.

The new urban reality of cultural difference presents challenges to urban governance, planning and policy. Allow me to explain. The governance implications include encouraging the political participation of immigrants and, related to this, the openness of society to new notions of an emerging common identity. This entails expanding the spaces of democracy through political participation at the local level, which presupposes the empowering of newcomers to participate, by integrating them economically and socially. Participation also means expanding the cultural repertoires of planners and other civil servants by designing more inclusive and culturally appropriate participatory processes. It signifies recognizing and addressing the cultural biases built into planning systems, and the built environment itself. For example: how we perceive heritage, how we consider the uses and design of public space, what we consider to be appropriate housing (size, design, "appropriate" number of inhabitants per residence), what we believe is appropriate behavior in public spaces, in backyards or in front yards, and what by-laws are created to regulate these behaviors. In short, it implies a "multicultural readiness" (Ley 1999) on the part of municipalities, a readiness not yet apparent in most cases. Another important aspect of urban social integration is the willingness of the host society and immigrant groups and individuals to work together across cultural divides without the fear of losing their own identity, and the willingness of hosts as well as newcomers to adapt their ways of life to the new situation.

Successful policy responses

Research in Vancouver and Toronto has shown that local urban policies have lagged behind the rapidly changing demographic realities. There is great variation between municipalities, even within the same metropolitan area, with regard to their multicultural readiness (Etherington and Hutton 2002). But there are also *beacons of innovation.* The City of Vancouver for instance, has developed a series of policy responses to its diverse population, including the hiring of multicultural planners within the City

Planning Department and the establishment of a multicultural outreach program. Vancouver funds several remarkable local institutions: the Roundhouse Community Centre, the Collingwood Neighbourhood House, and the Little Mountain Neighbourhood House. If you visit any of these centres, you will witness an incredible diversity of people joining together in everyday activities related to family and childcare services, sports and recreational programs, cultural and arts programs.

The Collingwood Neighbourhood House (CNH), established in the late 1980s, had set out to create and maintain "a place for everyone."[1] Last year, their programs and services reached an estimated 25,000 to 35,000 residents, representing 60% to 80% of the local population. These numbers are even more impressive when you consider the demographic context. In 1986, 51% of the residents of Collingwood were of an English language background while 21% were of Chinese origin. By 1996, the neighbourhood's population was 44% Chinese and 10% English, with growing Filipino and South Asian communities, as well as small Vietnamese, Portuguese, Italian and First Nations groups.

This is an example of a neighbourhood, and there are many others like it across Canada, undergoing rapid socio-cultural change. An old community is dissolving and a new one must be built. The funding agencies backing CNH (the City of Vancouver and United Way) mandated a culturally diverse organization, and this is reflected in their staff, in the design of their building, and in their mission statement. CNH's mission is to "build community," and from the onset they believed that this could not be achieved by providing culturally specific services. The very idea of a neighbourhood house implies a place with no subcultural affiliation and no shared interest other than creating a community based on common residency.

Therefore, the approach to programming is *intercultural* : the services are seen as not merely meeting a need, but providing places where people come together and connect by engaging in common activities. Residents are involved as researchers in the investigation of their own community, which further helps in establishing contacts across cultural divides, in building relationships, and in empowering locals to become involved in decision-making and programming. The CNH has also established its own community leadership training institute that targets recruitment in under-represented and vulnerable communities within Collingwood. It conducts regular anti-racism education programs, and teaches, through its own example, that community is built through inclusion. This is a daily negotiation of difference, where seemingly inconsequential everyday activities actually cause barriers to come down by allowing participants to get to know people of different cultural backgrounds. Each day, the staff, the volunteers and the user groups make small decisions that can matter a great deal to those who are made to feel at home. Indeed, details such as the artwork on the walls, the language of a pamphlet, the faces behind the reception desk, the height of a water fountain, can all signify inclusion, or exclusion. In all these ways, and at all of these levels of detail, the CNH has succeeded in becoming an exemplary *intercultural institution.*

A little known reason behind the successful diversity mission of the CNH is that its founders were trained at the Hastings Institute, another innovation of the City of Vancouver. This Institute, established in the late 1980s, was designed to deliver training to civil servants on issues related to anti-racism and diversity in the workplace. Anti-racist qualities are not necessarily innate, precisely because we are all born into a particular culture. In fact, we must learn to step outside this culture, to be able to see it critically—just as Bill Reid's sculpture helps us do—if we hope to foster intercultural exchange, a central element of a *rich multicultural society.*

Over the past decade, Annick Germain has been studying the increasingly multi-ethnic neighbourhoods of Montréal, determining how

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[1] The discussion on Collingwood Neighbourhood House draws on research by Dang (2002).

modes of inter-ethnic co-existence develop in the particular spaces of the city. She examined the factors contributing to peaceful co-existence, as well as the extent to which Montréal's "diversity management policies" have been successful. Since the mid-1980s, the City of Montréal has had an Intercultural Affairs Bureau, under the authority of the Mayor. The Bureau's focus on the funding of sports and recreational programs reinforces my argument that these everyday activities are among the most significant factors in encouraging dialogue across cultural divides. They also make possible the everyday negotiations of difference and the developing of modes of co-existence.

More than bricks and mortar

As argued in the previous section, creating a functioning multicultural society requires an investment in human beings as well as in bricks and mortar. The Collingwood Neighbourhood House serves a population of 44,000 residents, which represents *one fifteenth* of Vancouver's entire population. Their operating budget is $3 million, provided from funding sources that include earned income ($1,629,000, mostly from fees), government agencies ($1,102,000, only $66,000 of which comes from federal sources) and fundraising activities ($248,000). The CNH relies on many volunteers to keep things running and in the mid-1990s they needed a new building to house their expanding programs. Other municipalities in Vancouver have no such institution, partly because lack of funds, partly because of lack of awareness.

Anti-racism and diversity training organizations like the Hastings Institute need regular infusions of funds for staffing and programs, funds that cash-strapped cities have been cutting for the past decade. Every large city in Canada has an organization similar to Vancouver's Immigrant Settlement Services (ISS) and the United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society (SUCCESS). Staff members at ISS arrange for refugees to be met at the airport by someone speaking their language and bring them to a central location where they are provided with shelter for a month. During that time, other staff members provide the newcomer with information on how to open a bank account, get a driver's license, find their way around the city, study English or French, find accommodation, and begin to look for work. These may be the small details of life,

in themselves unspectacular and unglamorous, but absolutely essential to the early stages of integration, and to the integration experience. SUCCESS is particularly interesting because it started as an agency for dealing with a single ethnic community, but has now diversified and has an interpreting bank of more than a dozen languages.

I could go on with examples. But the point is that we need to systematize all these wonderful innovative projects into a revised vision for Canadian multiculturalism. The key to his revised vision is the recognition of multiculturalism as primarily an urban issue, involving a transformation of our cities and a challenge for urban governance.

A multicultural manifesto for the 21st century

The following recommendations draw not only from my own recent work in immigrant communities in Toronto and Vancouver, but more broadly from the work of colleagues in the Metropolis project over the past six years.

In the spirit of striving to realize the full potential of Canadian multicultural democracy, and of making Canadian cities a global exemplar of peaceful intercultural co-existence, I suggest these seven requirements.

- The achievement of a rich multiculturalism (as opposed to a shallow multiculturalism of only food and festivals)[2] depends first and foremost on increased spending over a wide range of locally-based multicultural programs, designed to bridge cultural differences and to encourage intercultural exchange and collaboration. The support of such programs implies increased federal funding to municipalities.

- Second, a rich multiculturalism requires multi-tiered political and policy support systems, from federal through provincial and municipal levels, and extending to the work of non-governmental organizations. Provincial governments may be required to mandate municipalities to develop multicultural policies and plans (as has been the case in New South Wales, Australia, since 1998).

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[2] Hiebert (2003, 47), reporting on the Vancouver Community Studies Survey (n=2000), uses the term "shallow multiculturalism" to summarize what this survey reveals about attitudes in Vancouver.

- Third, in addressing the challenges of integration in everyday life, the culture and practices of municipal workers (police officers, judges, teachers, planners, and service providers) have to be addressed through anti-racism and diversity training, such as that provided through organizations like the Hastings Institute.

- Fourth, a rich multiculturalism requires reform and innovation in the realm of social policy, from the most obvious (language assistance) to the creation of larger scale institutions such as the Collingwood Neighbourhood House. It also needs support for immigrant organizations, provision of culturally sensitive social services, and so on.

- A fifth requirement is a better understanding of how urban policies can and should address cultural difference. This includes issues of design, location, and process. For example, if various cultures use public and recreational space differently, then accommodating these differences may require designing new kinds of public spaces, or re-designing old ones. Space also needs to be made available for the different worshipping practices of immigrant cultures: the building of mosques and temples, for example, has become a source of conflict in many cities. When cultural conflicts arise over different uses of land and buildings, of private as well as public spaces, planners must find more communicative, less adversarial ways of resolving these conflicts, through participatory mechanisms that give a voice to stakeholders. This in turn necessitates new skills for planners and architects in cross-cultural practices, which is a challenge to the university programs that train "urban professionals" such as architects, planners, community development workers, or social workers.

- A sixth requirement is the elaboration of new notions of citizenship—multicultural and urban—that are more responsive to newcomers' claims on rights to the city and more encouraging of their political participation at the local level. This involves nothing less than willingness, on the part of host societies, to be redefined in the process

of migrant integration, as well as openness to the new definition of common identity that emerges through an always contested notion of the common good and shared destiny of all residents.

- The seventh requirement is an understanding of, and preparedness to work with, the emotions that drive these conflicts over integration. On the part of the host societies, these include emotions of fear, attachment to history and memory, and desire for status quo, while migrants experience the fear of exclusion and the (possibly ambivalent) desire for belonging. When, in the late 1980s, Vancouverites protested the building of so-called "Monster Houses" by Chinese newcomers in certain neighbourhoods, this is what happened. Urban planners, not trained in negotiation skills or cross-cultural conflict resolution, "solved" the problem through by-laws that imposed one culture's version of "appropriate" housing on another. This is not how we move towards an intercultural society. Refusing to acknowledge and deal with these emotions is a recipe for failure in the longer-term project of intercultural co-existence.

If multicultural cities are to be socially sustainable, their citizens, city governments, and city-building professionals must work collaboratively on all these fronts.

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[2] Hiebert (2003, 47), reporting on the Vancouver Community Studies Survey (n=2000), uses the term "shallow multiculturalism" to summarize what this survey reveals about attitudes in Vancouver.

In the near future, the term "visible minority" may no longer be meaningful in Vancouver, as close to half of the city's residents now belong to this "minority." From a service perspective, how do public institutions and facilities continuously reflect the diversity of the community?

Diversity and Access: Addressing Newcomers' Needs in the City of Vancouver

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Baldwin Wong has been the Multicultural Social Planner of the City of Vancouver since 1991. He has recently edited the City's Newcomer's Guide and is currently developing a translation policy and outreach strategy for the City.

In the course of the past two decades, Vancouver has undergone rapid and significant change, evolving into a world-class city, consistently ranked as one of the most desirable places in which to live. The city's social and cultural diversities are among its strongest assets. The rich social fabric and the global economic connections that characterize Vancouver are products of this diversity.

The City of Vancouver takes pride in the diversity of its citizens. At the same time, it recognizes that this very diversity has implications on the way business is conducted. Since the mid-1990s, as a response to diversity, the City has undertaken a number of initiatives in areas such as civic participation, inclusiveness and service equity.

Vancouver's Strategic Actions

In 1996, the City reviewed the totality of its public involvement processes and developed strategies to increase civic participation, including the involvement of people faced with cultural and language barriers. In 2000, Vancouver's Social Planning Department conducted a community survey to help identify issues surrounding multiculturalism and diversity, as well as factors that might impede public access to civic services.

In 2001, as part of its public involvement strategy, the City published the *Newcomer's Guide to the City of Vancouver*,[1] The Guide, available in five languages, provides key information about civic government and community services and encourages citizen participation.

In 2003, the Social Planning Department published a compilation of key social indicators based on Statistics Canada 2001 census data. The results provide a number of challenges for future planning:

- Vancouver's growing population shows a significant increase in the proportion of immigrants (46%) and visible minorities (49%). About two-thirds of immigrants originate from Asia.

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[1] Information on this guide is available on the Website <www.newtovancouver.ca>.

- English is the mother tongue of less than half of Vancouver's population and Chinese is the mother tongue of more than one-quarter of the population.

- Certain neighbourhoods of the city present unique trends in concentrations of specific immigrant groups.

- There is a large population of working poor in Vancouver, and many people live below the low-income cut-off level.

Taking a Prospective View

In addressing the needs of newcomers, the following areas may warrant further investigation:

a) *Settlement and integration*: The senior levels of government are responsible for the initial settlement services, but there is no clear understanding of the role of municipal government. What can be the City's role in the planning of services for newcomers? Beyond the initial "settlement and adaptation" stage, how can civic services such as police, recreation, childcare, and programming for seniors and youth, be inclusive and responsive to newcomers' needs? How can the City facilitate newcomers' integration into local communities?

b) *Housing*: Vancouver's social indicators show a concentration of some immigrant groups in certain areas of the city. What is the implication of this clustering and concentration of specific communities? Are some groups more socially segregated than others? Does living in close proximity mean better access to social support networks? Recent statistics also indicated that there is an increasing wage gap between immigrant and non-immigrant populations. What key factors influence immigrants' choices of housing areas?

c) *Service access and competency*: In the near future, the term "visible minority" may no longer be meaningful in Vancouver, as close to half of the city's residents now belong to this "minority." From a service perspective, how do public institutions and facilities continuously reflect the diversity of the community? What kind of cultural competency is required in order to serve an increasingly diverse population? How do we assess the needs of new and emerging communities? What type of policy and resources are needed?

d) *Civic participation and outreach*: Cities such as Vancouver have now become hubs of a global citizenry. Public participation strategies must take into account diverse interests and practices, and communication tools for outreach purposes must go beyond the conventional models. Contacts with new groups should be an ongoing focus, with special attention given to the places where people gather and to the ways in which information is exchanged. Furthermore, certain questions must be addressed. For instance, how do we devise new outreach strategies that target under-represented groups such as immigrants or refugees? How do we support organizations that can assist in linking diverse communities and encourage interaction among groups?

After the tremendous success of Expo '86, Vancouver is once again preparing for the world, as host of the 2010 Olympic Games. It is especially important that the City, with the support of all stakeholders, continue to develop relevant policies and practices with the goal of building inclusive and sustainable communities. We look forward to working with the Federation of Canadian Municipalities and Metropolis on this important issue and to sharing our experience with other Canadian cities.

Participation is often put forward as a means to fight exclusion and foster integration while contributing to the recognition, expression and respect of different cultures. However, in practice, these objectives are sometimes difficult to balance.

Ambiguities in Diversity Management in the Delivery of Sports and Recreation Services

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The issues involved in recognizing differences and cultural rights manifest themselves primarily at the local level. Because exchanges—both positive and negative—take place every day in urban centres, cities are the first to grapple with questions about "living together" and ethnocultural diversity, not only as places where diverging opinions and different cultures and ways of life are expressed, but also as participants in these exchanges.

Unlike many Western countries, Canada has remained open to immigration, which it considers an economic and demographic asset. Most immigrants settle in urban areas and often in the downtown core of major cities like Montréal, Toronto or Vancouver, but some also opt for smaller communities. More and more, these municipalities are considering ways in which they can further their involvement in intercultural relations, not only because the proportion of residents that are members of immigrant or ethnic minority groups is increasing, but also because established immigrant and minority communities are making a place for themselves in their new society, asserting their cultural identity, and voicing their dissatisfaction with persisting situations of inequality. Another factor in the increasing interest in intercultural relations is the tensions that surface regularly between communities.

The principles of municipal intervention in sports and recreation activities

Having long ignored the issue of intercultural relations, Canadian cities now recognize the importance of becoming involved and investing in this area by working toward raising awareness. Since the late 1980s and the early 1990s, the City of Montréal has put in place a number of structures and adopted intervention principles to better recognize differences, whether in municipal administration (internal adaptation) or in service delivery to the public (external adaptation). After creating the Bureau interculturel de Montréal in 1988 and adopting the *Déclaration de Montréal contre le racisme et la discrimination* in 1989, the City of Montréal established an advisory board to assist the municipal administration and introduced an equal opportunity program, which aimed to raise to 25% the proportion of municipal personnel from ethnocultural minorities. In 1999, the Division des affaires interculturelles[1] adopted a new policy statement that defines the guiding

principles for managing intercultural relations: reception and settlement, applying principles of equity, non-discrimination and non-exclusion, strengthening the city's cosmopolitan character, and taking needs into account in strategic directions and service delivery (City of Montréal, Division des affaires interculturelles, 1999). Since 2000, the Division has published a manager's guide describing the main steps in reasonable accommodation (City of Montréal, Division des affaires interculturelles, 2000).

In this municipal approach, as in most cities elsewhere, participation is often put forward as a means to fight exclusion and foster integration while contributing to the recognition, expression and respect of different cultures. In practice, however, these objectives are sometimes difficult to balance. Tensions between recognizing pluralism and wanting to create a sense of belonging emerge at the local level, and informal practices are sometimes developed to combine the recognition of differences and the principles of equality and universalism.

In the current context of governance that characterizes the delivery of city services, these practices guide not only the municipal players themselves, but also their partners in local communities with specific characteristics, and sometimes require careful negotiation to achieve a balance among the different principles.

Montréal's Service des sports, loisirs et développement social (SSLDS)[2] devised an intercultural relations action plan to respond to the recreational needs of citizens from ethnic minority groups in the neighbourhoods most affected by ethnocultural diversity. Introduced in 1997, this action plan aims to develop programs for adapting to diversity, raising awareness among clients, and providing intercultural training to employees.

The management method adopted by the City is pragmatic and reactive; it is based on ad hoc responses to requests or conflicts that arise in the course of the management and the programming of sports and recreation activities. But what is the best way to encourage participation? Should citizens be left to form their own groups

according to their preferred practices (family and informal practices) and activities (sports and recreation activities specific to certain communities)? Or does this inhibit integration? Perhaps it is a question of implementing new activities practiced by specific groups, such as cricket, a popular sport among South Asians, or separate pool hours for men and women, usually requested by Jewish and Islamic communities.

Specialized diversity management practices: ethnicity as a resource

Diversity management practices in programming and running sports and recreation activities can vary from one neighbourhood to another. The differences depend on the neighbourhood's history and age, the proportion of immigrants, the traditions of recreation organizations, and the attitudes of the staff. Furthermore, the implementation of a recreation partnership policy in 1996 made the management of facilities and the programming of activities the responsibility of recreation organizations that sign a partnership agreement with the SSLDS. These organizations have varying concerns about recognizing differences in a context of scarce human and financial resources.

In a neighbourhood where immigration is a fairly recent phenomenon and where newly settled populations are socially and economically disadvantaged and often from visible minority groups, recreation organizations—even well-established ones—may have only limited knowledge of the characteristics of these populations, who seldom use their facilities. In another neighbourhood that is just as economically disadvantaged but whose population is highly multi-ethnic, the fact that organizations are founded by immigrants themselves encourages recreation managers to take this diversity into account when developing strategies to increase resident participation.

These strategies are based on intercultural skills acquired through practice or from the managers' own backgrounds. Recreation providers use their knowledge of residents' native languages and cultural and religious codes to establish good communication and a trusting relationship. But this recognition of diversity requires that everyone participate and respect the principles of universalism and equality (Germain et al. 2003). For example, an activity practiced mainly by one community in particular would be programmed if it were open

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[1] The Bureau interculturel de Montréal was renamed the Bureau des affaires interculturelles and then the Division des affaires culturelles in 1992. It has been called the Bureau des relations interculturelles since the new City of Montréal was formed.

[2] This refers to the former City of Montréal.

to all, even though it would initially attract mostly members of the aforementioned community. The objective, therefore, is to generate interest in other communities. As for religious symbols, they are accepted as long as other management principles, such as safety or health regulations, are respected. For example, young Muslim girls could were their head coverings in certain circumstances, but wearing a kara, the metal bracelet worn by Sikhs, would be banned during competitions. In this way, ethnicity is a resource for recreation providers, who use their intercultural knowledge in their work.

The degree of recognition of diversity can therefore vary greatly, from programming activities that might interest some groups and not others, to allowing the creation of teams based on ethnicity, which is less common. Both of these examples, however, demonstrate that interventions in sports and recreation activities, whether by municipalities or recreational organizations, can be seen from two perspectives. They can be inclusive because they aim to "reintegrate" immigrant and minority populations into more mainstream practices by paying them special attention, or they can be differentiating because, in targeting these populations, they stigmatize these differences, sometimes perceived as deviances rather than legitimate cultural identities.

Democratic benevolence or the true acceptance of differences

The research on ethnicity in sports and recreation activities shows that there is no real consensus on the effects of ethnic concentration in these activities. Some believe that they "reinforce ethnic distinctiveness and cultural identity, while others argue that they serve as a means of acculturating and assimilating ethnic groups" or of imposing behavioural norms, while still others think that they "provide members of disadvantaged ethnic groups with a channel for social mobility" (Frisken and Wallace 2002). These concentrations can take different forms, from the simple gravitation of people from certain groups to particular sports according to the tastes and preferences of their group, to the opposite extreme of the formation of leagues of teams with players of the same origin.

In a study conducted in the Netherlands, Janssens (2001) demonstrated that membership in an "ethnic" club or team can be attributed to push factors, such as the departure of a club or team member from a host community after a negative experience, and to pull factors, such as the desire to get together with friends, or share a language or culture. The spontaneous grouping, therefore, seems to be not only an expression of a desire to participate, but also a response to the search for others with the same cultural background, which can have beneficial effects because it can defuse inter-ethnic tensions.

We can therefore see the clustering or recognition of differences in different ways by looking at it from the point of view of minority groups. In the example of the pools, religious norms and values have led certain groups to ask for different sessions for men and women, which sometimes provokes strong reactions against what is considered to be "communitarianism." In the case of the City of Montréal, these separate sessions are open to all women and all men, regardless of their origins or religious beliefs. And the universality of this specificity allows many women from the majority group to use the pools during these reserved periods, sometimes because of the convenience of the schedule, but also, in some cases, because they deliberately want to avoid the discomfort they feel in the presence of men.

To better recognize the recreational needs of clients, it is important to know their specific characteristics and fully understand their respective values and norms. While it is sometimes difficult to make room for others without feeling threatened, it is also important to avoid "democratic impatience," which forces immigrants and communities to adapt quickly and unequivocally (Janssens, 2001). Three principles can guide actions in this area: accept the clusters, break down informal barriers to make activities accessible, and work on inter-ethnic communication and cooperation (*ibid*). This three-pronged strategy enables adaptation to diversity to be viewed as a process of recognizing differences in a spirit of reciprocity that allows practices to be adopted by people from all segments of society, whether they are from the minority or the majority. In a context of intervention, where the focus is increasingly on accountability and citizenship, it is important for all recreation managers to avoid both paternalism and simply relying on the values of the majority.

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Edmonton's McDougall Neighbourhood: Social Diversity at the Local Level

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It is 7 p.m. on a warm, sunny July evening in Edmonton. The McDougall School playground, playing fields and park are alive with the noises of many children and adults. Numerous mothers, born in Cambodia, with their babies and toddlers, sit on the grass eating, nursing and talking amongst themselves. Their husbands are settled around a couple of picnic tables, smoking, laughing, playing cards. A little farther off is a small group of men and women, Vietnamese and Chinese, talking while their children play. Near the playground is a group of adults carefully watching their young children on the slides, climbers and swings. This mix of men and women comes from the new modest single family homes constructed across the street; they are "typical Canadians." This evening, a couple of women from Eritrea with a number of children, mostly between 8 and 13 years old, have come to the park. Quite a few Aboriginal children of all ages—but with no accompanying adults—are playing soccer and baseball on the playing fields, are busy on the playground, or are jumping rope.

In Canada, in city upon city, it is in local neighbourhoods that the social diversity of Canadians becomes a reality. In recent work with the Laidlaw Foundation, the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) has undertaken projects aimed at building inclusive communities. Social inclusion focuses on "closing the distance" between diverse groups and the larger society, by removing exclusionary conditions and providing access to resources and participation, thus changing both the newcomers and the receiving group—in this case, the neighbourhood.

However, the more we observe this summer evening scene at McDougall School and Park, the less we know. How do subgroups interact and influence a neighbourhood? Do public spaces, recreational activities, sports and open areas contribute to the social integration of both the children and their parents? How is a sense of neighbourhood developed amidst this diversity? And finally, how does the McDougall neighbourhood relate to the rest of the city—is it included or is it a "fringe" community?

In this same neighbourhood, when it is time to register for children's soccer teams, the "typical Canadian" parents and children are in line well before the doors are open. There are no Cambodian children. A few Vietnamese-Chinese parents arrive with their sons, but not their daughters. As the morning progresses, Eriteans arrive in groups, with both parents and all the children. Finally, a number of Aboriginal children come throughout the morning, accompanied by an older brother or sister.

For all families and children to benefit, what policies and initiatives might a city adopt to ensure inclusion? Do such sports and recreation programs strengthen a neighbourhood and if so, in what way? How is the value of recreation and sport communicated in each culture and how can the city use this information in marketing to diverse groups?

Last spring, when the McDougall School was threatened with closure, this neighbourhood challenged the school board. The neighbourhood insisted on public meetings with translation services, information bulletins in different languages and an opportunity to express their opinions on the school and playground and its central importance to the neighbourhood.

The McDougall neighbourhood, like many diverse communities across Canada, challenges FCM to understand what contributes to community values. How can cities promote a sense of shared values that strengthens the fabric of a community? What tools or strategies promote inclusiveness so that diverse ethnic or minority groups can successfully collaborate with each other and with the host society? With a renewed interest in Canada's cities and much talk of a "new deal" to revitalize urban centers, FCM realizes that much of this "revitalization" must occur at the neighbourhood level within diverse populations, shaping municipal policies and programs for communities like the McDougall neighbourhood.

Although the ethnic minority social clubs provide important buffers from racism and discrimination, these clubs may fall short when it comes to developing links and trust between minority and dominant cultural groups.

Diversity and the Municipal Recreation Delivery System

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New immigrant families who receive assistance to settle in St. John's, Newfoundland, often live the first months of their Canadian lives in apartments in the east end of the city. The children in those immigrant families soon find their way to the local soccer field where they join pickup games with local, Canadian-born children. Although it is mostly the boys from the new Canadian families that play soccer at this particular field, the games are an opportunity for spontaneous, unregulated physical activity and are available free of charge. They also provide an important opportunity for cross cultural interaction and may assist the immigrant youth to ease into their new community and to get to know their peers.

In Calgary, newcomers include those we usually refer to as immigrants –that is, people who arrive from outside of Canada–as well newcomers coming from rural Alberta and other provinces. Calgary's population has increased by approximately 250,000 people in the last fifteen years. In a city of almost one million inhabitants, this rapid and large influx presents significant challenges to the city's recreation department as well as to real estate developers competing to sell homes to the newcomers. Calgary has responded by developing a number of recreation facilities hoping to help integrate newcomers and long time residents. One example is the Rotary Challenger Park (RCP) built in Calgary's northeast, where the city's largest percentage of new Canadians resides. RCP was designed to be inclusive to all Calgarians with a particular focus on persons with disabilities. The Park leaders recognized the importance and value of building facilities for cricket and bocce, thus responding to the recreation interests of a large number of new Canadians who live close by. In Calgary, this local community centre attracts new Canadians, and potential home buyers, to the neighbourhood because it provides them with a place where they can meet new friends and experience "Canadian" recreation activities. Furthermore, it inspires in newcomers a sense of belonging within a community where they have few ties.

The delivery of public recreation in Canada lies primarily with municipal governments. Municipal recreation began as a profession in Canada around the mid-18th century as a system designed to deliver programs that would enhance the lives of newcomers. At that time, immigrants, primarily from Europe, were often housed in poor, overcrowded tenement houses and located close to the factories, where they

supplied the labour. Housing conditions were poor and overcrowding often contributed to the spread of infectious diseases. Outdoor environments were not much better, with no play spaces for children and little in the way of fresh air and open space for activity of any kind. Municipal recreation began as a movement focusing on the development of parks, open spaces and volunteer-led programs designed to improve the health and well-being of immigrants living in these distressed, urban situations. Although the early recreation movement certainly contributed to the improvement of living conditions for many immigrants, it did little to improve their community or social integration. Critics of the early recreation movement note that the industrialists of the day supported the recreation activities as a means of ensuring their workers were strong, sober and able to perform heavy labour, and not because these activities contributed to the personal well-being of labourers and their families (McBride 1975). In the early 20th century, most immigrants settled in the West and primarily in rural areas and city dwellers adjusted to the conditions of their communities. Municipal recreation departments became the deliverers of generic services for the majority of Canadians, and issues affecting newcomers were no longer a priority.

More recently, settlement patterns have changed with immigrants being drawn to urban centres, primarily in the cities of Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver. Recreation service providers and policy-makers face several new challenges as they attempt to adequately and appropriately meet the needs of the new immigrant residents. These are related to new aspects of poverty affecting many immigrant families and the racism and discrimination they encounter as they attempt to access and enjoy recreation.

Poverty

Immigrants who came to Canada before the first half of the 20th century tended to quickly find their way into the labour market and assumed positions that put their salaries on par with those of their Canadian peers. In fact, the earnings of many immigrants in those days surpassed that of their Canadian-born co-workers. As the 20th century drew to a close, the labour market participation of new immigrants changed. Recently, the rate of immigrants' participation in

the work force has diminished, they receive lower earnings, and experience higher rates of unemployment than they did in the early to mid-20th century (Grant and Sweetman 2004). Consequently, we are witnessing an increase in the number of immigrant families who are marginalized by poverty. For example, in a study conducted by the Metro United Way entitled Poverty by Postal Code (2004), researchers noticed a substantial increase in the number of higher poverty neighbourhoods. They also noted that within these neighbourhoods, "poor" visible minority and immigrant families represent much larger percentages of the residents than 20 years ago. Other research shows us that poverty has a much more enduring quality, meaning that people who experience poverty, do so for longer periods of time than in the past. Immigrant families arriving with young children could be disadvantaged by poverty throughout their children's formative years; hence, they will likely have restricted opportunities for physical activity, sports, and cultural pursuits.

The issue of poverty among Canada's new immigrants poses important challenges to parks and recreation providers. Some municipal parks and recreation services have in recent years shifted away from a social service model to a full cost recovery model meaning the users now pay part of the costs incurred by the municipality to provide the service. Recreation is often valued as a "cash cow" by municipal councils because of the tourism revenue it generates when the community plays host to large sports tournaments. Other municipal recreation delivery approaches require the participation of constituent groups in the creation and provision of their own opportunities through community development initiatives (Arai 1996, Pedlar 1996). Since participation in municipal recreation often requires a financial outlay or the investment of personal time, expertise and labour on the part of the consumer, municipal recreation has been criticized for serving primarily the needs of middle and upper class Canadians (Lyons and Langille 2000). As recreation providers struggle to balance the books with less costly delivery approaches and revenue-generating approaches, it is unlikely that new immigrant families will benefit from public recreation to the same extent as their Canadian-born peers. This is particularly unfortunate for children in the new immigrant families because participation in recreation, such as sports, art, music, cultural activities, and

volunteering are known to ameliorate health risks associated with inactivity, and provides excellent opportunities for newcomers to become integrated into their communities, to interact socially with peers from dominant cultural groups, and for social involvement with colleagues from their own group, as well as with other minority groups.

Discrimination and racism

As Canadians, we congratulate ourselves for having established a national multicultural policy that is the envy of other countries. However, the results of the Canadian Heritage Ethnic Diversity Survey (2003) indicate that we have yet to find a way for newcomers who identify with minority ethnic and racial groups to feel included in everyday community life (Derouin 2004). This survey was conducted using a sample drawn from those who completed the long questionnaire of the 2001 Census and who identified themselves as a member of a minority group. It included questions about the frequency and conditions under which people felt they had experienced discrimination or had been treated unfairly because of their ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion in the five years prior to the survey. In turned out that 36% of respondents indicated they had experienced such discrimination. Further results indicated that 50% of Blacks, 43% of Japanese, and 35% of South Asians reported having experienced discrimination, occurring mostly in the work place, in stores, on the street and when dealing with the courts or the police. Males were more likely than females to report feelings of discrimination, and it was usually young men aged 25-44 who had these experiences. Although all visible minority wage earners, regardless of income levels, reported discrimination, unfair treatment was most often reported among Blacks, regardless of wage level. Second-generation visible minority Canadians who were born in Canada to immigrant parents reported a far higher incidence of occurrence of discrimination than second-generation immigrants who were not visible minorities, possibly as a result of their more frequent attempts at social integration in comparison with their parents' generation. However, this survey did not explore discrimination in recreation settings.

Canadian leisure researchers have started to explore how new Canadian immigrants experience recreation and leisure and, unfortunately, racism and discrimination in recreation are issues that need to be addressed. In her study of second-generation Indo-Canadian youth, Tirone (2000) found that all the participants had experienced racism and discrimination during recreation, occurring most often while in their pre-teen years. The incidents they reported included name-calling directed at them because of their skin colour, distinct clothing or religion. These occurred when they had been participants in organized sports activities, camps and summer recreation sponsored by municipal recreation and by non-profit groups such as the YMCA, and when they were involved in school extracurricular activities. Alarmingly, none of the participants in the study could recall a single instance of an intervention by an adult leader, coach or a volunteer who attempted to stop the incident or resolve it. In their study of leisure and recreation participation among adult Polish immigrants, Stodalska and Jackson (1998) found that having experienced discrimination in public recreation clubs and activities, immigrants tended to segregate themselves within Polish social clubs where they enjoyed their leisure without encountering harassment.

Canada has experienced a growth in ethnic social clubs that provide immigrants with the chance to meet people of their own minority cultural groups, with opportunities for sports competitions, cultural events, and religious activities with members of their minority community, and with a place where these activities can be enjoyed without fear of harassment. Although the ethnic minority social clubs provide important buffers from racism and discrimination, these clubs may fall short when it comes to developing links and trust between minority and dominant cultural groups. A similar growth in ethnic social clubs in the United States led Robert Putnam (2004) to caution that as ethnic minority people group together for social and recreation activities, they may not develop the bridging social capital they need to gain acceptance with dominant group peers. Putnam explains that acceptance is important for minority people who may need to depend upon dominant group peers for career and educational advancement, and for problem solving when in need. As well, the social capital derived from associations between dominant and minority cultural groups and between

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different minority cultural groups means all members of these associations will gain opportunities to learn about and to draw upon the unique cultural and creative resources each has to offer. As social problems arising from globalization become increasingly complex, we will likely benefit from solutions that incorporate the skills and experience of diverse groups of people. Recreation is known to generate the social capital necessary for people to develop trust and linkages between diverse groups of people. Multicultural friendships, formed through recreation, will likely contribute to the resolution of difficult community problems that incorporate the diverse perspectives, values, talents, and skills of all participants.

Where do we go from here?

Within the approaches used by municipalities to deliver recreation are many existing initiatives that meet the needs of immigrants who live in Canadian cities. However, recreation has not been put under the research microscope to fully explore and analyze how it can better serve immigrant groups. Recreation providers need to examine if and how immigrants gain access to municipal recreation programs, facilities and services. What are the services and programs newcomers access? What are the barriers they face in trying to access municipal recreation? What policy and procedural supports facilitate their access? Which immigrant groups are left out when special initiatives are designed to meet the needs of immigrant populations? How can fees and other issues that restrict access to municipal parks and recreation be redesigned to meet the needs of minority groups and individuals? Communities would benefit from holding discussions with members of minority ethnic and racial communities to examine these issues and to collectively develop recreation policy that addresses minority group needs.

Municipal recreation service providers may be able to contribute to the well-being of newcomers by providing services and supports for those who want to maintain close ties with their extended families and with their ethnic and racial minority communities. For example, many recreation departments have worked with Islamic sports groups to provide space and time in pools and gyms for Muslim women to swim and play sports. This usually means ensuring the facilities are staffed by women and that the participants have the appropriate level of privacy they require to be involved in activities. Group picnic and camping sites, family nights at gymnasia and pools, and the availability of places where intergenerational meetings and activities can occur are also available in many cities, and these facilitate activity that is meaningful for many newcomers. These and other program interventions need to be analyzed to ensure they adequately address the needs of newcomers.

The complexity of issues related to racism and discrimination in recreation need far more exploration. In the same way that recreation and parks' professionals defined issues related to sexual abuse and the need for interventions that ensure safe recreation sites free from harassment for young girls and boys, we need to define discrimination and racism as it exists in our municipal parks and recreation system. That exploration should start with a definition of what constitutes racism, discrimination and harassment in recreation, sport, art and cultural settings. Through qualitative research approaches, recreation and leisure researchers need to explore the experience of racism and discrimination from the perspective of different immigrant groups and how appropriate interventions can be used to intervene. Quantitative studies are needed to determine patterns of occurrence of racism: who is affected, at what age(s) does it occur, how is it tied to issues of social class, gender, sexual orientation and religion, and are some immigrant groups more likely than others to experience racism and discrimination in recreation? From the results of this research, it will then be possible to develop clear guidelines for recreation leaders to follow when racism and discrimination occurs.

Knowing what it is and how to intervene will likely facilitate the resolution of some very difficult situations.

Researchers who study recreation in Canada need consistent financing for their studies. National funding bodies such as the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) and the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR) traditionally support social and health science research, but within those two granting councils, there has yet to be a designated source of funding for recreation and leisure research. Without the consistent availability of an adequate source of research funding, recreation and leisure researchers will have difficulties addressing diversity, poverty and other issues that affect the lives of new Canadians.

The faces of those playing soccer in the east end of St. John's change as new immigrant families settle in that part of the city. The intensity of the play has increased because some of the newcomers are far superior soccer players than the local kids, which must be a wonderful self-esteem builder for teens who have been uprooted and for whom the new community is a forbidding place. In Calgary, the recreation and leisure repertoire of all Calgarians is expanding as the city offers programs and facilities for leisure activity enjoyed by new Canadians and not usually part of the program offered in that city. Municipal recreation providers will do well to seek a balance between the provision of adequate support for minority groups to enjoy recreation with minority group peers and the provision of opportunities for people from all cultural, racial and religious minorities to interact together for recreation.

"The post-1960s global cities are the locus of political and economic power, and their preeminent position turns them into magnets that have attracted global migrants. These multicultural, multiracial cities like Miami, Haifa, Brussels, Amsterdam, Montréal, and Toronto now become the sites of struggle over issues of rights, citizenship, the allocation of resources, and political representation.

The contributions in this special edition of JIMI, which focus on the cities mentioned above, all point to the importance of studying cities as sites of sociopolitical and economic exclusion on the one hand, and as sites of sociocultural and political redefinition on the other. They focus on the relationship between democratic citizenship and substantive political participation; issues of political reprensentation; the challenges of measuring representation, acculturation, and integration; residential concentration and segregation; voting patterns; the relationship between formal and nonformal forms of political participation by members of racialized and newcomer communities; and the factors that contribute to the differential rates of formal and nonformal rates of political participation by newcomer communities in various cities around the world."

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By making a place for community interests to share responsibility for developing and providing service, the municipality can facilitate the process of inclusion. To be effective, this requires the presence of skilled front-line workers who are part of a multidisciplinary team that can function over a number of years in a stable administrative environment.

Between Obligation and Refusal: Some Thoughts on a Process of Inclusion and the Role of Municipalities

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By ensuring the direct participation of residents in planning and providing local services, municipalities can mobilize them around common objectives and a shared sense of engagement.

Municipal authorities and administrators manage and deliver essential, direct and daily services and are in constant communication with the population. They are in a position that allows them to be aware of the concerns of the residents and to take initiatives that will influence the quality of community life. Accessible local department offices and forums, such as borough council or consultation meetings, provide opportunities for residents to voice concerns and to exercise their civic responsibilities. Municipalities are thus strategically and uniquely positioned to facilitate the inclusion and civic participation of all residents and, particularly, of newcomers.

Administrators responsible for sport, recreation, cultural and community services regularly receive requests to contribute to the initiatives of cultural or ethnic minorities by providing technical advice, access to facilities, and financial and logistical support. However, with limited resources, giving priority to the needs of one particular community may result in limiting or refusing services to other communities or to programs intended for the general population.

In dealing with this dilemma, the type of policies in place and their application can influence the outcome of municipal efforts to promote inclusion. This can be illustrated with the following examples.

Policies may direct residents to programs and services provided for the general population. Conversely, requests centred on a particular ethnic or cultural community may be viewed as exceptions and are allocated support from discretionary or non-permanent resources. The application of these policies may expect particular ethnic or cultural communities to formulate requests based on the needs that they

perceive. At times they may lobby or exert pressure in order to obtain the services that have been requested. Complementary to this, authorities establish priorities, analyse needs, and make decisions to provide services or support. In this example, the provision of service takes place in a context of negotiation between recipients and providers.

Dissatisfaction with the results of this kind of process may lead particular communities to take action concerning policies and decisions. In some cases, if elements of discrimination are found under the Canadian or provincial charters of rights, guidelines concerning the obligation for accommodation will require at least some degree of adaptation in order to provide equitable access to services. In cases where discrimination is not determined to be a factor, it remains a matter of local administrative and political discretion whether particular ethnic or cultural needs and requests will be accommodated.

Unfortunately, when requests from a particular community are refused or receive only limited support, access to services for members of that community may be significantly restricted. In a context of negotiation and lobbying between recipients and providers, feelings of frustration, perceptions of insensitive attitudes, biased criteria or exclusion may result. Community representatives and local authorities may find themselves in a win/lose situation: either the group's requests are no longer considered, or the obligation for accommodation may be imposed on administrators.

In an example of a different approach, authorities would recognize that many residents lack information, or are ill at ease with the procedures, the structures, and the terminology associated with public services, thus feeling excluded from taking their place in civic discussions. For Canada's larger metropolitan areas, this is the case for significant numbers of recent newcomers. In this novel approach, concerted efforts would be made to establish effective means of communication and dialogue.

This approach would also realize the significance of the fact that a particular community has taken the initiative to make requests. This initiative would be seen as recognition by that community that its perceived needs must be acknowledged, understood and supported by the larger community. Requests would thus be seen as opportunities to build on that initiative and to develop relations with the particular community. This approach would include all parties who express interest or need and recognize them as potential collaborators who may share responsibility for determining the priorities for service and who could contribute to the provision of those services.

These concepts have been fundamental in the development of partnerships in many Montréal boroughs over the past two decades. Particularly in the fields of sport, recreation and social development, a number of practices have evolved that encourage communities, working with municipal collaboration and support, to take charge of formulating and providing services for their residents. Partnerships are generally developed that respect principles such as involvement in determining priorities, accessibility of services to the general population, collaboration with other groups active in the field, complementary interventions, non-duplication of services, democratic functioning, and the accountability of all parties. While providing an effective way to develop services accessible to many populations that are difficult to reach, this approach also has the result of including a diversity of interests who become engaged around common objectives.

The municipality, by making a place for community interests to share responsibility for developing and providing service, can facilitate the process of inclusion. To be effective however, this requires the presence of skilled front-line workers who are part of a multidisciplinary team that can function over a number of years in a stable administrative environment. Recognition and support by other levels of government for this role would contribute significantly to its effectiveness and to the long-term inclusion of minorities in the mainstream of civic life.

"In a diverse society nothing is more important than ensuring that all citizens have the opportunity to participate in the discussions that set the rules by which we agree to live." (Government of Canada 2002)

Getting Seats at the Table(s): The Political Participation of Newcomers and Minorities in Ottawa

JOHN BILES AND ERIN TOLLEY[1]
Metropolis Project Team

Introduction

Participation has been enshrined as a basic component of democracy in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, as well as the *Official Languages Act* (1985), the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (1988), and the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (2002). Despite this, Canada has not yet arrived at a state where all Canadians have a seat at the tables where critical decisions are made. Far from it.

The Law Commission of Canada notes that "despite the social gains that many groups may have made over the course of the 20th century, women, minority groups, and Aboriginal peoples still find themselves seriously under-represented among elected politicians" (Law Commission of Canada 2004, 34). Women account for 21% of Members of Parliament, although they make up half of the Canadian population; internationally, this puts Canada 36th in a ranking of women's representation in the lower house of government. Minority groups, which make up 11% of the population, hold only 6% of seats in the House of Commons, while Aboriginal peoples, which constitute 3.5% of the population, hold only 2% of seats in the House of Commons (Law Commission of Canada 2004, 34). Newcomers are also numerically under-represented: foreign-born Canadians occupy 14% of the House of Commons' seats, even though they make up 18% of the population (Abraham 2004, 26).

The under-representation of newcomers and minorities at the federal level appears to be replicated at the provincial and municipal levels across the country, albeit unevenly (Biles 1998, Siemiatycki and Saloojee 2002, Simard 2002, Political Participation Research Network 2003, Bird 2004, Dickout 2004, Garcea 2004). This raises serious questions about the inclusivity of participation in Canada.

In this brief article, we look at the numerical representation of newcomers and minorities in elected offices at the three orders of government—municipal, provincial and federal—in the city of Ottawa. Equitable numerical representation is important, we argue, for three key reasons: as a reflection of values, for reasons of efficacy and self-interest, and to provide

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[1] The views expressed in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of Metropolis, Citizenship and Immigration Canada or the Government of Canada.

greater systemic legitimacy. We look at each of these rationales and then outline the key conclusions that emerge from this work.

Ottawa's diversity profile

Ottawa is a city of approximately 785,000 people, which makes it the fourth largest city in Canada. It is also an increasingly diverse city, a maturing "EthniCity" (Biles 1998). Some have suggested that Ottawa is just on the cusp of its diversity, and Table 1, which provides highlights of Ottawa's diversity profile, offers some proof. Between 1996 and 2001, there were significant increases in the number of immigrants, visible minorities and Aboriginal peoples, as well as increases in the proportion of residents who have a non-official language as their mother tongue or report having non-traditional, or non-majority ethnic origins. Similarly, non-Christian religious communities continue to grow rapidly in the Ottawa area. Between 1991 and 2001 the Muslim population in the Ottawa-Hull Census Metropolitan area grew by more than 100%, the Hindu community by nearly 60%, and the Buddhist and Sikh communities each grew by 50%.[2]

Diversity among the elected

Presently, there are 37 elected officials who hold office at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels of government within the boundaries of the city of Ottawa. There are seven federal Members of Parliament (one seat is vacant), eight Members of Provincial Parliament, 21 city councillors and one mayor. Data on elected officials were collected using a survey methodology, with a wave in 1998 and one in 2003,[3] as well as secondary research to compile information on non-respondents. The data set is not yet complete, and a third wave of the survey will be carried out shortly to collect data for the representatives who were elected in the most recent provincial and municipal elections. Although the data set is incomplete, some preliminary reflections can be made.

In general, the characteristics of Ottawa's elected officials do not reflect the characteristics of Ottawa's general population. There are only eight women among Ottawa's elected officials (22%), and most (6) hold office at the municipal level. Of those whose origins are known (34 out of 37), only four (12%) are immigrants,[4] and all hold office at the municipal level. There are no Aboriginal officials and only one visible

TABLE 1
Selected Diversities in Ottawa[*]

	Proportion of the population, 2001 (%)	% change (1996–2001)
Immigrants	21.8	12.6
Visible minorities	18.0	27.3
Aboriginal	1.1	11.3
Non-official language as mother tongue	20.3	17.6
Ethnic Origins		
Canadian	34.7	36.6
English	23.5	-12.6
French	21.2	-8.1
Chinese	4.0	44.3
Filipino	0.7	34.6
Russian	1.0	33.8
East Indian	2.2	21.9

[*] This table contains just a sampling of Ottawa's demography. For further information, see Statistics Canada, Community Profiles, <www12.statcan.ca/english/Profil01/PlaceSearchForm1.cfm>.
Sources: 1996 Census; 2001 Census

minority (3%); he holds office at the municipal level. Our preliminary data on ethnicity suggest that Ottawa's elected officials have largely English / British, French, Canadian and majority European ethnic roots, although further analysis is needed to confirm this finding. At the present time, we do not have sufficient data on the religious affiliations of elected officials to be able to draw concrete conclusions.

Elected officials are well-educated. We have ascertained the educational background of all but three of Ottawa's elected officials; of these, all but one (97%) have at least a bachelor's degree. Most of the officials have lived in Ottawa for at least fifteen years, and even the officials who were born outside of Canada have lived in the city for upwards of 30 years. Elected officials, in other words, have significant roots in the community— roots newcomers will find hard to match.

These preliminary data give us some clues about the type of person who runs and wins in politics in Ottawa. We would argue that those who win do not necessarily reflect the

[2] This growth has not gone unnoticed. Mayor Bob Chiarelli noted the importance of these communities during the 2000 Mayoral election, and has subsequently set up an interfaith advisory committee (Adam 2000, E3).

[3] We thank Sandra Lopes who compiled some of the information in 2003.

[4] We define an immigrant as a person who was not born in Canada.

demographic characteristics of the population that they represent. There are a few glimmers of hope, however. For example, in Ottawa's last municipal election, there were six "visible minority" candidates, including one for mayor. Additionally, in the most recent election for the French Public School Board, the Somali community organized and ran candidates in six of the twelve ridings. This meant a 300% increase in visible minority candidates between the 2000 and 2003 municipal elections. This also marked the first time that candidates from the newest communities of immigrants and refugees (Somalian, Ethiopian, and Djiboutian) ran for office (Tam 2003, D1).

Similarly, Muslims in Ottawa have begun to organize and plan to run candidates at every level of government in upcoming elections (Tencer and Staples 2004, A1). As is so often the case elsewhere, it has taken negative experiences to bring a heterogeneous community together. The aftermath of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 has been a catalyst, as has the persistence of racial profiling, the uneven application of anti-terrorism and security provisions and the high profile case of Maher Arar. This has led to an unprecedented upswing in political activity in the Muslim community, including Monia Mazigh, Arar's wife, seeking and winning the nomination of the New Democratic Party in the federal riding of Ottawa South (Tencer and Staples 2004, A1).

Somalis in Ottawa have also recently been galvanized into action by the perception of racism in the actions of the Ottawa police.[5] This, according to Raage Mohammed, brought the Somali community closer together (Johnston 2004, D3).

Why do numbers matter?

Strict mirror representation exists when the attributes of the elected perfectly replicate—or mirror—the attributes of those in the general population. This is virtually impossible, of course, given that heterogeneity within any community bars a perfect mirror. However, elected structures should as much as possible reflect the numerical make-up of the general population for reasons that we will explore in this section. A great deal has been written about numerical representation, but observers continue to examine the presence of groups in elected office because, as Trimble and Arscott argue, the deficit between groups' presence in the general population and their presence in elected office persists (Trimble and Arscott 2003).

We know with certainty that newcomers and minorities care that their communities are present in elected offices. For example, when hate and bias activity spiked after the September 11th terrorist attacks, Muslim Canadians looked to Parliament's only two Muslim members—one a Member of Parliament and the other a Senator—for guidance (Biles and Ibrahim 2001). Similarly, when the recent spate of anti-Semitism broke out in Toronto, Jewish Canadians turned to elected representatives from their community to address this heinous behaviour. Time after time, elected officials are asked by community members to ensure their interests are served. There is a reason that the only Black member of the federal Cabinet, Jean Augustine, is the champion of work on racism and policing.

There is nothing new or unique about this. Female politicians have long served double duty as representatives of their constituents, as well as women in general. Francophone legislators, especially outside of Quebec, are expected to serve both their constituents and the broader francophone community. Similarly, elected officials from Italian backgrounds are held to account by both their constituents and Italian Canadians from across the country. Often, however, minority candidates try to distance themselves to avoid being seen as only representatives of their communities. In Ottawa for example, the only visible minority elected official, Lebanese-born councillor Eli El-Chantiry, reported, "I never once said to myself, 'I'm running to represent the Lebanese community'" (Tam 2003, D1). At the same time, some research suggests that communities do not necessarily believe their interests are well served by representatives of similar backgrounds (Siemiatycki and Saloojee 2002). Nonetheless, female, newcomer and minority elected officials tend to be seen as representatives of their communities, particularly when difficult issues arise.

Certainly the under-represented care about their numerical representation in elected office, but why should others care? We argue that more

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[5] In one incident, Ottawa police were called to a dispute, allegedly involving a weapon, at a restaurant. Nine men were present when police arrived. Eight of the men were Black. They were handcuffed and arrested. The lone white man was not. No weapon was found and none were charged. (Johnston 2004, D3).

equitable numerical representation is important for three principal reasons: values, efficacy and self-interest, and legitimacy.

1) Values

It is hard to find a term more popular among politicians in Canada today than "values." Every major policy document of the Government of Canada, whether the *Speech from the Throne* or the budget, uses "values" a plethora of times. While the menu of values that the Government asserts is rarely the same, equality and democracy are typically somewhere in the mix. For example, the most recent *Speech from the Throne* noted that "[Canada] can play a distinctive role based on our values–the rule of law, liberty, democracy, equality of opportunity, and fairness" (Government of Canada 2004). In two separate analyses of Canadians' values, the Canadian Policy Research Networks also found that equality and democracy rank high (MacKinnon et al. 2003; Peters 1995).

Canadians value equality and democracy, and thus they see the under-representation of particular groups in elected office as a problem. The Law Commission of Canada found in their survey of Canadians that the under-representation of diverse viewpoints within formal political processes is a concern (2004, 58), while Howe and Northrup found in their study of Canadians' views on democracy that roughly one third of respondents saw the under-representation of women in the House of Commons as a problem. The same survey found that 35% felt the under-representation of minority groups was a problem (2000, 17-19).

The under-representation of groups in elected offices offends Canadians because it impinges upon the values of equality and democracy that they hold to be important. They are looking for solutions. In Howe and Northrup's study, almost half of the respondents felt that measures were needed to increase the number of minority candidates running for office, and 57% favoured setting aside seats in Parliament for Aboriginal representatives (2000, 20). Governments are beginning to react to this desire for action.

Almost half of Canada's provincial governments are examining changes in electoral processes, while Prime Minister Paul Martin has appointed a Minister Responsible for Democratic Reform. Of course, some of this is not so much evidence of political will to address issues of under-representation, as a reaction to restlessness among Canadian voters.

2) Efficacy and Self-Interest

A second reason why more equitable numerical representation matters is that representative decision-making tables (elected or otherwise) are more efficient than those comprised of individuals who have similar backgrounds and interests. This is because more equitable numerical representation provides an avenue for a range of approaches and perspectives to naturally enter deliberations. This reduces the need to expend valuable resources–be it time, money or both–on bringing other voices into the discussions.

More equitable numerical representation is also important for reasons of self-interest. Political parties may benefit by putting forward a more diverse slate of candidates, particularly as the population itself becomes more diverse, and the disconnect between the make-up of elected bodies and the make-up of the electorate becomes more pronounced. A recent report by the United Way notes that immigration is driving 40% of Ottawa's growth, and the visible minority population is expected to climb from 15% now to over 30% by 2020 (United Way 2004). When trying to get elected, parties often try to appeal to the broadest set of interests possible. Mobilizing newcomer and minority communities, whether as candidates or organizers, is therefore beneficial because it helps to ensure that parties can put these perspectives forward. In tight races, this is even more important.

It is also beneficial for individual politicians– particularly those who are not themselves newcomers or minorities–to take the interests of diverse communities into account, particularly if the riding is itself diverse. This is increasingly essential for political success. The Canadian Islamic Congress, using data from the 2001

Census, notes that Muslim Canadians are becoming a significant force in several federal ridings and could potentially influence the outcomes of a number of races in the next federal election. In Ottawa, three ridings have significant Muslim populations: Ottawa South (10%), Ottawa West-Nepean (7%) and Ottawa-Vanier (6%) (Canadian Islamic Congress 2004, 30). Candidates need to try to harness this support or, at the very least, not alienate it, by demonstrating an understanding of the issues and concerns facing these and other communities. This is important for a variety of reasons, of course, but for some politicians, their own self-interest may be the most compelling reason of all.

3) Legitimacy

Legitimacy is essential for the proper functioning of our society, and more equitable numerical representation is important because it enhances the legitimacy of decisions and decision-making bodies. The absence of diverse voices at decision-making tables damages the legitimacy of the system. Kymlicka notes that if "decisions are to be seen as fair, the political process itself must be seen as open and inclusive. This requires, among other things, that the interests and perspectives of all groups be listened to and taken into account" (1998, 104). When the majority of a population, or even a sizable minority, views a decision as illegitimate, it is less likely that the decision will be respected and abided by. Enforcing the decision may eventually become unsupportable—be it financially or morally—and coercion and the repression of dissent may result.

From this standpoint, the presence of newcomers and minorities at decision-making tables enhances legitimacy. Oddly, some commentators have recently suggested that the increased participation of newcomers and minorities politics is actually a threat to the system's legitimacy (Cowan 2004, Hutchinson 2004, Ivison 2004, Chow et al. 2004). We call this "the sour grapes" phenomenon, and it has arisen out of the increasing activism of newcomer and minority communities in party nomination contests. The reasoning behind this line of argument is this: The majority established the rules of the game. If minorities and/or newcomers enter and threaten to win the game, it is okay for the majority to fudge or rewrite the rules to maintain their advantage.

As Collacott suggests in an article by Ivison that appeared in the *National Post*, "There has been an increasing incidence of takeovers…of established constituency associations by means of large-scale signing up of new members. In this manner, people from closely-knit communities, whether religious, ethnic or other, *can achieve a degree of influence over the selection of candidates that is disproportionate to their presence in the community*. This results in a distortion of democracy" (2004, A1 [italics added]).

Given that research suggests it is "mainstream" Canadians, not newcomers and minorities, who exercise a disproportionate influence on the system by virtue of a numerical presence that is not proportionate to their presence in the general population, we would argue that democracy is already distorted. Rewriting the rules to exclude newcomers and minorities when they begin to exercise influence is only going to exacerbate this distortion. Moreover, the major parties have always been supported by newcomers, and no significant ethnospecific parties have emerged in Canada. The suggestion by the *National Post* editorial board, building on an earlier opinion piece by Chow, Verma, Collacott and Kaufman (31 March 2004, A14), that the involvement of newcomers in political processes is a form of "neo-tribalism" is therefore somewhat outrageous (National Post 5 April 2004, A11).

Conclusions

The preliminary research that we have in Ottawa, as well as results from studies in cities across the country, suggest that newcomers and minorities do not yet have even close to what could be described as an equitable numerical presence in elected office. This is an offense to the shared values of Canadians and should drive us to do better. And we need to do better now before a system that is still, for the most part, viewed as legitimate falls into disrepute. What kinds of changes can prevent this fall? We would suggest that three critical steps need to be taken: collection of baseline data and on-going measures of success, institutional change, and a more sustained investment in engaging newcomers and minorities outside of the formal electoral arenas in the decision-making processes that structure the society in which we all live.

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The civic involvement of diverse communities has the power to energize individuals and incite them to participate actively in the democratic system, as community participants, workers and activists.

Linking Research and Practice for Active Civic Participation

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People are often unaware of the existence of organized civic participation from Calgary's diverse minority communities, and even surprised when I recount these manifestations. Yet, Calgary has witnessed incidents where diverse communities mobilized, for the fourth time, to halt the annexation of a distinct district in the city (i.e. Chinatown), where they blocked proposals to build casinos or hotels on sites of low-cost housing in the community, petitioned to express concerns about unfair treatment by municipal police forces, formed coalitions addressing drastic budgetary cuts to English as second language programs for immigrant children, and organized annual fundraising for blood banks or food banks.

Regardless of the type of endeavor undertaken by these diverse communities, I have observed that these manifestations of civic participation are quite complex, presenting a combination of spontaneous and analytical action, as well as an amalgam of social and political responses. Furthermore, this participation is emotional and methodical, consists of energies and strategies, grass root and policy, engagement and pressure, and involves individuals, collectives, organizations and systems.

The civic involvement of diverse communities has the power to energize individuals and incite them to participate actively in the democratic system, as community participants, workers and activists. Instances of civic participation certainly support the theory that one of their functions is to "empower individuals and communities to gain mastery over their affairs." (Frideres 1997) In many cases, collective civic involvements are not only milestones for the participating communities, but substantiate Breton's assertion that "personal investment leads individuals to see the community as something of their own making and which, therefore, belongs to them." Indeed, civic participation strengthens our sense of community.

It would be of national, civic and academic interest to build upon the demonstrated potential and assets of Canada's diverse communities. Undoubtedly, such an exercise would help transform isolated individuals into public citizens, and fortify the stability of society, as generated by active citizenry in a democratic nation. Yet, there is currently a significant lack in documentation and research on participation of diverse communities.

As one avenue to address these current gaps, I propose the fostering of stronger collaboration and linkage between academic researchers and the individuals who actively organize, facilitate and engage in acts of civic participation.

Such collaborative efforts are necessary to objectively document the processes of civic participation and capture the rich contents and interpersonal dynamics at play. New insights and understanding may be generated through reflections and interpretations and new knowledge may be derived from analyses and evaluations. The following are but a few potential research questions. How do members of ethnocultural communities view their membership in Canadian society? How can ethnocultural communities encourage, build and facilitate broad civic engagement? What relevant government policies and programs need to be developed or strengthened to support and nurture active civic participation in a diverse society? What current modes of decision-making relate to the motivation of culturally diverse citizens to participate? In what ways, and in what quality, are diverse citizens engaged in municipal affairs? Do they partake in public hearings, citizen surveys and other sources of public input, how are they involved and how much weight is given to competing viewpoints? Which citizen opinion poll is accurate? Which groups of citizens truly speak for the community?

Regardless of the area chosen to investigate, a collaborative venture that would include the needs and perspectives of all partners involved, would assuredly yield results that would be both enriching and valuable to the active participants, to those who study the phenomenon and to the decision makers.

The ultimate benefit of linking researchers to those who engage in civic participation in the field is to guarantee the on-going development of a truly democratic, dynamic and inclusive Canadian nation.

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Multicultural policy as presently articulated in Canada has little effect on the political representation of ethnic and visible minorities. Far more decisive are the rules of the electoral and party system—a domain that multiculturalism has as yet left untouched.

Obstacles to Ethnic Minority Representation in Local Government in Canada

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Studies in Toronto (Siemiatycki 1998), Montréal (Simard 1999), Ottawa (Biles 1998) and Hamilton (The Working Group on Racial Equality 2000) have all pointed out the relative absence of visible minorities within municipal councils. In Vancouver, Toronto and Montréal—Canada's three largest cities in terms of visible minority populations—the proportionality index[1] for visible minorities is 0.37, 0.32 and 0.39 respectively. In other words, visible minorities are little better than one-third of the way to being proportionally represented within the local governments of these three cities. By comparison, the proportionality index for visible minorities in the House of Commons has fluctuated from 0.47 in 1993, to 0.56 in 1997, to 0.42 in 2000 (see Black 2002, 2000; Black and Lakhani 1997). At both the local and national levels, traditional ethnic groups of European descent are doing relatively better than visible minorities.[2]

The low level of representation of visible minorities in Canada's most multicultural cities is puzzling. It is generally agreed that the municipal level of politics is more easily accessible to groups that have been excluded and marginalized from decision-making at higher levels. Arguments are usually based on factors such as the residential concentration of some ethnic groups, generally smaller electoral districts, cheaper electoral campaigns and a more flexible party structure, all of which are supposed to make it easier for members of more disadvantaged groups to get elected. Yet these features do not appear to have helped visible minorities achieve anything close to proportional representation in Canada's largest immigrant-receiving cities. They cannot account for the relatively *better* representation of ethnic minorities at the national than at the local level.

Furthermore, a number of cities of the world appear to do much better than major Canadian cities at producing ethnically representative governing councils. Studies of the Brussels region (Jacobs 2000; Jacobs, Martiniello and Rea 2001) and the larger cities of Denmark

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1 The proportionality index is calculated as the proportion of group members within an elected body, divided by the proportion of group members within the general population. A score of 1.00 indicates perfectly proportional representation.

2 Census Canada and the Canadian Employment Equity Act define visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." Under this definition, regulations specify the following groups as visible minorities: Chinese, South Asians, Blacks, Arabs, West Asians, Filipinos, Southeast Asians, Latin Americans, Japanese, Koreans and other visible minority groups, such as Pacific Islanders. The larger category of ethnic minority includes people whose ancestry is not Canadian, British, French or Aboriginal.

(Togeby 1999, 2003) suggest more proportionate political representation of ethnic and visible minorities in those cities than in Canada's largest immigrant-receiving cities. We Canadians have tended to applaud our commitment to multiculturalism, and to see ourselves as a model for other countries. However, it is worth examining other major immigrant-receiving cities to see why they have done better than major Canadian cities at formally including ethnic and visible minorities in local politics.

This paper argues that there are three features of local elections that are particularly disadvantageous to newer immigrants and visible minorities in Canada. These are: i) the absence of voting rights for legally resident non-citizens; ii) the predominant use of single-member districts and the first-past-the-post electoral system; and iii) the non-transparency of the party system. These features have prevented the attainment of more proportional representation for visible minority groups in Canada's most multicultural cities. They help to explain why visible minorities are doing more poorly at the local level in Canada than at the national level, and why, despite a strong tradition of multiculturalism, they are statistically less well represented in major Canadian cities than in some other cities.

Voting rights for non–citizens

Access to voting rights is a key factor affecting the ability of visible minorities to attain descriptive political representation. Regardless of their country of origin, immigrants to Canada acquire voting rights as soon as they become citizens, after three consecutive years of residence in Canada.[3] In European countries, access to citizenship is more difficult, yet voting rights—particularly at the local level—are increasingly awarded prior to citizenship. Among member countries of the European Union, all European nationals enjoy the right to vote in municipal elections in whatever country they are resident. Moreover, six countries—Sweden, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium (beginning in 2006), and (in some circumstances) Ireland—have also granted local voting rights to legally resident third-country nationals (non-Europeans who, given present immigration patterns, are for the most part visible minorities). The logic in these countries has been that immediate access to voting rights at the local level facilitates the social and political integration of newcomers. The level of political participation of non-European newcomers is not always very high. However, granting them the right to vote at the local level does allow them a greater capacity for electoral mobilization and leverage, and can produce better descriptive representation of the ethnic diversity of a country. The lack of voting rights among new immigrants to Canada (a large proportion of whom are visible minorities) is thus one factor contributing to the lower level of visible minority representation in Canadian cities.

The electoral system and the capacity for political mobilization

While the right to vote is clearly a prerequisite for political participation among ethnic minorities, another important factor is the potential for political mobilization. Many new immigrants who possess the legal right to vote do not use it, perhaps because they view politics as relatively unimportant to their daily concerns and struggles. The capacity for political mobilization depends upon a number of factors. Some of these are related to the characteristics of the groups themselves, including their patterns of settlement, social networks, and experience with democracy. The rules of the electoral system also appear to have a direct effect on the capacity for political mobilization among ethnic minorities.

Electoral methods used in Danish and Belgian local elections produce exceptionally high levels of political mobilization, even among very new immigrant groups. Elections to city councils in these countries are run using *proportional* and *preferential* voting methods. Unlike the Canadian system of single member districts, candidates in a proportional system run as part of a list that is presented to voters across the whole city. Each list is awarded a proportion of seats equal to the proportion of votes it receives. Normally, the order of candidates on each list is fixed, and seats are awarded beginning at the top of each list and working down, until each has received its proportion of seats. Candidates positioned near the bottom of a list are rarely elected. However, preferential voting allows voters to alter the order of the list. Under this system, voters may give their vote either to the

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[3] One need only be a resident and supporter (i.e., taxpayer) of a local school board to have the right to vote and run in local school board elections.

A number of cities of the world appear to do much better than major Canadian cities at producing ethnically representative governing councils. In the local governments of Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver, visible minorities are little better than one-third of the way to being proportionally represented.

whole list (a list vote), or to a single candidate (a personal vote). In both cases, the votes count toward the total for the list. But a personal vote also counts toward each candidate's tally. Candidates with more personal votes move up the list, while those with fewer personal votes are shifted down. Within this system, it is advantageous for candidates to mobilize voters to participate in the election, and to cast a personal vote for them.

In Danish and Belgian cities, ethnic minority candidates undertake this strategy, and frequently focus their mobilization efforts on immigrant communities. There are three positive consequences for ethnic minority representation. First, the turnout for local elections among immigrant voters tends to be exceptionally high in these countries, sometimes even higher than the turnout among indigenous citizens (Togeby 1999, 673). Second, ethnic minority candidates tend to receive higher than average numbers of personal votes, and thus move up the list, often winning city council seats. Finally, parties understand that it is politically advantageous to include ethnic minority candidates on the list, because of their ability to attract a large number of personal votes (which count toward their list). In larger cities with significant immigrant populations, this electoral system tends to produce governing councils that are proportionately representative of groups of non-EU immigrant origin, though some groups (e.g., Turks in Denmark and citizens of Maghrebian origin in Belgium) have done better than others.

In Canadian cities, single-member districts and a first-past-the-post system of awarding seats *can* be advantageous for ethnic minorities— but only where areas of ethnic concentration correspond with electoral districts. In such cases, political parties may find it advantageous to select ethnically descriptive candidates. But where ethnic groups are dispersed throughout the population and across electoral districts, their capacity to convert political

mobilization into effective representation is limited. Moreover, the effect of an electoral system that tends to produce ethnic candidates and representatives almost exclusively within ethnic districts is problematic (Saggar and Geddes 2000). Such a system enhances the notion that ethnic minority representation is of relevance *only* for ethnic minorities and is not a more general representational dilemma for the whole population—a minority rather than a mainstream issue—thereby imposing conceptual and practical constraints on increased representation for ethnic minorities.

The non-transparency of the party system

A further obstacle to ethnic and visible minorities in local elections in Canada is the absence of a transparent party system. Parties, while they are key players in local politics, remain for the most part invisible. They thus fail to perform the mobilizing role that is so important in determining the political influence of ethnic minorities. In contrast, it is the workings of the party system at the *national* level in Canada that, in part, accounts for the relatively high degree of ethnic and visible minority representation at that level.

There are two features of the national party system that merit discussion in this respect. The first concerns the rules of party membership and leader selection. Leadership selection among Canadian parties tends to be highly democratic and responsive to the grass-roots membership. A particular feature of the selection process in Canada is that the major parties allow participation of legally resident non-citizens. The less restrictive criteria for party membership and selectors (compared to the criteria for electors, who must be Canadian citizens) are intended so that the parties can serve a role in citizenship training (Stasiulus and Abu-Laban 1991). These membership and selection rules typically lead parties to engage in mass recruitment drives to sign up as many new party members as possible, with each wing of a party trying to recruit members to support

their leadership candidate. It is common for these groups to recruit ethnic minorities as "instant" party members, a practice facilitated in constituencies with high ethnic concentration, and tightly knit ethnic communities with extensive social networks. This system presents opportunities for influence from ethnic minorities within political parties, and encourages their political mobilization, though it can also produce a certain degree of manipulation by party elites and ethnic power brokers.

Second, ethnic and visible minorities appear to be especially advantaged within the particular framework of the Canadian national party system. Canada is, of course, a linguistically divided state, with a long tradition of struggling to ensure equitable representation of French- and English-speaking peoples. This tradition of representation for *national* groups has two side-effects in terms of the political representation of *ethnic* (immigrant-origin) groups. First, it has produced greater public acceptance of the idea that newer minority groups should (like the traditional groups) have representatives in Parliament. Second, it tends to produce competition between the traditional parties for the votes of non-aligned ethnic minorities. Dirk Jacobs (2000) argues that in the Brussels region of Belgium, competition between the Flemish and francophone parties over the votes of new citizens has led to greater political mobilization among minority groups, and to the inclusion of more ethnic minority candidates on the lists. At the national level in Canada (and also in Quebec), the Liberal Party has adopted a similar strategy, deliberately positioning itself as a multicultural alternative to the nationalist Bloc Québécois and Parti Québécois. The Liberals have made a particular effort to attract ethnic minorities who worry that a sovereign Quebec would fail to protect non-French linguistic and cultural rights (Simard 1999; Tossutti and Najem 2002).

While there are features of the party system at the national level in Canada that are advantageous for ethnic minorities, these features are absent in local politics. The invisibility of political parties in local politics tends to hinder the political integration of newcomers.

A word on multiculturalism

As Canadians, we tend to congratulate ourselves on our progressiveness with respect to cultural diversity. While we recognize the errors of discrimination and exclusion in our past, we believe that our respect for multiculturalism will, in due time, produce full equality among ethnic groups, including at the level of elite decision-makers. In contrast to this line of thought, I argue that multicultural policy as presently articulated in Canada has little effect on the political representation of ethnic and visible minorities. Far more decisive are the rules of the electoral and party system—a domain that multiculturalism has as yet left untouched.[4] In fact, egalitarian electoral rules need not have anything to do with multiculturalism. Consider the fact that Danish cities—especially the two largest cities of Copenhagen and Aarhus—have achieved virtually proportional representation of ethnic minorities *despite* maintaining a citizenship regime that is officially assimilationist, and opposed to the multicultural principles of group recognition and group-based rights. The Danish argument for the use of proportional and preferential voting methods has been that they favour grass-roots democracy. The promotion of democratic involvement and fair representation of newcomers and ethnic minorities is simply an unintentional by-product of this electoral system. (It should be noted that women are also better represented under this system.)

If Canadians are serious about wanting to improve the political integration and representation of ethnic and visible minorities at the local level, it is essential that we begin by examining our electoral and voting rules.

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4   Presently only one party in Canada, the New Democratic Party (NDP), has stipulated a set of affirmative action guidelines for promoting the nomination of women, ethnic minorities, and other under-represented groups as candidates. The party aims to name affirmative action candidates to 50% of the constituencies it contests, but there is no specific target for ethnic minorities within this overall goal. The targets are not mandatory, but riding associations that fail to seek potential candidates among the aforementioned groups must present reasons for this omission to the party's Elections Planning Committee. The party maintains an "affirmative action fund" that is divided among affirmative action candidates, however the pool of resources is usually very limited (less than 200 dollars for candidates to provincial elections in Ontario, for example). Finally, given Canada's system of first-past-the-post elections and the high degree of control over candidate selection exercised by local constituency associations, the NDP has been incapable of meeting its target.

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Has amalgamation allowed the emergence of new actors on the province's municipal political scene? Still underrepresented on municipal councils, have women been victims of the municipal amalgamation process? Post-amalgamation, how is ethnocultural diversity manifesting itself within the various municipal councils?

Municipal Elites in Quebec's Amalgamated Cities

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In Quebec, a number of groups are worried about the effects of municipal amalgamation on the representation of women and persons from ethnocultural groups in municipal councils, going so far as to predict a significant decline in their numbers.[1] This paper looks at the conditions in which municipal elected representatives entered politics during the elections of November 2001. Our analysis focuses on the five cities subject to *Bill 170*, that is, Gatineau, Lévis, Longueuil, Québec and Montréal. In particular, we will try to answer the following questions: Has amalgamation allowed the emergence of new actors on the province's municipal political scene? Still underrepresented on municipal councils, have women been victims of the municipal amalgamation process? Post-amalgamation, how is ethnocultural diversity manifesting itself within the various municipal councils, particularly Montréal's? In a nutshell, we are seeking to determine whether the new municipal environment has favoured office holders of the old regime or brought in new faces to municipal councils. To that end, we will be looking at the demographic variables of elected representatives in the newly amalgamated cities of Gatineau, Lévis, Longueuil, Québec and Montréal and fashioning an ethnocultural and social profile. We will use the objective criteria of gender, ethnocultural origin, age and continuity of office to place the profile of men

and women side by side and compare the socio-professional trajectory of elected representatives from the majority and minority groups.

A portrait of elected representatives

Gender
In the five cities covered by this study, 222 persons were elected. Of this number, 61 were women, or 27.5% of the total. The percentage of female elected representatives is similar to that of female candidates (27.3%), which means that the proportion of women elected was the same as the proportion of female candidates.[2] Although encouraging, these results conceal disparities between cities. In Gatineau and Québec, women candidates captured fewer votes than their counterparts in the three other cities; in fact, their tally was below the average

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[1] Particularly the Conseil du statut de la femme and the Conseil des relations interculturelles.

[2] This represents a significant improvement. In an earlier study, we analyzed the electoral results obtained in sixteen cities of Quebec, including eleven in the Greater Montréal Area, and noted a gap of 5% between the percentage of female candidates and the percentage of female victors. For further details, see: Carolle Simard, *La représentation des groupes ethniques et des minorités visibles au niveau municipal : Candidats et élus*, Montréal, Rapport de recherche, Immigration et Métropoles, 2001.

[3] Except for Gatineau, where there are no authorized local political parties..

observed for all of the cities. However, in Montréal, Lévis and Gatineau, the percentage of women who were elected exceeds the proportion of female candidates. In these latter three cities, therefore, women were (proportionally speaking) more successful than men. Lastly, in each city,[3] one party distances itself from its rival in terms of the largest number of women elected–the Union des citoyens et des citoyennes de l'île de Montréal (18 women) in Montréal, the Équipe Olivier/Parti municipal Rive-Sud (12 women) in Longueuil, the Renouveau municipal de Québec (6 women) in Québec and the Parti des citoyens et des citoyennes (5 women) in Lévis. In Montréal, Longueuil and Lévis, the parties that elected the most women won the election. Thus, the belief that women are elected from parties with little chance of winning is not substantiated here, since a number of women now form part of the teams in power.[4]

Ethnocultural origin

In the 2001 elections, 36 ethnic minority candidates were elected in the five cities covered by the study, representing 16.2% of all the municipal councillors. Since this percentage is 3.4% lower than the proportion of candidates from ethnocultural communities, candidates from these groups have less chance of getting elected than those from the majority groups. It comes as no surprise that Montréal has the largest number of elected representatives of minority ethnic origin (31 elected of a total of 36). In Montréal, these representatives make up nearly 30% of the municipal council, although it must be said that this proportion is lower than that of their presence throughout the Montréal territory. In Longueuil, four of seven persons from minority ethnic groups were elected, and in Gatineau, the proportion was one candidate out of two.[5] It is worth noting that in Montréal, Mayor Tremblay's party saw most of its ethnic minority councillors elected–24 in total.

In Montréal, elected representatives from ethnocultural communities are confined to 13 districts (out of a total of 27). Thus, the impact of the residential concentration in these districts played in their favour. On the other hand, the ethnic origin of elected representatives from minority groups does not at all reflect Montréal's ethnocultural landscape, since most come from the Italian and Jewish communities. To be sure, political integration seems to be a given for these communities in particular but, as for other groups with an increasingly large presence in the Montréal territory, in particular the Haitian and Chinese communities, their numbers have not translated into results. Highly concentrated from a geographic standpoint, they seem incapable, at least for now, of parlaying this local concentration into electoral success in Montréal.

Age

In all of the cities, the average age of those elected was higher than that of the candidates as a whole: of a total of 222 elected, 164 were born between 1940 and 1959, or 73.9% (the proportion among the candidates is two out of three). Three cities show little variation in this regard. In Gatineau and Longueuil, however, those elected were older than the candidates and older than those elected in the other cities.

For their part, the women who were elected were slightly older than their male counterparts and older than the female candidates. Variations are noted among the cities: in Lévis, Quebec and Gatineau, the women elected were, on average, younger than in Montréal and Longueuil.

According to our data, it seems that in order to attain elective office at the municipal level, one has to be relatively advanced in years. This observation also applies to elected representatives from ethnocultural communities, most of whom are in the same age brackets as the elected representatives as a whole, with 71% of them having been born between 1940 and 1959.

Term of office

A comparative analysis of the elected representatives' political trajectories shows that nearly 70% of those elected (155/222) were holding office when the elections were called. In Montréal and Québec, the percentage is higher still (75%). Thus, local politics seems to have served as a veritable proving ground for the majority of the newly elected representatives, with most already holding office either as mayors or as municipal councillors in the cities affected by the municipal amalgamations. All things considered, it is not an exaggeration to say that on November 4, 2001, re-elections

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4 The proportions are as follows: 25.3% in Montréal, 32.4% in Longueuil and 38.4% in Lévis.

5 In Longueuil, they make up 9.3% of the municipal council and in Gatineau, they make up 5.5% of all the elected representatives.

were the rule rather than the exception.

On average, there is little separating male and female elected representatives, with 70% of the former returning to office against 67% of the latter. In Lévis and Longueuil, on the other hand, the gap between the two sexes is more pronounced than elsewhere. In Lévis, only 40% of the women elected had already been municipal councillors (compared to 72% of the men), whereas in Longueuil, it was just the opposite: 85% of the women were re-elected (against 63% of the men). Thus, the election of most of the women in Lévis constituted a first for them. As we indicated earlier, five women were elected in Lévis (out of a total of 16 seats that were up for grabs), which constitutes the highest proportion among the five cities covered by the study.

In short, most newcomers on the municipal scene faced defeat, as the majority of the people elected already possessed political experience at the municipal level.

In November 2001, 83% of those elected from ethnocultural communities already held elective office. This figure, higher than the average observed for the study as a whole (70%), illustrates once again how inaccessible this local "proving ground" remains for new candidates from ethnocultural communities. Indeed, their access to local politics is even more limited than women's.

When the cities in the study are compared as to their office-holder turnover rate, the profile of local elites that emerges is marked by strong similarities. In short, holding elective office seems to constitute an almost insurmountable electoral advantage. This fact by itself shows that even at the municipal level, the chances of bringing fresh faces into political office are far lower than what we have generally been led to believe. Lévis seems to be an exception to this rule, particularly for women, as female newcomers account for 60% of the women elected.[6]

Conclusion

This brief analysis allows us to state a few truths concerning the characteristics of the people elected to govern us at the local level. Truth number one is that most of them are middle-aged white men who were already holding local elective office. Truth number two is that female elected representatives, while remaining in the minority both in number and percentage, are slightly older than their male

TABLE 1
Male and female elected representatives in the cities covered by the study.
2001 Elections*

City	Gender	Number	Percentage
Gatineau	M	14	77.7
	F	4	22.2
Lévis	M	11	68.7
	F	5	31.2
Longueuil	M	30	69.7
	F	13	30.2
Québec	M	33	82.5
	F	7	17.5
Montréal	M	73	69.5
	F	32	30.4
Total	M	161	72.5
	F	61	27.4

*These figures include mayors and councillors

counterparts. However, it seems that being a woman no longer constitutes a formidable obstacle, since women were elected in proportions equivalent to those of their candidacy. On the other hand, although the women had held elective office almost as often as men, a high number of female political newcomers made significant inroads.

Truth number three is that while persons whose origins are neither French nor English are joining the political fray in increasing numbers, the vast majority of them continue to be concentrated in Montréal. Most of the elected representatives from these minority groups are also middle-aged men, and a majority are of Italian or Jewish origin (23/31),[7] with many having held political office at the municipal level. In this regard, they are very similar to the other elected representatives in our study.

One of the effects of the lack of turnover in the ethnic minority group of elected representatives is no doubt that it deprives the communities involved of an up and coming generation of politicians. In terms of ethnocultural diversity, the consequences of this are negative, including a quasi-absence of visible minority elected representatives[8] and a greater non-representativeness of the office holders from minority groups.

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[6] However, given the small numbers involved, one obviously cannot talk about a trend being reversed.

[7] This number applies to Montréal alone. Of these 31 elected representatives, 24 are men and 7 are women. But among those of Italian or Jewish origin, there is only one woman.

TABLE 2
Elected representatives from ethnic minority groups in the cities covered by the study.
2001 Elections*

City	Number	Percentage
Gatineau	1	5.5
Lévis	0	0
Longueuil	4	9.3
Québec	0	0
Montréal	31	29.5
Total	36	16.2

*These figures include mayors and councillors

If representation signifies a relationship of similarity with the population as a whole, our observations leads us to conclude that we elect to govern us at the local level are not representative of the municipal electorate.

One might have expected the creation of megacities to open up the political system, relatively speaking, to groups traditionally excluded, in particular women and persons from ethnic minorities. But nothing of the sort has taken place—it is as though the new institutional realities have had little consequence. Relatively homogenous, the emerging profile points to fiercer political competition brought on by the amalgamations and waged by the parties to recruit high-profile candidates in their community.

The non-representativeness of our elected representatives has already been documented, in particular among members of the federal and provincial parliaments. In short, the picture that is emerging of the new municipal representatives elected to govern the amalgamated cities of Gatineau, Lévis, Longueuil, Québec and Montréal highlights the importance attached to these seats of power by municipal elites, most of which come from narrow segments of society.

[8] In reality, three women and one man from these groups were elected in Montréal, or 12% of all minority candidates. The *Employment Equity Act,* passed in 1986, defines visible minorities as "persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." According to Statistics Canada, persons stating that they belong to the following groups are members of visible minorities: Chinese, South Asians, Blacks, Arabs, West Asians, Filipinos, South-East Asians, Latin Americans, Japanese, Koreans, etc.

From GreekTown to Chinatown, from the India Bazaar to Little Italy, our communities are abundant with restaurants, delis, markets, and bazaars. The diversity of our neighbourhoods is celebrated year-round through local festivals that recognize local identities.

Diversity Our Strength: Investing in Our Future

COUNCILLOR PAM MᴄCONNELL
City of Toronto

Pam McConnell has represented residents of downtown Toronto communities for over two decades, first as a school trustee and now as a City Councillor for Ward 28. She served as chair of the Toronto Board of Education in 1992 and is currently Vice-Chair of the Toronto Police Services Board.

For twenty years, I have represented one of the most distinct, diverse and dynamic wards in Toronto. Ward 28 (Toronto Centre-Rosedale) includes historic Cabbagetown and the dense but vibrant St. James Town, St. Lawrence and its model of urban development, as well as the communities of Moss Park and Regent Park, which some consider the most impoverished neighborhoods in the country. From my vantage point, I can observe Toronto's need of celebrating its diversity, as well as its need of investing in this diversity through proactive planning and inclusionary programs. We simply cannot leave the issues of diversity to chance.

Toronto's multifaceted approach acknowledges the importance of taking action. It recognizes our various responsibilities as civic leader, grant-provider, employer, housing provider, regulator, provider of services and programs, advocate and civic booster.

Communities, Our Partners

Our communities are our most valuable asset. We therefore invest $35 million annually in our non-profit agencies. The City's unique Access and Equity Grant Program provides seed money to emerging community organizations, helping them serve isolated and disconnected new communities. Furthermore, the Breaking the Cycle of Violence program builds community capacity through ongoing violence prevention programs.

Employment Opportunities

Toronto takes seriously its role in providing employment opportunities, particularly for racialized communities. Our City is currently assessing the success of its employment equity policies through an Employment Equity Survey. This will lay the foundation for strategic programs and efforts to encourage systemic change. As well, we have launched a mentoring program between new immigrants and City employees. We are also advocating for the recognition of qualifications of overseas-trained professionals, which would enable them to work in their fields.

Space to Dream, Space to Live

Regent Park is one of the largest public housing complexes in Canada and one of the most diverse neighbourhoods in our city. Sixty years after its construction, we are moving to revitalize and redevelop it, by taking cues from the experts: the people who live there. Indeed, working in various languages and using a variety of approaches ensured that the diversity of the community was acknowledged when the

new neighbourhood was envisioned. The dream was shaped by the diverse voices of the residents of Regent Park, and their dreams became the City's vision.

Policies to Action

Toronto included diversity principles in a wide variety of planning documents, such as our Strategic Plan and our Official Plan. We have also developed very specific Access and Equity policies and procedures to promote and ensure equity in our workforce. As well, similar policies have been implemented to ensure equality of access in the services and programs we offer. These declarations set the tone for standards of behaviour, and their enforcement, in all our undertakings.

Hate Crimes and Racial Profiling

While the early 1990s saw a rise in hate crimes, the City and the community have since become actively vigilant, working closely with the dedicated Hate Crime Unit in the Toronto Police Service. At the same time, racial profiling by various institutions of government continues to be an issue of major concern, and Council has been active in advocating for change. I am actively working with the new provincial government to improve civilian oversight in the *Police Services Act*. We have also advocated for a review of the province's *Safe School Act* to ensure that the specific needs of minority children and children living in poverty are taken into account.

Setting Service Priorities

Through a systematic study of census data, the City has identified 89 racialized communities experiencing significant disadvantages. We use this information to set specific service delivery priorities to actively address such marginalization. This helps us to strategically encourage positive changes in our workforces and communities.

Participation and Accountability

For the past three years, Toronto has engaged its racialized and diverse residents in five community advisory committees and two working groups that provide advice to Council. Our recently elected Mayor, David Miller, is currently restructuring these committees to make a more efficient use of the skills and wisdom of these groups.

As well, the City Auditor has recently completed an audit of the City's compliance to the access and equity recommendations of our 1999 Task Force. That document will be released shortly and will demonstrate how we have met the goals set for ourselves.

Celebrating and Having Fun

Toronto is a city of neighborhoods, and many of those neighborhoods are historically ethnically-based. From GreekTown to Chinatown and from the India Bazaar to Little Italy, our communities are abundant with restaurants, delis, markets, and bazaars. The diversity of our neighbourhoods is celebrated year-round through local festivals that recognize local identities. The Caribana Festival attracts over a million participants each year. Harbourfront Centre's ethnic festivals, international events and world music concerts are internationally renowned. Toronto truly is a world within a city.

To some, the City's efforts have made an enormous difference. For others, it may seem that our work has not had sufficient impact. Regardless, our vision is clear: "Diversity our Strength" is Toronto's official motto. We must continue to actively support diversity in all of our communities. And we must continue to invest in the variety and the multiplicity that makes us so strong.

The Laurier Institution's Diversity/Vancouver Project

FERIAL McCANN
Canadian Heritage

Ferial McCann is the Manager of the Multiculturalism Program for the British Columbia/Yukon Territory District, Department of Canadian Heritage. She is particularly interested in the use of research to inform public policy and government-supported programming.

DON BLACK
The Laurier Institution

Don Black is Executive Director of the Laurier Institution, a non-profit research and educational organization focusing on Canadian diversity.

Canada is one of the most urban nations in the world and Canadian cities are among the most diverse cities. In British Columbia, 85% of the population resides in urbanized areas. Recent census data shows that immigration has and will continue to be a major driver of growth, urbanization and diversity within Canadian cities. One of the greatest challenges of the next decade is to ensure that Canadian cities reflect openness and understanding across diverse populations, with institutions that are responsive to ethnic and racial minorities as well as being representative of these minorities, and where everyone has an equal opportunity to participate fully and actively in the political, economic, cultural and social realms of life. The Diversity/Vancouver project provides the residents of Greater Vancouver with the opportunity to engage in an informed public dialogue about diversity and to explore ways of working together to make certain that Greater Vancouver continues to be not only a diverse community, but also a liveable and inclusive community.

Launched in February 2004, this innovative project is the first in an annual multimedia series and public education program that has included, to date:

- Short TV spots aimed at engaging the general public in an ongoing dialogue. The overall message is that while diversity is one of the major strengths of our community, there is still work to accomplish if we wish to achieve the goal of a diverse, fully inclusive and democratic society. Spots featured Arthur Erickson (architect), Mina Shum (filmmaker), David Baxter (futurist), Alden Habacon (artist and editor), Sudha Krishna (CBC reporter), and Larry Campbell (Mayor of Vancouver). These spots are featured on the Diversity/Vancouver Website and five were broadcast extensively on Channel M throughout February, reaching thousands of residents from all cultural communities in Greater Vancouver.

- Community events involving residents from all parts of Greater Vancouver. These free events have been organized in four municipalities

and included a panel discussion on immigration, philosopher cafés, and community forums (linked to a moderated online forum) that examined major trends and key issues related to multiculturalism, racism, diversity and urbanization in the Greater Vancouver region.

- One-day workshops on diversity organized in three municipalities and involving municipal staff from every part of Greater Vancouver.

- A Diversity/Vancouver Website[1] designed to ensure that the discussion will continue after February 2004. The Website includes the TV spots, broadcast quality audiotapes on issues associated with multiculturalism and immigration, drawn from the community forums and expert panels presented earlier in the project, new research and resources on municipal diversity and anti-racism programs across Canada, and educational programs. These resources are now being used by community organizations, schools and municipalities across Canada.

Diversity/Vancouver has already established itself as the largest multimedia exploration of multiculturalism and cultural diversity in Canada.

Partners in this project have included the Multiculturalism Program of the Department of Canadian Heritage, the Vancouver Foundation, the British Columbia Ministry of Community, Aboriginal and Women's Services, Channel M, Circle Productions, the Laurier Institution Endowment Fund, as well as individual donors.

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[1] For more information, please visit Diversity/Vancouver's Website at <www.diversityvancouver.ca>.

The Downtown Eastside Crime Prevention/Revitalization Project. aims at building the capacity for the Downtown Eastside community to work together in addressing the root causes of crime and in making the community a safe place where one can live, visit and do business.

Fostering Change From Within: Building Capacity for Change in the Ethnocultural Community of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside

FERIAL MCCANN
Canadian Heritage

Ferial McCann is the Manager of the Multiculturalism Program for the British Columbia/Yukon Territory District, Department of Canadian Heritage. She is particularly interested in the use of research to inform public policy and government-supported programming.

KATHY COYNE
Downtown Eastside Community Development Project

Researcher/Evaluator for the Downtown Eastside Community Development Project, Kathy Coyne has more than twenty years of experience in community development work. She recently completed a Doctorate in Educational Leadership and Policy, focusing on appropriate community development for marginalized communities.

Vancouver's Downtown Eastside has a rich and conflicted ethnocultural history that is evident to the present day. The area is traditional Aboriginal territory and, for close to a century, served as a point of entry for many new immigrants coming to work in the industrial sector. Chinatown is the historical heart of the Chinese community in British Columbia, a history that includes the Chinese Exclusion Act, the 1907 anti-Asiatic riot, and the wholesale internment of Japanese Canadians during World War II. In 2004, many Aboriginal people, living in poverty and severely impacted by health issues, either live in Downtown Eastside or come to this area to socialize and access services. The interests of Chinese-Canadian business people often conflict with those of the low-income community, with businesses seeking to "clean up" the area and the low-income community wanting appropriate health services for people with chronic addictions and other health issues.

Throughout the 1990s, the Downtown Eastside experienced a deepening of poverty compounded by changing patterns in drug use and a corresponding health epidemic among drug users, affecting the ethnocultural community in different ways. Aboriginal people were one of the groups most affected by the increase in drug use and related health issues. There was a public perception that a large number of Latino men were involved in the drug trade. Shop owners in Chinatown argued that these changes caused a major decline in business.

In 1997, the City of Vancouver responded to the emerging "crisis" with a plan for strategic action. The plan included a funding application for the development of

community capacity, which resulted in the implementation of the Downtown Eastside Crime Prevention/Revitalization Project. This project, supported in part by the Canadian Heritage Multiculturalism Program, is aimed at building the capacity for the Downtown Eastside community to work together in addressing the root causes of crime and in making the community a safe place where one can live, visit and do business.

The Multiculturalism component makes certain that the diverse communities (Chinese, Vietnamese, Aboriginal, Latin American and others) residing in the Downtown Eastside are equipped with the tools for working together in an effort to find solutions to their common problems, thus becoming active participants in the revitalization process. The types of activities that the project supports include: communication to diverse communities about the drug strategy (including outreach and public education programs in Chinese, Vietnamese, Spanish and Punjabi languages), the development of Vancouver's Chinatown Revitalization process, the facilitation of a Latin American working group, and the development of the Aboriginal Front Door, an Aboriginal centre and traditional healing program.

The project has now been completed and the evaluation is currently being prepared. Preliminary data suggests a number of significant results:

- There has been a change in the understanding of the drug issues by the ethnocultural groups.

- Chinatown has supported the development of an arts endowment for the low-income community.

- Aboriginal residents are involved in regular healing circles and several have gone on to treatment programs.

- The Latino community has regular culture-based programs and is connected to other community services.

- A vision for Chinatown has been articulated and is now being implemented, including action to commemorate the history of the area, improve the public realm, enhance the sense of security, diversify the retail sector and create a hub of social and cultural activities.

- A strong leadership is emerging among the ethnocultural community—this includes, in Chinatown, a significant increase in youth involvement.

While the capacity for these changes was fostered through the Downtown Eastside Crime Prevention/Revitalization Project, support from other levels of government was also critical to its success. This support was available through the Vancouver Agreement, a tri-level urban development agreement initiated in 1999. The City of Vancouver worked with Canadian Heritage and other Vancouver Agreement partners to successfully connect these community initiatives to appropriate federal and provincial programs, creating important horizontal linkages, an important cornerstone of community capacity.

Because the Black community is subject to much greater police surveillance, they are also much more likely to be caught when they break the law than White people who engage in the same forms of criminal activity. For example, 65% of the Black drug dealers... report that they have been arrested at some time in their lives, compared to only 35% of the White drug dealers.

Discrimination or "Good" Policing? The Racial Profiling Debate in Canada

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For decades, Black people in major Canadian cities, including Toronto, Montréal and Halifax, have complained that they are frequently stopped, questioned and searched by the police for "DWBBs—Driving While Being Black Violations" (Foster 1996, 5). Similar complaints have been made by Aboriginals in the Prairie Provinces and by South Asians in British Columbia. Not surprisingly, law enforcement officials have universally rejected such claims. This controversy reached a boiling point in October 2002, when the *Toronto Star* published a series of articles on the issue of race and crime. In addition to reviewing previous research, the *Star* provided its own analysis of police arrest data. The study revealed that Black people in Toronto are highly over-represented in certain offence categories, including drug possession and "out-of-sight" traffic violations (driving without a licence or driving without insurance, for example). The *Star* maintains that this pattern of over-representation is consistent with the idea that the Toronto police engage in racial profiling. Their analysis also reveals that Blacks are treated more harshly *after arrest* than their White counterparts. In particular, White offenders are more likely to be released at the scene, while Black offenders are more likely to be detained, taken to the station for processing, and held in custody until their bail hearing (Rankin et al. 2002a, 2002b).

In response to the *Star* series, the Toronto Police vehemently denied all allegations of racial bias. The Police Chief declared, "We do not do racial profiling...There is no racism."[2] Likewise, the President of the Police Association stated, "No racial profiling has ever been conducted by the Toronto Police Service."[3] Several local politicians echoed these sentiments. The Mayor of Toronto, for example, declared, "I don't believe that the Toronto police engage in racial

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[2] Toronto Star (2002a, A14).

[3] Porter (2002, A6).

profiling in any way, shape or form. Quite the opposite, they're very sensitive to our different communities."[4] Unfortunately, the police have yet to produce concrete data that can lend support to their "no racism" argument. Does racial profiling exist in Toronto? It is the purpose of this paper to briefly discuss the results of two recent Toronto surveys that directly addressed the racial profiling debate.

Racial profiling: A definition

In the criminological literature, racial profiling is said to exist when the members of certain racial or ethnic groups become subject to greater levels of criminal justice surveillance than others. Racial profiling, therefore, is typically defined as a racial disparity in police stop-and-search practices, racial differences in Customs searches at airports and border-crossings, increased police patrols in minority neighbourhoods and undercover activities or sting operations which target particular ethnic groups. Racial profiling, therefore, is associated with racial bias in police investigation—not racial bias in arrest decisions or racial bias in police treatment after arrest. This is not to say that arrest statistics, like those analyzed by the *Star*, *do not* reflect profiling. For example, the over-representation of Blacks in Toronto arrest statistics could mean that Blacks are indeed subject to greater police surveillance. However, it could also mean that Blacks are simply more involved in criminal activities. Thus, the racial profiling hypothesis cannot truly be tested unless we first examine information on police surveillance activities.

Previous research

Do Black people come under greater criminal justice surveillance than people from other racial backgrounds? Are Black people more likely to be stopped, questioned and searched by the police? Police data from both England (Bowling and Phillips 2002) and the United States (see Engel et al. 2002) suggests that they are. In England, for example, the *Police and Criminal Evidence Act* mandated that the police keep a written record of the racial background of all people subjected to police stops and searches. Statistics from 1997-1998 reveal that Black people in the United Kingdom were stopped and searched at a rate of 142 per 1,000, compared to 45 per 1,000 for Asians and 19 per 1,000 for Whites. Overall,

the English data suggests that Blacks are approximately eight times more likely to be stopped and searched by the police than Whites (Bowling and Phillips 2002).

Unfortunately, unlike England and the United States, the police in Canada are not required to record the race of the people they stop and/or search. Thus, official police statistics cannot be used to investigate the presence or absence of racial profiling in this country. However, a number of field studies have uncovered evidence that racial profiling may exist. For example, James (1998) conducted intensive interviews with over 50 Black youth from Southern Ontario. Many of these youths reported that being stopped by the police was a common occurrence for them. Neugebauer's (2000) interviews with 63 Black and White teenagers from Toronto produced very similar results. Although the author finds that teenagers from all racial backgrounds often complain about being hassled by the police, both White and Black youth agree that Black males are much more likely to be stopped, questioned and searched by the police than youths from other racial backgrounds. Although these ethnographic studies provide great detail about police encounters and document the "lived experiences" of Black youth, they are based on rather small, non-random samples. Thus, they risk being dismissed as "anecdotal" and not truly representative of police behaviour. However, similar evidence of racial profiling has been uncovered by two recent surveys of Toronto residents.

Results from Survey 1

In 1995, York University's Institute for Social Research conducted a survey of over 1,200 Toronto adults (18 years of age or older) who identified themselves as either Black, Chinese or White. Over 400 respondents were randomly selected from each racial group. The survey found that Black people, particularly Black males, were much more likely to report involuntary police contact than either Whites or Asians. For example, almost half (44%) of the Black males in the sample reported that they had been stopped and questioned by the police at least once in the past two years. Furthermore, almost one-third (30%) of Black males reported that they had been stopped on two or more occasions. By contrast, only 12% of White males and 7% of Asian males reported multiple police stops (see Wortley and Tanner 2003, Commission

[4]   Toronto Star (2002b, A9).

on Systemic Racism 1995). Multivariate statistical analyses reveals that these racial differences in police contact cannot be explained by racial differences in social class, education or other demographic variables. In fact, two factors that seem to protect White males from police contact—age and social class—do not protect Blacks. Whites with high incomes and education, for example, are much less likely to be stopped by the police than Whites who score low on social class measures. By contrast, Blacks with high incomes and education are actually more likely to be stopped than lower-class Blacks. Black professionals, in fact, often attribute the attention they receive from the police to their relative affluence. As one Black respondent stated: "If you are Black and you drive something good, the police will pull you over and ask about drugs."[5] One weakness with this study, however, is that it does not control for other relevant factors—including criminal behaviour—that may determine who the police stop and search. This issue, however, was addressed by the second survey described below.

Results from Survey 2

The Toronto Youth Crime and Victimization Survey was completed in 2000. Interviews were conducted with a random sample of approximately 3,400 high school students.[6] The results of this study also suggest that Black people are much more likely than people from other racial backgrounds to be subjected to random street interrogations. For example, over 50% of the Black students reported that they have been stopped by the police on two or more occasions in the past two years, compared to only 23% of Whites, 11% of Asians and 8% of South Asians. Similarly, over 40% of Black students claim that they have been physically searched by the police in the past two years, compared to only 17% of their White and 11% of their Asian counterparts. However, the data also reveals that students who engage in various forms of crime and deviance are much more likely to receive police attention than students who do not break the law. For example, 81% of the drug dealers in this sample (defined as those who sold drugs on 10 or more occasions in the

past year) report that they have been searched by the police, compared to only 16% of those students who did not sell drugs. This finding is completely consistent with the police argument that they focus exclusively on suspicious or criminal activity when deciding to make a stop—not on the racial characteristics of citizens. The data further reveals that those students who have access to automobiles and spend most of their leisure time in public spaces (in malls, public parks, or nightclubs, for example) are much more likely to be stopped by the police than students who spend most of their time in private spaces or in the company of their parents. This leads to the million dollar question: *Do Black students receive more police attention because they are more involved in crime or because they are more likely to be involved in leisure activities which take place in public spaces?*

While our data reveals that White students have much higher rates of both alcohol consumption and illicit drug use, Black students do report higher rates in minor property crime, drug trafficking and violence. Black students are also more likely to report that they are members of a youth gang. In addition, both Black and White students report higher rates of participation in public leisure activities than students from all other racial backgrounds. These racial differences, however, do not come close to explaining why Black youth are much more vulnerable to police contact. In fact, after statistically controlling for criminal activity, drug use, gang membership, car use and leisure activities, the relationship between race and police stops actually gets stronger. Why? Further analysis reveals that racial differences in police stop-and-search practices are actually greatest among students with low levels of criminal behaviour. For example, 34% of the Black students who *have not* engaged in any type of criminal activity still report that they have been stopped by the police on two or more occasions in the past two years, compared to only 4% of White students in the same behavioural category. Similarly, 23% of Black students with no deviant behaviour report that they have been searched by the police, compared to only 5% of Whites who report no deviance (Wortley and Tanner 2003, Wortley and Tanner 2004). Thus, while the first survey discussed above reveals that age and social class do not protect Blacks from police stops and searches,

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[5] Cited in Wortley and Tanner (2003, 371).

[6] See Tanner and Wortley (2002) for methodological details.

this study suggests that good behaviour also does not shelter Blacks from unwanted police attention.

Implications

These findings have two major implications. Firstly, because the Black community is subject to much greater police surveillance, they are also much more likely to be caught when they break the law than White people who engage in the same forms of criminal activity. For example, 65% of the Black drug dealers in the above high school study report that they have been arrested at some time in their lives, compared to only 35% of the White drug dealers. As means of illustration, imagine that 10,000 people live in a high-density community in downtown Toronto. Imagine further that half of the residents of this community are Black and the other half are White. Let us also assume that an equal number of Black and White residents (250 from each group) sell illicit drugs on a regular basis. If, due to racial profiling, Black residents are more likely to be stopped and searched by the police, Black drug dealers in this neighbourhood will be more likely to be detected and subsequently arrested than White offenders. For example, if 50% of the Black residents are randomly searched, compared to only 10% of the White residents, this searching practice should yield 125 Black arrests and only 25 White arrests. Interestingly, the race-crime statistics (125 Black arrests compared to only 25 White arrests) produced by such biased search practices would probably be used to justify the use of racial profiling ("we found more Black than White offenders therefore our profiling strategy must be correct"). Racial profiling, therefore, can become a self-fulfilling prophecy. This example helps illustrate how arrest statistics may have more to do with law enforcement surveillance practices than actual racial differences in criminal behaviour. In sum, racial profiling may help explain the over-representation of minorities in arrest statistics.

However, it should be noted that the above research also suggests that the police almost never arrest citizens who are not involved in some form of criminal activity. This may lead to the conclusion that racial profiling is harmless: if you don't break the law, you will not be arrested. However, the second major consequence of racial profiling is that it serves to further alienate Black people from mainstream Canadian society and reinforces perceptions of discrimination and racial injustice. Indeed, our research strongly suggests that Black people who are frequently stopped and questioned by the police perceive much higher levels of discrimination in the Canadian criminal justice system than Blacks who have not been stopped. Interestingly, being stopped by the police does not appear to increase perceptions of injustice for Whites or Asians (Wortley and Tanner 2003, Wortley and Tanner 2004, Wortley et al. 1997). Being stopped and searched by the police, therefore, seems to be experienced by Black people as evidence that race still matters in Canadian society. That no matter how well you behave, how hard you try, being Black means that you will always be considered one of the "usual suspects."

Conclusion

Clearly, the issue of racial profiling requires further research in this country. Unfortunately, Canadian law enforcement agencies—with the noted exception of the Kingston, Ontario Police Service—have thus far refused to collect their own data on this phenomenon. The general fear is that official stop-and-search data will be misunderstood by the public, used to unfairly label individual officers as racist, increase law suits against police services and ultimately result in de-policing (officers will refuse to respond to situations which involve minority citizens). It should be noted that in general, these problems have not emerged in England or in the United States, two countries where this type of data has been collected for years. Canadian police managers need to recognize that there may be major advantages to collecting their own stop-and-search data. First of all, it could be an effective means of monitoring police behaviour and might very well reduce the number of unjustified, racial profiling incidents. Secondly, a transparent effort to monitor and eliminate racial profiling, in our opinion, will ultimately improve the relationship between police and various racial minority communities. Conversely, a refusal to acknowledge and deal with the issue will only intensify tensions and ensure that the problem of racial discrimination continues to haunt law enforcement agencies for decades to come.

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Congress of Social Sciences and Humanities

Confluence: Ideas, Identities, Place

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA, WINNIPEG, MAY 29TH TO JUNE 6TH 2004
www.fedcan.ca

Canadian Historical Association / Société historique du Canada

www.cha-shc.ca

DANIEL BENDER, UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO
"The Race to the Bottom: Evolutionary Theory,
Immigrant Workers, and Race Substitution
in the Industrial City: the U.S. Case in
Comparative Perspective"
June 3, 9:00-10:15, #115, St. John's College

DANIEL MCNEIL, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
"Americo-Centricity and its Impact on
Black Organisations in Halifax and Liverpool,
1960's and 1970's"
June 3, 9:00-10:15, #115, St. John's College

RUTH PERCY, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
"Striking Women: Spectacle, Representation, and
Female Activism in 1910's London and Chicago"
June 3, 9:00-10:15, #115, St. John's College

MICHAEL BRUCE, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
"'Nothing Happens Except Dilapidation and
Decay': Social Movements and Creative
Resistance in Vancouver's Strathcona
Neighbourhood"
June 5, 10:30-11:45, #114, St. John's College

GREG STOTT, MCMASTER UNIVERSITY
"The Urban Frontier: Identifying Suburban
Municipalities in 19th Century Ontario"
June 5, 10:30-11:45, #114, St. John's College

RICHARD WHITE, NEPTIS FOUNDATION
"The Planners and the People: Citizen
Participation in Toronto Urban and Regional
Planning, 1940-1970"
June 5, 10:30-11:45, #114, St. John's College

Canadian Society for the Study of Practical Ethics / Société canadienne pour l'étude de l'esthétique appliquée

www.csspe.ca

SHELDON WEIN, ST. MARY'S UNIVERSITY
"Ethics and Global Urbanization"
May 30, 9:00-10:00, #204, St. John's College

JAY DRYDYK, CARLETON UNIVERSITY, ATIYA HABEEB
KIDWAI, JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
"Ethics for the Oustees: Population
Displacement and New Cities"
May 30, 10:15-11:15, #204, St. John's College

PAMELA FLORES AND LIVINGSTON CRAWFORD,
UNIVERSIDAD DEL NORTE
"The Material City: A Symbol of Our Ethical
Code"
May 30, 11:30-12:30, #204, St. John's College

KAREN KRUG, BROCK UNIVERSITY
"Ethics and EcoVillages"
June 1, 9:30-10:30, #204, St. John's College

SHIRLEY THOMPSON, UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG
"Women Activists Taking Care of Halifax"
June 1, 10:45-11:45, #204, St. John's College

SUSAN M. TURNER, UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA AND
ATHABASCA UNIVERSITY
"Why I Hate Cars: Reason #47-
The HID Headlamp"
June 1, 12:00-1:00, #204, St. John's College

Canadian Lesbian and Gay Studies Association / Société canadienne des études lesbiennes et gaies

www.arts.ualberta.ca/%7Eclgsa/

PASCAL-HUGO PLOURDE, INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR, OTTAWA
"Marking the Urban Landscape with a Pink Footprint: The Québec Gay Chamber of Commerce and the Building of a Montréal Gaybourhood"
May 30, 1:00-3:00, #201, Isbister Bldg.

TRACY NIELSON, MOUNT ROYAL COLLEGE
"Streets, Strangers and Solidarity: 'Gayday' and the Negotiation of Urban Public Space"
May 31, 1:30-3:00, #235, Isbister Bldg.

Association for Canadian Theatre Research / Association de la recherche théâtrale au Canada

www.umoncton.ca/facarts/anglais/actr/artc.htm

KATHLEEN GALLAGHER, PHILIP LORTIE AND DOMINIQUE RIVIÈRE, OISE
"Social Positionings and Urban Space: A Challenge for Theatre Pedagogy"
June 1, 9:00-10:30

Canadian Society for the Study of Education / Société canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation

www.csse.ca

N.B. Unless otherwise noted, meetings take place in the Education Building of the University of Manitoba.

CAROLINE CHASSELS, OISE
"Immigrant and Minority Adult Access to High Education"
May 30, 1:15-2:45, #325

BILL HAGAN, MANUKAU INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
"Peer Effects in Negotiating Participation in the Adjustment to School — A New Zealand Urban Elementary School Perspective"
May 30, 3:00-4:15, #300

EDITH SAMUEL, ATLANTIC BAPTIST UNIVERSITY
"Repositioning and resettlement experiences of South Asian Immigrant women in Atlantic Canada"
May 30, 3:00-4:15, #300

SARA PROMISLOW, OISE
"Reconciling multilingual-cultural-isms: Childhood immigrants maintain their mother tongue and culture"
May 30, 4:30-5:45, #327

MIRELA MOLDOVEANU, UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
"La formation linguistique des immigrants au Québec : qu'en pensent les bénéficiaires adultes des programmes de francisation?"
May 31, 8:30-9:45, #338

FIONA ZHANG, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
"Adult education of immigrants"
May 31, 10:00-11:15, IGAC Room

EYNOLAH AHMADI, OISE
"Surveying Employment Preparation Training programs (EPT) for professional immigrants in the Greater Toronto Area: An analysis of program effects of improving the employability prospect of the participants"
May 31, 10:00-11:15, IGAC Room

OTTILIA CHAREKA, ALAN SEARS, UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK
"Listening to the voices of African immigrants: A phenomenographic exploration of conceptions of political participation of recent African immigrants in comparison with those held by Canadians"
June 1, 10:00-11:15, #309

Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association/ Société canadienne de sociologie et d'anthropologie

www.alcor.concordia.ca/%7Ecsaa1/

KIERAN BONNER (CHAIR), UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO, LISA GUNDERSON (SPEAKER), UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO, VINCENT MILLER, LANCASTER UNIVERSITY, GAILE MCGREGOR, UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO, CHRISTINE LAWRENCE, YORK UNIVERSITY
"Place and Space: The City As..."
June 3, 9:00-10:30

PETER LI (CO-CHAIR), UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN, JOHN BILES (CO-CHAIR), METROPOLIS PROJECT TEAM, CIC, ANTHONY RICHMOND, YORK UNIVERSITY, MORTON WEINFELD, MCGILL UNIVERSITY, VIC SATZEWICH, MCMASTER UNIVERSITY
"Immigration and Nation Building: Challenges of Social Inclusion and Exclusion"
June 3, 10:45-12:15

TARA CARNOCHAN, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
"Images of Social Problems and the Definition of Urban Disorder"
June 3, 2:15-3:45

JANE KU, MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY
"Restructuring, Activism and Multicultural Politics in the Immigrant Services Sector"
June 3, 4:00-5:30

PARIN DOSSA, SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
"Politics and Poetics of Migration: Travelling Tales of Iranian Women"
June 3, 4:00-5:30

KIERAN BONNER (ORGANIZER), UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO, ALAN BLUM (CHAIR), YORK UNIVERSITY, KEVIN DOWLER, YORK UNIVERSITY, CARLOS NEVES, WILFRED LAURIER UNIVERSITY, ROGER HERMAN, UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN, BRETT FAIRBAIRN, UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN
"Happiness and the City"
June 3, 4:00-5:30

DIANNE LOOKER, ACADIA UNIVERSITY
"Rural Urban Differences in Access to and Use of Information Technology"
June 3, 4:00-5:30

CLARENCE BATAN, DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY
"Language Use and ICT Skills among Canadian Youth: A Comparative Analysis between Immigrant and Non-immigrant Youth"
June 4, 9:00-10:30

ADITYA RAJ, MCGILL UNIVERSITY
"Immigration and Integration Policy and the Formation of the Indian Diaspora in Canada"
June 5, 10:45-12:15

PHILIPPE COUTON, UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA
"Re-Defining the Public Sphere: Immigrant Institutional Structures in Canada"
June 5, 10:45-12:15

MARLENE MULDER, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
"Attitudes to Diversity in Seven Alberta Communities"
June 5, 10:45-12:15

SUJATHA VARGHESE, YORK UNIVERSITY
"South Asian Practices of Arranged Marriage in Canada"
June 5, 10:45-12:15

PETER LI, UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN
"Social Connectedness and Economic Outcomes: Potential and Limit of Social Capital for Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities"
June 5, 12:30-2:00

HENRY CHOW (CHAIR), UNIVERSITY OF REGINA, JASMIN ZINE, OISE, JENNIFER LOVE, YORK UNIVERSITY, CLARENCE BATAN, DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY
"Cross-Cultural Adaptation of Immigrants in the Canadian Mosaic" (session)
June 6, 10:45-12:15

Canadian Population Society

www.canpopsoc.org/index.html

N.B. Sessions will be held at the University of Manitoba; buildings and room numbers will be available at a later date

BARRY EDMONSTON, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
"The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada"
June 2, morning, pre-break

JESSIE-LYNN MACDONALD, SPECIAL SURVEYS DIVISION, STATISTICS CANADA
"The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada"
June 2, morning, pre-break

DANIÈLE BÉLANGER, UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO
"Determinants of health: socio-economic status, immigration and other factors"
June 3, morning, pre-break

PHILIPPE FINÈS, HEALTH ANALYSIS AND MEASUREMENT GROUP, STATISTICS CANADA
"Does the income-mortality gradient vary across urban areas in Canada?"
June 3, morning, pre-break

EDWARD NG, RUSSELL WILKINS, JEAN–MARIE BERTHELOT, HEALTH ANALYSIS AND MEASUREMENT GROUP, STATISTICS CANADA
"The healthy immigrant effect in Canada: a longitudinal perspective using National Population Health Surveys"
June 3, morning, pre-break

BALI RAM, SENIOR RESEARCH ADVISOR, STATISTICS CANADA, Y EDWARD SHIN, DEMOGRAPHY DIVISION, STATISTICS CANADA
"Educational selectivity of interprovincial migration in Canada, 1976-1981 to 1996-2001"
June 3, afternoon, post-break

ANDY SIGGNER, JANET HAGEY, HOUSING, FAMILY AND SOCIAL STATISTICS DIVISION, STATISTICS CANADA
"Measuring demographic change in the Aboriginal population residing in urban areas of Canada"
June 3, afternoon, post break

FENG HOU, BUSINESS AND LABOUR MARKET ANALYSIS DIVISION, STATISTICS CANADA, LARRY S. BOURNE, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
"Migration and immigration in Canada's immigrant gateway centres: a comparative study of Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver"
June 3, morning, pre-break

ALAIN BÉLANGER, STÉPHANE GILBERT, RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS SECTION, DEMOGRAPHY DIVISION, STATISTICS CANADA
"The Fertility of Immigrant Women and Their Canadian-born Daughters"
June 4, morning, pre-break

KELLY TRAN, TINA CHUI, JANE BADETS, HOUSING, FAMILY AND SOCIAL STATISTICS DIVISION, STATISTICS CANADA
"Becoming Canadian: The Citizenship Profile of Canada's Immigrants"
June 4, morning, pre-break

NORMAN BROWN, MULTICULTURALISM PROJECT, CANADIAN HERITAGE
"Immigration and Ethnic Diversity in Canada. Part 2: Education, Occupation, and Home Ownership"
June 4, morning, post-break

MARTHA JUSTUS, MARY L. GRANT, STRATEGIC RESEARCH AND STATISTICS, CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION CANADA
"Selected Findings from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada: First Steps Towards Integration"
June 4, morning, post-break

Canadian Industrial Relations Association / L'Association canadienne des relations industrielles

http://www.cira-acri.ca/

LISA KAIDA, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
"Are Skilled Workers Wasting Their Brains? A Comparison of Entry to Professional Occupations Between Canadian-born and Immigrants in Ontario"
June 4, morning, post-break

BARRY EDMONSTON, POPULATION RESEARCH CENTER, PORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY,
"Who Buys? Home Ownership Trends for Immigrants in Canada"
June 4, morning, post-break

ALAN SIMMONS, CENTRE FOR RESEARCH ON LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, YORK UNIVERSITY
"Globalization and International Migration: A Framework and Materials for Research and Teaching"
June 4, during lunch between Sessions 6 and 7

CATHERINE KRULL, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
"Immigration Policies, Age and Sex Data, Local Population Estimates, and Demographic Models"
June 4, afternoon, pre-break

RICHARD A. WANNER, UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
"The Effects of Immigration Policies and Welfare Regime on the Income and Occupational Status of Immigrants to 23 Western Countries"
June 4, afternoon, pre-break

BARNABÉ NDARISHIKANYE, ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH DIVISION, CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY
"Migrants' remittances from Canada to Central America and the Caribbean"
June 5, afternoon, post-break

HAIYAN ZHANG, MCMASTER UNIVERSITY
"Causes and Effects: Unionization Among Immigrants in Canada"
June 5, 1:30-3:00, #303, Tier Bldg.

LISA CHILTON, UNIVERSITY OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, ALEXANDER FREUND, UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG, SUSANA PAULA MIRANDA, YORK UNIVERSITY
"Immigrant Domestic Workers/Les domestiques immigrants"
June 4, 10:30-11:45

Canadian Political Science Association / Association canadienne de science politique

JOSEPH GARCEA (ORGANIZER), UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN, PAUL THOMAS (CHAIR), UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
"Power, Progressive Politics and Competitiveness for Canadian Cities: Municipal Perspectives" (workshop), keynote address by Glen Murray (Mayor of Winnipeg)
June 4, 9:00-12:45

JACQUES LE BOHEC, UNIVERSITÉ DE TECHNOLOGIE DE BELFORT-MONTBÉLIARD
"Votes Le Pen, sondages et politiques d'immigration en France"
June 3, 11 :00-12 :45

PETER LOEWEN, UNIVERSITY DE MONTRÉAL
"Two Sides of the Same Coin? Measuring Public Support, and Opposition to, Immigration in Canada"
June 3, 11:00-12:45

CAROLINE ANDREW, UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA
"Gendering Nation-States or Gendering City-States: Debates About the Nature of Citizenship"
June 3, 11:00-12:45

PETR KAFKA, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
"Harmonization of the Treatment of Immigrants in the European Union"
June 3, 9:00-10:45

KRISTIN GOOD, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
"Multiculturalism in the City: Explaining Municipal Responsiveness to Immigration in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and the Greater Vancouver Regional District"
June 3, 11:00-12:45

DANIEL RUBENSON, UNIVERSITÉ DE MONTRÉAL
"Community Heterogeneity and Political Participation in American Cities"
June 3, 1:45-3:30

JODEY DEROUIN, CANADIAN HERITAGE
"Political Participation in Elections of Major Cities: An Analysis Based on the Ethnic Diversity Survey"
June 3, 1:45-3:30

MYER SIEMIATYCKI, RYERSON UNIVERSITY
"Immigrants in Local Politics: They Vote..., They Win!"
June 3, 3:45-5:15

LIVIANNA TOSSUTTI, BROCK UNIVERSITY
"Informal Modes of Participation in Large Cities"
June 3, 3:45-5:15

JO-ANNE LEE, UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA
"To Build a Better City: Women and Culturally Hybrid Grassroots Resistance to Slum Clearance in Vancouver (The Leadership Role of Ethnic Minority Women)"
June 3, 3:45-5:15

PAUL THOMAS (CHAIR), UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG, ANDREW SANCTON, UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO, KATHERINE GRAHAM, CARLETON UNIVERSITY, JUDITH GARBER, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA, EDWARD LESAGE JR., UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
"Power, Progressive Politics, and Competitiveness for Canadian Cities: Academic Reflections" (workshop)
June 4, 11:00-12:45

MARTIN HORAK, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
"Analyzing Urban Political Change: A Historical Institutional Approach"
June 5, 9:00-10:45

JUDITH GARBER, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
"The Role of Cities in Achieving National/Regional and Global Security"
June 5, 1:45-3:30

DAVID WHITSON, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
"Urban Public Spaces: The Commercialization and
Gentrification of Public Space"
June 5, 1:45-3:30

P. STUART ROBINSON, UNIVERSITY OF TROMSO
"The Spatial and Temporal Innovations of Urban
Communitarian Initiatives: The Gated
Neighbourhood, the Squat Café, and the
Anarchist Street"
June 5, 1:45-3:30

MUSTAFA KEMAL BAYIRBAG, CARLETON UNIVERSITY
"The Role of Local Political Parties and Local
Businessmen in the Development of Regional
Politics"
June 5, 1:45-3:30

EDWIN BLACK (CHAIR), UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO,
EDWARD C. LESAGE JR., UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA,
LORNA STEFANICK, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA,
EMMANUEL BRUNET-JAILLY, UNIVERSITY OF
VICTORIA, MARY LOUISE MCALLISTER, UNIVERSITY
OF WATERLOO, NEIL HEPBURN, UNIVERSITY OF
ALBERTA
"Governance Problematic in Polycentric Urban
Regions: The Alberta Capital Region Case"
June 5, 3:45-5:15