Welcoming Communities: Planning for diverse populations
Urban Development
Master of Planning

This program focuses on urban development, the study of accommodating growth by restructuring the already built-up areas to avoid further urban sprawl. It builds on an innovative integration of "culture" and "nature" to facilitate the study and practice of sustainable urban development.
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WELCOMING
Planning for the Diversity

In the summer of 2000, Plan Canada (Vol. 40, No.4) focused on “Urban Diversity: Managing Multicultural Cities”, produced as a partnership between Metropolis (an international network for comparative research and public policy development on migration, diversity and immigrant integration in cities in Canada and around the world) and the Canadian Institute of Planners. At that time, the vast majority of newcomers to Canada were settling in just three cities – Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. Consequently those three cities were covered extensively.

Eight years later, roughly an additional two million newcomers have settled in Canada, many of them in these same three major urban centres. However, something has changed. There is an increasing recognition of the diversity of population in other cities. Indeed, Calgary has almost joined MTV (as the troika of big cities are referred to in immigration parlance). In addition, many considerably smaller communities have become active participants in seeking to attract new residents with the skill sets these communities desperately need to grow and prosper. Accordingly, this special edition of Plan Canada covers a far wider range of communities from across the country. These communities rely on their urban planners who are critical players in ensuring that they can not only attract potential residents, but retain them as well.

To assist you (Canada’s urban planners), this special edition explores the challenges and good practices involved in planning Canadian cities in ways that fully take account of, and celebrate diversity. We are particularly interested in three major population groups whose presence in Canadian cities has increased significantly over the past 30 years: the Aboriginal population; the immigrant and refugee population; and visible minorities. This is not to discount the internal heterogeneity of these groups or the intersections with other important identity markers including age, gender, sexual orientation, religion and ability, to mention just a few.

Several of the articles chronicle how diversity considerations are becoming more widespread in areas like the North (Vineberg), the Atlantic (Belkhodja), the Prairies (Carter; Garcea; Pruegger and Cook), and Ontario outside of the Greater Toronto Area (Burstein). In addition, elements of diversity which were not featured in the 2000 special issue include religion (Germain; Hoernig) and Aboriginal peoples (Carter; Garcea). Finally, the range of planning issues which are covered is far broader than it was in 2000 – Qadeer enumerates many of them in his article. This edition covers land use (Agrawal; Germain; Hoernig), malls (Preston and Lo; Zhuang), housing and residential concentration (Carter; Dib and Sriraman; Prasad and Yeh; Poitras; Ray), parks and public spaces (Germain), the role of libraries, arts, culture and festivals (White, Swanson, Olak and Patterson), police (Garcea), community infrastructure (Sandercock), municipal information strategies (Tossutti), as well as questions of attachment and belonging (Poitras) and the sorts of circuits or dense pathways that exist in the lived experience of urban residents (Preston and Lo; Ray).

Many of the articles speak to best practices within particular locales (Prasad and Yeh; Poitras; White, Swanson, Olak and Patterson) and point towards a planning framework that could be used in other communities: Qadeer even explicitly includes a framework in his article.

While it is perhaps overly ambitious to try to summarize all of the insights of this collection of articles, we believe that there are enough common elements across them to attempt to sketch the outlines of a guideline for planners looking to make their communities welcoming to their diverse citizenry.
COMMUNITIES: in Canadian Cities

Towards a Plan for Welcoming Communities

1) Make a commitment to be proactive and not reactive
2) Recognize pre-existing power relations and the impossibility of “neutral” public space
3) Gather an evidence base through research
4) Engage communities effectively
   a. Plan with and NOT for communities
   b. Ensure that a communication/information strategy is in place to effectively reach diverse communities (multilingual when necessary)
5) Ensure that leadership is put in place
   a. Champions (political and bureaucratic)
   b. Organizational (have a policy, an action plan, and a group responsible to implement and report on it)
   c. Representative decision-making bodies
6) Develop multi-level partnerships across and within levels of government
7) Evaluation and reporting are essential to ensure success

We hope that this special edition aids all of you in the vital work that you do in communities across this country. We invite you to participate in the Metropolis Network, especially its 1,000 person national conferences that bring together stakeholders across the country. For more information, please visit: www.metropolis.net

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Summary
This article (which draws extensively from a recently published book and DVD) outlines Canada's bold experiment in managing an increasingly pluralist society, specifically through attempts at creating welcoming cities using a community development approach. There are vast differences in municipal responsiveness across the nation, and even within one metropolitan area. The City of Vancouver will be discussed here in the interest of focusing on policy innovation and understanding how a welcoming city is constructed through public policy. Collingwood, one of the most culturally diverse neighbourhoods within the City of Vancouver, is the site of a particularly promising experiment, through the inclusive mission of a Neighbourhood House.

Introduction: from Nation to Neighbourhood
Policies dealing with immigration and refugees are formulated at the national level, but their most significant repercussions are at the local level, where they impact the whole intricate social fabric of urban life, in streets and neighbourhoods, housing estates, shops and schools, parks and places of worship. Immigration policies are motivated primarily by economic concerns, but the national economic mindset typically does not take into account the challenges and complexities of strangers entering the urban fabric in significant numbers and the ways in which this can be perceived, rightly or wrongly, as undermining a particular way of life. This article outlines Canada's bold experiment in managing an increasingly pluralist society, specifically through attempts at creating welcoming cities and communities.

Multiculturalism in Canada has served as a guideline for government policy since 1971, and also as a framework for national discourse on the construction of Canadian society. Initially conceived as a way of responding to the reaction against the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission of the 1960s on the part of "old ethnics" like the Ukrainians, which forced Prime Minister Trudeau to broaden the mandate of that Commission, the policy has had to evolve to take on board, literally, the arrival of increasing numbers of immigrants from non-Anglo, non-Caucasian backgrounds. Canadian multiculturalism has encouraged individuals voluntarily to affiliate with the culture and tradition of their choice, and there has been encouragement of diverse cultural festivals in public places as well as the symbolic gesture of public artworks that recognize and celebrate the multiple peoples who make up the nation. The intention has been to forge a workable national framework of "unity within diversity", all the while emphasizing the economic benefits of immigration.

Still, there is a significant leap from multicultural rhetoric at the level of national politics and legal frameworks, to what happens in the streets and neighbourhoods of Canada's cities. Provincial and local levels of government, in general, have been slower to respond to cultural diversity in terms of examining and changing their policies. Generally speaking, the three cities that are home to most immigrant and refugee arrivals (Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver) have gone farthest in developing policy responses. But even within one metropolitan area, as Edgington and Hutton have shown with respect to Metro Vancouver (population 2.4 million), there are vast differences in municipal responsiveness. The City of Vancouver, with a population approaching 600,000, has led the way, and its combination of approaches will be discussed here in the interest of focusing on policy innovation and understanding how a welcoming...
city is constructed through public policy. The article then shifts its lens to Collingwood, one of the most culturally diverse neighbourhoods within the City of Vancouver, to illustrate the promise of a neighbourhood-based approach to welcoming communities.

The City of Vancouver: responding to change

Vancouver’s most striking transformation since the 1970s is its assumption of the role of Canada’s gateway to the Asia-Pacific region, in terms of both human and capital flows. By the early 1970s immigration flows from Hong Kong into Vancouver were already significant, and were enhanced by a bigger wave after the 1984 signing of the Sino-British Agreement for the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997. There have also been increasingly significant components of immigration from South and Southeast Asia during the past 30 years, notably from British Commonwealth nations such as India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Metro Vancouver is now more multicultural than Miami, Los Angeles or New York City. According to Statistics Canada (2006 census), 39.6% of Metro Vancouver’s residents are foreign born, with the largest numbers arriving from mainland China and India, followed by Pakistan and the Philippines, in the past five years. The proportion of foreign born residents in the City of Vancouver, the largest municipality within Metro Vancouver, is now 51%.

During the past three decades of transformation, the metropolitan regional government (the Greater Vancouver Regional District, GVRD) largely focused on growth management, strategic land use, transportation, environmental enhancement, preservation of agricultural land, and shaping the regional structure. It was the municipalities that found themselves having to deal with the socio-cultural transformation that was underway.

In 1986 the new mayor Gordon Campbell shifted attention to the accommodation of the new immigrant populations. The City was increasingly concerned about its ability to integrate the large inflows of widely diverse cultures. For the first time at the local political level, managing this socio-cultural transition began to be seen as a potential problem. Responses included the reallocation of resources to social planning; giving less priority to economic policies and programs; and creating the Hastings Institute to conduct anti-racism and diversity training for the public sector. Taken together, these and other policies discussed below must be seen as a conscious attempt to build a multicultural society, accepting socio-cultural diversity as intrinsic to a changing national identity at the same time as it is changing the metropolitan economy.

The BC Multiculturalism Act outlines policies aimed at reducing racism and violence as well as increasing cross-cultural understanding and encouraging respect for the multicultural heritage of British Columbia. There are strong relationships between the provincial government and the myriad of grassroots organizations that have emerged in the past three decades to advocate for immigrants’ rights and services, and the mobilization of these organizations exerts continuous pressure on government.

What is remarkable about the immigrant and multicultural policy sector is precisely the strength of grassroots organizations, and their umbrella associations, which have become powerful lobbying forces. The provincial government publishes a Directory of BC Multicultural, Anti-racism, Immigrant and Community Service Organizations which lists more than 50 organizations promoting multiculturalism and immigrant services within the City of Vancouver, and another 200 or so ethnocultural organizations within the...
In 1988, Vancouver City Council adopted a civic policy on Multiculturalism Relations that addressed the need to recognize diversity as strength, promote freedom from prejudice, and ensure access to civic services for all residents regardless of their diverse backgrounds, including those with language barriers. In response to this new civic policy, the City undertook a variety of multicultural initiatives. In 1989, the Hastings Institute was created in response to a growing demand from external organizations for the kind of diversity training the City was offering internally.5 In 1993, the City hosted community forums entitled “From Barriers to Bridges” during which Council reaffirmed its policy of reflecting cultural diversity in all aspects of civic activity.

Within the City’s Social Planning Department, there is one position devoted exclusively to multicultural outreach and inclusion. The responsibilities of that position include outreach to specific ethnocultural communities and liaising with the many grassroots organizations representing immigrant communities in order to understand their concerns and bring them into a variety of civic initiatives and policies. A key role of this staff position is to instruct and advise staff in other City departments on engaging diverse communities in civic processes, from neighbourhood planning to arts and cultural initiatives.

Social Planning’s specific role within the City of Vancouver is to address community and social issues, particularly as they affect disadvantaged groups and individuals. Through its Community Service Grants, the Social Planning department funds a variety of diversity and immigration-related non-profit and social service agencies. Priority for funding is given to programming aimed at removing barriers to services which exist for some members of ethnic communities as well as programming that facilitates the integration of newcomers into community life. The City, through its Social Planning Department, also supports the wide array of immigrant integration work being done by the nine Neighbourhood Houses within the City. One of these is the focus of the next section.

Learning from the local: integrating immigrants through community development

The Collingwood Neighbourhood House (CNH) was born in the mid-1980s, at the very time when the City was turning its attention to diversity issues and had strengthened its Social Planning Department for this purpose. The Collingwood neighbourhood on the eastern edge of the City of Vancouver was at that time undergoing rapid socio-cultural transition, from a predominantly Anglo-European population then, to today, when only 27% of residents speak English as their first language. At the beginning of this demographic transition, there was some resident resistance to the newcomers, and sentiments expressed such as “What are they doing here?” and “Why don’t they go back where they came from?”

The CNH emerged as a result of conversations between the City of Vancouver and local residents, who identified the need for some sort of gathering place for newcomers and old-timers, and a facility that would provide services for families and children. It began operation with a couple of staff and facilities, a budget of $3.5 million, and a 26,000 square foot facility.

On the surface, what CNH does is to develop and provide services according to perceived local needs. But there is more to it than that. First, the organization’s
real purpose (as reflected in its mission statement) is to build community, and its belief is that this cannot be achieved by providing culturally-specific services. The very idea of a “neighbourhood house” implies a place with no subcultural affiliation, no shared interest other than creating a community based on common residency. Thus the approach to programming is intercultural. Second, the services are not seen as merely services meeting a need. They are also seen as providing meeting places where people come together, and connect through engaging in activities together. Third, residents are engaged as researchers in the investigation of their own community, which further helps in establishing contacts and building relationships, as well as empowering locals to become involved in the decision-making and programming at the Neighbourhood House. CNH also conducts regular anti-racism education programs, and teaches through its consistent policies and actions that community is built through inclusion rather than through drawing boundaries. This is the daily negotiation of difference in the micro-publics of the city, in everyday activities, that would seem to be the most appropriate way to foster intercultural contact and exchange.

In Collingwood (and other Neighbourhood Houses in Vancouver) we have examples to show the world how it is possible to nurture welcoming communities by creating a local institution which is, literally, “a place for everyone” rather than only for the members of one cultural group. CNH provides a wide range of services, including: language training for immigrants; a range of settlement services; a buddy and host program for youth; and a range of bridging services; where the focus is relationship-building between different cultural groups, in order to build an intercultural community. The Neighbourhood House approach to providing services is different from traditional service provision agencies in that the services are seen as not only meeting a need, but also as providing meeting places where people can come together and connect through engaging in activities together.

The strength of the Neighbourhood House stems precisely from the fact that it is neighbourhood-based. This means that it is easily accessed by people, because they are close to home. CNH is also well-connected with the whole gamut of institutions that newcomers must deal with, from schools to storekeepers to local law enforcement, which means it can assist newcomers in integrating with local life, and also help out in the inevitable disputes that arise because they are known and trusted locally. The CNH defined itself from the beginning as a learning organization that would have to constantly reflect on its own programs and ways of operating. It had strong internal advocates for diversity in its early development as an organization and strong leadership of its governing Board. The founding President and the Executive Director had both received training in the practice of diversity through the Hastings Institute, and required that be an ongoing practice of the organization. Care has always been taken in recruiting new staff, Board members, and volunteers, who are expected to have cross-cultural experience and a demonstrated appreciation of the principles of diversity. Care has also been taken to ensure ongoing commitment by requiring that attention to diversity is integrated throughout the entire institution, from its strategic directives to its daily operations.

There is an intricate web of reasons for the success of the CNH: strong and inspiring local leadership, an ethic of inclusion, ongoing outreach to marginalized groups, a creative approach to funding (support from two tiers of government and 60 different sources of funding), and support from the City’s Social Planning Department. The CNH story is most instructive in what it takes to create a welcoming community, moving beyond the American model of “indifference to difference”, towards actually building an intercultural community. It is a living example of the daily and ongoing negotiation of difference through coming together on common projects and in everyday activities of survival and the reproduction of life. It is a love song to our “mongrel cities”.

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References and Notes
What is This Thing Called MULTICULTURAL PLANNING?

by Mohammad A. Qadeer

Summary

Multicultural planning is not a distinct genre of urban planning. It is a strategy of making reasonable accommodations for the culturally defined needs of ethno-racial minorities on the one hand, and reconstructing the common ground that underlies policies and programmes on the other. A set of policies is recommended for making urban planning more inclusive.

Planners’ responsiveness to the ethno-racial diversity

Ask a planner about multicultural planning and he/she will initially wear a look of puzzlement, but on further prodding may start narrating stories of the approval process that a mosque or Gurdawara had gone through or the unmediated emergence of an ethnic enclave in his/her jurisdiction. The term multicultural planning is puzzling for planners. They are aware of the ethno-racial diversity of their clients and generally feel that they are sensitive to differences in their clients’ material and aesthetic needs for community facilities, services, land uses and housing, etc. They maintain that they plan and manage by functions and not persons. Their professionalism demands a certain uniformity of treatment of all citizens. Yet the term multicultural planning suggests to them that it is a distinct genre of planning something like advocacy planning, collaborative planning or sustainable development. And they are apprehensive of the accusation that they are not practicing it, particularly in the Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal metropolitan areas.

Planners’ ambiguity about multicultural planning is in contrast with the academics’ exhortations about the need for responsiveness to the ethnic and cultural diversity of contemporary cities in Canada, the USA or Australia. Implicit in these exhortations is the notion that the planning institutions are covertly discriminatory against ethnic and racial minorities. They are guided by the values and preferences of the dominant majority, embedded in the singularity of public interest and incorporated in planning policies and standards. The academic discourse favours treating immigrants and minorities have higher unemployment rates and lower earnings than born-white Canadians of similar qualifications. For this systematic inequality, the planning institutions are neither primarily responsible nor do they have the policy instruments to fully correct the situation. It would therefore be inappropriate to attribute this condition as a failure of urban planning. Of course, planners can take actions that can alleviate the problem, such as local economic development measures targeted at increasing employment opportunities for immigrants. Yet it does not make them responsible for the existence of employment discrimination in the first place. The responsiveness of planners must be assessed in the context of the mandate of urban planning institutions. This article aims at answering two questions: 1) how can urban planning accommodate cultural diversity? and 2) what is the scope of practicing multicultural planning in urban planning? Before discussing these questions, we
need to clarify the notion of "culture" of ethnic groups within a city and society.

**Culture and common ground**

The term "culture" of an ethnic group within a city or society refers to beliefs, behaviours, symbols and customs of limited scope, largely followed in the family, community and religious settings, albeit in the private domain of the social life of a group. The distinct "culture" of the private domain is complemented by the public domain that cuts across the ethnic lines. The economy, laws, politics and administration, citizenship and technology are the institutions that are by and large common to all groups. Thus, in this sense, the culture of an ethnic group is just a sub-culture encased in the common ground of public institutions. It does not rise to the total way of life of a society.

The diversity of ethnic cultures thrives in tandem with the cohesiveness of the common ground. The challenge of multiculturalism lies in building a common ground that reflects the interests and concerns of most of the groups, while sustaining cultural differences in the private domain. In urban planning, the common ground is comprised of objectives and policies that reconcile the values and interests of various sub-cultural groups yet can be equitably applicable to all.

The (sub) culture matters, but it is not insulated from the physical, economic and technological factors operating in a city. For example, the courtyard house that may be the cultural inheritance of many immigrants cannot be recreated in snowy Canada. Immigrants readily adopt new housing forms, limiting the expression of their traditional preferences to the organization of internal spaces and minor decorative features. There are no discernable differences in ethno-racial groups’ preferences for housing quality, ownership and location in the long run. Detached homes surrounded by grassy yards in suburban settings are often the desired family residences of many ethnic groups. The trade-offs between cultural values and norms on the one hand and the environmental, physical, economic and technological factors on the other are enacted every day in a city. Multiculturalism plays out in this dynamic situation.

**Accommodating cultural diversity in urban planning**

Ethnic groups as well as Aboriginals are the bearers of distinct cultures that constitute the mosaic called multiculturalism. The multiplicity of communities of distinct cultures living in the same space has long been a characteristic of cities. Weren't the ancient and medieval cities known for their variety of languages and throngs of strangers from distant lands? Cultural diversity of cities is not a new phenomenon. What is new are the charters and bills of rights conferring freedom of expression and religion, rights of equitable treatment, peaceful assembly and association, mobility, democratic participation and, in Canada, the right of preserving one's cultural heritage. These individual and group rights underpin the diversity of community cultures. They institutionalize sub-cultures, prompting ethno-racial groups to organize their private domain by their cultural and linguistic heritage and build religious and community institutions to realize their beliefs and values. How do these community cultures affect the public space? This is the question that goes to the heart of the problem of accommodating cultural diversity in urban planning.

Canadian multiculturalism is largely driven by immigration. About a quarter million immigrants and another 250,000 temporary residents come into Canada every year. Immigration has become the primary source of population growth in the country. It is continually restocking ethnic groups with newcomers who reinvigorate their communities’ cultures, religions and languages.

In cities, the culture of ethnic communities comes into play in the form of individual and group preferences for the provisions of housing, neighbourhoods, land uses, facilities and services, transportation and environment, albeit the functional areas of urban planning. The fulfillment of these cultural needs and preferences is a process of balancing competing interests and forces. Thus, the first test of accommodating cultural diversity is to make the planning process inclusive by facilitating and actively seeking inputs from ethnic communities, particularly those who are stakeholders in planning policies. Much of the literature on multicultural planning concentrates on advocating making the decision-making processes inclusive and open.

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**The touchstone of multicultural planning is the sensitivity of the planning process to cultural diversity.**

Culturally defined needs and preferences of people find expression at two levels, individual and group or community. They want particular types of houses, neighbourhoods, community services or jobs within the scope of their resources and opportunities. Households of Portuguese heritage may want two kitchens, one for the party room. Catholics and Hindus may want altars for worship at home. Such preferences may or may not fit into planning policies and programmes. If they don't, then special permissions, exceptions or variances may be sought to accommodate them. The process of accommodating individual cultural preferences is an often-intricate involving committee of adjustment, appellate bodies, public hearings, etc. that fosters confrontations with neighbours, adding to the minorities' feelings of being discriminated against. The touchstone of multicultural planning is the sensitivity of the planning process to cultural diversity.

At the group or community level, cultural needs take more organized forms. Mosques, temples, cricket fields, parades and fairs, employment equity or heritage language classes, signage, etc. are examples of the institutions and services that ethno-racial communities seek. They expect planning policies and programmes to make provisions for their culturally-specific needs as an entitlement of their citizenship. Yet planning institutions have evolved in the cultural idioms of the historic population and the mainstream culture. Thus new ethnic communities find themselves...
confronted with policies and regulations that initially do not fit their needs. Their community needs may be met through the incremental and case-by-case modifications of policies and programmes.

Ethnocultural needs often have bearings on the operational and management policies of programmes. It is not just the availability of a service but how it is administered that affects different communities differently. The availability of subsidized housing affects all those in need, regardless of the culture, but the policy to allocate units only to nuclear families effectively bars the multi-generational or relatively large families of immigrants, for example. Even in death, community cultures come into conflict with the burial regulations conceived in the Judo-Christian tradition. The point is that in the provision of services, cultural norms and values determine the level of satisfaction of needs. In the provision of services, accommodation of different groups has to be very deliberately planned.

Immigrants as the new members of a society have special needs, such as job search and housing assistance, language classes, civic education, counseling, etc. Cities and local communities have to either provide or coordinate the supply of such services.

Multiculturalism lies not only in cultivating sub-cultures but also in reconstructing the common ground to reflect the interests and values of ethno-racial communities.7

Finally, ethnic cultures transform the urban structure and landscape. The emergence of ethnic enclaves, ethnic bazaars and malls affects the residential and commercial organization of a city. They necessitate drastic revisions of official or master plans and require wide-ranging accommodations of cultural diversity. Policies of historic preservation, urban design, commercial development, neighbourhood and housing, signage, public transport and parking, for example, have to be revised to accommodate the cultural needs of ethnic minorities.

All in all, increasing cultural diversity calls for wide-ranging policy revisions. That is what multicultural planning means. Does it mean people of different cultures will be treated differently?

Strategy of reasonable accommodation and the reconstruction of common ground

Undoubtedly, academic supporters of multiculturalism emphasize tailoring of planning policies to the cultural backgrounds of people. This viewpoint does not necessarily suggest that there may be different rules for different persons. What it implies is that the objectives and outcomes should be uniform but the measures to achieve them (inputs) could vary by the culture of clients. For example, there may be uniform performance standards for parking and transportation in siting places of worship, but they could be realized in different ways for a mosque versus a church. This is how reasonable accommodation works.

The common ground of norms, values, laws and institutions of the society at large, particularly of its public domain, continually affect the culture of communities. It is the common ground that provides the functional coherence and unity to a city. The common ground has its roots in the historical mainstream, but it is evolving and changing with the times. Multiculturalism lies not only in cultivating sub-cultures but also in reconstructing the common ground to reflect the interests and values of ethno-racial communities.7

Part of the challenge of multicultural planning is the reconstruction of the common ground of urban planning, namely its values, objectives and criteria, to reflect the shared interests of different communities. It requires re-examining the behavioural assumptions by which people's needs are defined and compatibilities of land uses, for example, are determined. The broadening of the processes and products of urban planning to reflect the evolving mix of cultures in a city is a critical element of multicultural planning.

Multicultural planning in Canada

Canadian metropolitan cities have become strikingly multicultural in the past three decades. Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal in particular are now home to people from all parts of the world. There are thriving Chinatowns (the Toronto area has five) Indian bazaars, Jewish and Italian neighbourhoods, Korean churches, mosques and temples. For example, the Toronto area has about 65 mosques and an equal number of Hindu temples. Almost every project to build a mosque eventually – sometimes after a long drawn out struggle for approval – came to fruition. It is not just the buildings but community services and institutions that have come to enrich the life of ethnic minorities. For example, there are about 300 ethnic newspapers and magazines published in the Toronto area.

Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal in particular are now home to people from all parts of the world.

There are claims of Toronto being the most multicultural city in the world.8 Vancouver is the home of about 200 ethnic groups. Even Montreal, so insistent on its French identity, has transnational neighbourhoods like Cote-des-Neiges and Notre-Dame-de-Grace. Ethnic communities have carved a space for themselves and their cultural life is imprinted on the metropolitan landscapes. Multiculturalism is spreading to the second tier cities as well as small towns in the form of ethnic institutions and services.

Obviously this transformation of these metropolitan areas is not without the contributions of urban planning. Thus, one can say that practically multicultural planning is alive and well in Canada. Yet this outcome has come about incrementally with the demands of ethno-racial communities for their charter rights as citizens. It has been a reactive and not a proactive multicultural planning. There is the need for systematizing and incorporating the
process of reasonable accommodation of ethnic needs in urban planning. Finally, meeting cultural needs as a goal of urban planning comes in combination with other goals. Urban planning aims at making cities and towns environmentally sustainable, energy efficient, physically compact and transit-oriented along with culturally diverse. There is no formula for reconciling these divergent goals other than working through them on both ends, namely by balancing competing concerns on the one hand and by promoting new mores and values through intensive civic education on the other. Multicultural planning means a strategy of reasonable accommodation of ethnic cultures as well as cultivating shared values in ethnic communities through informational and (civic) educational activities.

This strategy can be operationalized as a set of policy measure and planning practices to be followed by urban planning agencies. Following is a set of such policies that the planning agencies can implement as well as use as an index to assess their progress in promoting multicultural planning.

Policy and Practice Index of Multicultural Planning

1. Providing minority language facilities, translations and interpretation, in public consultations.
2. Including minority representatives in planning committees and task forces as well as diversifying planning staff.
3. Including ethnic/minority community organizations in the planning decision-making processes.
4. Recognition of ethnic diversity as a planning goal in Official/Comprehensive Plans.
5. City-wide policies for culture-specific institutions in plans, e.g., places of worship, ethnic seniors’ homes, cultural institutions, funeral homes, fairs and parades, etc.
6. Routinely analyzing ethnic and racial variables in planning analysis.
7. Studies of ethnic enclaves and neighbourhoods in transition.
8. Policies/design guidelines for sustaining ethnic neighbourhoods.
9. Policies/strategies for ethnic commercial areas, malls and business improvement areas.
10. Incorporating culture/religion as an acceptable reason for site-specific accommodations/minor-variances.
11. Accommodation of ethnic signage, street names and symbols.
13. Policies for immigrants’ special service needs.
15. Guidelines for housing to suit diverse groups.
16. Promoting ethnic community initiatives for housing and neighbourhood development.
17. Development strategies taking account of intercultural needs.
18. Promoting and systematizing ethnic entrepreneurship for economic development.
19. Policies/strategies for promoting ethnic art and cultural services.
20. Accommodating ethnic sports (e.g., cricket, bocce, etc) in playfield design and programming.

These policies and practices will institutionalize reasonable accommodation and lay the basis for forging a common ground that applies to all communities. This is what multicultural planning means. It is not a distinct genre, but a culturally responsive practice.

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References
Canadian
SOCIAL POLICY
in the 2000s:
BRINGING PLACE IN
by Neil Bradford

Introduction

In recent years there has been growing awareness that today’s major public policy challenges play out in local spaces. As Meric Gertler has observed: “a central paradox of our age is that, as economic processes move increasingly to a global scale of operation, the centrality of the local is not diminished but is in fact enhanced.” Geographers studying innovation in the knowledge-based economy now emphasize the importance of localized knowledge clusters for national economic success. Analysts of social inclusion encounter the multiple barriers that individuals and families face living in distressed neighbourhoods. Meanwhile, rural areas and smaller centres confront another set of risks altogether, managing change with declining, often aging, populations.

Common to all of these perspectives is appreciation of how local geographic contexts — the form and nature of places — shape people’s life chances. For national governments these dynamics frame a novel set of challenges. Their policy interventions must increasingly work from the ground up to generate solutions rooted in the particular concerns of local communities, attuned to the specific needs and capacities of residents. But what policy frameworks and institutional arrangements will enable such multi-level collaboration to actually work? The conceptual and practical challenges remain daunting for national governments everywhere as they rethink and retool for an era of more intensive global-local interaction.

The purpose of this article is to highlight innovations in policy thought and governing practices among OECD countries, and, in particular, to bring Canadian policy communities more fully into the international conversation on what has come to be known as place-based policy. Our concern is with the federal level in Canada, which may seem surprising given constitutional traditions and policy legacies. Yet, as we demonstrate, there has been a considerable degree of federal policy experimentation recently aimed at better integrating policies for places and people. The activity has been quite diffuse and partial in its roll-out, and the disparate threads have not yet been systematically conceptualized.

Putting the various streams in analytical context, we trace the possible emergence of a new national-local policy paradigm responsive to the changing times. For urban planners, the prospect of such a paradigm is significant since intergovernmental dynamics increasingly shape key municipal planning issues ranging from transportation infrastructure to environmental protection and waterfront revitalization. Planners certainly have a stake in the quality of federal interventions and the analysis that follows offers insight into how Ottawa is building better understandings of how its policies play out on the ground and intersect with local decision-making.

New Ideas: Policies for People in Places

The “new localism”: is a term that now resonates across a multi-disciplinary literature analyzing how globalization’s most important flows — of people, investment, and ideas — intersect in cities and communities around the world. The research underpinning the new localism makes three central claims. First, to deliver on the country’s major challenges of economic innovation, social and cultural inclusion, and ecological sustainability, national governments must engage local governance networks. Joining up is necessary because “wicked problems” — deeply rooted, interconnected, and unfamiliar — require holistic interventions addressing multi-faceted causality. Second, the particular expression of globalization’s localizing flows and policy challenges varies significantly across places. Social exclusion in large urban centres traps already vulnerable people such as recent immigrants or lone parent families in rundown neighbourhoods with few connections to the mainstream. The same issues of exclusion in smaller, more remote places take a different form, often threatening the viability of the entire community as globalization radically depletes the local economic base. Finally, with issues of such national consequence expressed in complex, differentiated ways across the country, national governments need a spatially-sensitive perspective to inform their

Summary

This article explores departures in Canadian public policy toward more “place-based” approaches to social development. Focusing on the federal government, it describes a series of recent initiatives designed to enable local actors to participate in policy development processes and take greater control of their own destinies. Using the categories of “municipal empowerment” and “community building” to map new patterns, the article examines innovation and learning across federal and local scales. The article concludes that Canadian governments have now joined a robust and evolving international conversation about leveraging local assets to meet significant national policy challenges, but that more work needs to be done to build high performing, durable multi-level partnerships.
policies whether for city building or community revitalization. Traditional approaches – typically centralized and top-down – that ignore local voices and devalue community and municipal assets will not build the high quality places that are the foundation for the prosperity of nations in a global age. Nor will they be capable of the robust policy learning necessary to tackle wicked problems. A “local lens” is needed to assess the spatial impacts of national policies and maximize their benefits for people.

These three claims have inspired a rich body of policy analysis and administrative inquiry that identifies the changes required to create good places for people to live, work, and participate in community. The overarching idea is moving from government to governance. Governance processes find ways to leverage diverse ideas, coordinate collective resources, and use new tools and techniques to inspire and steer decision-making. Rather than acting alone or resorting to jurisdictional claims, governments work with one another and through civil society partnerships for joint problem-solving.

In practice, governance involves a “double devolution” of policy responsibility from upper-level governments to local representatives. Devolution’s two tracks can usefully be understood as municipal empowering and community building. Progress along each results in multi-level collaborations where a host of policy resources and governing tools – recognition, voice, authority, and money – come to be shared with in situ networks of municipal officials, community organizations, and residents. Successful outcomes for both governments and communities come through negotiated relationships around context-sensitive strategies integrating priorities formerly dealt with sequentially or, worse, traded-off: social development; economic innovation; cultural inclusion; and ecological sustainability.

However, for double devolution to deliver on its promise for both governments and communities it is essential that it not become, in practice, offloading or downloading to actors on the front lines. Community-based public policy implemented in local places must be supported by appropriate macro-level measures that supply essential individual and family income security, health, education, employment, care, and so forth. As the OECD summarized in its study of urban regeneration: “National policies are increasingly important, not only to provide better framework conditions for local initiatives, but also and especially to take better account of the many sectoral and macroeconomic policies which have a territorial impact.”

Here the two inter-connected components of place-based policy come into focus: on the one hand, upper-level governments need to use the local lens to align and tailor their generally available sectoral policies; and on the other hand, for the extraordinary challenges in distressed areas, targeted or community-specific action designed collaboratively can seed transformative local change. Most important is recognition of the synergy between the two policy components: targeted interventions are policy laboratories, generating fresh new insights about how sectoral policies work, or do not work, on the ground. With appropriate feedback loops, the macro-level policy focus is sharpened, suggesting where and how mandates and operating rules ought to be reformed. Designed and delivered in isolation from one another, however, neither targeted nor general policies will reach their potential.

In sum, the new dynamics of the global-local relationship have invited systematic change in policy-making structures and processes. Table 1 summarizes transitions from government to governance, and sets the stage for the recent Canadian policy innovations described in the rest of the article.

### New Ideas in Action: A Canadian Perspective

Across the OECD over the last two decades, the place-based strategy has been widely taken up. The British case under the New Labour government is the exemplar with more than 5,550 local governance networks created with an array of central government supports and incentives. The tone was set with Prime Minister Blair’s declaration that within 10 to 20 years no one in the United Kingdom would be disadvantaged by where they live. The United States represents an alternative route forward. There the push has come from below as a myriad of community organizations and institutional intermediaries from the foundation and think tank worlds have long worked in inner cities. Progress has come through conceptual breakthroughs such as “asset-based development” and “comprehensive community initiatives.”

In comparison with such countries, Canada has a thin policy record. In the 1990s – the pivotal decade in which the British and American innovations came on stream – both federal and provincial governments were rightly criticized for their inattention to the rising policy significance of localities. Their decisions – too often designed in isolation and delivered unilaterally – reflected what the OECD called Canada’s “disjointed approach” and lagging engagement with municipal and community challenges. The Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) decried the “culture of non-recognition and neglect” that defined its relationship with upper-level governments. Community-based organizations similarly struggled for recognition of their contributions to place quality, and for a voice in social policy.

### Table 1: Two Public Policy Frameworks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organizational Logic</th>
<th>Traditional Government Administration</th>
<th>Place-based Governance</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Policy Knowledge</td>
<td>Rationalist Expert</td>
<td>Constructivist Experiential</td>
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<tr>
<td>Policy Discourse</td>
<td>Discrete Files</td>
<td>Wicked Problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Goals</td>
<td>Palliative Management</td>
<td>Transformative Prevention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delivery Mechanisms</td>
<td>Government Programs</td>
<td>Negotiated Partnerships</td>
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<tr>
<td>Design Principles</td>
<td>Central Control/Standards</td>
<td>Local Discretion/Priorities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Organizational Logic</td>
<td>Departmental Mandates/</td>
<td>Multi-level Collaboration/Framework Agreements</td>
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<td>Constitutional Allocations</td>
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Since the turn of the millennium, however, the Canadian storyline has changed. The past several years have witnessed a promising interaction among new localism research, municipal and community sector advocacy, and policy experimentation at all levels of the federation. In fact, Canadian policy communities are now well-positioned to adapt lessons from other jurisdictions in building their own place-based frameworks that combine national steering and support with local priorities and projects.

The story of Canada’s shifting discourse and practice is not yet widely known. Our focus is on the federal government’s role in enabling community-driven and municipally-led innovation. Certainly, provincial and municipal governments and civil society networks have also contributed to Canada’s engagement with the new localism. Nonetheless, our concern with Ottawa can be justified on several grounds. With national responsibility for innovation, inclusion, and sustainability, the federal government brings both a unique pan-Canadian perspective on cities and communities and a strong interest in ensuring their vitality. Moreover, Ottawa’s very lack of formal constitutional authority in local affairs has made it the government in Canada most keen to explore new ideas about joining-up through devolved governance. In the late 1990s, the negotiation of the Social Union Framework (SUFA) signaled the move toward governance within Canadian federalism. Signed by the federal government and the provinces/territories (except Quebec) the SUFA emphasized inter-governmental collaboration and public involvement in policy-making. A national context for place-based social policy was established.17

To capture the breadth of the recent activity, we have identified two key place-based policy dynamics—a round of innovation that involves testing out new approaches and a process of learning through reflection and dialogue. Within these two categories, we map a number of initiatives along each of the municipal empowering and community building tracks. We also describe bridging initiatives that link the two tracks.

Policy Innovation

While SUFA’s ethos of collaboration and engagement cleared a path for place-based policy in Canada, community and municipal observers soon identified gaps in the framework.21 Municipalities were not part of the new approach to inter-governmental consultation and cooperation. And community or public voices were engaged only in relation to outcomes, thereby denied influence in policy formulation when crucial design decisions are taken.

These two gaps represented significant limitations to place-based policy. In fact, they were addressed in two subsequent federal frameworks. The 2000 Voluntary Sector Initiative (VSI) and the 2004 New Deal for Cities and Communities (NDCC) elaborated the intent of the SUFA in programmatic contexts for community building and municipal empowering.

Devolution (1): Community Building

The VSI aimed to strengthen the relationship between the voluntary sector and the federal government and specifically, enhance the policy capacity of community representatives. Federal investments were framed by policy codes on funding and dialogue. A priority was to open channels for community involvement in departmental policy-making, and assist organizations in contributing their ideas and experiences.

Such VSI community building can be seen in the Skills Development Partnership Program (SDPP) of Human Resources and Skills Development Canada. Working with the non-profit sector, it builds policy knowledge in three areas: persons with disabilities; early childhood learning and care; and social inclusion for other vulnerable groups. The SDPP helps community organizations better serve their constituents and assists policy makers deliver more responsive programs. Three examples express the mutual benefits. First, Understanding the Early Years, initially an SDPP pilot project, invested in community-based non-profit organizations for local data gathering, benchmarking protocols, and hands-on tools to be used by parents, teachers, and policy makers in community action plans. Second, federal support for Vibrant Communities, a community-led 15-city anti-poverty project, enabled the formation of a Government Learning Circle for substantive policy exchanges between numerous policy officials and grassroots practitioners. Third, the renewable three-year homelessness Supporti ng Communities Partnership Initiative saw the federal government work through the provinces/territories and with municipal and community leaders resources to research, develop, and implement strategies. Respecting variation in governance capacities, Ottawa offered a menu of partnership models to local networks.

Devolution (2): Municipal Empowering

For the municipal empowering track, the NDCC supplies the place-based architecture. A variety of initiatives have been launched, engaging municipalities or their associations in policies enabling local priorities within broad national objectives. Federal investments in municipal infrastructures flowed through the Strategic Infrastructure Fund, the Municipal Rural Fund, and the Gas Tax Transfer. Different from previous federal infrastructure programs, these were designed in consultation with local representatives and included capacity building support for community planning around “green infrastructure” and stretched traditional infrastructure definitions to include investments in culture, tourism, recreation, and affordable housing. For its part, a Green Municipal Fund devoted management authority to the FCM for targeted federal investments in municipal infrastructure projects and feasibility studies to contain urban sprawl and reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

Bridging Initiatives: Empowering and Building

Working across the community and municipal tracks, the federal government has launched a few initiatives that represent the most ambitious Canadian experiments in place-based policy. These ones seek to put all the elements in motion: vertical and horizontal collaborations; simultaneous attention to the four pillars (economic, social, environmental, cultural) of place quality; and context-sensitive application of the big macro policy levers.

Three such bridging initiatives are illustrative. First, in selected large cities, five-year Urban Development Agreements, formally joining up the three levels of government and involving community organizations, work at holistic neighbourhood regeneration strategies.
Second, for rural areas, the Canadian Rural Partnership drew together a host of government departments and agencies to develop a "Rural Lens" for strategic policy interventions based on resident dialogues, impact assessments and checklists, and comprehensive statistical community profiles. The third example comes from the 2005 Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA). Addressing a major policy challenge crossing federal and provincial jurisdictions, the COIA acknowledged the crucial role for community organizations and municipalities in immigrant settlement and intercultural understanding. Using several innovative engagement tools, the COIA empowers local actors in service planning and employment networking and makes available capacity building support for such participation.

Social Learning
Policy innovation, if it is to result in transformational change, must be flanked by systematic investments in learning. Such learning proceeds through action research and knowledge transfer that helps ensure only the most productive strategies become institutionalized. The federal government has initiated several modes of social learning along each of the community and municipal tracks.

Community Building
The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council’s Community University Research Alliances (CURA) program connects local practitioners from the community and government sectors with scholars to conduct socially consequential and policy relevant research. Engagement and dialogue tools such as community forums and policy workshops help adapt research for community application as well as dissemination beyond traditional academic audiences. Another community-driven policy learning vehicle is demonstration and pilot projects that test out innovations in selected locales. Two leading examples are Action for Neighbourhood Change and the Urban Aboriginal Strategy, both generating practical knowledge for communities and governments through vitality indexes, youth mentorship programs, and asset building. The demonstration strategy has been taken further by the Social Research Demonstration Corporation (SRDC) that uses quasi-experimental designs to evaluate social investment strategies for individual and communities.

Municipal Empowering
Infrastructure Canada has partnered with federal research granting councils for knowledge generation and transfer resembling the CURA partnerships. Here the focus is on better policy understanding of public infrastructure, its funding and governance arrangements, and impacts on municipal place quality. These activities come together in a Research Gateway that catalogues research findings, practitioner tools, and relevant links. In the same spirit of knowledge outreach, Infrastructure Canada has also collaborated with the OECD in studies to situate Canadian developments internationally and facilitate cross-national policy learning. These research collaborations include a 30-year global study of infrastructure, and focused territorial reviews of Montreal and Toronto. The Metropolis Project is another federally-sponsored policy research network making both national and international connections to Canadian cities. Focused on immigrant integration and diversity, Metropolis has linked with cities, both large and small, to reveal challenges across different municipal contexts. It uses numerous learning strategies for knowledge transfer among researchers and policy actors at all levels of government and in local civil societies.

Bridging Initiatives
There are several mechanisms that have facilitated learning across the community and municipal processes. Most notable here is the External Advisory Committee on Cities and Communities that was mandated as part of the NDCC to provide a 30-year vision for cities and communities in sustaining national quality of life. Based on extensive local consultations, its 2006 report spoke directly to the ideas and practices of a place-based framework:

"The Committee therefore recommends that all governments in Canada adopt a place-based approach to policy-making, which will allow them to foster better capacities to understand, develop and manage Canada's places for the future. Specifically, the Committee recommends that the leadership role of the federal government be one of facilitation and partnership with other orders of government and civil society, to deliver locally appropriate solutions to issues of national consequence playing out at a local level."

Indeed, the federal "facilitation and partnership" envisioned by the committee has been advanced by two other learning networks. Both bridge municipal and community perspectives within the federal government. First, the Federal Family for Collaborative Community Initiatives, comprised of officials from 25 departments and agencies, meets regularly to expand knowledge and skills for place-based policies. This network practices horizontality to help embed community and municipal perspectives – the local lens – across the federal bureaucracy. Second, the Policy Research Initiative has convened applied research networks for valuable analyses of urban development, social capital, social economy, and life course strategies.

All of these innovation and learning activities reflect a growing federal interest in expanding knowledge and practice about place-based policies. Table 2 summarizes the story.

Moving Forward
Since the late 1990s, the federal government’s progress in designing and implementing place-based policy has put Canada into the evolving international conversation about leveraging local assets for better national outcomes on major policy challenges. This article has taken stock of these developments by situating them conceptually, and mapping their different expressions across community and municipal tracks of the new localism. In so doing, we have helped clear the path for more probing critical analysis of these Canadian policy departures.

Certainly, our intent has not been to celebrate success. Indeed there are some major qualifiers to any such story. Key indicators of poverty and exclusion reveal the ongoing problems even as the new federal approaches roll-out – national poverty rates have not improved since the turn of the century; income polarization across urban neighbourhoods has grown alongside increasing spatial concentrations of vulnerable people; and
TABLE 2: PLACE-BASED POLICY IN CANADA: AN ILLUSTRATIVE FEDERAL POLICY INVENTORY

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<tr>
<th>Action Frameworks</th>
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<td>Policy Innovation</td>
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<td>• Understanding the Early Years</td>
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<td>• Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative</td>
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<td>• Vibrant Communities</td>
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<td>Social Learning</td>
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<td>• Action for Neighbourhood Change</td>
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<td>• Social Research Demonstration Corporation</td>
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<td>Municipal Empowering:</td>
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<td>• Infrastructure Canada Programs</td>
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<td>• Green Municipal Fund</td>
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<td>Bridging Initiatives</td>
<td>• Urban Development Agreements</td>
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<td>• Canadian Rural Partnership</td>
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more and more rural communities face structural decline. Additionally, federal-local relationships under both the VSI and NDCC have experienced significant growing pains on crucial funding matters and community and municipal policy engagement. Finally, our story overstates the degree of coherence and focus accompanying the federal thrust. In fact, there is not yet an identifiable place-based policy community in Canada. There is still much work to be done in coordinating national policies with local planning priorities. Resources remain too scattered and the many initiatives insufficiently aligned or connected. Learning opportunities are emerging but they must now be seized.

Such reflections underscore both a need and an opportunity. What’s needed is what Jane Jenson has termed a “meeting place” or “institutional locus where policy learning can take place”. Such meeting places exist in countries such as the United Kingdom or the United States, taking different institutional forms reflecting policy legacies. They open opportunities to foster dialogue, build trust, share lessons, and mobilize leadership. Jenson’s particular concern was with social policy architecture, but the message applies equally to the place-based framework. Here the agenda is clear, and we close by listing three meeting place priorities:

1. **Work on Ideas**: build the knowledge base, informed by research, evidence-based practice, and experiential learning.
2. **Work on Connections**: support the “bridge builders” as their boundary crossing is crucial for both vertical and horizontal collaboration.
3. **Work on Leadership**: place-based policy expresses deep-seated pan-Canadian values of diversity, inclusion, autonomy, and community; there is a wide political coalition yet to be mobilized in support of this vision and these policies.

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References

This Much We Know

Key Components from a Paper on Place-based Approaches and Federal Roles and Interests in Communities

Collaboratively written by the “Federal Family” on Community Collaboration

Summary

In November 2007, a group of 40 federal public servants from across government came together – under the auspices of the multi-disciplinary Federal Family on Community Collaboration – to explore place-based approaches and federal roles and interests in communities. These discussions generated a uniquely collaborative paper, “This Much We Know”. The ideas that emerged tell a story of what happens when we start to unpack truisms about complexity and “wicked” problems. Approached this way, “place” becomes analytical shorthand for talking about a networked kind of environment that calls on the federal government to re-examine its relationships, machinery, authenticity, and behaviours.

Introduction

In considering issues of sustainability it is clear that place-based approaches are essential. Local leadership is the key component in creating strong, supportive communities and in looking to the larger issues of global development and sustainability. The challenge is to determine roles the federal government can play in this equation, based on the realities of its interests and investments at the community level.

In November 2007, more than 40 federal public servants from across government came together – under the auspices of the 12-member, multi-disciplinary Federal Family on Community Collaboration – to examine the primary issues facing government, related to place-based initiatives. These discussions generated a uniquely collaborative paper that examines “place” as a concept or lens, and federal roles and interests in “local” – including local issues. It also looks at local intersections of issues with regional or national origins and ramifications, such as transport and infrastructure, immigration, housing, employment, education and skills development, health care, childcare and broadcasting. The exercise accounted for a new context of “open federalism” politically and the ongoing decline in federal presence locally.

The ideas that emerged tell a story of what happens when we start to examine deceptively easy-to-express truisms, such as the world is complex, problems are “wicked” or no one is an island. “Place” and “local” then become analytical shorthand for talking about a networked kind of environment, and call for the federal government to re-examine its relationships, machinery, authenticity and behaviours (see figures I and 2).

As a related note, our preference is to anchor the ideas of “place” and “local” in some aspect of physical geography and physical residence, but recognize that many self-identifying communities of interest (e.g., ethnocultural, gender, professional, issue-based) function similarly to neighbourhoods and local communities by virtue of their basis in shared values, identity, and emotional attachment. For this reason, they too would benefit from the focus on trust and meaningful, holistic engagement associated with place-based approaches as described here.

†“Federal Family” is an informal community of practice that brings together officials from across federal organizations with a shared interest in comprehensive and collaborative action to improve our understanding of “place-based” policy, its potential to improve well-being at the community level, and related implications for the conduct of national government in Canada. The Family focuses on learning about how far-reaching social, economic, environmental, and cultural issues intertwine and can impact local communities. In this context, the Family is working to improve federal engagement with these issues by exploring key concerns such as policy coherence, shared accountability, data sharing, and trends with respect to our varied interests as a federal government in communities. Authors include: Marie Anderson, Imran Arshad, Nicola Bill, Brenda Cameron-Couch, Peter Czerny, Lori Harrop, Mana Herel, Liz Huff, Kate Humphage, Kyle Lambier, Blair McMurren, Yves St-Onge, Unnati Vasavada and Jean Viel.
Relationships
In this context, "relationships" characterize how we organize to work together – the many formal and informal links between institutions, actors and stakeholders. In the future, it will be imperative to experiment with new models of federalism, governance and public administration to form relationships that are much more intuitive, outcome-oriented and effective. This will require clarifying the roles of the public, private, non-governmental and voluntary/non-profit sectors, as well as the roles and responsibilities of citizens as a distinct "sector". Approached this way, place presents itself as a path to these new relationships, and leads to a better understanding of who needs to be involved.

In public administration, place is a concept that helps illuminate the necessity of collaborating across sectors – including government, business, voluntary organizations and the citizenry – to achieve durable outcomes. No single order of government can solve things alone and, increasingly, even governments acting together cannot achieve success without willing partners in the private and voluntary/non-profit sectors and, perhaps most importantly, without the meaningful engagement of citizens.

This is an important issue for the federal government because there are some complex obstacles that constrain its ability to be an effective partner in committed relationships, particularly at the "local" level:

Federalism – Despite constitutional divisions of responsibility, each order of government often needs the other to achieve their respective objectives. For example, land use and transportation planning are in the hands of local governments, yet these levers have a direct and significant impact on air quality, and the quality of our environment is a key national concern of Canadians. There are myriad other ways that interests cross governments and where effective relationships are needed to produce the best outcomes.

Bureaucratic administration and accountability – Traditionally, many of our administrative systems reinforce rigid borders between units – from performance contracts that provide incentives for behaviour that focuses effort on specific objectives of one group to leadership training that, explicitly and implicitly, breeds competition rather than collaborative "cross-enterprise" and relationship-building skills. Concurrently, complicated systems of performance measurement tend to ignore the actions of others and hold organizations accountable only for those things they can control internally.

Knowledge gaps: a problem of "distance" – Whether the goal has been cost cutting, efficiency or because technology makes it possible, federal government employees are today less likely to be in Canada's communities, and therefore less likely to know what is happening there. Inevitably, this leads to both a knowledge gap and a gap in trust.

For Canada, the priority may be to reward leadership that simultaneously gives primacy to collaborative, cross-enterprise relationships while investing in more sustained experimentation and cultivating a culture of risk-taking in committing to meaningful partnerships.

In summary, a more rigid interpretation of federalism, a heightened focus on accountability and an increasing number of federal "policy" departments with little presence outside of Ottawa all contribute to significant "relationship challenges" for the national government. New solutions are needed to address "local" issues, which may lie in a more realistic understanding of the interconnectedness between jurisdictional responsibilities, more flexible public administration systems and new ways to connect public officials to what is happening on the ground.

A number of innovative examples of cross-sectoral relationship building have been identified, including: a "boot camp" for federal public servants held by the Federal Council in Nunavut; a collaborative Community Assessment Tool employed by the Urban Aboriginal Strategy at the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs; the Action for Neighbourhood Change pilot "action research" project funded by the Homelessness Branch at Human Resources and Skills Development Canada; and the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement, which recognizes the role of municipalities.

As promising as these programs are, a common criticism of these efforts to strengthen relationships is that the commitment to these approaches is transitory and they are too often the result of determined leadership by a few individuals rather than a new approach to business. And, of course, they take time; finding common ground requires an authentic commitment to listening to all perspectives, examining the assets and challenges openly, and making a long-term commitment. Just as in families and friendships, relationships must be built and sustained.

In many OECD countries, governments are trying to address this challenge by identifying sustainable governance systems that include those directly involved in effective public policy and administration. And while there is no magic bullet, many promising efforts at strong horizontal relationships seem to be tied to the particularity of a place or geographically connected clusters.

For Canada, the priority may be to reward leadership that simultaneously gives primacy to collaborative, cross-enterprise relationships while investing in more sustained experimentation and cultivating a culture of risk-taking in committing to meaningful partnerships.

Machinery
Place presents itself as a challenge to the machinery of government. In Canada, this machinery is complex and continually evolving, characterized by traditional organizational silos, the constitutional
framework and mechanisms that govern evaluation, measurement and attribution. Increasingly, the federal government is encountering opportunities and challenges presented by an external environment characterized by interdependent and multi-faceted issues that cross jurisdictions. Simultaneously, citizens at the community level have high demands and expectations for efficient, locally responsive public services, effective stewardship of public resources and greater involvement in decision-making.

Effective federal policy responses in such an environment often require horizontal collaboration or place-based approaches. In theory, these types of responses are well aligned with many of the fundamentals of responsible government, but in practice there are critical tensions. One significant obstacle is the Westminster parliamentary model, which sets out vertical lines of authority and accountability. Even where flexibility exists, the uneven capacities of other levels of government and communities to share responsibilities and accountabilities (including performance measurement and evaluation) can impede action and progress.

Moreover, the complex governance of horizontal initiatives often serves as a disincentive to federal investment in horizontal collaboration. The fact that returns on such investments are not immediate is viewed by many decision makers as incompatible with the prevailing imperative to demonstrate efficiency and results.

Despite these challenges, the community or place perspective can inspire new ways of viewing, using, adapting, or improving the “machinery” of responsible government to make horizontal collaboration effective.

As shown under “Relationships”, much of the federal government’s approach to horizontal initiatives is still on a case-by-case basis, but while central agencies have not yet determined circumstances requiring horizontal collaboration and approaches to governance, existing cases illustrate that federal goals can be met. What is required is a strategic approach that strikes the right balance between accountability upward and responsiveness downward and outward.

The initiatives already in place prove that the existing machinery of responsible government is flexible enough to accommodate innovation, but this flexibility is not often utilized, due to lack of knowledge, lack of authority to act, or fear. Avoiding such obstacles requires not just good will or the intention to collaborate horizontally but a critical reflection on issues including: the breadth of roles the federal government can assume; innovative program design; improved use of existing measurement and reporting instruments; a variety of accountability structures; and incentives.

The notion of authenticity is at the core of Canada’s diverse, multicultural and community-based society.

To a significant extent, managing risk with new partners in the context of horizontal initiatives requires increased and more consistent use of existing tools, such as: integrated risk management frameworks; Results-Based and Results Management Accountability Frameworks; support for capacity building; and good communication.

Ultimately, we make the national machinery of responsible government, and by definition we also have the capacity to alleviate many of the barriers that it poses to action and progress on horizontal initiatives.

Authenticity
The notion of authenticity is at the core of Canada’s diverse, multicultural and community-based society. Authenticity implies relevance and credibility in relationships between individuals and between sectors of society, manifested in such ways as high levels of trust and social cohesion. Authenticity can also be a value describing the quality of the relationships between individuals and the physical places, communities, and socio-economic sectors within which they live and work. Place serves as a source of the authenticity needed to strengthen the framework of these myriad relationships.

From the federal government’s perspective, authenticity can only be attained in community engagement if its interventions are focused on root causes rather than on tackling the visible effects of a cumulative problem. Typically, government policies and programs remain in silos, from which they attempt to address single issues. Authenticity of a place-based approach for governments depends on adopting an honest, open-minded, genuine approach to building a flexible, creative strategy to engage citizens in their communities and a willingness to undertake horizontal initiatives that go beyond one group’s mandate or the desire for “quick hits”.

For governments to engage authentically with communities, they must:

• adopt an open-minded, holistic, transparent, respectful and accommodating strategy of engagement that eschews preconceived notions of local issues and empowers individuals to collectively articulate needs and find the means to address them;
• support this strategy with flexible approaches and tools;
• be prepared to act horizontally and welcome outcomes that transcend specific mandates or sectoral lines;
• clearly state parameters (including political) that limit potential actions;
• acknowledge, strengthen and maintain natural links between regional staff, local communities and provincial/territorial counterparts;
• build capacity, integrated management tools and political buy-in to support authentic engagement, by documenting best practices, showcasing promising approaches, storytelling, etc.

Behaviours
What types of behaviours would result in improved place-based policy? Our
results include a more sound analysis, real engagement, more appropriate leadership and more active collaboration according to principle and need. In addition, our discussions pointed to the need for a holistic understanding of sustainability, progress, prosperity, and the determinants of health and well-being.

In its final report to Prime Minister Stephen Harper, the External Advisory Committee on Cities and Communities chaired by Mike Harcourt made a recommendation that could contribute to improved policy:

“All governments in Canada (should) adopt a place-based approach to policy-making, which will allow them to foster better capacities to understand, develop and manage Canada’s places for the future. Specifically, ... the leadership role of the federal government (should) be one of facilitation and partnership with other orders of government and civil society, to deliver locally appropriate solutions to issues of national consequence playing out at a local level.” (From Restless Communities to Resilient Places)

Our own discussions echo some of the behaviours called for by the Harcourt Committee — in particular, adopting a place-based approach, demonstrating leadership through facilitation and partnership and delivering locally appropriate solutions.

Sound analysis emerges from, and contributes to, place.

Just as thorough market research is a core requirement for a business looking for the right location to open a new storefront or launch a new product, intended to meet the desires of local customers, so too must governments understand the local “territory” if they want to meet the requirements of Canadians in the places they work and live. This continues to be a challenge in a country as large and diverse as Canada.

Arguably, Ottawa-based employees should reach out more and learn through greater access to the expertise and local intelligence of regional employees (and vice versa). Senior executives could also spend time in communities meeting with local representatives or visiting project sites. Those involved in program development or policy writing must extend themselves and be open to the complexity and vitality gained through the exploration of place. Senior management must consider this willingness and the skills set required when determining staffing, training and mentoring.

Here again, the Harcourt Committee concurs, concluding “what is required — at every level of government and in every facet of governmental decision-making — is an appreciation of the profound value of place, and a sense of confidence in the capacity of Canadians to plan the future of the places where they live.”

Two other behavioural imperatives are evident: Collaboration and building trust must be core values of the public service; and Individuals and governments must foster behaviours and leadership styles that are most compatible with holistic and locally appropriate approaches.

While some behavioural changes require commitment at senior levels, all employees can be a positive force for change if they align themselves with the type of philosophies and ethics discussed in this paper. Some examples of positive behavioural shifts that can contribute to better awareness of place, increased collaboration and trust, and policy-making reflective of local realities include:

• At the Department of Fisheries and Oceans: collaborative structures focus on building trust by starting with the “easy decisions” that can win consensus.

• In the UK’s “Joined-Up Model”: mandate letters are tied into horizontal letters, making ministers accountable for collaboration.

• At Human Resources and Skills Development Canada: banning the word “consultation” has been discussed, to be replaced with a focus on “conversations”.

• The existence of communities of practice like the Federal Family, formal and informal training opportunities like its workshops, and other related tactics and tools will add to, and be fed by, the efforts of individuals acting for change.

Conclusion

While the Family is aware that its framework offers a prescription which may seem intuitive to the point of being obvious — be clear on who does what (establish better relationships), don’t get in the way (build better machinery), learn to listen (engage more authentically), don’t freelance thoughtlessly (behave better as colleagues) — we hope it adds to the conversation about community development and policy renewal. A comprehensive, collaborative, place-based course of action should emerge organically and cumulatively out of a constellation of existing knowledge.

For us, these findings are not just the statement of a diagnosis, but rather an affirmation of the knowledge and capacity for reasoned innovation that we know to be well within our grasp, and an ethical embrace of the plain fact that our best efforts in support of thriving places and successful communities are ahead of us.
Introduction

There is an emerging narrative in Canada of visible minority isolation and the development of enclaves, characterized by groups which are both culturally and economically marginalized. This narrative is highly exaggerated since there is little real and scientific evidence of ghettoization in Canada.

While there is a growing body of research expressing concern about the increasing economic and spatial marginality of immigrant and minority groups, the kind of extreme isolation and social malaise characteristic of the French Banlieue does not yet exist in Canada.

Although it is established through research commissioned by the Research Directorate of the Citizenship and Multiculturalism Branch that ghettos – in their precise definition – do not exist in Canadian cities, the myth that they do persists in public discourse. This discourse confuses the ethnic enclave – as a historical Canadian phenomenon – with the divisiveness and the separateness of people that real ghettos display.

The issue of ethnic concentrations of visible minorities has come to the fore as a result of the Parisian riots. However, research demonstrates that the ethnic enclaves in Canada have very little in common with French ghettos. In contrast to the highly segregated neighbourhoods of France, the distribution of visible/ethnic minorities in the three largest Canadian cities of Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal is comprised of concentration and dispersion. Our analysis reveals that immigrants and members of visible minority groups make up a disproportionate share of the low-income population in all three cities. Additionally, the pockets consisting of poor immigrants and/or visible minority groups are scattered. Settlement patterns of minorities in Canadian cities can also vary over time and across space. Hence, social planners need to consider the mixed cultural composition as well as the evolution of the socio-economic complexity of communities for the delivery of services to these communities over time.

The Missing Precision: Enclaves or Ghettos?

While ethnic enclaves arise from complex causes and produce complex effects, ghettos include the stigmatization and the socialization of children into systems of welfare-state dependency. The study on Canada by Hiebert et al, for example, found “little evidence of ghettoization - that is, extensive areas dominated by a single ethnocultural group that are also areas of socio-economic marginalization.” The study adds: “There are some small areas that share these characteristics, […], but they are few in number. Instead, we find that most areas of immigrant and/or visible minority concentration tend to be socially heterogeneous, with a mixture of low- and medium-income households.”

Canadian media stories discussing immigration and the growing population diversity reveal three narratives. The first considers immigration as necessary in light of Canada’s low fertility rate and emerging shortages of labour in a number of occupations. The second emphasizes the apparent decline in immigrant incomes in the past two decades. The linear corollary of the second narrative is obvious: Canada should reduce its admission levels. A third narrative goes further than the second, as seen in a 2007 Globe and Mail article, which concludes: “Multiculturalism isn’t working that well for visible-minority newcomers.”

According to Hiebert et al, the third narrative makes five big assumptions:

- Newly arriving immigrants gravitate
to their ethnocultural communities and these groups are highly segregated from “mainstream” society.

- This segregation arises out of choice and therefore represents a failure of integration (newcomers do not want to be integrated).
- This choice is exercised in the context of multicultural policy which, rather than promoting social cohesion, is actually promoting separateness through social segregation (the right to cultural distinctiveness is interpreted as an invitation to remain separate from the “mainstream”).
- The high level of segregation and attendant social isolation is problematic.
- Segregation, once in place, may become permanent as values of separateness are passed from parents to children.

Forms of ethnic concentration include a cluster of households of one ethnicity in a building or street, or a large proportion of a neighbourhood’s population. It is important to note that merely living side by side without any community bonds and shared sentiments does not make an ethnic neighbourhood. It is the emergence of formal and informal community institutions and symbols that converts a concentration into an ethnic neighbourhood and eventually an enclave.

While enclaves are most commonly defined as districts overwhelmingly populated by a single ethno-racial group with a corresponding presence of commercial enterprises and cultural institutions, ghettos are associated with ethno-racial concentration and overlapping poverty and disadvantage. Ghettos are also distinguished by the fact that residence in them is thought to come about largely as a result of involuntary rather than voluntary factors.

The balance of involuntary and voluntary factors changes over time as individuals are either enabled, or hindered in, making decisions across their lives to stay within or move beyond the enclave. Evidence suggests that the classic immigrant success story of newcomers becoming economically and socially integrated over time is increasingly not the case, especially among visible minority immigrants. The poor socio-economic integration of newcomers raises significant questions about balancing out voluntary and involuntary factors affecting enclave development and the effects of prolonged residence for both immigrants and Canadians born therein.

The French Ghetto

France has experienced a shift after 1945 in the source countries of immigration, which became less from Europe and more from the former colonies in Africa and Asia, and from countries that supplied workers during the post-war period of economic expansion and the rise in labour demand. By 2005, there were almost six million foreign-born permanent residents in France (almost 10% of the country’s population), of whom one-third had become naturalized. Nearly 40% were born in Northern and Sub-Saharan Africa, 13% in Asia, and a smaller percentage was born elsewhere. A large majority (75%) of those admitted in the opening years of this decade (i.e., after 2000) are family class immigrants, plus a small percentage of workers through a Travailleurs Permanents program, and successful refugee claimants (each representing approximately 6-7% of total annual admissions).

The French integration policy is based on the underlying republican belief that “all citizens are equal”, making it difficult to establish anti-discriminatory measures such as affirmative action or equal opportunity programs (since “all citizens are equal”). Systematic data are collected on foreign nationals (through PAF – la Police aux frontières), but rarely on naturalized persons of immigrant origin, or their children. Since one-third of the entire labour market in France is open only to citizens (i.e., the public sector), and the collection of minority statistics is illegal, the proportion of visible minority employees in the public sector work force is unknown, nor is it known whether the public sector mirrors French society.

Immigrants to France congregate in large cities, especially Paris, Lyon, and Marseilles. The association of immigrants with banlieue areas is in itself instructive. The term banlieue originated in medieval times with the state of au ban (banned) or exclusion, where individuals or groups were confined to areas beyond the jurisdiction of the city to keep them out. Although les banlieues are distant from the city core, they share none of the connotations of the North American suburb, and are instead seen as places of marginalization and stigmatization.

Today’s banlieues in France are characterized by high unemployment rates (double those of France as a whole), high youth crime, high levels of policing compared to other urban settings, and low educational attainment. For the most part, factory shut-downs in many suburbs over the past two decades

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metropolitan Area</th>
<th>Population (in millions)</th>
<th>As a proportion of total population %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris (France)</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyon (France)</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marseille-Aix-en-Provence (France)</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lille (France)</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

decades (such as in Lille) were particularly hard and have caused the loss of employment and led youth to face an unstable future. They are also seen by xenophobes as proof that les étrangers “foreigners” will not assimilate and have been a potent symbol used by far-right politicians. The October-November 2005 riots in France have led to intense scrutiny by the French authorities of the French systems of immigration, integration, and cultural accommodation, as well as changes in policing, amid dialogue in the media. Since 2006 there have been further increases in police forces in les banlieues, and greater surveillance generally (e.g., through the installation of more cameras). Critics have charged that these initiatives have been funded through savings realized through reductions in budgets for social services in the same neighbourhoods.

In a series of research studies on the French ghetto, economist Eric Maurin argues that the ghettos “are merely the more visible consequences of the separatist tensions started by the elites, and which penetrated the entire French society.” Maurin mentions upwards of 500-600 such poor, minority neighborhoods in France’s urban landscape. His research further shows a combination in these ghettos of material and cultural poverty, being of immigrant origins, or not having French citizenship.

A number of observations could be made about the French case:
- The French immigrant admission system is mainly family-based rather than inspired by economic needs, and a vast majority of immigrants come from other European Union states and North Africans.
- Public attitude to immigration in France has been hostile, compared to Canadian attitudes.
- Immigrants and their children are expected to assimilate in France and are prohibited from expressing their religions and cultures in certain parts of the public sphere.
- Non-citizens in France have severely limited economic opportunities given their closure from public-sector employment.
- Areas of highest immigrant concentration, banlieues, are also places of profound socio-economic marginalization.
- There is a long history of social tension and violence associated with these suburbs.
- Given the Republican Framework, the French state has developed programs for disadvantaged areas (i.e., colour-blind in provision of benefits to the poor), but has been reluctant to develop anti-racism programs or to provide help to targeted ethnocultural groups (which would be seen as a form of group rights or communautarisme), and thus “undemocratic”.

### TABLE 2: MEMBERS OF VISIBLE MINORITY GROUPS IN CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREAS, 2006, 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total Pop</th>
<th>Visible Minority Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>5,072,075</td>
<td>2,174,060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>3,588,520</td>
<td>590,365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>2,097,965</td>
<td>875,295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>6,342,300</td>
<td>3,200,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>3,751,900</td>
<td>746,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>2,665,900</td>
<td>1,306,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Canada and 2017 Demographic Projections

The general conclusion for Vancouver is that the degree of co-location between immigrants/low income, and visible minorities/low income, is likely to lessen over time. The areas of highest concentration of low-income populations do not overlap extensively with immigrants and even less so with visible minority groups. While it is certainly the case that some of the visible minority concentrations in Toronto are associated with a single minority group (Chinese and South Asian), in most cases there...
are many other ethnic groups in the same locations.

**Toronto:** There is no evidence to suggest that concentrated visible minority status in Toronto follows from concentrated immigrant status, or vice versa. Moreover, a significant proportion of Toronto’s immigrants and visible minorities are living in middle-class or more affluent districts. This is particularly evident in Mississauga and to a lesser extent in Markham and Vaughan. Although areas of Markham and Richmond Hill, for example, show proportional representation of low-income visible minorities in the higher ranges, these are also areas that have higher than average rates of homeownership and property costs. The most prominent areas of projected immigrant concentration span out from core areas bordering the Scarborough Markham border (and extending into Richmond Hill) and those which surround the Jane-Finch and Flemingdon/Thorncliffe communities. Given the very high degree of immigrant representation in these areas in 2001, increasing immigrant density in these areas is not surprising.

The Hiebert et al report explains that by 2017, there will be a slight intensification of low income concentration within the already established poverty areas of the inner suburbs (Jane-Finch) and a very slight degree of suburban dispersal of above- and marginally above-average rates of low income out into the peripheral suburbs pushing northward in Markham and intensifying somewhat in Mississauga and Brampton. The distribution of low income in Greater Toronto will likely remain driven by the availability and affordability of housing much of which will not be adjacent to premier transit stops along the subway line and will continue to be overrepresented in the aging, inner and often poorly serviced suburbs.

**Montreal:** Immigrants and visible minority groups in Montreal make up a much smaller percentage of the population compared to Toronto and Vancouver. Immigrant settlement is largely confined to specific areas of the Island of Montreal, and is unlikely to be found in southwest or northeast neighbourhoods (Montreal-East or Senneville). Low-income immigrants and visible minorities are quite dispersed geographically in the Island of Montreal. While there are concentrations of immigrants on the north shore of the Island (Laval-Chomedey) and on the south shore (in Brossard), the vast majority of immigrants have not dispersed into the more distant suburbs of Montreal. The same holds for the visible minority population of greater Montreal as well.

Although Montreal has relatively smaller immigrant and visible minority populations than Toronto or Vancouver, it has a higher ratio of population experiencing low income (16.6% in Toronto, 20.8% in Vancouver vs 22.3% in Montreal). Given the slower pace of population change in Montreal, and the smaller share of immigrants and visible minorities in the metropolitan population, the scale of change projected for 2017 is not as dramatic as for Vancouver and Toronto.

The degree of overlap between immigrants, visible minorities, and areas of poverty is unlikely to grow significantly in the next decade since what differentiates Montreal from Toronto and Vancouver is the extent of poverty among the Canadian-born. The overall proportion of the foreign-born population is highest in Toronto and lowest in Montreal: 30.6% of all low-income households in Montreal indicated an immigrant as their primary maintainer, while the figures for Toronto (67.5%) and Vancouver (52.7%) were sharply higher. In other words, the scope for the development of areas of concentrated immigrant poverty is less in Montreal than either Toronto or Vancouver, even though the proportion of immigrants experiencing low income is actually higher in Montreal.

Are we likely to see new suburbanized, marginalized, enclaves of poor immigrants and/or visible minority groups in Canada? The analysis above suggests that this is not going to occur, at least not in the next 10 years:

- In Vancouver, the degree of co-location of immigrants and visible minority groups on the one hand, and low-income areas on the other, is projected to decline slightly.
- In Toronto, where the process of suburbanization is most rapid, we are likely to see a continuing development of marginalized enclaves in the inner suburbs, especially those associated with social housing, but this will not yield large, contiguous areas of deep socio-economic need (as in certain areas in France), and the cultural composition of these areas will be mixed.
- Montreal, with fewer immigrants and a wide range of relatively small visible minority groups, is also unlikely to see the emergence of large, single-group, impoverished enclaves.


“Persons of one ethnicity may be a majority in a neighbourhood but their workplaces, education and health services, professional associations and social networks are spread across a city.”

**Conclusion**

This article addressed the question whether residential areas that are associated with immigrants and visible minorities are also places associated with poverty, suggesting the formation of ghettos. While research certainly supports expressions of concern about the growing economic and spatial marginality of immigrant and minority groups, it also suggests that the kind of extreme isolation and social malaise characteristic of the French Banlieue...
Does not (yet) exist in Canada. Before labeling and stigmatizing neighbourhoods as ghettos, the experiences and internal dynamics of these areas and the people who live within them need to be investigated.

Thus the isolationist narrative that immigrants and minorities gravitate to highly segregated enclaves is not supported by facts or the census.

Researchers warn against assuming that all visible minority concentrations are associated with neighbourhood poverty and that all are a function of the kind of constrained choice identified above.

Studies reveal high levels of segregation among some groups of minorities in Canada (Chinese in Toronto and Vancouver for example) correlate not with poverty and disadvantage but with higher than average levels of homeownership and income. Declining levels of segregation for most minority groups over 1991 to 2001 leads us to conclude that there is little evidence to support the development of ghettos in Canadian cities.

The hypothesis that Canadian residential patterns of minorities would follow closely that of the French is weak. In the French case, ghettoization was seen as a product of greater ethnic concentration of deprived minorities living in confined geographical areas. The Canadian results, however, show that only limited patterns of concentration in the form of enclaves were found. Following these results, social planners need perhaps to assess why the ghettoization of minorities has not occurred in Canada. Here one may take into consideration the patterns of suburbanization (residential choices) among immigrants/visible minorities and the availability/affordability of housing.

These factors taken together are likely to influence the distribution and/or concentration of certain population segments in the major metropolitan cities.

Disclaimer: Views presented in this article do not necessarily represent those of the Federal Government of Canada.

References and Notes

1. Hiebert DS, Schuurman N, Smith H. Multiculturalism "on the ground": The Social Geography of Immigrant and Visible Minority Populations in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, Projected to 2017, Guelph, Quebec: Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2007. Please note that many of the references listed below are largely found in this report, which includes an extensive bibliography. Available at: www.mbc.metropolis.net/Virtual%20Library/2007/WP07-12.pdf

2. Two headlines speak to this point: "Industry beginning to feel labour crunch" (The Vancouver Sun, December 29, 2006:D1); and "Nominee program a lifesaver for businesses" (Winnipeg Free Press, January 11, 2007, by Howard Buchwald). These articles and others like them present immigration as a rational policy choice and imply that it is inevitable.


4. Segregation can be defined as the uneven residential distribution of population groups across a geographic area, while concentration occurs when members of a particular group are both segregated and located in a single or distinct subset of urban - or suburban - communities. Depending on its degree and nature, concentration can manifest itself along the spectrum of ethno-racial clusters, to enclaves, to ghettos.


7. The top 10 countries supplying the 210,000 immigrants to France in 2004 were: Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, China, Turkey, USA, Russian Federation, Cameroon, Senegal, and Ivory Coast.


17. Ouverture d'une voie aux jeunesse populaires. En effet, elle met en avant un certains in-equality social et une des effets economiques: elle a egalement bouleverse les repaires des jeunesse populaires.


Building Diversity in the City of Surrey:

by Lisa White, Kelsey Swanson, Poonam Olak and Arielle Patterson

The City of Surrey is the second largest city in British Columbia and one of the most diverse in Canada, with over 450,000 residents. Welcoming nearly 1,000 new residents each month, approximately 37% of the total population consists of visible minorities. The largest cultural groups of this percentage include South Asian (60%), Chinese (13%), Filipino (8%), South East Asian (5%), and Korean (4%). In addition, according to recent statistical data reported by the Surrey School District, approximately 40% of students are from a household in which a language other than English is spoken.

Geographically, Surrey is divided into six town centres, offering 2,300 hectares of parks and open space, forest reserves, two river systems, beachfront and mountain vistas. The aesthetic beauty of the city is complemented by recreational amenities, cultural facilities, museums and athletic parks, including the first field in North America dedicated to the South Asian sport of Kabbadi.

The City of Surrey has taken a variety of directions to build cross-cultural community partnerships in this rapidly growing and changing suburban area. First came the creation of the Surrey Multicultural Advisory Committee in 2007. This Committee, composed of a group of culturally diverse Surrey community members and delegates, provides valuable input on how City policies will impact cultural groups within the community. Second, the City develops and fosters strong partnerships with community organizations that also have a mandate for providing outreach and support services to community members. Furthermore, City Council supports community-initiated activities, like the Social Well-Being Action Plan, by providing funding. Under this plan, initiatives such as the English Conversation Programs provide an opportunity for non-English speaking community members and immigrants to engage in their new surroundings and improve interactions with community resources. Lastly, Surrey’s Arts and Culture scene provides an ideal platform on which to work towards the recognition and celebration of diversity and inclusion through community programs, events, public art and heritage displays. The City of Surrey is both honoured and committed to building on its cultural strengths, promoting intercultural sharing and fostering community development and leadership.

In 1997, an inclusivity task force prepared an Intercultural Inclusivity report in response to an earlier survey assessment completed by Surrey ethnic communities.
and City of Surrey staff who identified barriers in accessing Department programs and services. The report earmarked gaps in service delivery in relation to Surrey’s more culturally diverse and ethnic communities. To address this, the Surrey Multicultural Advisory Committee (MAC) was formed and endorsed by Mayor and Council. The purpose of the Committee is to link with community groups and provide Mayor and Council with advice on City policies that affect each cultural group both individually and collectively. The MAC formulated a strategic plan to foster ethnocultural inclusivity in Surrey and create a multicultural festival to celebrate the unique cultural contributions of each of the City’s ethnic groups. In July 2007, five initiatives were prioritized for Committee focus:

• Creating a multicultural centre for diversity and understanding;
• Holding a festival for all cultures;
• Developing neighbourhood-based cultural awareness programs;
• Enhancing communication between the City and different cultural communities;
• Enhancing cultural awareness.

Over time, the MAC provided the consistency in this area that the City needed in order to make a successful bid for the Cultural Capitals of Canada Program. The City of Surrey was designated the Cultural Capital of Canada for 2008 by the Department of Canadian Heritage. To commemorate this prestigious title, eight unique projects were developed to raise awareness and promote the value of arts and culture in the community with the assistance of federal, municipal and community funding.

In celebration of diversity, Surrey’s first “Fusion Festival” was founded. This three-day multicultural celebration included over 20 international pavilions sharing music, dance, food and culture with the community. The Festival encouraged and facilitated community interaction and promoted awareness of neighbouring cultures. Over 60,000 participants attended this highly successful event.

The project titled “Kla-how-eya: A Learning Journey” is another exciting cultural initiative that was identified as an additional Cultural Capital of Canada project. The carving of a 30-foot, Northern-style canoe by artists-in-residence Mike Dangeli, Lyle Campbell and Daniel Levasseur was the initial phase of this project. The carving project was guided by a Steering Committee comprised of project partners; the Surrey Art Gallery acted as the production hub where the carving took place in 2007. In the fall of 2008, a teaching team took the full-size cedar dugout canoe to Surrey elementary and secondary schools, as well as local and regional family events and festivals. This partnership was initiated and guided by the Kla-how-eya Aboriginal Centre, Surrey Art Gallery and Surrey Crime Prevention Society. The City of Surrey partnered with 2010 Legacies Now and the province to provide funding to the Surrey Aboriginal Society. Overall, the project successfully brought together many nations, communities and individuals to learn, share and be inspired by the creation of this majestic canoe.2

The remaining six projects reflect a wide variety of areas:

• Vaisakhi, “Harvest the Fun”, an international dance competition featuring Indian, Asian and Western dance;
• Glocal: Me and My World, a youth and new media initiative;
• Inspired Ideas Speaker Series, a lecture and community dialogue series on art and culture;
• Civic Treasures Award Program, recognizing 12 cultural leaders for their contributions to Surrey’s cultural development.

All in all, the mandate of the Cultural Capital of Canada Program supports the awareness of accessibility, inclusivity, educational resources and community services that celebrate diversity and community identity.

The City of Surrey takes pride in building relationships and partnerships with the many agencies that are providing services to the community. Numerous successful events, projects and programs have resulted from these collaborations and have strengthened community relationships while encouraging agencies to work together to meet a common goal. The Multicultural Resource Fair is an example in which a City of Surrey recreation facility was offered as a venue to host this annual event, providing residents with an opportunity to learn about available

Shyama-Priya of the Wild Moccasins, performing the Dance of the Butterfly. (Photo courtesy of the authors)
A spectacular and colourful Korean Fan Dance. (Photo courtesy of the authors)
welcoming and safe atmosphere for all participants. Participants leave the program with confidence in their language skills and knowledge of the many opportunities and resources that Surrey has to offer, including employment centres, multicultural centres, public libraries, community and leisure programs.

Some of the major accomplishments Surrey has found in embracing a diverse community are the bridging of gaps between programs and services offered by community agencies and our own organization, as well as celebrating the diversity and variety of cultures in the city. Some of the key factors in creating similar successful experiences include political leadership, the adoption of the Surrey Social Plan, our Departmental Mandate of supporting diversity and inclusivity, and building on our present strengths.

Without this political leadership, many of the subsequent measures will be difficult to implement.

The Surrey Social Plan identifies five main priorities, one of which focuses on “Community Development and Diversity”. The intent of the Surrey Social Plan is to be action oriented and provides a blueprint for the numerous implementation actions.

In the past, the functions of the Parks and Recreation Department did not touch on arts and culture in any way. The Department has since been expanded to include community diversification and to celebrate arts and culture. Surrey’s Department of Parks, Recreation and Culture is now mandated to “celebrate diversity and community identity”, “ensure accessibility and inclusivity” and “preserve, develop and deliver cultural, informational and educational resources and services”.

One of the key building blocks is the strength and involvement of Surrey’s progressive ethnic communities. Surrey was able to tap into the resources of numerous community groups to collaborate on a unified vision for the future and direction of cultural initiatives.

Over the past eight years the City of Surrey has grown, not only in population, but also in its cultural diversity. Surrey values and takes great pride in the wide diversity that makes the city what it is today. Through the support from Mayor and Council and in collaboration with community agencies, Surrey has become a leader in providing opportunities, events and programs to its residents through cross-cultural community partnerships.

The City of Surrey is both honoured and committed to building on its cultural strengths, promoting intercultural sharing and fostering community development and leadership with its rapidly growing and changing community.

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Performers and participants parading during the Fusion Festival 2008. (Photo courtesy of the authors)
From RESEARCH to POLICY to PRACTICE: THE CASE OF THE CITY OF EDMONTON

by John Reilly and Tracey M. Deiwing

In the spring of 2005, Edmonton City Council approved several special initiatives, and through its Immigration and Settlement Initiative, charged a City of Edmonton Councillor, Michael Phair, to explore ways to bring more immigrants to Edmonton. He approached the Prairie Metropolis Centre to conduct some research on newcomer attraction and retention. Edmonton’s Mayor, Stephen Mandel, was particularly concerned that immigration numbers had declined, while labour shortages had started to surface in many areas of the economy because of the growth in the oil industry. Furthermore, the new civic leader was influenced by the works of sociologists such as Jane Jacobs and Richard Florida, who both characterized livable cities as welcoming places that incorporated strong immigrant and gay communities, valued the arts, and emphasized quality of life on the level of the street.

Edmonton, a modern western city of approximately one million people, had undergone years of decline following the last oil boom and bust in the early 1980s. For several years, one City Council after another was reluctant to expend resources on all but the most basic aspects of infrastructure. The City still benefited from having one of the most active Community Leagues in North America, but there were few monies for new recreational facilities, and little examination of the needs of the different components of the population. The change in municipal government in 2004 coincided with an upswing in the economy, and a sense of optimism about Edmonton’s future with the new leadership in place.

The Prairie Metropolis Centre agreed to conduct a study for the City, holding stakeholder meeting focus groups and surveying recent immigrants in both Edmonton and Calgary, a neighbouring (and rival) city in which twice as many immigrants had chosen to live. A web search was also carried out to get a sense of how easy or difficult it would be for prospective immigrants to find out what they wanted to know before leaving home. Web sites of other municipal and provincial governments were examined as well, for ideas on which to model the Edmonton web site. The outcome of the study was a list of 27 recommendations, five of which were tied to attraction and the balance to retention. These were provided to City Council in November of 2005.

Council appointed Councillor Phair and his colleague, Councillor Terry Cavanagh, to review the recommendations and return to Council with a plan of action. The City Manager allocated resources to the City’s recently organized Office of Diversity and Inclusion (ODI) to support the planning process. The Councillors moved remarkably quickly to prioritize the recommendations and decide on a course of action.

Through further public consultations, it became extremely clear that key stakeholders (members of ethnocultural groups, settlement agencies, school boards, adult language training programs, etc.) and the immigrants themselves were concerned with the welcoming nature of Edmonton as a community. Best practice research identified municipal efforts across the country aimed at the effective attraction and retention of immigrants. The research helped confirm a municipal role in immigration and settlement matters, and it was clear that if the city were to compete, it would need to step up its efforts.

By April 2006, the two Councillors had identified priority recommendations and returned to Council with a plan to develop initiatives in several key areas: labour attraction and human resources;
grant funding; City facilities; public awareness and anti-racism; and municipal policy. The initiatives required action within several different City departments; hence, the ODI brought together a cross-departmental working committee to carry the initiative forward. The Committee worked to ensure that any emergent recommendations would come forward in a way that would align with the City's budget planning process.

Initial meetings with City administration identified areas where program innovation was most likely to occur. The Human Resources Branch was already in the process of creating a specialized outreach team and had hired a Multicultural Outreach Specialist to create programs focused on attracting a more ethnoculturally diverse population to the City's workforce. The specialist had extensive experience in immigrant employment integration and moved quickly to develop a plan to include internship and mentorship programs into the City's human resources strategies.

At the same time the City was developing its Immigration and Settlement Initiative, the Edmonton Economic Development Corporation (EEDC) had set up the Edmonton Workforce Connection (EWC) initiative. Its key goal was to assist employers in addressing their growing labour shortage issues. Officials agreed that EEDC was best positioned to move forward attraction efforts while the City would take responsibility for programs that would address retention. The EWC and the City partnered in developing a labour attraction web site, using the information collected by the Prairie Metropolis Centre, as well as a video that profiled Edmonton's business advantages to be used in domestic and international promotion efforts.

The Community Services Department employed a Multicultural Outreach Liaison who had experience working with immigrant and refugee communities and was aware of barriers to social integration experienced by these groups. Its Diversity Team was actively promoting more inclusive practices within its business units, including efforts to more effectively serve an increasingly multicultural community. As well, the department had long been in the business of delivering grant programs that support community groups in a variety of ways. Adding a grants program to support immigrant groups could be easily integrated into the existing structures.

The City had less experience in the areas of public awareness and anti-racism work, and municipal immigration and settlement policy. It was decided that the ODI would further explore the potential for action in these areas. The timely call to join the Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination (CMARD) provided an opportunity to join other cities in Canada in addressing issues related to racial discrimination, and in March 2007 City Council approved the Declaration of Membership in CMARD. Costs associated with implementing a public awareness campaign and developing a newcomer guide to services in Edmonton were explored while best practice research continued into specific municipal policy options.

A comprehensive and complicated package of initiatives was brought before City Council in November 2006. Deliberation at both the Community Services and Executive Committees of Council provided an opportunity for further Council prioritization and a chance for input from citizens and stakeholder groups. A package totaling nearly $1.5 million in investments was approved by Council. However, having been approved so late in the year, challenges emerged with regard to integrating these expenses into the 2007 City budget. Further negotiations identified $596,000 of City tax levy revenue available for the various initiatives. Further prioritization took
place and during its budget deliberations Council approved the resources to move forward with the following initiatives: further development of municipal immigration and settlement policies; implementation of an immigrant internship program; creation of a grants program and space access rental subsidy to support immigrant organizations and groups; hiring of an additional Multicultural Liaison Coordinator; implementing an ongoing Public Involvement process with immigrant and refugee communities; publishing a Newcomer Guide; maintenance of the labour attraction web site (movetoedmonton.com); and development of an action plan to address racial discrimination within the City's employment and service structures and in the broader community. Council also recommended further research into the development of a multicultural facility and a new arrival information centre to serve the information needs of newcomers.

At the time of the writing of this article, all approved initiatives have been implemented. Community Gatherings with immigrant and refugee groups are taking place twice per year and have attracted the interest and participation of hundreds of newcomers as well as managers and directors from a number of different departments, including Edmonton Transit Services and the Planning and Development Department. This constitutes an important venue through which emergent plans are reviewed by community members and feedback is provided directly to City administration. They have also proven to be the vessel through which a positive and constructive relationship is being fostered between the City and its most recently arrived citizens. Council approved a City Policy on Immigration and Settlement in May of 2007. The New Arrival Centre began its operations in City Hall in the summer of 2008 and the Newcomer Guide was released in the fall of 2008.

Several factors have contributed to the success of this initiative. The most important has been continued Council leadership and support. The City Manager’s foresight in establishing the Office of Diversity and Inclusion in 2005 is another important factor. The ODI is located within the Office of the Deputy City Manager and is governed by the City’s Senior Management Team, giving it the profile it needs to promote cross-departmental policy, program and service planning. The ODI’s role is facilitative, supporting the development and implementation of inclusive practices within the various departments. In the case of immigration and settlement, most of the initiatives are operating within other departments with the ODI’s active support. Finally, strategic and positive relations with the other orders of government has been crucial to obtaining both policy and funding support for some of the initiatives. The provincial government has made a commitment to supporting municipalities in their efforts to attract and retain newcomers, and the City of Edmonton continues to express the strong desire to work collaboratively with provincial and federal counterparts in effective policy planning.

Edmonton’s experience has been a very positive one; several of the recommendations based on the Prairie Metropolis Centre’s research were implemented relatively quickly, and additional measures were taken to ensure that immigrants to the city were included in policies and programs. The City is indeed more welcoming than it was three years ago, but there are new challenges on the horizon. Several other Canadian cities are also implementing strategies to attract and retain immigrants while federal admission targets have not changed. Thus Edmonton is in direct competition for a limited number of newcomers. Although the City has implemented many new initiatives, it is still the case that the attitudes of some city residents are not conducive to a welcoming community. This is an area that will require a joint effort on the part of many different organizations within Edmonton in order to make a difference. Finally, Edmonton has received a substantial increase in the numbers of temporary foreign workers, who are ineligible for many of the benefits the City offers to permanent residents. This is not only a municipal problem but a provincial and federal matter as well. All three levels of government will have to work together to ensure that all residents, whether permanent or temporary, are treated fairly, and have a positive experience.

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Planning for Urban Diversity: A Municipal Perspective

by Valerie Pruegger and Derek Cook

Summary

Changing demographics bring changing community values and needs. To respond to the needs of all its citizens, municipal governments need to develop policies and initiatives in all aspects of planning and decision-making, including the built environment, to foster inclusive public and private spaces that accommodate this growing diversity. Some specific examples of current initiatives at The City of Calgary highlight some of these accommodations and strategies.

As Calgary’s rapid economic growth remains unabated, the demand for labour continues to escalate. A critical labour shortage in the city has emerged that threatens to impede future economic expansion. As our work force ages, immigration is becoming a key component of an effective labour force development strategy. In addition, visible minority persons account for over one-quarter of the city’s population, and a growing urban Aboriginal population is also contributing to Calgary’s increasing cultural diversity. But with this growing diversity comes a growing demand for communities, buildings, homes, public and leisure spaces that reflect and accommodate different needs.

Despite the significant economic potential afforded by this diversity, we, as a society, are failing to fully capitalize on these resources. Recent immigrants, visible minority Canadians and Aboriginal persons continue to have higher rates of unemployment and lower earnings than others. In order to compete effectively for labour, cities like Calgary must be seen as “cities of choice” for diverse populations. Failure to plan inclusive communities will impede our ability to compete for labour nationally and internationally. Today, like never before, our continued economic prosperity hinges on our ability to create a climate of acceptance, respect and openness that embraces the diversity for which our city is becoming known.¹

One way to present a welcoming community is through the built environment, which provides opportunities for different lifestyles, family sizes, employment streams, and leisure activities. It provides safe spaces and mixed uses in inclusive and diverse neighbourhoods to aid integration and social acceptance. There are several ways in which land use planning can impact this goal including recognizing that planning is a value-based practice that needs to adapt to changes in demographic patterns and community values.²

The City of Calgary has responded to these changing needs with a number of policies and initiatives. While there is still a great deal of work to be done, we believe we are on the right track to creating an inclusive world class city through five initiatives that address social and physical planning issues. These are:

- imagineCALGARY
- Triple Bottom Line Policy
- 10-Year Plan to End Homelessness
- Accessibility Policy and Universal Design Principles and Fair Calgary

ImagineCALGARY

In 2005, The City of Calgary launched imagineCALGARY, a visioning exercise which asked more than 18,000 Calgarians what they wanted their city to look like in 100 years. The results are being used to produce a long-range urban sustainability plan. imagineCALGARY is the largest visioning process of its kind anywhere in the world setting targets in a number of areas including communication, housing, transportation, the economy and the social arena.³ One of the principles is the right of each person to a sustainable life and a sustainable environment in which to live: An environment where diversity is valued and all voices are considered in the decision-making process.³ Targets that will influence land use planning include:

- promoting employment centres and concentrations closer to where people live and to transit stations;
- enabling buildings that can adapt to a wide range of business types;
- providing land use districts that facilitate the development of flexible spaces;
- changing the Municipal Development Plan policy to allow higher densities within new communities;
- communicating/increasing awareness of the ecological impacts of low-density housing;
- developing housing intensification policies for strategic locations (e.g., near LRT stations and employment areas);
- increasing the mix of uses within communities;
- educating consumers to increase awareness of different housing types and mix;
- developing standards for complete communities;
- developing mandatory design guidelines;
- revising City policies that restrict opportunities for the development of mixed uses;
- encouraging co-housing or other forms that provide innovative living arrangements;
- encouraging flex-housing to enable the spaces within residential units to be converted over time to meet changing household needs; and

¹ Of course, there are other enormous benefits to urban diversity and inclusive communities, but exploration of these lies outside the scope of this article.
• developing and implementing immigration policies and support programs that allow immigrants to easily and successfully adapt to and participate in the Calgary economy.

These initiatives improve the quality of life for all Calgarians, but especially that of community members from marginalized groups who experience heightened economic, social and transportation challenges in our society.

To protect diversity. CIP members respect and protect diversity in values, cultures, economies, ecosystems, built environments, and distinct places.


George Sefa Dei talks about the concept of sharing space between the majority group and marginalized groups. He argues that it is not enough to just move over and grudgingly provide a bit of room for marginalized groups; rather, there needs to be a shift to creating space that is open and accessible to all; space that is equally shared. While the official history of planning as a defined profession celebrates the state and its traditions of city building and regional development, it has ignored hidden biases and the incorporation of other planning histories, for example, those of Aboriginal peoples or racially diverse groups. There is a need for new planning paradigms for our multicultural cities of the future.

Current environmental design practices and the long-term sustainability plan from imagineCALGARY, may be vehicles through which the ideology and reality of shared space can be realized.

Triple Bottom Line Policy

The Triple Bottom Line (TBL) is an approach to decision-making that considers economic, social and environmental issues in a comprehensive, systematic and integrated way. It is a departure from making decisions based solely on a financial bottom-line. The TBL reflects a greater awareness of the impacts of our decisions on the environment, society and the external economy — and how those impacts are related. The TBL is a step forward in ensuring that planning practices and principles include attention to the social impact of urban design on all citizens, but especially citizens who have been traditionally marginalized and left out of this process. One of the social policy objectives embedded in the Triple Bottom Line Policy Framework states: “The City of Calgary values and promotes independence and is a vital partner in creating an inclusive city where all Calgarians have the opportunity to take an active part in the social, economic and cultural life of the community. To accomplish this The City of Calgary seeks to ensure equitable access to City services and amenities regardless of age, income, culture or physical ability, and fosters participation by persons from diverse populations and seeks to ensure that civic programs and services reflect and respond to the changing social and demographic structure of society...”

At The City of Calgary, one way to ensure that social impacts are considered in the planning process is through the Social Planning Review Committee in which land use, development and area redevelopment plans are scrutinized through a social impact lens and recommendations are made for changes as required.

10-Year Plan to End Homelessness

There is a growing rise in income disparity, poverty and homelessness in immigrant and refugee populations. These groups experience higher levels of core housing need than do Canadian-born populations for a variety of reasons including lack of credit, transportation issues, unfamiliarity with a new environment, language difficulties, cost and suitability of housing stock and individual and systemic discrimination in housing (for an overview of this issue in Calgary, see reference 6). For Calgary, the challenge is to get ahead of this growing need by creating proactive and preventative initiatives. These are not hard-to-house chronically homeless persons; these are the people who, with a bit of well-placed help, we would never see in our shelter system. For new immigrants, finding a suitable place to live in a safe and welcoming neighbourhood is an important first step towards successful settlement and integration. As we increasingly rely on immigration to fill labour shortages, ensuring affordable and suitable housing for this population segment is vital to our economic growth and prosperity. Suitable housing may entail space for large families with many children, or extended families. However, homelessness and the lack of affordable housing are critical problems in Calgary and becoming more acute especially in light of in-migration from other provinces due to the booming economy.

Similarly, adequate and affordable housing is an ongoing issue for urban Aboriginal peoples. In Calgary’s 2008 Biennial Homeless Persons count, 15% of enumerated people were observed to be Aboriginal; a disproportionately high number given that only 3% of Calgarians in 2006 reported having Aboriginal identity. Many urban Aboriginal people share some of the barriers experienced by immigrants and racialized Canadians including low income, lack of affordable and suitable housing, discrimination in housing, and lack of housing to accommodate extended families.

The vision of the Committee to End Homelessness is that by the year 2018, all people facing homelessness in Calgary will have access to affordable, safe and appropriate housing as well as the resources and supports necessary to sustain it (see http://www.endinghomelessness.ca/default.asp?FolderID=2518). To this end, there are committees working on strategies in a number of target group areas including Aboriginal peoples, and immigrants and refugees.

Some builders, for example Trico Homes, have also been working with city planners and community partners to create opportunities for affordable housing. Trico Homes was heavily involved in 2008 Global Fest, an annual human rights festival in Calgary. The theme in 2008 focused on housing issues for immigrants, racialized individuals and Aboriginal peoples in Calgary.

Accessibility Policy and Universal Design Principles and Fair Calgary

The Advisory Committee on Accessibility, which includes a representative from the City Land Use and Policy Planning Business Unit, is a component of Fair Calgary, a policy to support and strengthen The City’s contribution to the social infrastructure through the incorporation of principles of fairness and seven fairness filters to be used as the “social” aspect of the Triple Bottom
Line. Fair Calgary deals with the broad context of fairness and sustainability with all marginalized groups, while the Corporate Accessibility Policy focuses on access for people with disabilities. These two initiatives recognize the city's responsibility in accordance with international, national, and provincial human rights policies, the Multiculturalism Act, and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms to create access and inclusion through the built design. Currently, this policy does not mandate universal design principles in residential developments, but the guidelines are mandatory for all municipal government properties. To foster greater awareness, a handbook has been developed to inform planners and design professionals about universal design and to encourage its use. While again the focus is on disabilities, the principles, if incorporated, would improve accessibility for other target population groups.

There is a growing acceptance of modular and universal design principles to create multi-functional spaces that can be developed for a fraction of the cost of traditional housing, and in shorter time spans. With modular designs, size of family does not matter. Because units within a housing development can be constructed to identical size specifications, it is a simple matter to attach individual units or place them on top of each other to create multi-level residences like apartment buildings and condominium complexes. Building modular additions with universal design principles is an affordable way to help families stay in their existing homes when their needs change. Another model that fosters inclusiveness that has been long neglected is that of cooperative housing, volunteer-managed housing that enables citizens to build and manage their own housing sustained through public and private partnerships. Several cooperatives in Canada have been built to serve First Nations people and co-ops have been leaders in housing newcomers to Canada linking housing with social and economic integration.

Conclusion

Just as some municipalities began exploring the issues of achieving gender equality in the late 1980s through municipal policies and land use planning, we now need to similarly use land use and social policy and practices to achieve sustainable and inclusive cities for a more diverse population. The five policy initiatives outlined herein at the City of Calgary are only some of the ways in which we are looking to marry good social policy with urban design principles.

Some challenges remain. In order to involve citizens in the planning process, more effort needs to be made to develop connections in Aboriginal and diverse ethnocultural and immigrant communities. Knowledge about the planning process needs to be generated within diverse communities to enable them to participate in it. For example, The City of Toronto provides planning information on its web site in several languages and the City of Calgary has a Partners in Planning program which although not directed specifically to diverse communities, seeks to educate the public and neighbourhood associations about the planning process to enhance their ability to participate effectively.

Diversity Strategies need to be developed and incorporated into the planning process. For example, notice postings of Land Use Amendment or Development Permit applications that are only posted in English in mainstream newspapers will not appropriately inform community residents, and are particularly inappropriate and ineffective in highly diverse communities. Failure to take this into account effectively disenfranchises these communities in the process. One example of such an effort comes from Vancouver, where four mainly immigrant communities were successfully involved in a visioning process to effectively plan for their neighbourhoods.

Finally, planning processes are based on a quasi-legal adversarial tradition that tends to pit developers against communities. Communities that lack legal and/or financial resources can be disadvantaged. Planning Commissions or Appeals Tribunals that are conducted in English and subject to strict procedural rules, will tend to limit the ability of community members to participate. Finding alternative models of community planning that seek input in new ways and strive for consensus and monitoring the impact of planning decisions on diverse communities will be important for effectively representing the interests of these communities in the planning process.

The time to act is now to ensure that our cities remain economically viable and safe, and that they model how the built environment can be planned to enhance and foster inclusion and the recognition of changing needs. Planners can be instrumental in this process because, whether acknowledged or not, all urban land use planning is "people zoning." The challenge is: do we continue to pretend that planning is an objective process, or do we identify and reveal hidden and systemic biases thus embracing an opportunity to become more transparent and aware of planning that will meet the needs of a changing population?

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Planning for Diversity in Saskatoon: Progressive Policies and Practices
by Joseph Garcea

Summary
This article provides an overview and analysis of the diversity planning in the city of Saskatoon in relation to the Aboriginal population and the immigrant, refugee and visible minority population. This article reveals that in recent decades Saskatoon's municipal officials and members of the public have become much more attuned to the importance of planning for diversity involving the Aboriginal population and the immigrant, refugee and visible minority population. There is also a growing understanding that the peaceful and productive co-existence of Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals is imperative for achieving an optimal level of interculturalism and social cohesion in the City of Saskatoon. Consequently, more attention and resources are now being devoted to ensuring that the planning policies, processes and programs are recognizing and responding to needs and preferences of these population groups. Demonstrable signs of this are evident in, among other things, the statues that have been erected during that time in the centre of the city not only to recognize and celebrate that diversity, but to remind people of its importance. Notable examples of this are statues of Chief Whitecap who was instrumental in facilitating the founding of Saskatoon, Gabriel Dumont the celebrated Métis leader, and Mahatma Gandhi whose statue stands as a reminder of the value and virtue of maintaining peaceful co-existence in the face of diversity. (See Acknowledgements)

The objective of this article is to provide an overview of the major planning policies, processes, and programs related to those particular population groups. Toward that end, the first section of the article provides an overview of Saskatoon's demographic profile, the second an overview of Saskatoon's overarching policies related to the aforementioned population groups, the third provides an overview of Saskatoon's planning in relation to the Aboriginal population, and the fourth an overview of its planning in relation to the immigrant, refugee and visible minority population. The article reveals two notable characteristics of diversity planning in Saskatoon. First, that in recent years there has been a movement toward the development of policies and the institutionalization of the organizational structures and processes for diversity planning. Second, that diversity planning is being driven by a philosophy of "planning with" rather than merely "planning for" these particular segments of the population.
institutionalization of the organizational structures and processes for diversity planning. Second, that Saskatoon’s diversity planning is being driven by a philosophy of “planning with” rather than merely “planning for” these particular segments of the population.

Saskatoon was born in Canada and only 9% was born outside Canada. This contrasts with cities that have high numbers of immigrants and refugees, such as Toronto, where approximately half of the population was born outside of Canada. This could change if the current economic boom persists over time and more immigrants settle in Saskatoon. Third, most of the major ethnic groups in Saskatoon are of European ancestry. In recent years, however, the immigration flows have also started to increase the size of ethnic groups and visible minorities from other countries in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Fourth, only 7% of the population is classified as visible minority. Although the diversity of Saskatoon’s population is relatively limited compared to the major metropolitan centres in Canada, there is sufficient diversity to warrant attention to it within the scope of the City’s planning systems. Indeed, with this in mind, it may well be that diversity planning is important not only to deal with the existing diversity but possibly to find the means to augment that diversity.

Saskatoon’s Diversity Planning Policy Framework
Saskatoon’s diversity planning is guided by what might be termed its diversity planning policy framework, which consists of at least three major types of documents: the Cultural Diversity and Race Relations Policy (CDRRP), the Corporate Business Plans, and the operational plans for some departments (e.g., Human Resources and the Police Service) that contain provisions regarding operational protocols in relation to some population groups. This section highlights the key provisions in the CDRRP. Key provisions from the other documents are highlighted in various other sections of this article.

The CDRRP is an overarching policy document that contains provisions related to diversity planning and management. The preamble to the CDRRP explicitly states that: “The City of Saskatoon recognizes that Saskatoon has always been a society composed of people from many different backgrounds and that this diversity will continue. The participation and contribution of all citizens in the development of our community is vital to meeting the challenges of the future.” The vision statement in the CDRRP affirms the commitment to diversity planning as follows:

The City of Saskatoon will work with community organizations, business and labour, all orders of government, and other stakeholders to create an inclusive community, where ethnocultural diversity is welcomed and valued, and where everyone can live with dignity and to their full potential, without facing racism or discrimination.

The CDRRP also articulates four general policy goals, the indicators on progress in achieving those goals, and specific indicators that will be monitored. The four general policy goals are: the work force will be representative of the population of Saskatoon; there will be zero tolerance for racism and discrimination; community decision-making bodies will be...
representative of the whole community of Saskatoon; and there will be awareness, understanding and acceptance in the community of various cultures in the city. Those goals are echoed in those parts of the City's corporate business plans produced since 2000 that deal with multicultural cooperation and Aboriginal partnerships.3, 4, 5 (p. 4, 41)

The CDRRP also affirms the importance of the shared role of the City and other stakeholders in fostering good race relations and racial harmony in the community. Toward that end, the policy commits the City to provide a leadership and supportive role in fostering the following: proactive cultural diversity and anti-discrimination initiatives within the municipal corporation and the community; inclusive communication; employment equity within the corporation; cross-cultural training in the workplace; public education related to cultural awareness and anti-discrimination; and continuous review and improvement in relation to its grants program to ensure that it includes funding for race relations activities.

The CDRRP is supplemented by several existing strategies and initiatives that the City has already adopted and implemented in an effort to meet the needs and preferences of Aboriginals, immigrants, refugees, and visible minorities. This includes its employment equity plan that is administered by the Human Resources Department and monitored and approved by the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission. It also includes some housing programs designed to help meet the housing needs of various groups, including Aboriginals and newcomers. The CDRR policy explicitly states that any such policy and program initiatives "...should be cross-referenced in regard to cultural diversity and anti-discrimination strategies and initiatives."3, 4, 5 (p. 4, 41)

Planning in Relation to Aboriginals

Planning in relation to the Aboriginal population and in partnership with Aboriginal governments and community-based organizations has become a high priority for the City of Saskatoon in recent decades. This is quite evident in the policy goals, strategies and initiatives that have been adopted by the City during that time.

One of the core strategies in Saskatoon's corporate business plans during this decade has been to build on the existing Aboriginal partnerships through various initiatives. The major initiatives listed were: continuing formal annual meetings between Saskatoon City Council and each of the Saskatoon Tribal Council and the Saskatoon Métis Council; collaborating with Aboriginal, federal and provincial governments in addressing various issues of importance to urban Aboriginals such as affordable housing and explore partnership opportunities with them; develop partnerships with Aboriginal and mainstream educational institutions to create training opportunities and awareness of City of Saskatoon job requirements; and collaborating with the Saskatoon Regional Economic Development Authority to encourage Aboriginal employment and training opportunities. As part of its Aboriginal Partnership efforts, the City also committed itself to developing crime prevention and reduction strategies and programs in partnership with the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, the Saskatoon Tribal Council, and the Métis Nation Saskatchewan.

Diversity Planning in Local Area Planning

Saskatoon's corporate business plans also outlined a strategy to facilitate active community-based participation in issue and problem identification, and resolution. Such participation is evident in many planning processes, but especially in the process related to "Local Area Planning." This is a neighbourhood-based planning process in which “residents, business owners, property owners, community groups and other stakeholders form a partnership with the City of Saskatoon to develop goals and strategies aimed at improving the long-term success of their community.” Although this planning process is not limited to issues and options related to diversity planning, invariably such issues and options are highlighted and addressed. This is particularly true of the so-called core neighbourhoods that have a high proportion of Aboriginals, immigrants and refugees, and visible minorities.

The local area planning process consists of a community visioning, a community needs assessment, and priority setting for the community. This planning process has several important elements...
designed to ensure that it is effective. First, it is an inclusive process designed to ensure that representatives of various groups within the neighbourhood are involved in the consultations. Second, it is an intensive and detailed planning process that consists of many meetings to ensure that the major issues and options are identified and assessed. Third, the city ensures that financial resources are provided to implement at least some of the most significant initiatives. Fourth, there is an annual monitoring and reporting system designed to ensure that there is continuing progress at the various stages of the development and implementation of each neighbourhood plan. This planning process for one of the core area neighbourhoods with one of the highest concentrations of Aboriginals in the city gained national recognition for best practices in planning when it was awarded a prize by the Canadian Federation of Municipalities.

**Diversity Planning in Policing**

In the area of policing, diversity planning in relation to Aboriginals, and to some extent also immigrants, refugees and visible minorities, has also become quite central in almost everything that the Police Service does. This is particularly true in relation to Aboriginals. This is quite evident on its web site page labelled “Diversity” which contains information regarding the following: the special initiatives undertaken to address some of the areas of improvements in policing identified by various inquiries into some tragic events involving Aboriginals; efforts to recruit more Aboriginals for the police service; and the creation of several committees designed to help the police service fulfill its mandate more effectively, including a committee on strategic renewal through a partnership between the Board of Police commissioners and the Saskatoon Tribal Council, the Chief’s Advisory Committee on First Nations and Métis issues and relations, and the Saskatoon Police Advisory Committee on Diversity (SPACOD). The purpose of this committee will be to address the concerns of First Nations and Métis people, as well as new Canadians, regarding policing policies and procedures. One of the notable innovative achievements of this collaborative process in the policing sector is that complaints regarding the police service can now be received not only directly at the police service or through the Provincial Complaints Commission, but also through the Special Investigative Unit of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations (FSIN). This demonstrates a new partnership in increasing the avenues for appeals and advocacy for First Nations people.

“Multicultural Cooperation – Recognize the cultural diversity of our community and support growth through immigration.”

"Towards that end, those plans noted the need to work with the federal and provincial governments as well as the Saskatoon Regional Economic Development Authority to encourage expanded immigration to the Province and the City and matching immigrants with specific employment opportunities. A major reason that those plans broached those particular issues is that in 2004 the Cultural Diversity and Race Relations Committee (CDRRC) recommended to the City that it commission a report on Saskatchewan's needs for immigrants and the needs of immigrants in Saskatoon.

**Diversity Planning in Immigration**

One year later the City partnered with the provincial and federal governments in commissioning the production of such a report based on extensive consultations with interested organizations and individuals. The resulting report, titled “Making Saskatoon a Global City: A Framework for an Action Plan”, recommended that the City undertake a leadership and coordinative role in promoting immigration to Saskatoon and also in ensuring that the settlement and integration needs of newcomers were met. That recommendation led
the City to hire an Immigration Community Resource Coordinator to develop and implement an action plan that the City could use in performing the aforementioned role. During the past year, the Coordinator has been working on the development of that action plan. Toward that end a one-day forum was held for representatives from various community and governmental organizations to consider various issues and options for producing a coherent action plan. Another important initiative for that purpose has been the organization of a series of sectorally-based forums in which representatives from key stakeholder organizations in each of those sectors (i.e., policing/justice, education, health, economic/employment, settlement, and housing). The general purpose of the sectoral forums is to provide people with a better understanding of all that is being done in their particular sectors, and to discuss various issues and options, including the potential for institutionalizing a framework for collaboration both within each sector and across the various sectors.

Saskatoon's most recent Corporate Business Plans also noted the need for the full implementation of the CDRRP including measurement and monitoring process, continuing to promote and support multicultural initiatives, integrating cultural diversity into existing employee training, and renewing cross-cultural training for all employees within the corporation. The City's various organizational units have been working to achieve improvements in all of those areas. Diversity Planning in Business Incubation

Some of the planning that ultimately benefits members of various ethnocultural groups as well as others is facilitated by the City indirectly. A notable example of this is the City's "Enterprise Zone" development incentive program that was used to establish Ideas Inc., a non-profit organization that offers advisory and mentorship services for establishing new businesses. The organization is developed and operated by Saskatoon's business community through a Board of Directors that includes membership not only from Saskatoon's Regional Economic Development Authority, the Greater Saskatoon Chamber of Commerce, the business improvement districts in the downtown and core neighbourhood areas, but also from the Whitecap Dakota First Nation's reserve which is located approximately 20 kilometres outside of the city limits. One of the first major initiatives of the business incubator office has been to facilitate the creation of a special market for ethnocultural entrepreneurs to market ethnocultural foods, food ingredients, and other types of ethnocultural products and services. The grand opening for this special market, which is only open one day per week, occurred in August 2008. The hope is that it will become popular both among entrepreneurs and prospective clients so that it may lead to the incubation of ethnocultural businesses and potentially also the creation of a fully developed "international market".

Concluding Observations

The City of Saskatoon is committed to, and has made some good progress in developing and implementing diversity planning policies, programs and processes in relationship to Aboriginals, immigrants and refugees and visible minorities. It has also made some good progress in ensuring that planning is being driven by a philosophy of "planning with" rather than merely "planning for" these particular segments of the population. This philosophy has led to the development and use of community consultation processes that are highly institutionalized and highly valued. To ensure that there is no slippage and that they can build on what has been achieved to date, municipal planners and citizens must internalize the principles and values articulated in Saskatoon's policies related to diversity planning and ensure that their planning processes along with any resulting policies, programs or projects are consonant with those. This is absolutely imperative for social cohesion, peaceful co-existence and prosperity.

Joseph Garcea is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Studies and a Member of the Regional and Urban Planning Program Committee at the University of Saskatchewan. He co-authored the report for the City of Saskatoon titled "Making Saskatoon a Global City: A Framework for an Immigration Action", which devoted extensive attention to many of the issues and options discussed in this article. He can be reached at: Joe.garcea@usask.ca

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank City of Saskatoon officials for information needed for writing this article and also for the pictures provided by the City of Saskatoon's Urban Design Section.

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7. City of Saskatoon. Local Area Planning. Available at: http://www.saskatoon.ca/org/city_planning/local_area_plans/index.asp
IMMIGRATION: An Emerging Issue for Planners in Canada’s North
by Robert Vineberg

Summary
This article is a survey of immigration to Canada’s three northern territories and provides a description of the recent migratory flows and the services available to newcomers. It outlines the relationship between the territorial governments and the federal government respecting immigration and describes the activities of both levels of government. It also argues that immigration is becoming more of an issue for Canada’s north and one that planners need to take into account.

Introduction
The small but increasing numbers of immigrants to Yukon, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut have the potential to increase the prosperity of the North. However, the North is the homeland of many Aboriginal peoples. The challenge to create places that welcome and celebrate Aboriginal peoples is well known to urban planners in the territories and is beyond the scope of this article. Nevertheless, overseas migration must be managed, not only in terms of immigration policy but also in terms of urban planning, so that the cities and communities of the North will be welcoming communities for newcomers and will continue to maintain their distinct character. This article is meant to provide an overview of immigration to Canada’s three northern territories and to highlight some areas of interest to urban planners in the North.

Immigration and the Territories
While immigration has not yet taken on the importance in the North that it has in the south, all three territories are more aware of the importance of immigration to their futures. However, unlike the provinces to their south, the territories need to take account of their large Aboriginal populations: 25% in Yukon, 50% in the NWT and 85% in Nunavut, and ensure that immigration assists the development of opportunities for their Aboriginal peoples. By contrast, the immigrant populations are much smaller: 10% in Yukon, 7% in the NWT and less than 2% in Nunavut (see Table 1).

The bulk of permanent migration has traditionally gone to the three capital cities (see Table 2). These communities dominate the demography of their jurisdictions. According to the 2006 Census, Whitehorse, with over 20,000, accounts for two-thirds of Yukon’s population and the next largest...
TABLE 1: CANADA’S TERRITORIES – POPULATION OVERVIEW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Aboriginal Population</th>
<th>% Aboriginal</th>
<th>Immigrant Population</th>
<th>% Immigrant</th>
<th>Visible Minority</th>
<th>% VM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yukon</td>
<td>30,190</td>
<td>7,580</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>3,005</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>1,220</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWT</td>
<td>41,060</td>
<td>20,635</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>2,815</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>2,270</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nunavut</td>
<td>29,325</td>
<td>24,915</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100,575</strong></td>
<td><strong>53,130</strong></td>
<td><strong>53%</strong></td>
<td><strong>6,275</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.2%</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,910</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.9%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of Canada 2006 - Statistics Canada, Ottawa

TABLE 2: CANADA’S TERRITORIES – POPULATION OVERVIEW BY CITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Aboriginal Population</th>
<th>% Aboriginal</th>
<th>Immigrant Population</th>
<th>% Immigrant</th>
<th>Visible Minority</th>
<th>% VM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whitehorse</td>
<td>20,290</td>
<td>4,100</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>2,295</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>1,220</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellowknife</td>
<td>18,510</td>
<td>4,105</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>2,140</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>2,270</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iqaluit</td>
<td>6,085</td>
<td>3,650</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of Canada 2006 - Statistics Canada, Ottawa

community, Dawson, has only 1,300 people. In the NWT, at 18,500, Yellowknife accounts for almost half the territory’s population and the next largest communities, Hay River and Inuvik each have about 3,500 people. While Iqaluit with a population of just over 6,000 has only 20% of Nunavut’s population, it is the only major centre. The next largest communities, Rankin Inlet, Arviat and Baker Lake are all in the 2,000 range.

Primary immigration to the three territories combined has been in the 160 to 200 range for each of the last five years (see Table 3). Yukon and the NWT together receive 90 to 95% of the immigrants destined to the North. Nunavut uses immigration principally to fill key professional positions, mostly in health care and education, whereas the movements are more generalized in the other territories. However, primary immigration is only part of the story.

The primary immigration figures, cited above, are not sufficient to account for the numbers of immigrants in the northern population. The immigrant population of 6,275 in 2006 would suggest perhaps 300 immigrants per year over the last 20 years. Therefore, relatively large numbers of immigrants, originally destined to cities in the southern parts of Canada, have been drawn to the north by the same factors that draw Canadians: the lure of the frontier, the space, the money, and the opportunity to make a new start. This is an opportunity for the territories as they can recruit immigrants much more cheaply from Toronto and Calgary than from New Delhi and London.

Beyond immigrants, the other significant element of the migrant population is that of Temporary Foreign Workers. Though totaling only a little over 500 in 2007 (see Table 4), the numbers have been growing substantially over the last five years. This has been driven by the northern economy in general but also by specialized needs such as the diamond industry. There are several dozen foreign cutters and polishers working in the diamond factories in Yellowknife. These factories are there, rather than in Antwerp or New York because the Government of the Northwest Territories requires 10% of the output of its diamond mines to be cut and polished in the territory. While Aurora College does offer a cutting and polishing course, the core of skilled cutters and polishers came to Canada as Temporary Foreign Workers.

Given the major projects planned for the North, including several new diamond mines, a mammoth iron ore mine in Nunavut and the Mackenzie pipeline, it can only be expected that the demand for jobs will outstrip the local population’s capacity, and further recourse to foreign workers will be a necessity.

Federal-Territorial Relations in Immigration

All three territories have close working relationships with the Federal Government, through Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). However, each territory is at a different stage of formalizing its relationship with the Federal Government in respect to immigration. All three territories have also been offered the opportunity to conclude formal Federal-Territorial Agreements on Immigration, but to date, only Yukon has chosen to do so.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yukon</th>
<th>NWT</th>
<th>Nunavut</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
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<td>2002</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>122</td>
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<td>2003</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>94</td>
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<td>162</td>
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<td>2004</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>159</td>
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<td>2005</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Facts and Figures 2007 - Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Ottawa

TABLE 4: CANADA’S TERRITORIES – STOCK OF TEMPORARY WORKERS (as of December 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yukon</th>
<th>NWT</th>
<th>Nunavut</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Facts and Figures 2007 - Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Ottawa
The Minister of Citizenship and Immigration and the Yukon Minister of Education signed their first framework agreement and territorial nominee agreement on April 2, 2001. The original agreement and territorial nominee annex were for a five-year period. On expiry, the agreements were extended year by year until the latest agreements were signed on May 21, 2008 in Whitehorse by The Honourable Diane Finley, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, and the Honourable Patrick Rouble, Minister of Education for Yukon.1 Both the Framework Agreement and the Territorial Nominee Annex follow much the same pattern as similar agreements signed with other jurisdictions. In particular, these agreements have no expiry date but are to be jointly reviewed by the two governments every five years (Section 10.7). Furthermore, Yukon will provide an annual immigration plan to CIC, including their projected number of territorial nominees (Subsection 4.5.a).2

CIC has met with senior officials of both the Northwest Territories and Nunavut, to encourage their jurisdictions to enter into similar agreements.3 A recent statement by the Premier of the Northwest Territories suggests that the Government of the NWT (GNWT) may now be seriously interested in concluding an agreement. On May 28, 2008, the Yellowknifer newspaper reported that, “The GNWT will look into launching an immigration nominee program similar to one in Yukon in order to battle the territory’s chronic labour shortage,” said Premier Floyd Roland last week. “We’re starting to have discussions with the federal government to see how we can make it work in the NWT.”

Federal Immigration Presence and Settlement Activities

CIC does not have a strong presence in the north. There are Citizenship and Immigration Centres in both Whitehorse and Yellowknife but each is a one-person office with support being provided from larger offices in the south. There are no CIC officers resident in Nunavut and CIC Winnipeg provides services to that territory, assisted by the officer in Yellowknife.

The normal range of settlement services is provided in both Whitehorse and Yellowknife but on a relatively small scale. While funding is earmarked for Nunavut, to date, the nature of the small immigrant movement (either professional or family class) has not required orientation or language training.

In Fiscal Year (FY) 2008-09 in Yukon, CIC has contracted with the Association Franco-Yukonaise to deliver a range of settlement programming. The Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) provides orientation, counseling, needs assessment and referrals to community services as required. The current contract is for $93,836. Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) provides basic language training to adult newcomers. The current contract is for $85,820 and will provide a minimum of 18 places. The HOST Program eases newcomers’ adaptation to Canada by matching newcomers and their families with a trained volunteer and his or her family. The current contract is for $34,178.3

In Yellowknife, CIC has contracted with Aurora College for ISAP and LINC programming. The agreements have been multi-year agreements usually covering the better part of two fiscal years. A LINC agreement was signed in November 2007 for the remainder of that fiscal year and for 2008/09 in the amount of $66,681 and was increased by $20,416 in 2008. An interim ISAP agreement was signed with the college for $7,825 but the ISAP budget for the year is $60-70,000. Finally, there is a small HOST Program for $6,603.4

In both Yukon and NWT, CIC is also in negotiation (as of August 2008) to put in place Enhanced Language Training (ELT) agreements. ELT is designed to offer higher-level English training including occupation-specific language training and workplace orientation, including placements with employers.

CIC has also provided a small amount of funding to allow the Yukon Government and the Government of the NWT to fund a francophone community representative to attend Destination Canada, an annual recruitment mission in francophone Europe. In 2008, the mission visited Paris, Brussels and Lyon. Yukon received $9,000 and the NWT $6,000 for this exercise.

Territorial Organization to Facilitate Immigration

The capacity of the three territories to provide mainline services to immigrants is consistent with their capacity to deliver services, such as education, employment, health and social services to all their residents. However, specific territorial programs for immigrants are essentially non-existent, with the exception of Yukon’s Territorial Nominee Program.

In Yukon, the responsibility for immigration is with the Department of Education; in the NWT, it is with the Department of Education, Culture and Employment; and in Nunavut, it is with the Department of Executive and Intergovernmental Affairs. Each territory is a member of CIC’s Federal-Provincial-Territorial Planning Table and senior officials (Assistant Deputy Minister, Deputy Minister) meet once or twice a year, on average, to discuss big picture issues. In addition, in recent years, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration has held meetings with his/her provincial and territorial colleagues on a roughly annual basis.
As noted above, the only territory to aggressively encourage immigration is Yukon, through its Nominee Program. The Territory’s main web site (http://www.gov.yk.ca/) has a link to “Immigrate to Yukon” under “Popular Topics”. The Immigration pages offer background material on Yukon, general information on the immigration process, links to CIC, and, of course, information on and application forms for the Yukon Nominee Program.  

It must be noted that until recently, the Yukon Nominee Program was quite small. Despite the program, immigration to Yukon remains less than immigration to the NWT which does not have a nominee program yet. However, in 2008, the Yukon nominee program has grown significantly and this will likely result in immigration to Yukon exceeding that of the NWT, at least until the NWT begins a nominee program.

While several cities in the south have developed specific services for immigrants, this level of activity has not yet taken place in the north. This is, presumably, a function of both the relatively small number of immigrants and the relatively small size of even the largest communities, Whitehorse and Yellowknife.

Some Thoughts for Urban Planners in the North

While the planning issues around immigration to the North may seem unimportant in comparison to the huge issues surrounding rapid growth of both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations, there are still factors that ought to be taken into consideration. First and foremost is that immigration is increasing the overall pace of growth, and infrastructure, especially schools, housing and medical facilities, need to keep pace with this growth. Also, as with Aboriginal families, first generation immigrant families are often larger than the Canadian average and housing for larger families needs to be available. Appropriate locations and adequate space for parking at new churches, temples and mosques need to be planned. For example, devout Muslims often visit mosques several times a day and this can create significant traffic problems around the mosque. “At Dhuhr, the Muslim midday prayer, white taxicabs swarm around the little mosque, and the parking lot erupts with kufi caps and robes of all colours”, reported the Globe and Mail last year of the Islamic Centre of Yellowknife. Good planning needs to make allowances for such practices. Finally, immigrants often depend more on public transit than do other residents and adequate public transit on all days of the week is an essential element of a community seeking to welcome immigrants.

These suggestions from someone who is not an urban planner may seem both impertinent and simplistic. However, the suggestions themselves are less important than the primary purpose of this article — to provide some basic information on immigration movements to Northern Canada so that urban planners working in the North can take immigration into account as they plan the development of Canada’s northern communities.

Robert Vineberg is a Senior Fellow with the Canada West Foundation. His career with the federal public service spanned more than 35 years, most recently as Director General, Prairies and Northern Territories Region, Citizenship and Immigration Canada. He is currently co-editing a book entitled “Integration and Inclusion of Newcomers and Minorities Across Canada” and will be writing the chapter on the Territories. He can be reached at: vineberg@cwfc.ca

References

7. Yukon’s Immigration web pages can be accessed at: http://www.immigration.gov.yk.ca/
Planning for Newcomers in Winnipeg's Inner City

by Tom Carter

Summary
Planning for the successful resettlement and integration of an increasing number of newcomers from international destinations is a challenge facing the planning community. This article examines some of the difficult challenges newcomers, in this case refugees, face in settling in Winnipeg's inner city. The findings highlight the importance of adequate, affordable housing in the resettlement process and suggest housing program and policy changes to facilitate successful resettlement and integration.

Continued high levels of international immigration are a demographic and economic imperative for Canada. By 2011, immigrants will account for all net labour force growth and by 2026, all net population growth. Without new arrivals, Canada will experience increasing labour shortages in many sectors of the economy. Successful integration of newcomers into our communities requires planning and policy development in many areas: housing; safety and security; education, health care; transportation and others. Planners at all levels of government have a significant role to play in this integration process as we develop and modify neighbourhoods to facilitate this integration. The following discussion highlights some of the challenges of planning for newcomers using Winnipeg's inner city as a case study.

For many decades, Winnipeg's inner city has been the destination of successive waves of new arrivals. Immigrants, first from European countries, have been followed more recently by immigrants and refugees from South East Asia, Latin America, and Africa. In addition to international migrants, in the last three to four decades, many Aboriginal people have moved from reserves and smaller rural and northern communities to the area. Today the inner city is home to people who have come from more than 50 countries.

One of the attractions of the inner city is the more affordable, although not necessarily good quality, housing. Many of the services new arrivals need are also located in the inner city. Over the years the area has become a transition zone for many groups. It has been a place where they get established and start organizing a new life, then as soon as they can afford to, they move on to better accommodation, and what many perceive as better neighbourhoods.
This article highlights the diversity that exists in Winnipeg's inner city, then examines some of the difficult challenges newcomers face, and ends with a discussion of some of the policy and planning initiatives that would help new arrivals adjust to a new country, a new home, and often a new urban lifestyle.

TABLE 1: WINNIPEG INNER CITY CHARACTERISTICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inner City</th>
<th>Non-Inner City</th>
<th>Total City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>119,670</td>
<td>490,125</td>
<td>609,795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants</td>
<td>26,515</td>
<td>79,210</td>
<td>105,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent Immigrants</td>
<td>4,540</td>
<td>8,725</td>
<td>13,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visible Minorities</td>
<td>23,940</td>
<td>58,017</td>
<td>81,957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginals</td>
<td>22,995</td>
<td>29,415</td>
<td>52,410</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*arrived in the previous five years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent Immigrants</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visible Minorities</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginals</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on self-identification

Source: Statistics Canada 2001

Winnipeg's inner city contains approximately 120,000 people, 19 percent of the City's population. This population contains 26,500 immigrants, 4,500 recent immigrants and 24,000 people characterized as visible minorities; these groups represent 22, 4, and 20 percent of the inner city population respectively. As Table 1 illustrates, these groups represent much lower proportions of the non-inner city population. Aboriginals are also more concentrated in the inner city. Of the 52,410 Aboriginal people in Winnipeg, 23,000 (44%) live in the inner city. They constitute 20 percent of the inner city population compared to only six percent in the non-inner city. In some neighbourhoods, more than 50 percent of the population are Aboriginals. Map I illustrates the six neighbourhoods in the inner city where the residential location of Aboriginals, visible minorities, and recent immigrants overlap significantly.

Many inner city neighbourhoods are characterized by varying degrees of urban decline and are home to a large number of marginalized people. Poverty is very pronounced in these areas; 32 percent of all households, 33 percent of families, and 56 percent of unattached individuals fall below the poverty line. By way of comparison, figures for the non-inner city are much lower at 12, 19, and 38 percent respectively. Eighty-three percent of renters in the inner city are also below the poverty line.

Affordable, good quality rental housing is scarce in the inner city. The vacancy rate currently stands at 1.6 percent. Although there are very few three- and four-bedroom units that many larger

TABLE 2: SELECTED INDICATORS OF REFUGEE HOUSEHOLDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Year One (%)</th>
<th>Year Two (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living in the Inner City</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel Unsafe in Their Neighbourhood</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer to Move to Non-Inner City</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below Poverty Level</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paying 30% or More for Housing</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living in Crowded Housing</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living in Public Housing</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Carter et al, 2008

The plight of new arrivals to the inner city is clearly illustrated by a two-year study of recently arrived refugees conducted by Carter, Polevychok, Friesen, and Osborne with funding from Metropolis and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada. In the first year of the study (2006), 75 households were interviewed. The following year, 55 of these same households were re-interviewed. The focus of the study was on the housing characteristics and neighbourhood experiences of the group, the barriers they faced when trying to access other services, the strength of their support network, their relationships with landlords, and their general resettlement experiences.

Specific findings from the study indicate that 70 percent of the households interviewed were from Africa and the Middle East. Another 16 percent were from South and Central America. The vast majority fall into the visible minority category, perhaps making their adjustment more difficult than that of many new arrivals. The households faced high levels of poverty. In the first year, their average annual household income of $22,374 was one-third of the $63,025 average household income for the City. Ninety-two percent of the households fell below the poverty line.

Over 90 percent of the households were renters. With an average rent of $566 a month, 51 percent of households
spent 30 percent or more of their income on housing. Twelve percent spent more than 50 percent. A year later their housing affordability circumstances had improved considerably. Average household income increased by 31 percent to $29,357. The proportion in poverty declined to 73 percent. Improved employment circumstances contributed to this change as 66 percent of those interviewed were employed in the second year compared to 42 percent a year earlier. Higher incomes combined with an increased proportion of households in social housing (see later discussion) led to improved housing affordability in the second year when only 22 percent were paying 30 percent or more and two percent more than 50 percent.

The larger size of refugee households (3.6 compared to 2.4 persons for Winnipeg households), is, in many ways, at odds with housing designed to accommodate Canadian-born households. Many refugee households require three- and four-bedroom rental units to reduce crowding. With few such units available, 51 percent of the households lived in accommodation that was crowded. This fell to 36 percent in the second year although there was no appreciable decline in household size.

In the first year one-quarter of the households felt their housing contributed to health problems. The same percentage felt their housing was unsafe for them and their children. Forty-five percent had no idea of their landlords’ rights and responsibilities and 20 percent did not know their own rights and responsibilities as tenants. Many also felt they faced discrimination in the housing market. In the second year there was growing satisfaction with building and unit safety, greater satisfaction with landlords and caretakers and an improved knowledge of both tenant and landlord responsibilities.

There was also less concern regarding discrimination and a growing number of households felt they were better equipped to deal with the discrimination they faced. A noticeable change that was contrary to these positive trends was a growing dissatisfaction with the condition of their home and with repairs not being made in a timely fashion. In the first year 25 percent felt their home was in poor condition but by the second year this ratio had increased to 42 percent. Concern about the timeliness of repairs increased from 26 percent of households to 42 percent in the second year. This may reflect an improved understanding of the standard they can expect and less reluctance to express their concerns.

The majority of the refugees in this study lived in Winnipeg’s inner city: 78 percent in the first year and 64 percent in year two.

Refugees also reported considerable difficulty in finding housing. In the first year sponsors and immigrant agencies were noted as providing considerable assistance but by the second year information sources included real estate and property management agencies, and more of their own efforts through web sites, newspapers and street searches by walking and driving around. Respondents in the second year had also developed better social support networks with an increased number of friends, neighbours and co-workers to help in solving their problems with housing. Their expanding network in the second year led to growing knowledge of the city and the housing market, but many still struggled with lack of knowledge of the market and neighbourhood characteristics, and tenant rights and responsibilities. Many noted the absence of a place to go to get the reliable, comprehensive information they need.

Those who are able to access social housing had some distinct housing advantages. In the first year, two-thirds of the refugee households lived in private rental accommodation, one-third in social housing. By the second year, the proportion in social housing had increased to 46 percent. Overall, social housing residents felt more positive about their housing circumstances than private renters: fewer households were crowded and more were satisfied with management, the safety, and the condition of their home. They were less positive about their neighbourhoods and more were concerned about safety and security; perhaps because most social housing is located in the inner city. The biggest advantage for social housing residents was affordability. With rents set at 27 percent of gross income, even with responsibility for some utilities, few paid more than 30 percent of income and on average $150 less per month than private renters. Social housing offers advantages in the resettlement process but the development of new social housing for low-income households has been very limited for several years and waiting times for the existing inventory are long.

The majority of the refugees in this study lived in Winnipeg’s inner city: 78 percent in the first year and 64 percent in year two. Safety and security were issues of concern for many households. One-quarter did not feel safe in their neighbourhood the first year, although this number fell to 17 percent in the second year. Although most households liked the convenience to services, public transportation, friends and family, 60 to 70 percent in both years said they would like to live in a different neighbourhood and 85 percent in both years preferred to move to non-inner city areas. Many households are looking for safer neighbourhoods with less crime.

The perceptions of neighbourhood and their difficult housing circumstances did not always contribute to stability and positive resettlement circumstances. Their life was also characterized by high mobility; 93 percent had lived in more than one place during the first year; 25 percent in more than three. Most of the moves were prompted by efforts to find more affordable and suitable housing or better neighbourhood characteristics.

The findings indicate that housing trajectories for refugees are positive, and with time refugees begin to feel more optimistic about their neighbourhood circumstances. A number of initiatives that have facilitated resettlement...
contribute to this positive trend. One of the changes in recent years that has facilitated better local planning for integration is the agreement between the Province and Federal Government that gave the Province responsibility for delivery of settlement services. Under this agreement, over $17 million in '07/08 was channelled into settlement services. The Province uses some of this money to strengthen community involvement in helping new immigrants and refugees settle and succeed. In the inner city, money goes to community-based organizations such as the Manitoba Interfaith Immigration Council (MIIC), the Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba (IRCOM) and Hospitality House, amongst others, to deliver a range of services to the recently arrived. IRCOM and Hospitality House, for example, operate transitional and second stage housing where refugees can stay for periods of six months to three years. Other services offered by community-based organizations range from assistance in finding housing in the private market to interpretation, language training, how to use public transportation and the banking system, life skills training and helping access health services. The Province also delivers a very successful Entry Program that provides orientation on working in Canada, doing daily tasks, using immigrant services, and understanding Canadian laws. Inner city education institutions, the Winnipeg School Division, the University of Winnipeg, and Red River College, for example, also offer education, recreation, life skills and community awareness programs.

The activity of these many organizations certainly facilitates improved integration and inclusion of new arrivals but the study illustrates many challenges remain.

Community-based organizations need more resources, including staff with different skill sets to adequately serve the demand. Many interviewees indicated that their counsellors did not have the time to help them. There are too few counsellors and they have too large a caseload and often lack the resources to provide the service and follow-up needed. As the number of new arrivals increase each year more resources for community-based organizations will be required.

There is a need for an organization with a mandate to provide comprehensive housing and neighbourhood information for new arrivals. Refugees face difficulties finding affordable housing and this problem is compounded by their lack of understanding of how to find housing. They lack information on the housing market and the characteristics of the neighbourhoods in which housing is available. This lack of knowledge leads to mistakes in their housing choice and residential location decisions. The problem is compounded by the fact that there is no one agency that provides this necessary information. Lack of knowledge of their rights and responsibilities also leaves them vulnerable to exploitation or to making mistakes due to misinterpretation of information, or an inability to understand rental agreements.

The development of more transitional housing is needed. Having a place to stay immediately upon arrival was considered a benefit and strong support. A safe place on arrival was viewed as key to successful settlement as it provided the initial stability needed to get their life in order.

The most important priority is to increase the supply of affordable housing. The study findings illustrated the benefits of access to subsidized housing. Adequate, affordable housing with security of tenure cannot address all the challenges refugees face, but it can provide the stable basis from which they can deal more easily with other challenges including those presented by living in Winnipeg's inner city.

Although the focus of this study has been recently arrived refugees, many other new arrivals, including Aboriginal households, face the same challenges and can benefit from similar planning initiatives.

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References and Notes
5. In Canada low-income households paying 30 percent or more of their gross income before taxes are considered to have an affordability problem.
6. Carter T, Poleychok C, Friessen A, Osborne J. The housing circumstances of recently arrived refugees: The Winnipeg experience. Edmonton: Prairie Metropolis Centre; 2008. Refugees who had been in the city for a period of one year or less were the target in the first round of interviews. A complete copy of this report can be found at: http://pcreil.metropolis.net/generalinfo/info_contem/HousingRefugeesWinnipeg%5B1%5D.pdf
7. The Manitoba Department of Family Services and Housing currently charges low-income tenants in subsidized housing 27 percent of gross income.
Welcoming COMMUNITIES PROJECT
by Meyer Burstein

Summary
This article reports on the Welcoming Communities Initiative (WCI), a new policy research project underway in Ontario. The project seeks to create a policy-research centre that focuses on smaller cities and towns and their capacity to attract, retain and integrate minorities in a manner that promotes prosperity and sustainability. The project draws its members from a consortium of 14 Ontario universities located outside Toronto, a diverse grouping of local, regional, and national organizations and municipal, provincial and federal government partners. The WCI contends that while the greatest diversity changes are occurring in Toronto, the greatest challenges are being encountered in smaller centres newly struggling with diversity and finding themselves in uncharted territory with few tried and true solutions to emulate. A key target “audience” for the WCI is city planners. Planners will be expected to contribute to the project as experts on municipal capacity; as links to help mobilize local resources and knowledge; and as agents of change.

Research and casual observation confirm that Canada’s minorities are highly concentrated. Some 95 percent of visible minorities reside in metropolitan areas, with fully 75 percent living in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. Religious minorities (non-Christian denominations) are similarly clustered both with regard to city size and location.

Because of this concentration and, more speculatively, the speed with which it has occurred, research and policy have tended to focus on the challenges, needs and changes taking place in Canada’s largest cities. Smaller, so-called, second- and third-tier cities have received far less attention from researchers and policy makers and virtually no mind has been paid to rural and remote communities where the issue is not so much the presence of minorities as their absence. The most noteworthy exception concerns the plight of Francophone minority communities outside Quebec which have received a fair bit of scrutiny.

This article reports on a community-university policy research project, some two years in development that is gradually taking shape in Ontario. The aim of the project is to create a policy-research centre that focuses on smaller cities and towns and their capacity to attract, retain and integrate minorities in a manner that promotes prosperity and sustainability. The project draws its members from a consortium of 14 Ontario universities located outside Toronto, a diverse grouping of local, regional, and national organizations and municipal, provincial and federal government partners.

Ontario is particularly interesting because the dominance of Toronto has obscured the fact that by 2017, some 15 percent of Canada’s religious minorities and 13 percent of its visible minorities will be living in urban and rural Ontario settings outside the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). This population and the cities and towns where minorities dwell is the subject of the Welcoming Communities Initiative (WCI). Eventually, through partnerships and growth, it is anticipated that the project will expand to other parts of Canada.

While the greatest changes are taking place in Toronto, the greatest challenges are, arguably, being encountered by the second- and third-tier cities and towns that are the focus of the WCI. These communities, as well as local organizations struggling with diversity, are finding themselves in uncharted territory with few tried and true solutions to emulate. Similarly, federal and provincial agencies seeking to adapt their policies and programs to smaller, more dispersed minority populations are being stymied by the fact that the immigrant, ethnic and religious organizations on which they rely for service delivery are either scarce or non-existent in small towns. Herein lies both danger and opportunity.

Danger resides in the economic and social challenges that face smaller cities. Left unmet, these challenges will either discourage minorities from taking up residence or marginalize them, leading to social and economic exclusion and an unstable, easily detached youth population. Over time, this situation would only aggravate the existing divide between large, economically successful,
multicultural centres and smaller ageing, shrinking and stagnating communities whose cultural profile has not shifted significantly from its 1950s European base. Opportunity, on the other hand, can be found in the promise that diversity, creatively managed through a welcoming environment and supportive institutions, can serve as a strategic lever, attracting entrepreneurs, skilled labour and business investment and propelling cities and towns towards a sustainable and vibrant, social and economic future.

The goals of the WCI are both intellectual and practical. The Initiative will provide tested analytic and pragmatic advice on how to build local capacity in municipalities, civil society and a range of educational, business and other institutions. Acting on this advice and developing effective long-term development strategies will require political will, robust partnerships and committed local, provincial and federal protagonists. It will also require significant public and private investments of effort, capital and time. How to prioritize these investments, where to allocate scarce resources, which recipes to avoid and which to embrace, and how to build coalitions that matter will constitute the focus and purpose of the WCI.

Research focus and outcomes
The case for the proposed Ontario Welcoming Communities policy-research institute rests on four core arguments:

1. That public and private institutions at all levels lack the capacity and knowledge to effectively promote the integration of minorities in smaller cities and towns;
2. That to be effective, “solutions” must be developed locally, from the ground up, because addressing local complexity demands tacit as well as intellectual knowledge and because trust, a key factor in successful interventions, can only result from working together, face-to-face;
3. That Ontario’s wealth of universities in second- and third-tier cities offers unprecedented opportunities to inject intellectual muscle into local efforts to address the challenges that attend growing diversity in those cities; and
4. That successful and sustainable efforts to increase the presence of minorities in smaller cities and towns and to achieve their full integration and belonging will require new forms of collaboration with the voluntary sector, municipal, provincial and federal intervention, and participation by key stakeholders such as employers and community leaders. The WCI constitutes a serious effort to satisfy these conditions.

Major project goals include the following:

**Strengthening municipal capacity to attract and benefit from diversity**
The critical, strategic role of cities in attracting, retaining and capitalizing on diversity needs to be better understood. Municipal governments in second- and third-tier cities require help in rethinking their health, social services, public transport, policing, and recreation policies so they are better able to encourage and accommodate diversity. Research can help smaller centres mobilize local (and in-house) capacity and suggest ways of adapting policies and practices that are already in use in large cities. Measures aimed at children and youth will be particularly important.

**Strengthening the capacity of the voluntary sector to create inclusive communities**
The voluntary sector will need to play a key role in supplying and adapting services to minorities. To achieve this, the sector will need to enlist community leaders, to advocate for new resources and to develop bridging partnerships with governments and with public institutions as well as intra-sector partnerships involving minority and mainstream voluntary organizations. A key goal of the project is to encourage collaboration among researchers and community organizations in order to strengthen and assist the voluntary sector in its efforts to identify its needs and capacities and to forge the coalitions that are needed to promote local development and inclusion.

**Helping the federal and provincial governments adapt policies and programs to better address the needs to second- and third-tier cities**
Federal and provincial ministries need to adapt and extend their programs and services in order to better address the needs of smaller cities and towns and the minorities who either live there or can be induced to do so. In addition, vigorous efforts will be needed by the two senior orders of government to strengthen the capacity of municipalities and the not-for-profit sector. These efforts will need to be tailored to local circumstances since it is unlikely that cities like London, Hamilton and Sudbury all face identical constraints and challenges. An important goal of the WCI will be to identify the specific tailoring that is required followed by the development of innovative approaches to addressing local needs across the entire social and economic policy spectrum, including health and education. Also included in the mix of policies to be reviewed are the migrant selection and admission programs administered by the federal Department of Citizenship and Immigration and the provincial Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration. The research would need to examine whether new immigrant selection models could be developed with a view to creating the seed populations that are necessary to attract and stabilize larger minority populations in small cities.

**Identifying barriers to inclusion and forging strategies for creating sustainable and inclusive communities**
Visible and religious minorities – particularly Blacks and Muslims – report frequent encounters with racism and discrimination. This mirrors the discomfort with diversity that was evident in the recent debate over “reasonable
accommodation”. Discrimination and opposition to diversity are likely to have an especially corrosive effect on the integrative capacity of smaller cities. Research is needed to examine attitudes toward diversity in these communities, experiences of discrimination by minorities and key determinants of both. A particular focus of this research will be minority youth. Understanding the factors that challenge the ability of smaller Ontario cities to develop and maintain a welcoming environment will suggest strategies to overcome these challenges and promote social engagement. The investigation will include the role played by minority and mainstream community leaders, including business leaders, in creating a receptive environment.

**Promoting entrepreneurship and inclusive labour markets**

The potential contribution by minority entrepreneurs to economic and social inclusion in second- and third-tier cities will be an important area of study for the project. Among the topics to be investigated is whether minority-owned businesses constitute strategic assets that could help second- and third-tier cities link to the global economy directly or through larger centres, such as Toronto, by exploiting co-ethnic and co-religious ties. Research will also examine the barriers to labour market participation by minorities in smaller centres. It is not presently known whether the labour market obstacles facing minorities in smaller cities are higher or lower than those encountered in larger cities and the extent to which they are amenable to intervention and change. Similarly, little is known about the importance of social capital in second- and third-tier cities and whether bridging capital can be effectively developed to offset the bonding social capital that minorities tend to rely on (and is not available in smaller centres due to the absence of minority concentrations). The project will pay particular attention to the role of business associations and business leaders and will seek to engage them in the research that is conducted. The project will also work with employers to identify practices that will help them to realize the strategic advantage of hiring and investing in a diverse work force.

**Capitalizing on local expertise and intellectual capacity**

Developing welcoming communities is a task requiring extensive knowledge of local resources, interests and opportunities. This, in turn, requires sustained intellectual investments and robust partnerships involving local government, community organizations, and a variety of public and private institutions. Universities can act as catalysts, helping to analyze issues and convene partners. Ontario is especially well positioned in this regard because of the number of world-class universities located in second- and third-tier cities. These universities, through their strong support for the project, have signaled a desire to become more involved in the communities in which they reside. This augurs well for the Initiative’s key goal of mobilizing the intellectual capacity of researchers, combining it with local expertise, and placing it at the service of public policy and local stakeholders. A major effort will be made to provide training opportunities for students, postdoctoral fellows and community personnel in order to expand knowledge, skills and expertise, thereby building a cohesive policy-research network.

Research activities undertaken by the WCI will be organized, at the outset, under eight research domains. These are:

1. Community civic resources and initiatives, led by Caroline Andrew, University of Ottawa and Carl Nicholson, Catholic Immigration Centre.
2. Health and health care, led by Bruce Newbold, McMaster University, and Heather Lee Kilty, Brock University.
3. Education and educational policy, led by Dawn Zinga, Brock University, and Cynthia Levine-Rasky, Queen’s University.
4. Children and youth, led by Audrey Kobayashi, Queen’s University and Xinyin Chen, University of Western Ontario.
5. Optimizing social and cultural integration, led by Victoria Esses, University of Western Ontario and a co-domain leader to be named.
6. Entrepreneurship, immigrants and minorities, led by Benson Honig and Margaret-Walton Roberts, both from Wilfrid Laurier University.
7. Labour market participation and social capital, led by Ravi Pendakur, University of Ottawa, and Dirk DeClercq, Brock University.
8. Immigration policy and new models of migration management, led by Vic Satzewich, McMaster University, and Jenna Hennebry, Wilfrid Laurier University.

Research domains one through five are the subject of a CURA proposal submitted to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council by Victoria Esses and her co-investigators (listed above). Research domains six through eight are the subject of a separate CURA submission by Benson Honig (Wilfrid Laurier University) and his co-investigators (see above).

**Organization of the WCI**

The WCI will employ three types of “machinery” to achieve its aims: a governing council that focuses on corporate strategy, direction-setting and knowledge mobilization; a series of research domains that concentrate on planning projects, building research capacity and communicating results to stakeholders; and a network of local committees, either purpose-built or expansions based on existing structures to include researchers from the project. Collectively, this “machinery” seeks to engage universities, municipalities and voluntary sector organizations, and the federal and provincial governments.
• **University engagement**
  All participating universities will be represented on the project’s governing council by virtue of their research domain or community responsibilities. As a matter of deliberate choice and to promote inclusion, the universities have rejected the notion of a central administrative hub and have elected instead to distribute responsibility amongst themselves for secretariat and other functional requirements. University contributions will include course release time, travel support, space and direct contributions to project organization and operations.

• **Local and community engagement**
  Because the WCI is interested not only in studying change but in driving it through action research, the development of local partnerships, tacit knowledge and trust are key project concerns. For this reason, the participation of municipal agencies and voluntary organizations will be built into the project at multiple levels: all participating communities will be represented on the project’s governing council by either a municipal or community representative (to be chosen by the local committee in which the WCI is engaged). A community representative will also co-chair the governing council and the project has developed a “code of behaviour” for domain leaders that sets out clear expectations for the involvement of local and municipal stakeholders in planning and in executing domain research. The WCI will ensure that researchers either create or join local organizations so as to promote the “marriage” of tacit and academic knowledge in order to bolster local planning capacity and improve the receptivity of local organizations. A key target “audience” for the Initiative will be city planners. Planners are expected to contribute in multiple ways: as experts regarding municipal capacity; as links to help mobilize local resources; and as agents of change.

• **Federal and provincial engagement**
  Federally, the group of agencies that has expressed interest in the WCI includes the Department of Canadian Heritage, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, Agriculture Canada, Industry Canada and FEDNOR. Provincially, the project has stimulated the interest of the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration, the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs and the Office of Francophone Affairs. Provision has been made for federal and provincial agencies to participate on the governing council in an *ex officio* capacity. In addition, to ensure that policy interests are addressed, a “code of behaviour” has been developed, creating a “duty” for researchers to consult and to communicate with policy makers. This code is designed to ensure that academic independence and integrity are maintained. The Department of Canadian Heritage has taken a lead role in the WCI through its support for project development and interdepartmental engagement.

**Knowledge transfer**

The WCI’s knowledge mobilization and dissemination strategy will focus on engagement, on “products” and on distribution channels. The primary means for influencing decision makers, community leaders and practitioners will be through face-to-face contact at conferences, workshops, briefings, seminars and symposia where community members, policy makers, academic researchers, business leaders, practitioners and other stakeholders will be encouraged to exchange ideas and information. The goals will be to foster learning and mutual trust, to enhance research receptor capacity and to improve knowledge uptake. The project will also produce hard outputs. In the first year of operation, it will deploy a web site that will host working papers, workshop reports and presentations. In addition, the project will employ peer-reviewed publications, special issues of journals, policy papers and articles designed for non-specialist audiences to communicate its findings.

Once the project has matured, special training courses and training material (some of it using emerging communication technologies) will be developed for community organizations, policy makers and practitioners. Finally, exchange programs will be instituted, enabling researchers and graduate students to work in community and government settings.

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Planning Amidst Cultural Diversity:
LESSONS FROM RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

by Heidi Hoernig

Summary

What can we learn from religious development to better understand issues of cultural diversity in urban development? Using recent research findings on the place of worship development of minority religious communities, this article explores religious diversity, cultural difference, and urban planning. It examines the challenges faced by religious communities and municipal planners. It recommends municipalities recognize religious communities as municipal assets, develop partnerships to better understand the ethno-religious composition of their communities, and proactively provide land use planning expertise to address key issues in place of worship development, as well as promote best practices, design strategic intervention and creatively use agents of intervention.

Consider the following contemporary faces of Canadian religious development:

• Start-up temples, churches, gurdwaras or mosques in rented or purchased industrial, commercial or residential units;
• Recycled places of worship established in renovated warehouses, churches, schools, commercial or other buildings;
• Multi-purpose religious centres providing a broad range of religious, social and cultural services for all ages, e.g., language classes, family counselling, employment support, or primary school;
• Major works of religious architecture - large, highly visible temples, gurdwaras, synagogues, churches and mosques expressing and celebrating belonging in Canadian society;
• Large mixed-use religious developments bringing together places of worship, residential development, educational and recreational facilities, social and cultural centres, and commercial developments in urban or rural settings like the Queen of Peace Croatian Franciscan centre (Norval, ON), the Prince of Peace Lutheran campus (Calgary, AB); the upcoming Polish Catholic Polonia Millennium 2000 Development Project, (Brampton, ON) or the St. Mark's Canadian Coptic village (Markham, ON); 6
• Strips or clusters of place of worship development like on Highway No. 5. (Richmond, BC) known locally as “highway to heaven”, or Professional Court (Mississauga, ON) where several temples, gurdwaras, mosques and churches have developed side by side;
• Rural, isolated religious training and retreat centres;
• Supportive seniors housing or residential centres with religious sensibilities.

The current landscape of Canadian religious diversity is urban, suburban and rural. Religious development is found in residential, commercial, industrial and institutional zones. It takes many forms and sizes, through various configurations of different land uses. These developments represent the tremendous religious, linguistic and ethno-racial diversity of the Canadian population as a whole. Some places of worship bring together a single ethno-linguistic community – Punjabi Sikhs, Sri Lankan Buddhists, or Anglo-Euro Canadian Anglicans. At other times, they bring the world together – Trinidadians, Pakistanis, Tanzanians, Canadians and more - to worship and socialize together under one religion, like Hinduism, Islam, or Christianity.

Religious development is a compelling case for exploring and understanding planning issues related to cultural diversity. Religious institutions are key community centres for many cultural groups, both majority and minority. In addition to religious services, these centres offer important cultural, social and economic community supports. For cities, religious institutions provide architectural assets, important social institutions, community facilities, heritage sites and tourist destinations. What’s more, religion is a sensitive topic for many and ongoing global geopolitical events further amplify emotional responses to religious issues.

The rapid growth of religious diversity in immigrant-receiving cities means that growth in the numbers and types of minority places of worship will continue to accompany immigrant settlement and integration in Canadian cities. In addition to Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, many medium and small metropolitan regions and towns face religious development issues.

Development amidst religious diversity clearly illustrates the complexities, contradictions and rewards of multicultural planning for Canadian urban development. There are no simple checklists of planning issues. Issues related to culture and religion emerge in various ways in different planning contexts. There have been many problems and conflicts associated with places of worship, some which have brought out the worst in human behaviour: racism, xenophobia and bigotry. At the same time, many places of worship, both minority and majority, have developed with few or no contentious issues at all.

† See Queen of Peace Croatian centre (www.queenofpeaceonorval.com), Prince of Peace Lutheran campus (www.princeofpeace.ca), St. Eugene de Mazenod millennium project (www.sw-eugeniusz.org), and St. Mark's Canadian Coptic village (www.stmark.toronto.on.coptorthodox.ca).
What then does this diversity of issues and experiences mean for Canadian planners? How do municipalities and their planning departments address their current religious diversity? How do they prepare for changes in the upcoming decades? What can we learn from religious diversity to better understand and address other dimensions of cultural diversity in urban development?

This article examines these questions by considering place of worship development within the broader context of cultural diversity. It draws primarily upon data describing the experiences of recent immigrant, minority religious communities in developing places of worship.

Research findings are taken from a multi-method, qualitative study conducted between 2004 and 2006, in which the development experiences of 30 Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities in Markham, Brampton and Mississauga were examined. Using the case of place of worship development, the article concludes offering several directions for the effective management of both religious and cultural difference in planning practice.

The tricky business of addressing culture in urban development

In order to better understand the relationships between religion, culture, urban development and planning, it is useful to begin by thinking more generally about the question of culture. In the context of multicultural planning, culture generally refers to the collection of "shared beliefs, sentiments, norms, values, attitudes and meanings" held by individuals. Culture is used to describe shared and deeply held ideas that relate to fundamental concepts of social life such as our notions of time, space, and social, political and economic relations. Culture structures how we think and what we do. Therefore, culture is important in city-building because it is shared in different ways, by different groups of people across different facets of life.

But culture is an elusive concept. Its boundaries are slippery and often hard to pin down. Different groups may share many features of culture in common in some areas like economic activity, and at the same time, maintain significant differences in other areas like language and religion. Every community is culturally diverse, including majority communities like Anglo or Franco Euro-Canadians. But this inherent complexity is often overlooked because culture and cultural diversity are so commonly associated with something that those "other" people have – the people who are not like "us". Furthermore, many elements of culture are durable and deeply inscribed into our institutions, social behaviours and physical landscapes. But many other aspects of culture are dynamic and fluid. They change over time and space. Finally, both durability and change are characteristic of all cultures, including those of mainstream Canadian groups, however defined, as well as those of minority groups, both recent and long-term.

Given these characteristics, the task of understanding and managing culture within urban development is difficult. It is an even greater challenge when conflict is involved, and cultural issues are interwoven with xenophobia, racism and other variants of fear, in addition to the host of technical, economic and political issues that accompany urban development. As with most planning issues, issues related to culture are highly contingent. What creates a huge fuss in one jurisdiction, at one point in time, may be a complete non-event somewhere else, or even in the same place, several years later. This complexity can make it challenging for planners to disentangle key strands of planning issues related to cultural diversity and to clearly identify what needs to be done, how and by whom. I now turn to minority place of worship development to explore these questions further.

Place of worship development and the complexity of multicultural planning

An inclusive approach to urban development amidst cultural diversity actively supports the social, cultural, economic and spatial integration of immigrants into Canadian society. As we apply this approach to place of worship development, we need to ask:

- What are the development experiences of cultural minorities?
- How does culture inform their developments?
- What are the barriers to their positive integration?
- Where do their successes lie?

With this information we can then examine questions concerning the public sector’s and the planner's role in ensuring that cultural minorities are included in urban development.

How does cultural difference shape religious development?

Research findings show that culture determines a diverse range of spatial patterns and social activities in place of worship development. Differences in
these patterns vary between and within major religious communities and similarities cross-cut all groups in numerous ways. They include:

- Cultural patterns of the use of time e.g., the use of lunar-based religious calendars, which means dates change annually in relation to the Gregorian calendar;
- Varied architectural features and styles e.g., domes, minarets, steeples or towers;
- Site design requirements and preferences e.g.,
  - natural features like streams or forests;
  - gardens for religious, cultural or community purposes;
  - site capacity for large outdoor events;
  - site capacity for events using elements such as loud music, drumming, fire, light, fireworks or other sacred and cultural enhancements;
- Variety of seating arrangements such as pews, seats or carpets (no seating);
- Unique spatial needs such as memorial halls storing cinerary urns or featuring burial preparation rooms;
- Residential facilities, e.g., temporary emergency living quarters for newly arriving immigrants, housing for religious personnel, for seniors, or for low-income families;
- Educational facilities like primary and secondary school or religious colleges;
- Commercial facilities like restaurants;
- Cultural facilities e.g., museums, libraries, art galleries, performance spaces, radio and multi-media facilities;
- Recreation and leisure facilities e.g., gymnasiums and outdoor fields, for sports, dance, martial arts, yoga, etc.;
- Use of public space e.g., parks, streets, or waterways for religious and cultural gatherings, festivals, parades and sacred events.

**What are key features in the immigrant experience of place of worship development?**

Several features of the development experience are shared by most minority groups:

- **Steep learning curve:** Groups undertake a substantial learning experience through the development of places of worship. They must learn to understand and navigate the entire Canadian urban development system, including land use planning, local politics, the real estate market, architectural, urban design, engineering and construction industries, financing, and other business practices.
- **Adaptation and change:** Life in Canada requires numerous adaptations for religious communities and many issues shift and emerge over time. They include:
  - Canadian climate: Groups from warmer climates must make major changes in religious practices e.g., the celebration of outdoor religious events, with many spatial implications for religious practice;
  - Time: All minority groups must adapt their religious and cultural rhythm of life to the Canadian organization of time;
  - Children, youth, family, elder and community issues: Religious communities respond to a vast, dynamic range of issues which were less significant in countries of origin, e.g., maintaining religious, cultural and linguistic traditions and identities, or addressing the isolation or alienation of youth or elders. Many solutions to these issues have spatial or land use components, like schools, community facilities, museums or seniors housing.
- **Human, social and financial capital:** The duration and difficulty of development experiences are largely determined by groups' human, social and financial capital resources including their skills and capacities to plan, design, manage, lobby, organize, communicate in English, network, troubleshoot, problem solve and finance.
- **Intersectionality:** The combination of different social variables creating advantage or disadvantage for an individual or group is referred to as intersectionality. It explains many differences in minority place of worship development experiences. Some groups had many challenging requirements, including specific cultural and religious needs in the development of their places of worship. However, through their abilities to draw on the skills, networks, and resources of their members or affiliated religious organizations, they were able to overcome these challenges relatively easily. Other less-equipped groups had much greater difficulties in meeting religious and cultural needs, in part because of social and economic variables.

**Planning issues and places of worship**

There are many similarities in the land use planning challenges for minority place of worship development faced by groups, regardless of religious and cultural differences. These include:

- finding affordable, appropriately zoned and sited properties with preferred features;
  - for temporary locations like rented or leased units;
  - for permanent sites – for example, renovated or newly constructed buildings;
- transportation planning issues;
  - creating adequate transportation options for all community members, including non-drivers like the elderly and youth;
  - parking supply and management;
- maintaining harmonious neighbour and community relations.

Municipal planners face several challenges due to the large number and diverse, dynamic nature of religious and cultural communities and organizations, including:
- understanding the composition, needs and practices of these groups;
- communicating with and/or engaging the participation of religious and cultural communities;
- working with groups with limited or no long-range planning capacity, due in part to the unpredictability of the future growth and spatial distribution of their communities;
- preventing the parking and traffic parking problems and divisive neighbourhood conflicts.

**Where do we go from here?**

**New directions for addressing cultural diversity in city-building**

The experiences of place of worship development for minority religious communities illustrate that cultural and religious differences are varied and dynamic. The challenges faced by both religious communities and planning departments require a holistic, multi-stakeholder approach which considers the long-term process through which religious community land use needs change over time and space. The following directions are proposed as approaches that can strengthen the capacity of municipalities to address both religious and cultural diversity but at the same time improve planning practice and urban development to the benefit of all community residents, regardless of religious or cultural affiliation.

**Religious and cultural communities as municipal assets**

In addition to their social and cultural contributions, religious communities are critical nodes in the social safety net. At a time when social needs are high, municipal resources are strained, and federal and provincial efforts rarely meet the shortfall, religious and cultural community organizations play a key role in meeting the short-term settlement and long-term integration needs of many immigrants.

They are also rich, potential resources for municipalities. As research respondents observed, politicians are quick to visit places of worship to exploit the easy access to large networks of people who might otherwise be difficult to access. Municipalities can better use these resources. Strong, long-term relationships between municipalities and religious and cultural communities can provide benefits beyond addressing basic land use concerns, including participation in local and regional visioning exercises, official plan policy processes, transportation planning exercises, secondary plan development, environmental, public health, and parks and recreation planning.

**Understanding culturally diverse communities**

Municipalities are in the best position to address issues related to cultural diversity when they understand the socio-cultural composition of their communities. But understanding diversity can be a tremendous task, because of considerable inter- and intra-group differences. Given the broad spectrum of diversity in Canadian communities today, no planning department alone can be expected to understand this picture, particularly where rapid change is occurring.

Furthermore, sometimes a little knowledge about a religion or culture can further prejudice practitioners to important differences within groups belonging to the same cultural group or religion. Therefore, planning departments’ efforts towards cultural awareness and education need to be part of a continuous, context-specific process that uses partnerships with government and community organizations and other existing resources.

**Clarifying and communicating land use planning and management**

Many study respondents pointed out that for most groups, place of worship development is a once in a lifetime project. Therefore, for long-term residents and new arrivals alike, clear communication about the land use planning system in relation to places of worship can be an important, proactive tool for addressing conflict and other problems associated with place of worship development. This communication can include information not only on land use planning policies, but also concerning post-occupation and post-construction issues like the management of parking, traffic and large events, the very issues that many land use planning policies are designed to address.

**Land use planning expertise**

Transportation issues including parking and traffic are the greatest source of difficulty and conflict in place of worship development. This is an area where planners can better assert their expertise to address potential problems. Municipalities can proactively engage religious communities to think about parking and transportation issues early on in their own planning and development processes. There are many ways in which this kind of proactive approach could take place using web or hardcopy guides or checklists for place of worship development and transportation demand.

**Hindu temple in an industrial condominium, Mississauga, Ontario, 2004. (Photo courtesy of the author)**
management, in keeping with the various resources many cities have developed for heritage conservation or urban design.

Supporting best practices
Research into place of worship development has demonstrated that many effective practices already exist within minority religious communities. Many communities practice good neighbour practices such as establishing and maintaining clear lines of communication with neighbours through regular face-to-face communication, open houses or invitations to important religious celebrations and practices. Other practices include donating place of worship space to charities for community events like blood donor clinics, or sharing parking spaces with adjacent properties. These kinds of practices can be actively showcased and promoted amongst emerging religious and cultural communities through web sites, brochures or development guidelines.

Conflict expertise
Municipalities can greatly improve upon their expertise in addressing and managing conflict. Land use conflict arises from fears of all kinds: fear of change, for action, municipalities can increase agents of intervention. Their capacity to react proactively to the variable skills of local politicians. Conflict related to cultural, religious or “racial” diversity, including place of worship development, demonstrates that much more work remains to be done in the effective urban management of land use related conflict. Improvements in this area will benefit all types of urban development, not only that related to ethno-racial minorities.

Implementation principles for multicultural urban development
In addition to these specific directions for action, municipalities can increase their capacity to react proactively to cultural diversity by considering not only what is required of multicultural urban development, but also how it is done. The case study of place of worship development highlights three key principles of implementation: best practices, strategic intervention, and appropriate agents of intervention.

References
THE LANGUAGE OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN GLOBAL COMMUNITIES:
Corporate Communications Policies in Six Cities

by Livianna Tossutti

Summary
This article examines how six municipal governments in British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario have developed their translation and interpretation policies in response to international migration. It finds that local decision makers have implemented a wide variety of responses to the challenge of serving multilingual populations.

The vast majority of immigrants to Canada are drawn to cities by economic opportunities and ethnic enclaves that provide them with financial aid, psychological support, and social networks. In 2006, almost 95 percent of the foreign-born population and 97 percent of immigrants landed since 2001 lived in urban communities. The urban character of immigration extends beyond Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, as an increasing number of newcomers are settling in cities other than Canada’s largest three. As international migration drives local population growth and economic and cultural development, it creates challenges and opportunities for municipal governments to devise appropriate services, programs and facilities for multicultural, polyglot communities. In 2006, nearly 150 languages were reported as a mother tongue among a foreign-born population that is overwhelmingly concentrated in urban centres.

Although there is no formal constitutional role for municipal governments in the immigration and settlement policy domain, the decisions they make about the delivery of essential services shape the early settlement and lifelong experiences of millions of foreign-born Canadians. In the absence of guidelines from senior governments on the local reception and settlement of newcomers, municipal authorities have considerable latitude to determine whether and how they will respond to dramatic demographic changes. This article explores how municipal governments in Vancouver, Abbotsford, Edmonton, Calgary, Toronto and Brampton have adapted their corporate communications strategies to serve increasingly multilingual communities. Table 1 shows that these six cities are amongst the most culturally diverse communities in their respective provinces, and are home to relatively large populations of immigrants, recent arrivals and individuals who generally do not speak an official language at home.

The review focuses on municipal government policies and practices concerning the translation of written materials and the provision of interpretation services in non-official languages. The cities are then classified according to whether they have adopted assimilationist or pluralist approaches to recognizing multilingualism in the public realm. Assimilationist attitudes discourage public manifestations of cultural difference, while pluralist assumptions do not regard the recognition of difference in the public realm as an obstacle to integration.

While it is beyond the scope of this article to account for policy responses, it will show whether Canadian cities are

TABLE I: DIVERSITY PROFILES OF CITIES AND PROVINCES, 2006 CENSUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Toronto</th>
<th>Brampton</th>
<th>Ontario</th>
<th>Edmonton</th>
<th>Calgary</th>
<th>Alberta</th>
<th>Vancouver</th>
<th>Abbotsford</th>
<th>BC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population change 2001-2006 (%)</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-official home language only (% of population)</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants (% of pop.)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrated before 1991 (% of immigrants)</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrated 1991-2006 (% of immigrants)</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>44.6</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>45.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visible minority population (% of pop.)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
responding in the same way to global migration.

It is important to examine the evolution of corporate communications strategies in multilingual communities because recent immigrants are less likely than previous immigrant cohorts to speak English or French at home. About two-thirds of foreign-born non-English, non-French speakers who immigrated before 1961 spoke at least one official language at home in 2006. In the same year, about 24 percent of allophones who immigrated between 1991 and 2000, and 19 percent of allophones who immigrated between 2001 and 2006, spoke an official language most often at home. Official language proficiency is an important issue for immigrant adjustment, as many newcomers encounter difficulties entering the labour force due to inadequate language skills. The language that municipal governments use to inform residents about their regulations and activities is one indicator of their perspective on how to best integrate newcomers into local communities.

The recognition of diversity in local public institutions

Research has shown there are wide variations in how local authorities in European and Canadian cities have adapted their policies in the legal-political (e.g., civic incorporation), socio-economic (e.g., social services, labour market, education); cultural-religious (e.g., communication policies, support of religious institutions and practices), and spatial (e.g., housing and urban development) domains in response to global migration. Factors that typically account for differences in local policy choices include the presence of large visible minority populations, the city’s ethnic configuration, the timing of immigration, the presence or absence of urban regimes, official attitudes about immigration, and the comprehensiveness of national integration policies.

When deciding whether to recognize cultural differences in public institutions, local governments may pursue assimilationist or pluralist approaches. Assimilationist approaches are based on the premise that expressions of cultural distinctiveness should remain in the private sphere and that public space should be “neutral”. This model has radical and civic universalist variants. The former adopts a monocultural perspective, whereby the minority group is accepted by the host society on the condition that it completely accept the lifestyles and values of the dominant group in the public and private spheres of life. Civic universalism distinguishes between public and private space. The maintenance of cultural distinctiveness is acceptable in the private sphere, but not in public institutions.

Official language proficiency is an important issue for immigrant adjustment, as many newcomers encounter difficulties entering the labour force due to inadequate language skills.

The pluralist model is based on the idea that diversity in the private sphere should also be reflected in public institutions through the collective recognition of difference. In contrast to the assimilationist outlook, society is understood to be a mosaic of communities. The pluralist approach also has two variants: the multicultural and intercultural models. The multicultural model values difference in the political sphere, including the granting of collective rights to minorities. The intercultural model was developed in response to concerns about civic universalism and multiculturalism. Civic universalism was criticized for encouraging too much homogeneity, while multiculturalism was criticized for encouraging the development of groups in isolation to each other. The goal of the intercultural model is to strike a balance between the recognition of diversity and the creation of common reference points for immigrants and the societies that receive them.

Corporate Communications

Communications policies in the six study sites ranged from civic universalist approaches modified by limited degrees of linguistic pluralism at the departmental or unit level, to corporate-wide multilingualism in its nascent and mature stages. Abbotsford, Calgary and Edmonton do not have formal corporate policies concerning the translation of written documents into non-official languages. However, in these cities, departments, branches or units that deliver emergency or front-line services translate a limited number of information materials in other languages. For example, Abbotsford issues Punjabi publications on fire and garbage disposal services and places advertisements in the local South Asian newspaper. City Manager Frank Pizzutto cites translation costs and concerns about the city’s inability to meet demands for translations from other language groups as the main reasons why the city does not publish more products in non-official languages. Interpretation services for front desk requests at Abbotsford’s city hall are provided on an informal basis by employees possessing written or verbal language skills in 13 non-official languages.

Like Abbotsford, the City of Calgary has not instituted a formal corporate policy governing multilingual translations, but this does not mean that all city units have adopted unilingual communications strategies. The Recreation Unit, for example, publishes program information in Spanish, Chinese, Tagalog and Punjabi. Calgary’s approach to interpretation services, which are offered over the phone through a consolidated “311” line that residents can dial for information about non-emergency municipal services, reflects a more pluralist perspective.

In Edmonton, only a small amount of information is published in languages other than English, and officials report that it is unlikely the city will adopt a multilingual communications strategy in the future. Nevertheless, the city has
published a Newcomers Guide in seven languages in addition to English (French, Spanish, Arabic, Hindi, Mandarin, Punjabi and Vietnamese), and it is available on the city’s web site. In December 2008, it plans to launch its own “311” information service, which would allow non-English speakers to request the assistance of an interpreter. Edmonton’s Public Involvement Initiative also requires that diversity/translation be considered when departments and branches need to solicit the opinions of ethnocultural groups. In an effort to improve the attraction and retention of immigrants in the city, the Edmonton Economic Development Corporation established a web portal for prospective immigrants in five languages.

As of August 2007, the City of Vancouver had not developed a corporate translation and interpretation policy, although there were plans to introduce one in 2008. Janice Mackenzie, Director of Public Access and Council Services Division, anticipated that a flexible, numerical threshold for determining the language of publication would be established. As in other cities, the absence of a formal policy did not preclude the publication of materials in non-official languages. Mackenzie says that information about important city-wide policies has been published in Chinese, Filipino, Punjabi, Vietnamese, and Spanish, in addition to English. The city publishes a Newcomers Guide in four languages in addition to English (Chinese, Punjabi, Spanish, Vietnamese) and a Guide to Municipal Services in English, Chinese and Vietnamese. Both publications are available on the city’s web site. In 1995, city council adopted a Diversity Communications Strategy. Based on recommendations from the Strategy, Vancouver implemented a Multilingual Information and Referral Phone Service in four languages. The City Clerk’s Department also keeps an inventory of staff who speak a second language.

Toronto and Brampton have instituted formal corporate policies that reaffirm the principle of multilingualism. A Multilingual Services Policy was among the policies approved by Toronto City Council following the amalgamation of the former municipalities of Toronto, North York, York, Etobicoke, Scarborough, the Borough of East York and the Metro level of government into the City of Toronto in 1998. Prior to amalgamation, the former Metro and City of Toronto governments had policies referring to multilingual access and had designated multilingual staff who provided translation and interpretation services. The other municipalities had been providing multilingual services on an informal basis. In 1999, the Final Report of the Task Force on Community Access and Equity recommended that post-amalgamation Toronto maintain and enhance its multilingual capacity by encouraging staff to use the multilingual telephone service, providing printed materials in various languages, identifying and remunerating staff who have language skills, and continuing to use in-house interpreters and community liaison staff.

However, the policy establishes guidelines for determining priorities for multilingual translation or interpretation services.

The city’s Multilingual Services Policy is based on several principles: that ethnic diversity is a source of social, cultural and economic enrichment and strength; that providing multilingual services is an effective way to reach individuals and organizations in diverse communities and to allow them to access services and programs; and that residents are entitled to municipal services and programs which are “racially sensitive, culturally and linguistically appropriate...” Patricia MacDonell, Corporate Management and Policy Consultant, Strategic Communications, says that since the city offers a broad range of programs for a diverse audience, decisions about the language of communication are made on a program basis. However, the policy establishes guidelines for determining priorities for multilingual translation or interpretation services. The factors that decision makers should consider include home language census data, the language needs of a particular community or neighbourhood, and the nature of the information (e.g., documents that address life-threatening issues are identified as a priority). Whenever public information on city-wide issues is translated into another language, it is also translated into French. MacDonell says that multilingual information is more likely to be posted on the city’s web site if it is not subject to frequent change. Since 2006, Toronto’s corporate advertising policy has required the placement of advertisements in the ethnic media for city-wide campaigns.

MacDonell estimates that in an average year the city issues full or partial translations of publications in 50 languages. Toronto employs one in-house Chinese translator and additional languages are covered by freelancers. Interpretation services in 12 languages are also provided by freelancers. Access Toronto responds to public requests for information in more than 140 languages, using interpreters provided through Language Line Services. The city plans to implement a multilingual “311” service in June 2009.

In January 2007, Brampton approved a Multilingual Services Policy that aims to increase the amount of verbal and written communication provided in languages other than English to residents who have difficulty communicating in English. In support of the policy, the city offers simultaneous verbal interpretation services at service counters and public information contact telephone numbers city-wide, and advises residents of the availability of these interpretation services through multilingual statements on regular communications such as tax bills.
Brampton’s policy establishes a population benchmark for determining the languages of translation, as well as priorities for the translation of written communications. Targeted written communications will be translated into the languages spoken at home most often by at least five percent of the population as indicated in the most recent census, in addition to French. Communications involving resident health and safety are identified as the top priorities. Communications about services having an immediate impact upon residents such as road closures, construction, and tax deadlines, as well as special purpose statements about services having an overall quality of life impact on residents such as recreation and culture, land use planning, are also mentioned in the guidelines. Some written communications may be translated into fewer languages if they do not deal with city-wide issues. For example, if road construction is taking place in a neighbourhood which includes predominantly South Asian or Portuguese residents, those languages may be used in written notices. Some public service and special purpose communications may be published exclusively in English, but will include a tag line in the targeted languages stating “call (insert number) for assistance in your language”. Since May 2005, Brampton has offered third party, over-the-phone interpretation services during non-business hours. In September 2005, the Multilingual Customer Service Pilot Project was launched. It covers 150 languages and is offered for callers to high volume departments such as general information at city hall, human resources, the city clerk, career resources, the court house, and information kiosk. In January 2007, a daytime call centre for overflow calls to selected high-volume departments was also established. Local responses to linguistic heterogeneity Municipal governments across Canada have implemented a wide variety of responses to the communications challenges posed by global migration in their communities. The civic universalist model best describes corporate policy in Abbotsford, although it is modified by linguistic pluralism at the departmental level. Calgary and Edmonton are situated between the civic universalist and pluralist perspectives, with Edmonton more inclined to publish multilingual materials and to consider non-official languages in its public outreach initiatives. Pluralist assumptions underpin the approaches of Brampton, Vancouver and Toronto, which have adopted, or plan to adopt, formal corporate communications policies that recognize multilingualism. These inter-city variations are reinforced by intra-city differences, as units within the same city government typically exercise discretion in determining whether and in which languages to translate publications into non-official languages. Local decision makers exercise considerable autonomy in shaping the reception and integration experiences of newcomers. A follow-up study will identify the factors that account for these differences.  

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References and Notes


11. Personal interview with Frank Pizzutto, City Manager, City of Abbotsford, in December 2008.


21. This information was based on various confidential interviews.
New Ethnic Places of Worship and Planning Challenges
by Sandeep Kumar Agrawal

Introduction
The populations of various religious congregations are growing, as the population of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) is growing rapidly. The GTA has the largest conglomeration of ethnic places of worship. Hindu and Buddhist temples, Muslim mosques, Jewish synagogues and ethnic Catholic churches dot the GTA landscape. The growing ethnic and religiously diverse population has a mounting need to expand existing facilities as well as build new ones to meet the demand. This poses a serious challenge to municipalities who have to determine where and how to locate these places of worship appropriately in accordance with sound planning principles and the special requirements of such places. Many of these challenges can be attributed to the organic development of these places, which has not been fully understood, and their unusually large sizes and multiple uses, all of which result in land use conflicts and traffic and parking problems.

With the backdrop of four places of worship in Brampton and Vaughan (Hindu Sabha Temple in Brampton; Ahmadiyya Bai-tul-Muslim Mosque in Vaughan; Nanaksar gurdwara in Brampton; and The Saint Claire of Assisi Catholic Church in the Woodbridge area of Vaughan) as case studies, this article examines the planning challenges that new ethnic places of worship pose. The study relies on both primary and secondary data.

Case Studies and Planning Issues
I describe the four case studies here, along with the planning issues each faced during the planning approval process. The primary data was collected through interviews with municipal planners and religious leaders while secondary data was gleaned from Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) files and data obtained from Brampton and Vaughan and other GTA municipalities.

1. The Hindu Sabha Temple in Brampton, completed in 1996, sits on The Gore Road near Queen Street. It is one of the largest in North America. The temple was originally located elsewhere in a farmhouse with a congregation size of 10 to 15 families, but the congregation grew to 300 families within a few years. When a nearby highway expanded, the temple was forced to relocate to its current location. The initial proposal for the expansion of the facility included a 20,000 sq. ft. temple, a banquet hall, a Sunday school, and kitchen facilities. One hundred and thirty housing units, a community centre, a priest house, a pool and playgrounds were also part of the proposal.

The temple faced a number of planning challenges and several rounds of reviews and appeals before a scaled-down version was approved. The property was
designated "agricultural" and any other use was considered inconsistent with the land use designation. To maintain contiguous natural space and public trails along a Humber River tributary that traverses the 24-acre site, municipal planners objected to the proposed location of the temple and the road system. The planners feared that the proposed temple scheme would divide the region into two parts and eliminate a direct connection between the north and south tracts of land.

The Regional Health Department and the provincial Ministry of Agriculture and Food both opposed the development because of the size of the banquet facilities and the impact on the sewer system, as well as the incompatibility with the use of prime agricultural land. Another serious issue with the proposed development was the lack of municipal services such as sanitary and storm sewers. Because the land was an undeveloped tract, the City of Brampton had no immediate plans to build infrastructure to support any new development in the area. Besides the hard infrastructure, the area also lacked a fire station and public transit.

The case was challenged at the OMB in 1986 and a smaller phased development was finally approved in 1990. The approved design has approximately 32,000 sq. ft. of constructed space including the lower level, and in excess of 350 parking spaces. The 17,000 sq. ft. main floor prayer hall accommodates 1,000 worshippers.

Built within the last two to three years, somewhat isolated subdivisions that house mainly South Asians now surround the temple. Commercial developments in the nearby area, such as a local plaza, have recently been completed.

2. The Ahmadiyya Bai-tul-Muslim Mosque in Vaughan, located on Jane Street, between two major arterials on the north and south of the concession block, is one of the largest mosques in North America with a capacity of about 1,200 worshippers and almost 20,000 sq. ft. of total floor area, including 10,000 sq. ft. of the main floor. The development boasts an ample amount of parking, in excess of 200 spaces. The mosque grew from a congregation of approximately four to five families in the GTA in the 1960s to more than 20,000 members today. The City of Toronto was the first choice of location but because of high land prices, the congregation chose Vaughan. Twenty-five acres of land were purchased in 1985, which included a house that was used temporarily for prayers until 1989 when the construction of the mosque began. Construction was completed in 1992.

Planners asked the mosque to include a road connection that would allow through traffic between the neighbourhoods and thus alleviate congestion on local arterial roads. The mosque opposed allowing outside traffic through their site.

The architectural features of the mosque also posed a challenge because they were deemed not to conform to the building height restrictions in the area. Since the standards were based on Catholic churches, the project was realized only by allowing exceptions from the "norm". The 100 ft. high minaret of the mosque was approved as a Catholic church's clock tower and the 66 ft. high dome was approved as the belfry of the church.

The possibility of noise pollution from the traffic to and from the mosque was a point of conflict with nearby residents. The issue was later settled at the OMB. The OMB placed a condition on the future development of the community whereby all new residents must be apprised of the possibility of high levels of noise and traffic produced by the mosque during special events. A park has now been built to reduce noise and separate the mosque from the residential area.

A subdivision comprising of more than 200 single family detached homes, known as Peace Village, now flanks the north side of the mosque. The leaders of the mosque and the builder collaborated on the planning and design to ensure that the subdivision complements the presence of the mosque. Due to its proximity to the mosque and its culturally-sensitive design, the overwhelming majority of the residents of the Peace Village attends the mosque and is primarily South Asian Muslims.

3. The Saint Claire of Assisi Catholic Church is an Italian church in the Woodbridge area of Vaughan near Rutherford Drive and Weston Road. Unlike the organic development of places of worship of other religions, the development of new church facilities is well researched and planned in advance. The Planning Department at the Archdiocese of Toronto assesses the need for new churches, identifies potential sites and acquires land for new parishes with the help of demographic projections and other related data from Statistics Canada, local municipalities, Catholic school boards, key developers and pastors.

The municipal planners objected to locating the church off of a boulevard that splits on both sides of the church, restricting the free-flow of traffic. They also asked that the plan include a neighbourhood road to allow for local
through traffic between Rutherford Road to the arterial road on the north and to the arterial road on the south of the concession blocks. Since there was no block plan or policy in place for the area, the planners made little headway.

The residents on the southern adjacent community protested the proposed location of the church as well. They wanted the church located on the main arterial road, Weston Road, and not inside a subdivision and certainly not on the northern extension of a neighbourhood street in the south of Rutherford. They feared that this quiet neighbourhood street would turn into a thoroughfare. The OMB ruled against the Association, but placed restrictions on the new practice of the Italian community to form processions and honk car horns.

A number of small to medium size subdivisions of several thousand homes now surround the church. Despite planners’ and residents’ opposition, the church still sits almost in the centre of the cluster of subdivisions. Many of the residents are Italians (approximately 48 per cent as per the property assessment records), but a number of non-Italian Catholic families also call the area home.

4. The Nanaksar Satsang Sabha, a gurdwara of the Nanaksar sect of Sikhism, is located close to Highway 407 and McLaughlin Road in Brampton. It has a floor space of more than 11,000 sq. ft. to accommodate 500 worshippers at a time. The gurdwara began with four families and has now grown to a size of 500-600 visitors daily. Initially, the religious services were held there, operating out of a portable building. The expansion of the structure, which was originally a school, was completed in 1993.

The gurdwara experienced an interesting set of challenges during the approval process. The site was already zoned “institutional” so it was technically easy to receive zoning approval. However, the residents of the neighbourhood at the time fiercely opposed the development of the gurdwara. The residents also complained that people sat or congregated in the public park across from the gurdwara and that gurdwara visitors loitered in the nearby residential area.

Some of these problems resolved themselves through dramatic changes in the demographics of the neighbourhood. Since the construction of the gurdwara, the demographics of the surrounding neighbourhoods have shifted. Many white residents have moved out and have been replaced by Sikhs, many of whom are congregants of the gurdwara. In fact, there have been suggestions from the “new” community to make the park friendlier to ethnic residents by converting the baseball diamond into a cricket ground and constructing a gazebo where seniors can sit.

Currently, the gurdwara experiences challenges with parking. The gurdwara was asked by the City to have an underground parking lot, which they constructed, but the gurdwara instead uses the parking lot as a banquet hall, kitchen and office. The current surface parking on the site does not provide enough parking spaces for special events.

The Nanaksar Satsang Sabha, a gurdwara of the Nanaksar sect of Sikhism, is located in Brampton.
(Photo courtesy of the author)

The gurdwara partnered with a nearby Catholic school and now uses their parking lot extensively. But another problem is that the Catholic school’s parking lot sits on the other side of McLaughlin Road, a major thoroughfare and motorists have complained about pedestrians jaywalking on McLaughlin, a busy high-speed major arterial road, on their way to the gurdwara. The City stepped in on time and placed a pedestrian crosswalk, contrary to usual practice for arterials.

Analysis
Considering problems from these four case studies, new ethnic places of worship face these planning issues:

I. Ethnic places of worship are becoming bigger: On their path to organic development, they start off small, usually in the form of meeting places in individual’s homes, or rented or other temporary facilities, sometimes sharing space with other faith groups or locating in commercial and industrial areas. But they eventually expand to become more like regional centres of worship. The concept of neighbourhood or “territorial” churches is slowly eroding. The new facilities now serve not just their immediate neighbourhood but also a more widely dispersed congregation, extending beyond the municipal boundaries. Even long established religions such as the Roman Catholic, Anglican and United Churches have adopted the model of developing “regional destination” churches.

A case in point is the Prayer Palace at Finch and Highway 400 in Toronto. A typical development application nowadays asks for a floor area of at least 10,000 sq. ft.
2. The sizes of new places of worship challenge the current standards of space allocation for such development in new residential areas. The standard across GTA municipalities is to provide just over an acre, which is not enough for new ethnic places of worship, which require at least five acres on average.

3. Ethnic places of worship are partly responsible for demographic shifts in their immediate vicinity and act as catalysts for new developments. In a way, they contribute significantly to the restructuring of the metropolitan area. Faith-based neighbourhoods growing around places of worship are adding to the current sprawl in the GTA. These suburban and peri-urban developments are contrary to the official plans, which encourage intensification and compact form and mixed use development.

4. Places of worship provide a number of social services to their congregants like employment and housing search facilities, family counseling, daycare, heritage school, dance classes and so on. In a way, services provided by places of worship complement public services and fill in the gaps left by public services.

5. Ethnic places of worship face challenges mainly related to traffic, noise and parking. Among them, parking is a major concern, accentuated by the difficulty of establishing a seating capacity, in the case of ethnic places of worship where there are no seats. The presence of other uses such as private schools, community centres, supportive housing and banquet halls as part of the development further exacerbates the parking problem, adding more time to the approval process.

6. Recently, a large number of places of worship have obtained rezoning to develop on vacant greenfields. The intention is to avoid objections from the communities and to provide plenty of parking, the two most common problems faced by places of worship. However, this trend could negatively impact the GTA economy by putting up barriers for new industries to relocate there. One of the requirements of locating an industrial business is that it should sit at least 660 ft. away from a daycare. Since most of the new ethnic places of worship have a daycare or school of some sort, industries face hurdles even to relocate in an industrial area where they should be able to move “as of right”. For some religions like Islam in which prayers are a daily obligation, parking is still a problem despite relocating into industrial areas.

7. Those places of worship that move to rural areas to avoid neighbours’ objections and to provide ample parking create their own set of problems. They rapidly gobble up prime agricultural land, adding to the sprawl and causing burden on the city’s infrastructure. Local governments have not been able to deal with such situations, especially in the absence of block plans for future developments.

Conclusion

All in all, the increased size and a wide range of auxiliary facilities in ethnic places of worship pose a greater potential for conflicts (like land use, traffic, parking, light, noise and so on) and therefore warrant special attention in siting. Ethnic places of worship have different requirements at different stages of their development, and these can be better explained and considered for planning by closely following and studying their organic evolution. In light of the above challenges and opportunities, I put forward the following four policy recommendations:

1. Because of the relentless pressure to develop on vacant greenfields, municipal planners should develop block plans and policies to guide new growth, even for areas where there is no imminent need.

2. Planners should adopt policies to encourage infill development of places of worship. But this policy must be coupled with ways to mitigate negative impacts related to noise, light, parking and so on. Shared parking arrangements should be encouraged and recognized by giving incentives such as additional floor space area.

3. Planners should actively involve faith groups in the planning process. This involvement should be accompanied with planners engaging the faith communities in informational and educational activities.

4. In the wake of government cutbacks and to meet the special social, educational, recreational and cultural needs, the trend is to add other uses and services to places of worship. The local and provincial governments should recognize places of worship as legitimate community service providers that can fill the gaps where the need is and where governments are unable to provide culturally-specific services. There is certainly an opportunity to explore future partnership between public and religious institutions in the delivery of services.

The looming planning challenges with respect to siting places of worship and development around religious sites send a clear signal that we, as urban planners, can no longer avoid religious undertones of the communities and the ensuing need to restructure metropolitan areas, identify service needs, and meet service demands. In light of the current urban patterns and processes, planning practice needs a different approach. Whatever approach this may be, planning practice for sure cannot remain “neutral” and afraid of openly discussing the needs of the religious communities.

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Leadership and Collaboration on Immigration in Peel Region

by Arvin Prasad and John Yeh

Introduction

Planners know that understanding underlying social issues and trends is critical to understanding the needs of our community and how to plan appropriately. Over the past decade, planners have been recognizing emerging trends in immigration as a significant factor in community planning and have been working with community leaders to ascertain its implications. From a planning perspective, it may not seem apparent that planners would be interested in immigration issues other than the fact that immigration fuels our growth. However, immigration has significant implications for land use and how we plan communities. For example, Canada’s population growth is chiefly fuelled by immigration which results in demands for housing. More immigration leads to greater need for housing and by extension the availability of subdivision lots, infill and redevelopment sites in our communities. Other land use impacts of immigration include the formation of ethnic concentrations, location of cultural and institutional facilities, and use of alternative modes of travel. On a broader scale, immigration patterns can impact service delivery models for public agencies which itself has land use implications.

“Deep-Sea” demographic analysis, such as venturing into multivariate analysis of immigration to look for less obvious relationships and meaning in the data can allow for profound observations, which need to be handled with political sensitivity. Immigrants of specific ethnic cultures, classes, religious and social backgrounds may share similar behavioural characteristics which can sometimes lead to easy or controversial conclusions. The planner must think through these ideas and their implications.

As one of the first municipal organizations in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) to address immigration from a planner’s perspective, we needed to consider how leaders at the Region of Peel and the community would react. For example, the 2001 Census revealed that the increase in persons-per-dwelling unit (PPU) and multi-family households were driven by recent immigrants. Would there be fear from the community about potential ethnic or racial stereotypes? The analysis of immigration impacts can be risky. But these risks can pay off and have enormous benefits in the form of a more complete understanding of our community.

This article will highlight how planners at the Region of Peel took bold steps to address immigration issues leading to action plans to better integrate newcomers to Peel and perform further research on this topic. Some research and analysis of census information will be presented followed by the need to build awareness among decision makers. The Region of Peel’s corporate culture of leadership will be emphasized in that it provides the foundation to allow for research on sensitive issues such as immigration. It is within the framework of a progressive and forward thinking organization in Peel that long-term planning research has flourished. Also, the article will highlight how planners are well suited to take on initiatives to affect positive change because of the many types of professionals, community leaders and organizations with whom planners collaborate.
Region of Peel and Immigration

The Region of Peel is an upper-tier regional municipality bordering Toronto and York Region to the west and Halton Region to the east. Peel is comprised of the lower tier municipalities of Mississauga, Brampton, and Caledon. In 2002, planning staff at the Region of Peel analyzed 2001 Census data and discovered that 43% (or 424,820 people) of Peel's total population of 988,948 were immigrants. The immigrant population had increased by 61% from 1991 to 2001. Within the immigrant population in 2001, 37% (or 158,975 people) arrived within the previous 10 years. Within this 10-year period, the top three places of birth of immigrants arriving were from India (22%), Pakistan (9%), and the Philippines (6%).

Recognizing underlying issues with these trends early on was important as results of the 2006 Census revealed continued population growth and forecasted a 14% increase over the next decade. By 2006, Peel's population reached 1,159,405 (up 17% from 2001) and 49% of Peel's population were immigrants. Peel's population increase was driven by immigration as 69% of the population increase was from recent immigration (immigrants arriving in the past five years). In perspective, that is about 24,000 immigrants moving to Peel annually: equivalent to a small town joining Peel each year.

The results of the 2001 Census piqued our interest in data on immigration related to demographics such as place of birth, home language, visible minorities, income and other census variables. We analyzed Census data at a finer level through custom cross-tabulations and other sources such as Citizenship and Immigration Canada permanent resident landing data. Qualitatively on the ground, and quantitatively through the Census, we noticed immense change occurring in Peel. Population growth was mainly fuelled by immigration. Over 40% of recent immigrants arriving between 1996 and 2001 were from Southern Asia (mainly comprised of India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka). We instinctively knew that this shift in immigration source countries would lead to changes on the ground in Peel. For example, we felt that there may be greater propensity for shared living arrangements, elder care in family homes and a greater likelihood of immigrant children living at home until marriage or steady work is found.

Awareness and Capacity Building

We identified potential planning implications that Regional Council and colleagues in other departments needed to be aware of and further research that should be conducted. Some implications of immigration in Peel we raised included:

- Immigrants bring different customs, traditions, social ties, kinship ties, and practices that require consideration in the workplace and community. Employment, public transportation, language training, and affordable housing are the most important needs for recent immigrants. About half of all immigrants arriving from 1991 to 2001 in Peel possessed a trades, college or university diploma. This told us that immigrants are highly skilled and want to participate in the labour force. As a result, planners at the Region of Peel acted on the need for recent immigrants with a background in planning to gain Canadian experience. We established ties with Career Bridge (internships for internationally qualified professionals) and the Professional Access and Integration Enhancement (PAIE) program to have several foreign trained planning and engineering professionals work with us.
- Skilled multi-lingual staff is needed for social services and health-related programs. The top five languages spoken by immigrants in Peel from 1991 to 2001 were Punjabi, Polish, Urdu, Cantonese, and Arabic. The Region of Peel needs to stay current on the most prevalent languages spoken to assist newcomers who may not be fluent in English or French.
- Multiple/extended families living in single dwellings have implications for unit types, size and intensification efforts. In 2001 there were on average 3.9 recent immigrants per dwelling unit versus 2.8 persons per dwelling unit (PPU) for Peel's non-immigrants. In 2006, Peel had the second highest average PPU in the GTA with 3.23. Trends have indicated average PPU in Peel have been increasing while other GTA municipalities have continued to decline. This has implications on forecasting land supply for future development. If the PPU in Peel continues to increase, an implication is that urban boundary expansions may not be necessary to accommodate an increase in population because more people are living in each dwelling unit. Therefore, the total number of
High school students leading and teaching a group of children at the annual Peel Children's Water Festival. (Photo courtesy of the authors)

units for a given population is less. The Region's Official Plan Review will consider these implications in the growth management phase of the review.

- Through discussions with community leaders and residents, Region of Peel planners learned that the public service needs of immigrants is most pronounced in the first five years after arrival and that in many respects, the needs of foreign-born residents are similar to the demands of Canadian born residents.

- Formation of ethnic concentrations where recent immigrants settle include the benefit of access to culturally-specific services (i.e. retail, cultural/religious centres, etc.). This has led to economic opportunities for ethnic groups to form businesses that produce goods and services for specific ethnic groups. Culturally-specific services may be a first point of contact for recent immigrants seeking information on settlement needs.

Equipped with our knowledge of immigration issues and its implications, we needed to raise awareness and build capacity with others in the Region of Peel and community. We could not explore immigration issues through a silo approach and needed to embrace a multi-disciplinary way by involving others. Although planners don't provide direct services for immigrants, we act as change agents by spreading our knowledge of issues and providing research and guidance to service providers and decision makers. Awareness building has paid off immensely as we have built partnerships and contacts, garnered support from our leaders and decision makers, and ultimately have shaped priorities and actions to address the needs of immigrants.

Our partnerships and collaborations with staff from other departments within the Region and professionals in the community enabled our findings to reach a wider audience and build on the credibility of our research. We've built awareness through presentations at many conferences such as the Ontario Professional Planners Institute and Canadian Institute of Planners. Establishing a relationship with Citizenship and Immigration Canada, the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration, and the Ontario Ministry of Training Colleges and Universities staff through regular meetings enabled support for more research initiatives and data sharing opportunities. It also fostered a positive environment to receive funding from the Province and Federal government for further research projects and services offered by the Region of Peel.

Planners at the Region of Peel also collaborated on several research projects with leading academics to begin to identify the needs of immigrants and the implications for public service provision in Peel. We continue to work with a diverse group of professionals to spread our message and provide input on services provided by various agencies including the United Way of Peel, the Peel Newcomer Strategy Group, and the Region of Peel's Human Services Department's work on immigration research. A spin-off or multiplier effect of earlier research is that it provides insightful ideas for next steps and further research. For example, an earlier research project with academics involved interviewing a small number of immigrants. The Peel Newcomer Strategy Group may interview residents at a larger scale to more accurately define their needs and develop a coordinated strategy for the provision of immigrant services.

Informing Peel Regional Council and the Region's Executive Management Team was critical before proceeding with any of the initiatives mentioned above. Several presentations, council reports, and workshops highlighted the implications of immigration in our community and the need for further research required to be a more welcoming community. Educating and making our leaders aware of the issue was paramount. As an organization we were one of the first municipalities in the GTA to address immigration in planning. This was a risky undertaking because of the political sensitivity around the issue but it had enormous implications in how we planned for future development while ensuring immigrants have the best opportunities to integrate with the community. We managed to gain the support of our leaders and further work was commissioned to explore opportunities to provide programs and services in the community. This was key as any future work hinged on the support and endorsement of our decision makers. This approach enabled staff to coordinate easily with various departments as responsibilities were clearly outlined and made better use of funding.

A number of projects resulting from the initial research that will benefit Peel residents are being led by the Region of Peel's Human Services Department. They include an immigration web portal to connect prospective immigrants and recent arrivals with important information on settlement services available. The web portal will help prospective immigrants form more realistic expectations and help counter any misconceptions potential residents may have about Peel and Canada. The Human Services Department is also developing action plans for community and labour market integration and are researching human service needs, health needs, life cycle needs, and human capital of recent immigrants and implications for outcomes in future generations.
The Region of Peel as an Organization

Dealing with politically sensitive but topical issues requires leadership. At the Region of Peel through the Excellence Initiative, we have been named one of the top municipal organizations in Canada. To measure the success of the Excellence Initiative, the National Quality Institute (NQI) is an independent, not-for-profit organization continually measures performance and results in the private and public sectors through national criteria, implementation programs, services and certification. An independent, not-for-profit organization.

For the Region of Peel, NQI's excellence framework was the foundation to consolidate and align existing initiatives in the organization and create an organization-wide standard of excellence. In 2006, the Region of Peel was the first municipality in Canada to receive NQI's Canada Awards for Excellence Gold Award. With the support of our leaders, the Excellence Initiative has paved the way for many departments in the Region of Peel to excel at their line of work and has given planners the confidence and means to explore important issues in our community.

As the Region of Peel's goals and objectives evolve, we have built on many projects and the private sector service-value chain model to focus our efforts on a new way to approach our work. Known as the Common Purpose, the services and programs we provide will ensure that we engage our employees, satisfy our clients, and instill trust and confidence in Peel residents.

The organizational structure, framework, and foundation at the highest level at the Region of Peel has instilled a sense of pride and professionalism about serving the public and ultimately the support to carry out projects that are in the best interest of the organization and residents of Peel. Along with a strong organization structure, cultivating leaders within the organization is vital to ensure that the organization's objectives are carried out.

Leadership and Role of the Planner

By being multi-disciplinary and forward-looking in their approach and grounded with an analysis of data and forecasts, planners are well suited to take on leadership roles. However, a key first step is to get the support of leaders and decision makers, which is critical to the success of the immigration research. Also, engaged and enthusiastic staff is vital to the outcome of any project. The Region of Peel continually cultivates and fosters leadership among its employees throughout the organization. Leadership in this regard is vital because planners often need to take risks and rise to challenges in order to do good planning and having the support of community leaders and decision makers is a first step towards success.

A second important step towards taking brave and bold initiatives is to build collaboration and partnerships. Collaboration with other departments, divisions, and the community are key to success. The Region of Peel's planners' relationships with professionals and the community have enabled our research to reach a broader audience and promote more awareness of immigration. For example, planners are members of the Peel Newcomer Strategy Group. This Group is headed by the United Way of Peel to develop an integrated community plan on newcomer services to enable new immigrants to settle more effectively.

Recommendations for Organizations and Planners

Immigration has been and will continue to be a significant force in Peel Region in the future. Immigration will continue to be the driver of Peel's growth and immigrants account for half of Peel's population and this proportion is increasing. How do we best accommodate recent immigrants to ensure they successfully settle and integrate into the community? What are the land use planning implications around immigration as it relates to household formation, public transportation, and ethnic concentrations? These types of questions have only recently been asked by planners and we have an obligation as professionals to effectively plan for communities that makes the best and wisest use of land and provide newcomers with the best opportunities for successful integration. To accomplish this, here are several recommendations that municipal organizations and planners can use as a model:

A) Successful organizations always have a strategy and framework at the top of the organization. The Region of Peel's Common Purpose and Strategic Plan provide this direction. This promotes a sense of purpose and acts as a catalyst for the organization to move forward.

B) Leaders at the top of the organization can support and encourage staff to tackle sensitive issues where the community benefits.

C) Cultivation of leaders through formal and informal training and development gives the confidence and leadership skills to staff to pursue innovative projects.

D) Planners can have an important role as change agents if they seize the opportunities within their community.

E) Collaboration with other departments, divisions, and the community is vital to ensure that awareness is increased broadly throughout the organization and community.

References


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Ethnic Enclaves in Multicultural Cities:

New Retailing Patterns and New Planning Dilemmas

by Valerie Preston and Lucia Lo

The increasing ethnic and racial diversity of Canadian cities highlights the importance of achieving social sustainability and peaceful co-existence among people from different ethnocultural backgrounds. Retailing is a useful prism for examining the planning dilemmas that must be resolved in order for people from different backgrounds to live in harmony. Shopping brings people from diverse ethnocultural backgrounds into contact every day, generating innumerable social interactions that are opportunities for peaceful co-existence or conflict. The creation of retail businesses is also one of the most obvious ways that immigrants transform the urban environment. Using examples from Toronto, we examine how urban residents negotiate difference on an everyday basis in the development and use of retail outlets. Our goal is to identify the planning challenges associated with the increasing numbers of immigrants in Canadian cities, and the growing diversity and changing geographies of settlement associated with such growth.

According to Germain,1 successful co-existence requires everyday negotiations of difference at the scale of the city block and neighbourhood. Co-existence also happens when immigrants successfully transform the city's built environment, creating places that signify their presence and testify to their rights to occupy public space. Despite official policies of multiculturalism, everyday retail transactions and efforts to transform retail environments have sometimes generated controversy in Canadian cities. To understand the roots of these controversies and the challenges that they pose for planners, we examine how changing geographies of immigrant settlement have influenced the retail environment and shopping interactions.

The analysis proceeds in three sections, beginning with a discussion of shopping and its links to co-existence. Drawing on recent studies of ethnic businesses, we examine the evolution of ethnic enclaves and associated retailing in Toronto, currently the major port of entry for immigrants in Canada. We end with a discussion of the planning challenges raised by the increasing diversity of ethnic enclaves and their retail outlets.

Retailing, Shopping and Co-Existence

Shopping is an important part of the struggle for co-existence for immigrants and for the Canadian-born. Retail businesses offering familiar goods and services in their own languages often help immigrants retain their cultures and languages. The businesses sometimes serve as community-gathering places, where immigrants exchange information and reinforce their social ties. Many businesses are also an important source of employment for newcomers who are unable to obtain jobs in their professions. Immigrants' retail businesses can raise awareness of the community's presence and offer a glimpse into the lifestyles of newcomers and the cultures of their communities that may promote co-existence. The goods and services offered by the businesses also inform people outside the immigrant community about its practices. Some immigrant retailers even establish cultural celebrations such as Taste of Asia or Taste of India that facilitate co-existence.

At the other end of the spectrum, retail outlets operated by immigrants are sometimes stigmatized as dangerous locations where illicit activities occur. The stigma that often extends to the ethnocultural communities themselves causes exclusion. For example, similar to Chinatowns worldwide, in Sydney, Australia, a western suburb known as Cabramatta that is home to a concentration of Indo-Chinese-Australians has been depicted as a site of crime and poverty. According to Dunn, the media portrayals go beyond characterizing the ethnic enclave; they associate "murder and gang activity with Asian migrants."

The Evolution of Ethnic Enclaves: Examples from Toronto

As Canada's most important immigrant reception centre since the Second World War, Toronto is a useful case study for examining contemporary planning dilemmas. Until the 1970s, newcomers tended to concentrate in immigrant reception areas in the inner city. These ethnic enclaves were often home to retail businesses selling specialized goods and services to immigrants from each ethnocultural group. Business owners benefited from their intimate knowledge of the preferences and language of their customers, and from social connections with suppliers in their countries of origin.

Beginning in the 1970s, when the numbers of immigrants arriving from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Central and South America increased and gentrification of inner-city neighbourhoods gained momentum, suburban ethnic enclaves emerged in Toronto. Economic success enabled earlier arrivals to move to the suburbs, creating new opportunities for immigrants. The evolution of ethnic enclaves has had significant impacts on the city's retail landscape and planning challenges. As local residents and newcomers continue to negotiate difference, planners must recognize the importance of achieving social sustainability and peaceful co-existence in the development of retail environments.

Summary

The diverse geographies of immigrant settlement in Toronto have led to new retail formats and varied spatial patterns of retailing, creating land use conflicts and posing planning challenges. Limited by the policies and regulations of senior levels of government, local planners often play a reactive role. However, there is a growing consensus that difference must be taken seriously, and various strategies have been suggested, including exposing planners to cultural sensitivity training and recruiting students from diverse ethnocultural backgrounds. While change will take time and effort, by recognizing diversity as a resource, we have the opportunity to pioneer inclusive planning practices.

The diverse geographies of immigrant settlement in Toronto have led to new retail formats and varied spatial patterns of retailing, creating land use conflicts and posing planning challenges. Limited by the policies and regulations of senior levels of government, local planners often play a reactive role. However, there is a growing consensus that difference must be taken seriously, and various strategies have been suggested, including exposing planners to cultural sensitivity training and recruiting students from diverse ethnocultural backgrounds. While change will take time and effort, by recognizing diversity as a resource, we have the opportunity to pioneer inclusive planning practices.
such as the Italians and Portuguese to move to new and spacious housing in the suburbs. At the same time, growing numbers of immigrants settled directly in Toronto’s suburbs where ethnic enclaves in which Chinese, South Asian and Black immigrants increasingly find themselves living with people from their own group have emerged.\textsuperscript{7,28}

The diverse geographies of immigrant settlement in Toronto have led to equally varied spatial patterns of retailing. Many retail outlets operated by immigrants are located in ethnic commercial enclaves visible in a single location, such as the Iranian strip along Yonge Street and the Portuguese Village.\textsuperscript{21,22} Others, such as those catering to Italians, Chinese and South Asians, are in several different locations in the inner city as well as in Toronto’s inner and outer suburbs.\textsuperscript{21,31}

Retailers adopt multiple marketing strategies to serve Toronto’s diverse population. Many retail outlets still have the primary function of serving the commercial needs of co-ethnics, offering services that range from a few restaurants and grocery stores to all kinds of commercial and professional services.\textsuperscript{21,26,27} Owners also sponsor street fairs and other cultural celebrations that draw together immigrants and their descendants.\textsuperscript{8,13} In the suburbs, reliance on co-ethnic customers sometimes declines as retailers target all nearby consumers regardless of their ethnocultural backgrounds with English signage and marketing campaigns.\textsuperscript{21,28}

Immigrants have also inserted new retail forms into Toronto’s suburbs. Immigrant retailers still redevelop declining commercial strips; however, many also develop suburban shopping centres on greenfield sites. Although South Asian and Korean developments are now apparent, Chinese shopping centres, sometimes known as “Asian” theme malls, are still the most prominent examples in suburban Toronto. The Chinese shopping centres have distinct characteristics including condominium ownership as opposed to leasehold, an absence of conventional retail anchors such as department stores, a preponderance of restaurants and other eating establishments, and small retail units that are sometimes the subject of controversy.\textsuperscript{8,29,30}

The major land use conflict revolves around the question of whether and where Chinese shopping centres fit into the conventional commercial hierarchy of neighbourhood, community and regional shopping centres. With a regional draw, local residents complain that Chinese shopping centres are not compliant with zoning for neighbourhood shopping centres, intended to meet the daily needs of people living nearby. Residents also object to the large number of retail outlets in Chinese shopping centres on the grounds that they will generate additional traffic and require extra parking places. The preponderance of restaurants and eating establishments also arouses local concerns about parking, noxious odours and garbage.\textsuperscript{8} Residents sometimes fear that owners of individual retail outlets will be unwilling to maintain and renovate the shopping centre.

The condominium form of ownership that requires prepayment from buyers may also influence planning decisions. In the 1990s, when many Chinese shopping centres were developed,\textsuperscript{8} there was no legal protection for commercial condominium purchasers. If a planning department rejected a development proposal, as happened in a few cases,\textsuperscript{8} developers often did not have enough money to refund purchasers’ deposits. According to one observer, “pre-selling can put great pressure on local planning authorities to approve the development application.”\textsuperscript{21,p.24}

The impacts of public disputes about immigrants’ retail developments go well beyond the specific neighbourhood where the mall is to be located. In one case, in Richmond Hill, opposition to the proposed mall was discussed nationally, particularly after racist remarks by the Deputy Mayor of the adjacent municipality, the Town of Markham, were publicized across Canada and in Hong Kong.\textsuperscript{6} Indeed, a public meeting attracted more than 500 people including representatives from the Chinese Canadian National Council.

### Planning Implications

The controversies associated with Chinese shopping centres illustrate some of the challenges facing planners in Canada’s increasingly diverse cities.\textsuperscript{8} There is a growing consensus that planners must take difference seriously, rather than viewing people as indistinguishable citizens with equal rights.\textsuperscript{51,24} To this end, Buraydi\textsuperscript{8} has called for cultural sensitivity training to enhance planners’ communication skills and to give them more insight into cultural differences. Sandercoll\textsuperscript{8} has also recommended that planning schools recruit students from diverse ethnocultural backgrounds. The goal is to improve planners’ communication with a multicultural public so that they can discern better the beliefs and needs of people who differ in terms of multiple social characteristics, not just ethnocultural identity. The Richmond Hill case, where many Chinese-Canadians opposed the proposed mall while others supported its development, illustrates the importance of this nuanced knowledge for successful planning.

Planning at the neighbourhood level should ensure a mix of retail activities, some serving a diverse clientele and others that cater to specific ethnocultural groups. This approach implies that a range of retail activities, forms and designs will be acceptable to planners and politicians\textsuperscript{11} and they will actively promote the advantages of a pluralistic approach to land use planning. This endorsement is essential to reduce conflict such as that which occurred in Richmond Hill, Ontario where residents successfully opposed a proposed “Asian” theme mall that had been approved by local planners. Local politicians fuelled the controversy by quickly altering the municipality’s official plan and approving an interim bylaw.\textsuperscript{8}

The extent to which local planning can reduce land use conflicts is often limited by the policies and regulations of the provincial and federal governments. In Ontario, the Ontario Municipal Board, a provincial tribunal, has ruled on proposed Chinese shopping centres. In the Richmond Hill case mentioned earlier,\textsuperscript{6} developers’ arguments that a Chinese shopping centre would serve recently arrived immigrants from Hong Kong were given little weight than the views of Chinese-Canadians living near the proposed mall who argued it was unnecessary. To facilitate pluralistic and culturally sensitive planning, Qadeer\textsuperscript{35} has suggested that policies should be consistent across the three levels of government. He would like to see “all planning regulations, approaches and standards conform to provisions of the Human Rights Act and making cultural and racial discrimination valid grounds to appeal a planning decision.”\textsuperscript{33,25}

Politicians can also encourage urban residents to live successfully with difference by their public support for diversity. For example, in Sydney, Australia, all levels of government publicly expressed their approval of Asian immigrants’ investments in Chatswood, a suburban retail centre. Government representatives emphasized the importance of Asian immigrants as a bridge between Australia and Asia, an important destination for Australian exports.\textsuperscript{36} The political support undoubtedly contributed to the
acceptance of new retail forms and functions in Chatswood as it had in Richmond, British Columbia. Successful planning depends on comprehensive information about the ethnocultural and socio-economic characteristics of the population in each neighbourhood. Census information can provide a detailed portrait of the diversity in each neighbourhood, however, local opinions and needs regarding shopping should also be assessed by opinion surveys, focus groups, and storytelling that reveal the extent and nature of individual differences in residents' views.

The involvement of local residents from all ethnocultural backgrounds is another key to successful planning. In Richmond Hill, the views of Chinese-Canadians who had lived in Canada for some time were heard at public meetings, while the opinions of recent newcomers are not found in the public record. To facilitate effective communication with all groups in a neighbourhood, Wallace and Friskenhövel advocate translation of leaflets, official documents, and advertisements in ethnic media, interpretation services, and the placement of liaison officers. They note that the format of public meetings and other forms of public participation in planning processes need to be evaluated to ensure the comfort of newcomers from diverse backgrounds. Adopting many of these recommendations, planners in Richmond, British Columbia successfully defused public disputes about proposed Chinese shopping centres.

Conclusion

Current research illustrates the planning challenges associated with retailing in diverse metropolitan areas and identifies some of the strategies that different planners have used successfully to achieve peaceful co-existence. Despite recommendations to revamp the planning profession and planning processes, the case studies underscore the reactive roles of municipal planners and politicians. Academic researchers and planning practitioners still have a long way to go to develop the capacity of the planning system to accommodate difference successfully. Comparative research such as that pioneered by Wallace and Friskenhövel would help urban planning achieve its potential to enhance the lives of all urban residents and the vitality of urban spaces. By recognizing that Canada's diverse urban populations are a resource, we have the opportunity to pioneer inclusive planning practices that are in demand around the world.

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7. Ferguson J. Shopkeepers charge bias: a developer says his bid to attract Chinese Canadians is niche marketing, but existing tenants don't buy it. Globe and Mail 1994;A-1.
Summary
This article examines the large number of urban residents in Canada who have no municipal voting rights. There are “invisible cities” in our midst, comprised of immigrants who live in urban Canada and pay municipal taxes, but are ineligible to vote in local elections because they are not Canadian citizens. This article argues for recognition of urban citizenship rights for all municipal residents, and the role planners can play in advancing this principle.

Immigrants are devoted to urban Canada. It’s time that our municipalities reciprocated by recognizing the urban citizenship of all their residents.

At present, massive numbers of our urban residents – all immigrants – are denied municipal voting rights because they have not acquired Canadian citizenship. They have no political voice in the cities they call home, and in which they pay taxes and have distinct service needs. In this age of migration, citizenship rights have not kept up with the dramatic increase in global mobility. The place to start is by adopting – as other countries have – the municipal franchise principle of one resident, one vote. This article examines the case for dramatically extending democratic rights in urban Canada.

Immigration and Canadian Cities
Few demographic segments of Canadian society demonstrate a greater affinity for urban life than our newcomers. “For many decades”, Grant Schellenberg has written, “immigration has been predominantly an urban phenomenon in Canada...” As Table 1 demonstrates, immigrant settlement has been driving the growth of urban Canada, and today virtually all newcomers choose to reside in a metropolitan area. Yet many of these immigrants have no say in how their home municipality is governed.

TABLE 1: PERCENT OF IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA RESIDING IN A CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA, SELECTED YEARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>84.4%</td>
<td>91.7%</td>
<td>94.1%</td>
<td>94.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Nowhere is this more evident than in Canada’s largest immigrant receiving urban area – Toronto. Fully 40.4% of all immigrants who arrived in Canada between 2001 and 2006 settled in the Toronto CMA. Home to 2.47 million people in 2006, the City of Toronto has just over half of the entire CMA’s population. The City also has one of the highest proportions of immigrants among major cities around the world. In 2006, Toronto literally reached its tipping point, with immigrants comprising 49.997% of its population.

The political marginalization of many of these immigrants was dramatically demonstrated on the eve of the 2006 City of Toronto election. Just months before election day, a total of 246,924 names were dropped from the City’s voter’s list. This was by far the biggest “dumping” of names from a voters list in Canadian history. It amounted to disenfranchising one in seven people on the list.

The massive number of Torontonians dropped from the voters list all had two things in common: all were immigrants and Toronto was indeed their home. They were dropped from the voters list because the City of Toronto could not verify that they were Canadian citizens. How they got on the list in the first place was an unintended consequence of the particular – and peculiar – eligibility rules for municipal voting in Canada.

Municipal voting rules are set by the provinces. Generally, the provisions across Canada are standardized to extend the municipal franchise to all Canadian citizens 18 years of age or older who live in the municipality. In addition, non-residents of a municipality may vote there if they or their spouse either own or rent property in the municipality – provided they meet the aforementioned age and citizenship requirements.

This property-based franchise is unique to municipal elections. It reflects – or is a relic of – the historically strong ties of local government to real estate, including its reliance on the property tax. As a result, municipalities need their own voters list, since neither the federal nor provincial lists would include non-resident property-based voters. The municipal list is compiled from property tax assessment data on property ownership and tenancy.

For the first time, Toronto Council, in advance of the 2006 civic election, requested that the Canadian citizenship of all names on its voters list be verified by cross-referencing with the federal voters list. As a result of this, close to a quarter million residents of Toronto were disenfranchised because their Canadian citizenship could not be verified.
They all live in Toronto, pay property taxes (because they own or rent property), and rely on city services — including for many, the schools their children attend.

While Toronto is the municipality with the largest number of disenfranchised immigrant residents in Canada, their numbers are huge across the country. According to the 2006 Census, 1,760,865 (5.6%) of Canada’s population of 31,241,030 did not hold Canadian citizenship. As Table 2 shows, they are concentrated in our largest city-regions, where immigrants overwhelmingly settle. And interestingly, as the Toronto and Vancouver area municipalities reveal, their ranks swell in both the central cities and edge cities of our leading metropolitan areas.

Who Are Urban Canada’s Non-Citizens?

Clearly, current municipal voting eligibility rules — with their requirement of Canadian citizenship — exclude many urban residents from having a say in who is elected to municipal council. Who are these disenfranchised urban residents? While all are immigrants, they can be disaggregated into four sub-groups.

First are those immigrants who have lived in Canada for over three years (the naturalization requirement period), but have not yet taken out Canadian citizenship. Canada does have one of the highest rates of immigrant naturalization in the world. The 2006 Census revealed that 85.1% of all immigrants in Canada eligible for naturalization had become Canadian citizens. Among the non-Canadian citizens, many have been urban residents.

The second sub-group of currently ineligible municipal voters are those immigrants who have not yet fulfilled their three-year Canadian residency requirement for naturalization. Add on the current 12-15 month processing time for Canadian citizenship applications, and it therefore takes at least four years before a landed immigrant can become a Canadian citizen. With Canada’s annual target intake of 250,000 permanent resident immigrants, this means that at any given time there will be approximately 1,000,000 newcomers in this “pre-naturalization” category without citizenship. The majority of these disenfranchised “Canadians-in-waiting” are from Asia, the Middle East and Africa. The third distinct group of municipally disenfranchised residents is the rapidly rising number of people admitted to Canada as temporary immigrants. Over the past decade Canada has dramatically increased its intake of temporary immigrants, typically admitted on two-year renewable visas. In 2007 Canada admitted 165,198 temporary foreign workers — a total surpassing that year’s 131,248 immigrants admitted in the Economic Class as permanent residents. Unlike the latter, however, most temporary immigrants have no eligibility for Canadian citizenship. While the Canadian government has recently established a pathway to citizenship for some temporary foreign workers, only a small fraction of them qualify under current criteria. The vast majority of temporary immigrants will not be eligible to stay permanently, nor to ever vote where they live in Canada.

Fourth, and most problematically positioned among non-Canadian urban residents, are non-status migrants. These are persons whose presence in Canada is in violation of immigration regulations. Typically this involves persons overstaying lapsed work, visitor or student visas. Their ability to find “underground” employment allows them to support themselves and their family, often in circumstances of insecurity and exploitation. Living surreptitiously, this is the sub-group clearly most difficult to quantify. Leading advocacy groups on their behalf have estimated the number of non-status residents in Canada as high as from 200,000 to 500,000 persons, with most concentrated in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. In total, there are approximately 1,250,000 adult immigrants living in Canada today who have no voting rights because they are not Canadian citizens. Most live in urban Canada and belong to the first two sub-groups cited above: they are either long-term immigrants who have not been naturalized, or those here four years or less who are not yet eligible to naturalize or are awaiting the result of their application for Canadian citizenship.

But are they not all urban citizens?

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**Table 2: Number and Percentage of Non-Citizens in Select Canadian Municipalities, 2006**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Non-Citizen Population</th>
<th>Non-Citizens as % of Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>1,593,725</td>
<td>179,595</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>801,270</td>
<td>42,555</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>2,476,565</td>
<td>380,135</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brampton</td>
<td>431,575</td>
<td>64,505</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississauga</td>
<td>665,655</td>
<td>94,305</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markham</td>
<td>260,755</td>
<td>27,140</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond Hill</td>
<td>161,695</td>
<td>15,240</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>497,395</td>
<td>30,065</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg</td>
<td>625,700</td>
<td>36,600</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary</td>
<td>979,485</td>
<td>83,265</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton</td>
<td>722,260</td>
<td>48,120</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>571,600</td>
<td>74,600</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnaby</td>
<td>200,855</td>
<td>29,120</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>173,570</td>
<td>23,825</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surrey</td>
<td>392,450</td>
<td>45,890</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2006
The New Urban Citizenship: One Resident, One Vote

Global migration is unlikely to diminish any time soon. Neither is Canada’s need to attract immigrants, nor these newcomers’ preference for settling in urban areas. What citizenship rules and voting rights are best suited to our age of migration? To be sure, Canada has shown that it can fundamentally alter citizenship rules to fit changing circumstances.

In 1977, Canada accepted the principle of dual citizenship, whereby a person could hold Canadian citizenship as well as citizenship in another state. Not long ago, dual citizenship was regarded by states as disloyal and incompatible with their sovereignty. Today, more than a hundred countries recognize dual citizenship, and the 2006 Census determined that 863,100 Canadians (2.8%) held Canadian citizenship and citizenship in at least one other country.

It is time for another renewal of our thinking about citizenship and political rights — this time at the municipal scale. It is in the interests of our cities and our democratic system to extend municipal voting rights to all municipal residents. Here are five reasons why.

1. Other Countries Do It. Today, Ron Hayduk has observed, “over forty countries on nearly every continent permit voting by resident immigrants.” Typically this is restricted to municipal voting rights for immigrants who have lived in their country of re-settlement for a period of time varying from two to five years. The most politically inclusive country in the world now is New Zealand, extending municipal and national voting rights to all immigrants residing in the country for over one year. As a leading country of migration, Canada should be among the world’s countries expanding immigrant rights.

2. Municipal Government is Different. There are several reasons why non-citizen voting rights are particularly apt at the local level. Municipalities in Canada have always followed different voter eligibility rules than the provincial and federal governments. So instituting distinct municipal voting rights for non-citizen residents follows a longstanding precedent of municipal exceptionalism.

We have seen that paying property taxes entitles many who do not live in a municipality to vote there. This “stakeholder” approach to civic rights should be extended to immigrant property tax payers living in a municipality who are not Canadian citizens. But how long should immigrants need to be resident in a municipality before acquiring voting rights? Again, precedents are helpful here. Most municipal election legislation in Canada requires only a very short 60-day residency period before a Canadian citizen “new to town” (from anywhere in the country) can vote in its civic election. This suggests that New Zealand’s adoption of a one-year residency requirement for non-citizen immigrants to vote is not unreasonable.

3. Creating Cities of Belonging. As we have seen, Canada’s cities are immigrant cities. Urban places work best when all residents feel they have a voice in shaping the place they live. Given immigrant patterns of settlement, there are some cities in which as many as one in seven residents is unable to vote, and within these cities there are neighbourhoods in which one in three residents has no voice in civic affairs because they are not Canadian citizens. This is simply too many residents to leave on the political sidelines.

4. Urban Policy Makers Need to Hear from All Immigrant Residents. Immigrants have distinct experiences and policy concerns. They and the city itself suffer when these issues are not fully aired. “If you don’t vote, you don’t count”, American civil rights activist Vernon Dahmer famously declared. Non-citizen urban residents go uncounted and unheard in local elections. Yet in many municipal policy fields, distinct newcomer issues are at play. This is particularly apt in the case of urban planning. In an earlier study, Engin Isin and I concluded from literature in the field that “land use conflicts have become particularly acute flashpoints of tension for racialized diaspora groups in global cities.” Our own research into Toronto’s experience concluded: “[s]truggles over space have been the most recurring conflicts between immigrants and local governments in the Greater Toronto Area.” Immigrants and local governments have had to navigate contentious zoning claims related to commercial space, religious space, communal space, recreational space and distinctive residential space. Here as with a host of other local policy questions (e.g., availability of ESL in public schools, community-based policing), local officials would gain from elections in which the voices of all urban residents were heard.

5. Extending the Municipal Franchise Will Strengthen Canadian Democracy. It signals to all immigrants that their civic participation is valued and wanted. It also reflects their right to voice as taxpayers and members of an urban community. There is a large body of literature showing that political participation comes from its practice. Extending the municipal vote to all immigrant residents would likely increase the proportion of immigrants who choose to naturalize, and then raise their likelihood of voting in provincial and federal elections. It is also in keeping with that old axiom “no taxation without representation”.

Promoting or Diminishing Our Citizenship?

The call to extend voting rights to non-citizen residents has certainly come under criticism. Opposition has been directed at both the principle involved and its application. Critics contend that voting rights at any level of government should be “earned” by an immigrant making the commitment to become a Canadian citizen. Others draw the line at extending the municipal vote to non-status immigrants, which they contend would reward lawbreakers. These counterclaims warrant consideration.

The assertion that immigrants should naturalize before voting has several shortcomings. It overlooks the fact that three of our four sub-categories of disenfranchised immigrants are in a position where they cannot (yet or ever) naturalize. Looking specifically at the large number of newcomers still waiting to fulfill their residency requirement and have their citizenship application processed, we saw that this takes a minimum of four years from arrival in Canada. Municipal elections in Canada are typically held every three or four years, depending on the province. Depending on their date of arrival in Canada, an immigrant could therefore have to wait anywhere from four to eight
years before voting in their hometown. This is not conducive to the social and political integration of immigrants.

Extending the municipal vote to non-status immigrants clearly is contentious. It should be noted, however, that municipalities currently extend a number of services to non-status persons and families on an equitable basis, without threat of deportation. This includes policing, public health and schooling.

While these precedents exist for according rights to non-status immigrants, it is likely that public criticism would be strongest in opposition to their receiving local voting rights. Pragmatically then, it may be prudent to restrict an immediate call for local voting rights to all immigrants legally in the country, (the first three sub-groups identified above), and to address the plight of non-status residents first through regularization of their presence in Canada.

There is much to gain by giving all immigrants in our cities a voting voice in its affairs. In the Canadian context, the campaign is most advanced in Toronto. A coalition of community leaders, newcomers and academics is promoting the call for “One Resident, One Vote”. Toronto Mayor David Miller supports the campaign, and all now depends on the willingness of the Province to amend its municipal election legislation to enable Toronto City Council to extend the municipal franchise to all local residents.

Doing so would fulfill the terms of a key clause in the Province of Ontario’s new municipal charter for Toronto. It defines the City as a corporation “that is composed of the inhabitants of its geographic area.” Civic inclusion would be fostered by extending urban citizenship and voting rights to all municipal inhabitants.

What Planners Can Do

Voting in elections is not the only way to influence municipal decisions of course. As noted earlier, given the stake immigrants often have in local land use decisions (typically regarding places of housing, commerce and worship), planners can play a key role in bringing all immigrants into the decision-making process. In her book Towards Cosmopolis — a spirited appeal for a new approach to planning for multicultural cities — Leonie Sandercock calls on planners to become “a new kind of activist/practitioner” engaging all the diverse populations within a community.11

Planners would do well to redouble their efforts to connect with immigrants, especially recent newcomer residents. The latter are especially prevalent among non-citizens. By reaching out to these residents, planners can foster better decision-making and deeper urban citizenship. Many non-citizen immigrants are unaware of consultation avenues of input, and may not believe they are eligible to participate in them as non-citizens. Planners can give voice to these marginalized urban residents by purposefully reaching out, both over specific projects and more general community-planning capacity-building.

This would require ongoing efforts to engage neighbourhoods with large non-citizen populations, to develop multilingual information, translation capabilities, and networking capacities. While the efforts required are not to be underestimated, nor are the potential benefits. Planners would be building a greater sense of belonging among immigrants; would allow decision-making to reflect the views of more stakeholders; and would minimize the need to revisit plans after previously disenfranchised immigrant residents became naturalized and voted for new directions from municipal council.

Planners have a distinct role to play in forging a new urban citizenship in our Canadian “nation of immigrants”. ■

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References and Notes

10. This estimate is derived by taking 67% (the proportion of immigrants 18 years of age or older) of the 1,760,865 immigrants living in Canada in 2006.
Ethnic Retailing and Implications for Planning Multicultural Communities
by Zhixi Cecilia Zhuang

Summary
This article focuses on the phenomenon of ethnic retailing and demonstrates that city planners play an inactive or a reactive role in the context of ethnic retail area development. The findings indicate that there can be no templates in planning approaches to ethnic retailing. Planners must respect the local diversity and reject universal treatments of ethnic retail areas. It provides several recommendations for municipal planning, including the incorporation of secondary plans in ethnic retail areas to recreate community focal points, and the establishment of a Multicultural Planning Office within the existing planning system.

Introduction
Over the past few decades, waves of immigration have dramatically changed the urban landscape of Canada's metropolitan regions. One of the significant markers of this change are ethnic retail activities that manifest in ethnic shopping strips and shopping centres in urban and suburban areas of major immigrant settlement. These areas play an important role in immigrant settlement and generate diversity and choice in the general market. The dynamics of ethnic retailing pose various challenges for municipalities; for example, how to support ethnic businesses and maximize their social and economic contributions; how to integrate ethnic retail areas within local communities; how to incorporate ethnocultural diversity into a planning process that sets a goal of "planning for all"; and how to manage ethnic retailing and provide guidance for its long-term sustainability. Typical issues are related to land use, parking capacity, economic development, business management, tourism development, inter-ethnic and neighbourhood relationships, and community building. City planners and the planning system are accountable for addressing these urban changes and consequent multicultural challenges.

This article explores ethnic retail activities and identifies the role of municipal planning in ethnic retailing. It draws from research findings of an ethnic retail study conducted between 2005 and 2007. The study examined Chinese, South Asian, and Italian business communities. Four case studies were conducted: three retail strips in the inner city of Toronto – East Chinatown, the Gerrard India Bazaar, and Corso Italia – and one suburban Asian theme mall, the Pacific Mall in the Town of Markham. The research collected primary data through 114 interviews and surveys with ethnic entrepreneurs, city officials (city councillors, city planners, and economic development officers), community agency representatives, and consumers. The goal of the study was to inform municipalities on the planning and long-term management of ethnic retail districts. This article presents only a summary of the research findings, in order to highlight the importance for the delivery of planning services to accommodate the growing immigrant population, to facilitate their retail activities, and to enhance the community as a whole.

Comparing the four cases: reality check of ethnic retailing
Ethnic retailing is fluid, dynamic, and complex in nature. The following sections discuss the similarities and differences among the four cases and their relationships to planning practice.

Inter-group and intra-group differences
The four cases present a large spectrum of inter-group and intra-group differences. For example, the South Asian entrepreneurs adopted an independent business strategy, which may result in an unclear vision for the future development of the area. The East Chinatown Chinese merchants relied more on group solidarity and political resources to move along a proposed China Gate project. The Italian community had a high level of public participation in both economic and political life. The typical example was their confrontation against the City's streetcar right-of-way project.

Intra-group differences are reflected among Chinese business communities. The development of Asian theme malls specifically targets the new types of Chinese immigrants who have higher education levels and capital, instead of the older generation of Chinese immigrants who tend to concentrate their businesses in the old Chinatown. These dynamics prove that ethnic differences have a role in determining the development processes and physical outcomes of ethnic retail areas.

Inner-city strips vs. the suburban mall
The cases also present the differences between inner-city shopping strips and the suburban mall. The preference of many ethnic entrepreneurs for a main street business location can be attributed to spatial concentration of co-ethnic businesses, the street life and its social function, and flexibility in business operation. The configuration of...
Pacific Mall with condominium ownership provides alternatives for ethnic retailing that cater to suburbanized immigrants.

The inner-city shopping strips were incrementally developed over time. Because the public space draws interest from the municipality and the public, planning and other municipal departments can become involved in many ways. In contrast, the suburban mall was established within a much shorter timeframe. Developers had control over the mall's development. Municipal intervention only occurred during the site plan approval process. In the post-development phase, the ethnic mall has posed a series of challenges to municipalities in terms of parking capacity, site access, neighbourhood relationships, and long-term sustainability of the retail area. It requires monitoring the impact of this type of large scale retail facility on the surrounding neighbourhood.

**The retail function and community building**

The four cases show varying degrees of disconnection with the existing neighbourhoods, such as the isolated business enclave setting in East Chinatown, the regional draw of customers and its adverse effects (e.g., parking, traffic, noise, garbage) in the other three cases, separated retail use from the residential neighbourhood in the India Bazaar, and conflicts between retail development and other urban projects (e.g., transit, housing) in Corso Italia.

In particular, parking capacity for regional customers has been a key land use issue in the cases of the India Bazaar (concern about vehicles being towed away because of illegal parking), Corso Italia (loss of on-street parking due to the right-of-way transit use), and the Pacific Mall (the victim of its own success due to parking constraints). Another related issue is neighbourhood tension caused by traffic congestion and parking overflow to adjacent residential areas. These disconnections have affected the long-term sustainability of the communities in these areas.

**City vision vs. local diversity**

At times the City's vision coincides with local interests. This is demonstrated in the building of the China Gate in East Chinatown as a multicultural symbol of the City and in the development of the Pacific Mall as the promotion of the Town's economic development. Other times, there has been a conflict between the City's vision and local interests leading to community dispute, as occurred in the streetcar right-of-way controversy in Corso Italia.

Furthermore, the implementation of municipal policies or programs at the local level encounters difficulties due to local diversity and differences. City-wide approaches were not well received by local communities as reflected in the cases. For example, the conventional shopping centre parking standard did not apply to the development of the Pacific Mall. The municipal zoning and building permits were disregarded by some businesses in the India Bazaar. As a result, unexpected business practices clash with the norms of the host society, such as building on the City's property without building permits, or using temporary structures in breach of fire and safety standards. Another example is the rejection of the Business Improvement Area program by some of the Chinese and South Asian merchants due to cultural differences. These examples indicate that city planners must be sensitive in planning for multicultural communities and by anticipating that some difference and conflict may arise. Planners can be more proactive in educating newcomers about the City vision and municipal regulations and programs. This proactive stance can reduce or eliminate some of the problems currently occurring.

**Ethnic expression: maintenance or integration?**

The three ethnic groups have various ways of ethnic expression that are reflected in the uses of retail spaces. For example, the vertical signboards and the proposed China Gate in East Chinatown,
The sidewalk corn stands in the India Bazaar, the outdoor patios in Corso Italia, and the “Hong Kong feel” shopping cubicles in the Pacific Mall are the typical trademarks of these ethnic areas.

Mural or proposed Chino Gate in East Chinatown. (Photo courtesy of the author)

The cases also show divergent tendencies towards stronger maintenance of ethnic identity or towards a diluted version of ethnic expression targeting wider audiences. For example, in East Chinatown, the India Bazaar, and the Pacific Mall, collective images with ethnic characteristics are strengthened through the proposed China Gate and a South Asian cultural centre, and the Heritage Town. In contrast, in the case of Corso Italia businesses have tended to tone down expressions of the Italian identity by changing the Italian names of the area and its festival, and by providing a more general European appeal in order to attract a broader customer base.

Seeking a balance between integration with the mainstream market and maintenance of ethnic distinctness can help support the multicultural richness of the city. This requires planners to understand local dynamics and the diversities of each neighbourhood and each ethnic community.

The limited role of planners
In all four cases, planners were either inactive in the ethnic retail area development, or only played a reactive and regulatory role. What are the constraints that hinder planners from being more active in ethnic retail matters? Does this occur because of the planning system’s lack of compatibility with a multicultural society? Or is it planners’ lack of preparedness for the multicultural challenges that leads to an absence of a more involved approach? Perhaps the answer is yes to both.

First, the planning system is legislatively bound, which is reflected in universal policies and regulations with no specific acknowledgement of any group of people. In practice, planners must, by the nature of their work, play a regulatory role to deal with local issues within a broader city-wide perspective: as seen in the examples of the need for a transit priority corridor running through Corso Italia; the need to respect zoning and building permits and avoid the creation of dangerous precedents in the India Bazaar; and the need to find a parking solution to condominium retailing. Obviously, under these circumstances, planners do not appear as sympathetic interlocutors at the local level, which can easily lead to friction between planners and local groups.

Second, planning departments have limited jurisdiction over many retail-related land use issues and municipalities often lack institutional cultures that promote strong interdepartmental collaboration. For example, in the retail strip cases, community planners assigned to the study areas only deal with building permit approval, information provision, and larger scale area development. Issues in small-scale retail pockets are left to the market or to the economic development office to handle. This lack of interdepartmental collaboration explains, in part, why planners were not involved in the retail matters in these areas, although the business issues were closely associated with various planning functions, such as urban design, housing, transportation, and community services.

A third factor is the orthodox “planning for land use but not land users” mantra. This technocratic approach is deeply rooted in planning tradition and practice, and aims to provide “one size fits all” planning solutions to serve diverse people, regardless of their cultural (or other) differences. Interviewees’ narratives showed that planners tend to avoid mentioning the ethnic components of a development or the cultural preferences of a specific group during legislative planning procedures, such as the environmental assessment, zoning review, and site plan approval processes. Planners adopt this approach to focus on technicalities rather than on the cultural aspects of the issues.

Finally, respondents indicated a lack of experience in dealing with ethnic diversity.

Pictured above, the Gerrard India Bazaar in Toronto. (Photo courtesy of the author)
and related developments. For instance, City officials tried to understand what a traditional gate means to the Chinese community. Merchants of the India Bazaar continued to confront planning and City officials were not prepared to help them solve their issues. In Corso Italia, inefficient communications between transportation planners and various ethnic groups deepened the community’s mistrust of the City. In the Pacific Mall case, the ethnic mall phenomenon forced the municipality to think beyond retail land uses and reconsider the social and cultural aspects of economic development.

Recommendations
This study suggests the need to re-examine planners’ roles and reconsider what effective planning tools planners can exercise. How can the planning system be improved to better integrate ethnic communities into their cities? When and to what degree can planners become involved with ethnic retailing? What are other means of municipal intervention? To address these questions, a summary of recommendations are listed as follows:

1. Ethnic Retail Neighbourhood and Business Profiles
Ethnic retail neighbourhoods present profound dynamics and opportunities. There is a need to gain a better understanding of community composition and change, and anticipate future development trends. Municipalities, especially through their planning functions, should compile neighbourhood business profiles that include demographic information, business data, and, possibly, survey and research results.

2. Ethnic Retail Area Secondary Plans
Municipalities should consider the long-term sustainability of ethnic retail areas. Secondary Plans for intensification or improvement should be laid out for these areas. Effective tools may include housing intensification for seniors and immigrants, old building stock revitalization with mixed-use, and public transit improvement. The Secondary Plans will contribute to the recreation of ethnic retail areas as local community focal points that attract not only ethnic populations near and far, but also serve the needs of the community as a whole.

3. Condominium Asian Theme Mall Development Policies
Municipalities must establish explicit approval criteria for condominium Asian theme mall developments. Particular attention should be given to land use, site access, parking standards, traffic capacities, signage language, landscaping and urban design. In addition, a set of evaluation standards for the post-development phase must be established in order to monitor the growth impacts of these mall developments on adjacent areas.

4. Establishment of a Multicultural Planning Office
City Council should support the establishment of a Multicultural Planning Office within the existing planning system. An institutional commitment to raise cultural sensitivity would create a supportive working environment for planning multicultural communities. This office should include a multicultural work force representing the diversity of the community they serve; staff should be highly educated and possess cultural knowledge and sensitivity. Setting up a multicultural office and recruiting culturally inclusive and sensitive planners would be a proactive approach to multicultural challenges, with a pre-emptive capacity to deal with potential problems.

5. Planning and Economic Development Joint Task Force
Municipalities should constitute a joint task force to include the Planning Department and the Economic Development Office when they work on neighbourhood improvement strategies or development projects related to ethnic retailing and/or tourism. Representatives from both departments should work on creating comprehensive plans, focusing on the economic and physical aspects of the retail and/or tourism development.

6. Community Outreach
Municipalities should find ways to incorporate multicultural public participation in the planning and decision-making process. The Multicultural Planning Office could be in charge of assigning multicultural community outreach workers, who are ideally from the appropriate ethnic group, to work with the community in the field.

7. Partnership with Community Agencies
Municipalities should acknowledge the importance of building partnerships with diversity-focused community agencies. City budget should consider providing and ensuring funding, or another kind of support, for these community agencies. The Multicultural Planning Office would be the key player in keeping close working relationships with these agencies.

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Reference
1. East Chinatown is centred around the intersection of Gerrard Street East and Broadview Avenue. The Gerrard India Bazaar is located on Gerrard Street East between Greenwood and Coxwell Avenues, just a few blocks away from East Chinatown. Corso Italia stretches along St. Clair Avenue West, from just east of Dufferin Street to slightly west of Lansdowne Avenue. The Pacific Mall sits on the major intersection of Steeles Avenue East and Kennedy Road bordering the Town of Markham and the City of Toronto.
So Where is ETHNOCULTURAL DIVERSITY in Canadian Cities?

by Brian K. Ray

Since the early 1990s, the number of immigrants arriving in Canada annually has topped 200,000 and it is more than likely that high immigration levels will be sustained in the years to come. The number of newcomers, especially from non-European countries, has generated considerable interest in how the social, economic and political character of Canada is changing, especially in the nation’s largest cities. Media interest has in part been spurred on by studies from various government agencies that have highlighted the changing qualities of immigration to Canada’s largest cities: the size and socio-economic significance of visible minority groups in Toronto and Vancouver by 2017, and a dramatic increase in the number of “visible minority neighbourhoods” since 1981.

Many media stories also emphasize findings that suggest growing degrees of ethnic and/or racial spatial concentration, if not segregation, and in turn either implicitly or explicitly suggest that spatial concentration leads to social fragmentation and limited opportunities for cross-cultural interaction and integration.

Without doubt, Canadian cities are becoming culturally diverse and socially complex locales, and immigration has enhanced such complexity. This article argues that there is a need to go beyond mapping the residential location and relative concentration of individual immigrant, ethnic or racial groups. Such maps are informative but tend to underline a vision of the city as a mosaic of ethnocultural pieces that seldom intersect and overlap. At the heart of any notion of multiculturalism lies diversity. Comparatively little research about minority groups in Canadian cities, however, allows us to identify ethnoculturally diverse neighbourhoods. Where are such neighbourhoods? Where are the least diverse neighbourhoods? How does the magnitude of diversity change across residential areas? How does the geography of diversity change between cities? How might an enhanced appreciation of ethnocultural diversity at a local scale influence community planning? In response to these questions, the objectives of this descriptive analysis are modest: to sketch the geography of new immigrants in Canadian cities and to highlight the qualities of ethnocultural residential diversity through a comparison of Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. Throughout the analysis, visible minority groups and individuals of European ancestry are examined. As such, this article sheds light on the degree to which all groups in Canadian cities are sharing residential space and where within cities this is occurring.

Geographies of Spatial Segregation and Ethnocultural Diversity

The study of immigrant and ethnic concentration or segregation in North American and European cities has a considerable history, with many American studies examining multiple dimensions of spatial segregation between white and African American, Hispanic and Asian minority groups. With some notable exceptions that examine the residential concentration of ethnic groups, the vast majority of research has focused on patterns and processes of black, white and to a lesser extent Hispanic spatial segregation and integration in American cities.

Studies of ethnic and racial groups in the United States has in large part been a function of the reality of intense black-white racial segregation in both small and large cities, deep social divisions based on race, and African American socio-economic inequality.

In general, Canadian cities do not share the same long and entrenched history of black-white racial discrimination and enforced segregation present in their American counterparts, although racism is far from absent in Canadian life. As a consequence, studies of the distribution of groups across Canadian cities have tended to emphasize the experiences of ethnic rather than “racial” groups and relatively few have focussed specifically on immigrant groups. The attention given to ethnic groups has in large part been a function of the availability of data about individual ethnic groups, as well as a strong public and academic interest in the ethnic, rather than racial, composition of the nation. Only more recently has attention shifted to immigrant groups and the degree to which “race"
neighbourhoods in which ethnocultural diversity is a central reality, community planning is being challenged to build consensus and meaningful governance out of strife.38

In this article, the need to give much more direct consideration to both the number and location of neighbourhoods characterized by moderate to high ethnocultural diversity has been emphasized, especially given policy and ideological commitments Canada has made to multiethnic diversity. Nevertheless, it is impossible to ignore the fact that in many such neighbourhoods households have low incomes and still others live in poverty,39-40 or that the economic integration of new immigrants and their earnings performance in Canada appears to have deteriorated over the last two decades.41-43 Yet it is far too simplistic to equate ethnocultural diversity in a census tract or collection of tracts with poverty, alienation or crime. As the maps emphasize, ethnocultural diversity is something that characterizes a wide array of residential environments and in turn socio-economic groups, most especially in older post-war inner suburbs. In fact, in important gateway cities like Toronto and Vancouver where flows of newcomers continually (re)shape residential space, the “new” mono-ethnic European-origin neighbourhoods of the inner city and outer fringe illustrate complex intersections between wealth and ethnocultural identity. Importantly, the highly dynamic qualities of ethnocultural diversity and wealth will continue to (re)shape both built form and social meaning, as well as how urban people understand the cities they call home.

References

RELIGION in Public Space in a Multi-Ethnic Environment: Reasonable Accommodation in Zoning

by Annick Germain

Summary

The recent debate on reasonable accommodation, which mobilized public opinion in Quebec, is the starting point for a reflection that distinguishes reasonable accommodation from standard arrangements and transactions in a diverse urban landscape. I will focus on the different meanings of public space that came up during these debates in order to clearly delineate the issues and, particularly, the opportunities for innovation in diversity management that are available to urban planners.

At the end of May 2008, after conducting public consultations throughout Quebec, the Bouchard-Taylor Commission tabled its report on accommodation practices related to cultural differences. The Commission—and the events that led to its inception—aroused public passion as people grappled with the issue of reasonable accommodation and, more generally, the role of religion in public spaces. The debate focused initially on the religion of “others”—immigrants—but quickly encompassed the religions of ethno-religious minorities who had been here for many years. It also focused on the religions of the majority, since secularism and identity in Quebec eventually monopolized the debate (although the issue of immigrant integration was never far behind). The Bouchard-Taylor report discussed accommodation practices in health and education at length, but municipal issues, urban planning, and the allocation of urban space were barely mentioned. In fact, the report is virtually silent on places of worship—(except for the mention of prayer rooms in schools) and on municipal and community sports and recreation equipment (with the exception of the frosted windows at a YMCA located next door to a synagogue). Orthodox Jews wanted to be shielded from seeing women in bathing suits who could be easily observed through the clear windows at the pool. The swimming pool issue was glossed over as a social mixing issue stemming from gender equality (yet, many Montreal-area swimming pools manage quite well with separate swimming sessions for men and for women).

The eruv in the former suburb of Outremont was only mentioned in passing—in spite of the fact that the debate was heated and the issue received considerable media attention. The controversy over the eruv, an aerial wire that ultra-Orthodox Jews install to extend the area within which certain activities are permitted on the Sabbath and on religious holidays, raised the profile of the Mouvement laïque québécois [Quebec Secular Movement] (MLQ), a subject this article will touch on later. The eruv situation is telling, as it illustrates some of the confusion underlying the positions of many opponents of reasonable accommodation—that of the notion of public space. There is further confusion about the exact nature of reasonable accommodation. Before we discuss the eruv situation and its implications for land use planning, we will return for a moment to the notion of public space, and follow with a discussion of places of worship.

Minority rights and social transactions

Bouchard and Taylor often reiterated that reasonable accommodation is a legal concept that flows from the application of the Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms (adopted prior to the Canadian Charter). This sets out the basis against discrimination for which public institutions must negotiate specific arrangements on a case-by-case basis with people who are susceptible to being victims of universal standards. Generally speaking, these arrangements must be reasonable; that is to say, they must not inflict excessive constraints on the agencies responsible and they must be arrived at through compromise between both parties. This approach was first applied in the labour relations field in the areas of gender equality and physical disabilities, and was subsequently used for religious affiliation. The notion of reasonable accommodation takes us into the area of minority rights from an equity perspective.

Many of the cases that made headlines and prompted vigorous public reaction did not, strictly speaking, relate to reasonable accommodation but simply to arrangements agreed upon by individuals or by civil institutions (for example, the YMCA). Those arrangements, which are not always religious in nature, are common—particularly in metropolitan areas where residents have long been engaging in social transactions to resolve all kinds of differences and come up with compromises for co-existence. NIMBY (“not in my backyard”) is not the only reaction from residents who are faced with differing lifestyles. Some residents want to transcend their differences and find ways of sharing urban space—particularly if socio-economic differences are not in play. In my study on the controversies surrounding places of worship in a multi-ethnic environment, I outlined how residents, who appear at first glance to be separated by irreconcilable differences in values, undertook the negotiations.

† Open secularism, interculturalism, the fight against discrimination and guidelines for accommodation formed the core of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission’s recommendations.
downtown Montreal neighbourhood, residents who say that they have no religious affiliation came up with practical compromises in order to reach informal agreements with religious leaders for the expansion of a synagogue in their neighbourhood (for example, the installation of central air conditioning so that windows could be closed during ceremonies so as not to disturb the neighbourhood). A similar situation in a neighbouring area ended up in the courts as attempts were made to force the relocation of the synagogue instead of negotiating a solution. The parties in the first case focused on maintaining good relations in the neighbourhood; in the second, the focus was on values and principles.

In the second case, the debate ultimately revolved around the “neutrality of public space” and the belief that religious practice should be confined to private places (or spaces) of worship. This stemmed from an unyielding, although simplistic, stand on secularism (the separation of church and state, and the state’s neutrality). The argument focused on the neutrality of public space as being self-evident and as the only means by which cultures can co-exist peacefully in a multi-ethnic environment. The City of Montreal used a similar argument to ban the traditional Christmas tree and replace it with a tree of life. France was often cited as a model even though the French government intervenes much more often than government here does in the religious infrastructure and in the establishment of Muslim organizations, etc.

What exactly does public space mean? Is it the urban planner’s concept of tangible physical spaces or the concept defined by philosophers and political scientists—the realm of public debate, which inevitably becomes politicized? Can religious practice really be confined to private space? It is commonly acknowledged that most religions practice some collective rituals that spill over the boundaries of private space, and that most places of worship define themselves as public spaces. Many religions do not conform to the functionalist view of urban life, which presupposes a clear spatial distinction between different spheres of activities—some private, some public. The neutrality of public space is often presented as a panacea for managing religious diversity when, in fact, the notion of public space is complex and encompasses many different meanings—as does the public-private debate. In their report, Bouchard and Taylor distinguish between two interpretations of public: the first “concerns society overall in contrast with what affects private citizens”; and the second refers to what is, or is not, accessible to all. Urban planners, however, recognize that certain spaces—Montreal’s inner city and shopping centres, for instance—combine both public access and private property. The situation is not, therefore, always clear-cut.

The eruv controversy stems from a syllepsis—a figure of speech in which one word simultaneously modifies two or more other words such that the modification must be understood differently with respect to each modified word. This creates a semantic incongruity which is often humorous. In this case, the debate seemingly surrounds the physical concept of public space, when, in actual fact, the issue involves the realm of the politically abstract concept—or vice versa.

**Public space and its many configurations**

In the eruv controversy, the Mouvement laïque québécois maintained that the municipality granted an encroachment of public space for religious reasons, thereby endorsing religious zoning by earmarking a portion of the public space for the use of a single group. This is what the group’s president had to say in a Montreal newspaper:

[Translation]

“Attributing a religious character to public places is contrary to the fundamental principles of our society, which stipulate that, regardless of religious beliefs, public spaces shall be available to everyone. Free access to public places is guaranteed in the Charter and includes the right to not be subjected to the permanent attribution of the religious character of a street or neighbourhood.”

(D. Baril, Le Devoir, July 9, 2001:A7)

In actual fact, the eruv in no way impeded access to the streets, unless—as was pointed out at the hearings—you consider the kites that could become entangled in it. This example demonstrates the utility of distinguishing between public space in physical terms—a space that is accessible to all (in this case, the street); public space as designated by the political and civic realities of living in a community governed by a secular state; and the legal reality of the public domain (state ownership or jurisdiction, which are important components of zoning, since property rights are usually integral to the discussion). In this case, however, zoning was not an issue.

It is easy to understand how one concept can have different meanings—religious or otherwise—for different people. For some people, the suspended line is an eruv, while, for others, it is simply a nylons fishing line. Surely, cultural pluralism begins with an acceptance of a plurality of meanings, as well as the recognition of cultural diversity?

Our understanding must also include an awareness of the symbols associated with physical public space and, therefore, the interplay between public space and the public sphere. Places of worship are lightning rods for this viewpoint. It is not happenstance that their visibility has become an urban and political issue. We now turn our attention to this issue, but not without acknowledging that a power struggle over real estate was at play in the eruv controversy and the question of whether to dismantle the aerial wire. Groups of residents (including groups from the Hassidic Jewish community, and groups of native and immigrant Francophones) had disputes over the acquisition of residential property and, therefore, over the control of the neighbourhood, amidst a surge in the Hassidic population in the area. Erus were installed in other neighbourhoods with no commotion whatsoever.

For most minorities, ethnic branding of space and the community’s visibility—or lack of visibility—is a primary concern. Some minorities prefer to remain inconspicuous (for example, by locating their place of worship in a vacant commercial plaza with no exterior signage); others, however, prefer to communicate the symbolic importance of their place of worship (with their buildings and their architecture) and to stake their place in the city. In any case, the question always raises strong opinions.

**Places of worship where you least expect them...**

The literature on places of worship in minority situations shows that, over time, ethno-religious groups tend to want to make their mark on their local
urban landscape and garner attention for their civic contribution. Far from showing any signs of withdrawing inwardly, this symbolic affirmation is often a demand for recognition. Conversely, refusing to acknowledge this visibility is to promote homogeneity and to deny the contribution of the minority. Inwardly, this symbolic affirmation is increasingly, places of worship are serving a regional population base. In other cases, attempts were made to separate space reserved for prayer from other related activities (community events, recreation, education, etc.) in order to limit the size of the tax-exempt zone. Many, although not all, of these controversies led to projects often because the municipal officials—and, at times, the architects/urban planners and the religious groups in charge of the projects—proved to be skilled mediators.

Managing diversity

The turbulence of the 2002 municipal reforms—which led to the amalgamation and then the de-amalgamation of some municipalities on the Island of Montreal and on the South Shore, and also led to extensive decentralization of the urban planning process in the new City of Montreal—undoubtedly convinced a number of municipal administrators to put off looking at the issue of places of worship and the urban planning by-laws surrounding their construction or expansion. International events (notably post-September 11), and the debate in Quebec over reasonable accommodation are some of the other issues that factored into the municipal decision to avoid what must have seemed like a Pandora’s box. Although places of worship are often perceived as zoning enigmas, they can also provide a glimpse into the ever-changing reality of our larger cities and an opportunity to uncover the rich tapestry of social interaction inherent in co-existence, which sustains life in the city—even where we least expect it! Urban planners could seize this opportunity to showcase their abilities in the area of the complexities of urban issues, instead of relegating these issues to the purview of lawyers and academics! The re-emergence of places of worship as an urban planning issue, beyond heritage protection, is, in large part, undoubtedly a product of the transformation of the urban landscape brought about by immigration. Urban planners have a key role to play in defining society’s ability to create shared—rather than fragmented—landscapes that echo our cultural diversity and that let us all share in its richness.

Urban planners can showcase their ability to innovate and their contribution to social cohesion by reconciling places of worship with their environment. Combining related community activities and places for prayer can benefit the entire neighbourhood and can be a catalyst for integration if these services are made available to everyone. Public spaces, much like public places, streets and parks—as places of social exchange and interaction, as well as a stage for cultural and religious diversity—must be nurtured through careful planning that avoids overcharging the social arena. Immigrants are usually frequent users of public spaces and, as such, contribute to the vitality of the urban landscape (although it is regrettable that municipal park managers are sometimes overheard complaining about overcrowding at picnic tables).

Eschewing contact and refusing to allow the interaction of diverse cultures in public places and in our urban landscapes are the first steps toward urban fragmentation. Religion has always been part of this landscape; the challenge now lies in managing the many forms it takes in today’s society.

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References and Notes

3. Germain A, Léguëois L, Hoening H. Public spaces in a multi-ethnic context. Religion, visibility and pasteurization. In: Leloup X, Radice M, eds. The New Territories of Ethnicity. Quebec: Presses de l’Université Laval; 2008:157-81. We showed elsewhere how the City of Montreal’s decision to relocate most of the ethnic festivals—which were previously entrenched in the various neighbourhoods—to an island is in keeping with the trend towards homogenization.
Including ETHNOCULTURAL COMMUNITIES in Neighbourhood Life

by Lyne Poitras

The neighbourhood as a social framework

The neighbourhood provides a significant social framework for people living in big cities. Schools, businesses, recreation centres, libraries, health clinics and community-based organizations are all resources that can exert a positive influence on the quality of life of people in any neighbourhood. At the same time, these resources can be a source of stress for newcomers, because they need to understand how our systems operate. For example, they have to learn how to find places to live, understand how the public school system operates and how community organizations can be helpful to them. The neighbourhood also provides an environment in which people learn how to live together and form good relationships with their neighbours. For many years, newcomers to our country tended to move into certain Montreal neighbourhoods in cultural groups. As a result, specific neighbourhoods gradually became identified with the national origin concerned — Little Italy, Chinatown and the Greek district, among others. The concentration of groups in specific areas had a purpose: to make social and economic integration easier for them. Today, this tendency to congregate is less evident because of the improved housing situation, the greater mobility of populations in general and the robust cultural diversity to be found in today’s Montreal.

Many Montreal neighbourhoods are gradually changing, as is the social environment they provide for their residents. This can be a source of major problems of social cohesiveness and integration for the various public and community actors concerned. Their task is therefore to ensure that the changes result in dynamic, highly diverse communities instead of creating isolation, mistrust and tension.

Although this article focuses on new immigrants, cultural isolation is also experienced by immigrants who have been in this country for many years and even by native-born Canadians of ethnic origin. In this article, the term “inclusion” is favoured over “integration”, because the former encompasses a two-way process involving all stakeholders concerned — both people from ethnocultural communities who may experience exclusion and people who are in a position to remove the barriers causing that exclusion. Efforts have been made to avoid the “us” and “them” dichotomy. To continue the grammatical metaphor, the host society in Montreal could itself be considered “plural” — characterized by its diversity.

Summary

Centraide of Greater Montreal has chosen the “neighbourhood” as an agent of change. By investing in the collective efforts of local communities, it hopes to facilitate the inclusion of ethnocultural communities who are presently excluded. Centraide sees inclusion as a reciprocal process that involves all stakeholders — both the excluded and those who are in a position to remove the barriers to inclusion. Six participating neighbourhoods developed their own strategies to bring about change. Centraide concentrated its efforts on helping to equip individuals and agencies involved at the local level to renew their intervention practices based on their own neighbourhood’s needs. Centraide then provided medium-term monetary support tailored to help meet those needs through its Accessibility Program.

Montreal, a multicultural, diverse city

In recent years, a number of new trends have changed the social environment of the Montreal population. This article focuses on three of them:

1. The proportion of immigrants has been increasing steadily for a number of years — reaching 23% in 1991, 26% in 1996, 28% in 2001 and 31% in 2006. The city now has nearly 500,000 immigrants.

2. The ethnic, religious and socio-economic characteristics of recent waves of immigrants are more diverse than were the primarily European waves before the 1980s. For example, it was not unusual then for European immigrants to achieve greater economic success than non-immigrant French Canadians. For more recent immigrants of diverse origins this is no longer the case. On the other hand, over the last 10 to 15 years, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of places of worship representing a broad range of religions.
3. **The population profile in a number of neighbourhoods is changing.** Neighbourhoods that were considered homogeneous, with non-immigrant populations of French or British stock, are suddenly being transformed by an ever-greater influx of new immigrants from a variety of countries and cultures. This is the case of Rosemont, Centre-sud, Ahuntsic and Verdun, for example. The populations of other neighbourhoods that were considered to have one or two dominant ethnocultural communities, such as Saint-Laurent, Bordeaux-Cartierville, Montreal North, Saint-Michel and Parc Extension, are becoming highly diversified because of the large number of countries of origin represented in the most recent waves of immigrants. In short, Montreal is an increasingly multicultural, pluralistic city.³

It is the responsibility of governments to plan immigration and develop programs to foster the independence of newcomers, but the integration process itself occurs at the neighbourhood level.¹ As a result, these changes at the local level created significant adjustment challenges for public institutions and community organizations. This work inevitably requires both time and continuity to be successful.

Centraide of Greater Montreal became aware of this situation in the 1990s, when it realized that the agencies in its network were failing to reach immigrants in any significant and tangible way. It was also evident that their staff and teams of volunteers did not reflect the profile of the population in the neighbourhoods in which they were working. This was even more difficult for agencies working in neighbourhoods where the population was more diverse. As a result, Centraide tried to identify which issues needed to be raised and then worked on ways to enhance inclusion.

### A matter of collective responsibility

The immediate response to the problem could have been to set up a training program to make agency managers more aware of the reality of immigration. The training might have focused on immigrants’ characteristics by country of origin, religion and culture in the hope that the resulting knowledge would prompt the managers to launch activities targeting greater participation by newcomers. That approach, however, presented a two-fold risk: the training could have produced a set of general conclusions and opinions that triggered biases, and it might have overlooked the agencies’ own abilities and capacities to devise solutions and influence improved working procedures in public institutions.

Because of this, Centraide instead decided to use neighbourhood roundtables² as forums for finding ways of including ethnocultural communities. These neighbourhood organizations are focusing increasingly on inclusion because they have recognized that ghettoization, segregation and isolation are formidable barriers to quality of life.

Because of the way they harness the energies of local stakeholders, the neighbourhood roundtables have the potential for advancing social objectives at the neighbourhood level. Their primary goal is to develop a capacity to act collectively, mainly by giving the partners in each community an opportunity to share their views on socio-demographic and other conditions, to work together on identifying social issues of concern to them, and to select strategies that can bring about the changes sought.

Between 2000 and 2005, six Montreal neighbourhoods collectively implemented measures to bring about greater inclusion of immigrants. They received funding from Centraide under its Accessibility Program, which enabled them to hire an employee to carry out facilitation and consultation duties. The Accessibility Program targeted the neighbourhoods of Ahuntsic, Bordeaux/Cartierville, Centre-sud (Sainte-Marie), Rosemont, Saint-Laurent and Ville-Marie.

In choosing these specific neighbourhoods, Centraide contacted neighbourhood roundtables that had focused on ethnocultural community participation as a priority, offering them financial support if the local partners agreed to draft plans for concerted action on inclusion. The plans had to include identification of barriers to inclusion in each neighbourhood and provide collective solutions to overcome those barriers. For its part, Centraide undertook to respect the specific characteristics and dynamics of each neighbourhood in monitoring and supporting progress toward the anticipated outcomes and assessing the results.

**The role of the facilitator was to engage the local stakeholders who were already working together on the war on poverty and social exclusion, and to provide the group with guidance in discussing issues and prospects for the inclusion of ethnocultural communities and the implementation of an action plan.**

### Positive but limited results

In 2005, after five years of work at the local level, an assessment was made of the six Accessibility initiatives. A number of benefits were identified, including the fact that all partners in the six neighbourhoods acknowledged the useful role played by the facilitator. This person provided continuity in a context where decisions were strongly influenced by short-term funding opportunities and where the social actors often set aside the issue of inclusion in order to deal with the many situations of poverty and social exclusion.

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¹ For over 10 years, Centraide of Greater Montreal, along with the Direction de santé publique [public health branch] of Montreal-Centre and the City of Montreal, has been funding neighbourhood roundtables so that they can coordinate local consultation activities. Today there are 30 roundtables in Montreal.²
The assessment also highlighted the fact that each community concentrated on drawing up a profile of the population in terms of its ethnocultural origins, on using the profile to make local partners aware of the situation, and on preparing an action plan. The resulting plans gave rise to activities that made it possible to bring agencies and the immigrant population together and forge ties between the established and new residents of the neighbourhoods concerned. They also made it possible to reach newcomers and invite them to participate in a number of local gatherings like neighbourhood parties.

The overall assessment was therefore a positive one. However, Centraide felt that more changes could have been made within the participating organizations through the introduction of new volunteer recruitment, community canvassing and hiring strategies based on the use of volunteer interpreters, written communications in several languages, and meetings with small groups from specific communities, etc.

**Act collectively but also target more deep-seated change**

In spite of these shortcomings, the results were considered positive, and Centraide renewed its Accessibility Program with medium-term funding. This time, however, applicants had to submit a “change strategy” and include in it a component on changes in practice in the participating organizations. The following neighbourhoods complied with the new requirements: Ahuntsic, Rosemont, Centre-sud (Sainte-Marie) and Villeray (previous participants) and Côte-des-Neiges and Verdun (new participants).

Change strategy is simply a vehicle for collective planning focused on the changes that a community is seeking and to which it can, in its view, contribute. The first step is to identify the change sought in the long term. For example, the Centre-Sud neighbourhood, which had been homogeneous for a long time, described the change as follows:

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**Improved participation by ethnocultural communities in neighbourhood life**

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The second step for the partners engaged in the change strategy process is to identify the priority actions required to implement the strategy. In Centre-Sud, they chose three broad actions:

- The implementation of inclusiveness strategies in partner organizations
- The improvement of cross-cultural relations between people of all backgrounds
- Consultation and mobilization of the community around the theme of inclusion

The strategy may vary from one community to another, but the partners need to determine what conditions they must establish in order to effect medium- and long-term change and what short-term actions will ensure that those conditions exist. The final step is ongoing monitoring of success indicators, which will serve to confirm the appropriateness of the chosen approach or the need for adjustments.

**The neighbourhood as a vehicle for integration**

The work to date has highlighted the importance of action at the neighbourhood level in tackling inclusion issues. The neighbourhood not only functions as the place where individuals and families find a broad range of essential services that are vital to their comfort and security; it also helps foster a sense of belonging in the community—a key factor in the success of any immigration initiative.

Inclusion must be approached transversally. In other words, it must be factored into all actions, whatever the social issue that brought together all the local stakeholders concerned. Above all, inclusion cannot be just a quality or capacity that is developed independent of any concerted action.

**Some encouraging results**

The collective planning, or change strategy process, has enabled local partners to work together and identify the components of change to which they were ready to contribute. This form of commitment has given rise to concrete improvements. Some examples are outlined below.

In one of the new immigrant neighbourhoods, the process of sharing situational profiles with all the other participants and making local organizations aware of the new characteristics of the neighbourhood eventually produced tangible benefits. The organizations now act on their own initiative to bring different groups together, whereas more specialized cross-cultural relations bodies used to handle this task. This development shows that community organizations have taken direct ownership of the situation and become accountable in relation to the new issue.

In another neighbourhood that had a long history of ethnocultural diversity, the partners decided to build a profile of the immigrant population during the first year of funding and try to identify both the difficulties caused by the population’s newcomer status and its perceptions of the neighbourhood. Often, many of the available profiles are based on large-scale statistical surveys and do not provide precise information on local agencies’ fields of interest, such as sports and recreation, use of parks, urban safety and security, schools, health care, social services, Francization, job training, and neighbourhood life in general. Yet this is the kind of information that agencies need in order to change practices and adjust their services.

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† Change strategy is a method of collective planning of social development based on the work of a U.S. organization called the Aspen Institute and its “Theory of Change.”
results of this neighbourhood survey will ensure that the required actions are more accurately targeted. One of the benefits of this type of survey for other neighbourhoods, which were relatively homogeneous and had a long history of poverty, was that it made people aware of immigrant parents’ negative perceptions of the academic requirements of public schools. This is not a surprising finding, considering that many new immigrants to Montreal are more educated than the average non-immigrant Quebecker and that the disparity in level of education may well be even greater in cases where the subjects live in neighbourhoods with a long history of poverty. It is useful for community-based organizations that work with schools, and for the schools themselves, to know that this perception exists. This knowledge helps them in working with parents to devise solutions that meet their expectations.

In this same neighbourhood, agencies gave members of the public and other community organizations a presentation on the changes that they had introduced to reach a broader range of newcomers. The changes involved strategies such as the publication of documents in several languages, in simple language or with illustrations, door-to-door canvassing in the target sectors, and the involvement of newcomers in making the community aware of the demographic changes brought about by their arrival in the neighbourhood. During this information-sharing event, one of the community organizations reported on the changes that it had initiated in the process it uses to recruit and hire volunteers and on the tangible results that it had achieved. Today, it has a diverse staff that reflects the diversity of its client base, as does its board of directors, which is made up of parents who use its services. The beneficial effects of these strategies are many: healthier, more dynamic relationships and processes in some neighbourhood organizations, the renewed sense of involvement and democracy felt by the organizations, and the creation of new action models that are more appropriate to the new context.

This neighbourhood Accessibility Program also produced a self-diagnosis tool that agencies can use to assess their operations in terms of inclusion of ethnocultural communities. In addition, the initiative provides support for agencies embarking on this type of project, because, even though the stakeholders concerned are working in a field where mutual support is central to their strategies, not everyone has reached the same level of openness to ethnocultural communities.

Conclusions

Centraide of Greater Montreal has recognized the importance of adjusting its Accessibility Program funding conditions to the success factors that are most readily apparent to communities. In particular, it has supported initiatives in generating solutions based on local, bottom-up surveys. The benefits of the actions selected for each neighbourhood under such initiatives clearly show the importance of Centraide’s flexibility. We all know that developing harmonious relationships between people of different origins and improving newcomers’ access to local resources takes time. To be effective, an agency needs to plan and establish the preconditions for achieving the desired results. Accordingly, Centraide has adjusted its funding timelines in order to support these processes over the medium and long term.

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TOWARD A MORE WELCOMING COMMUNITY?
Observations on the Greater Moncton Area

by Chedly Belkhodja

Summary
This article reviews developments pertaining to immigration in the Greater Moncton Area of southeastern New Brunswick. Over the last few years, political, economic and community stakeholders have become more sensitive and have launched new initiatives to make immigration a lever for economic development. However, a number of major hurdles remain for a city that is not accustomed to ethnic diversity and difference.

Introduction
In Canadian cities, action on immigration no longer revolves solely around the delivery of front-line services to specific classes of immigrants like refugees. It now encompasses efforts to develop and enhance information and initiatives to meet a broader range of immigrant needs. Many mid-sized cities are developing reception strategies and services for newcomers, and the research shows that the involvement of political, economic and social stakeholders is crucial to the success of the initiatives, which seem to be quite varied.1,2

One common expression in the context of diversity management policy is that of “welcoming community”. In the 1990s, it became particularly appealing and was adopted by governments, consultants, researchers and immigration stakeholders alike. But the meaning of “welcoming community” needs to be examined, as it is not a neutral term. What precisely is it and what are its attributes?

First, there is a spatial dimension. In the context of globalization, the way a territory is represented has evolved significantly over the last 20 years or so. Regional, local and rural territories are characterized by mobility and open borders. People and goods move more freely, and communities—large and small, urban and rural—are eager to participate in mobility processes and do so successfully, particularly through overseas recruitment missions. Somewhat like tourism promoters, cities become heavily involved in promoting their region to attract newcomers. A quick surf of municipal websites shows the efforts that cities are making to develop and acquire the assets of a welcoming community.

Second, the expression “welcoming community” reflects a discourse that has gained more currency in recent times—one that proposes a new concept of responsibility. On the one hand, the host society must take full responsibility for immigration and develop strategies to welcome, integrate and retain newcomers. Municipalities, for example, feel that they have been given responsibility to do more in this area. On the other hand, immigrants are responsible for integrating into a new community. In this new context of responsible citizenship, individuals not only have rights but they apparently also have obligations. This discourse of responsibility took shape around the 1990s. In August 2002, the city council, led by Mayor Brian Murphy, passed a historic resolution making Moncton Canada’s first officially bilingual city. Now, the city can take advantage of its bilingual population and highlight its bilingualism in many economic and socio-cultural events.3 Immigrant is now a feature of Moncton’s new knowledge-based economy.

A number of factors may explain the new interest in immigration. First, the New Brunswick government has taken action to increase immigration, particularly by recruiting newcomers through the Provincial Nominee Program. As Philippe Ricard points out, “over the last two or three years, New Brunswick has made great progress on immigration. From 1997 to 2004, it received an average of 700 immigrants a year; in 2006, it attracted slightly over 1,600.”4 The Greater Moncton Area has also benefited from specific recruitment initiatives targeting countries like China and Korea, such as the work being done by economic development agencies with Asian investors. Second, the province’s universities, including the Université de Moncton, are counting heavily on the recruitment of international students to increase revenues. The main effects of the strategy have been not only an increase in the number of international students but also significant changes in the process of integrating Francophone students from overseas into an urban community. For the last few years, international students have no longer been considered visitors who are required to return to their countries of origin at the end of their studies; instead, they have been viewed as ideal candidates for immigration.
That being said, the number of immigrants taking in approximately 3,360 immigrants, settling in the Greater Moncton Area from traditional source countries like the U.S., the U.K., Germany and France. However, a change has occurred in recent years with the arrival of immigrants from China, Southeast Asia, India and Pakistan. Since the 1990s, the city's population has been growing mainly because of intra-provincial migration, particularly by Francophones from Northern New Brunswick settling in Dieppe. According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada figures for 2004, the city took in 204 of the 776 immigrants who settled in New Brunswick that year. Here too there has been a change, since statistics show that the annual number of immigrants arriving in Moncton rose from 84 in 1997 to 262 in 2006. From 2002 to 2006, Moncton attracted fewer new immigrants than did Fredericton and Saint John, the province's other main cities. At first glance, this is somewhat surprising, given Greater Moncton's dynamic economy and population growth. It must be remembered, however, that for a long time Moncton's political culture was dominated by ethnic and religious tensions between protestant Anglophones and Roman Catholic Francophones and that its economic development and population growth is a more recent, less established trend.

A number of organizations are actively involved in immigration in Moncton. The Multicultural Association of the Greater Moncton Area (MAGMA)/Association multiculturelle du grand Moncton (AMGM) is the main agency providing reception and integration services for newcomers. According to its website, MAGMA is a service provider for the immigrant population. Since its foundation in March 1980, MAGMA "has remained actively involved in the settlement and adjustment of new immigrants and refugees" in Greater Moncton. It is a "bilingual (both official Canadian languages), non-profit, non-sectarian, and non-political organization." Its mandate is as follows:

- To assist new immigrants and refugees in their settlement, orientation and adaptation
- To create cultural awareness in the community at large
- To encourage appreciation and sharing of our diverse cultural values
- To foster harmonious relations and nurture respect and understanding amongst people of all heritages
- To provide training in the Canadian official language of one's choice
- To protect and promote human rights (http://www.magma amgm.org/)

In recent years, the agency has had more means and resources to develop employment and language training services. In a context where the provincial government seems to be showing greater concern for immigration, MAGMA is positioning itself to become a key player in implementing immigrant reception and integration policy. The agency does, however, clearly represent an essentially Anglo-Saxon view of integration, which is heavily influenced by the Canadian multiculturalism model. First, MAGMA's goal is to reflect the diversity of ethnocultural communities in Greater Moncton without helping to forge ties between immigrant communities and the local community. Second, it sees immigrants as clients who request services.

In Moncton and Dieppe, a different approach to immigration is emerging within the Francophone community. New Brunswick's Acadian community has gained a better understanding of the immigration issue in relation to its own development goals and specifically in light of the declining Francophone population and the exodus of youth to other provinces. Another important factor is the Francophone immigrant population itself, which is beginning to position itself in relation to the development of a blueprint for a French minority society. The Centre d'accueil pour les immigrants et immigrantes du Moncton métropolitain (CAIIMM) [Greater Moncton immigrant reception centre] is a new intake agency that was officially established in May 2006. It grew out of another agency, the Centre culturel et d'échange international de Moncton (CCEIM), which had been organizing a variety of awareness-raising activities in the Acadian and Francophone community since the summer of 2004. CAIIMM was also created through an initiative of New Brunswick's Acadian community, which wants to focus more attention on the issue of Francophone immigration. In the fall of 2003, the Société des acadiens et acadiennes du Nouveau-Brunswick set up the Table de concertation sur l'immigration francophone au Nouveau-Brunswick [consultation group on Francophone immigration to New Brunswick], which is designed to provide a measure of support for immigration and cultural diversity initiatives. A document presenting an overview of the consultation group states [translation]: "New Brunswick's Acadian population makes up a constantly evolving Francophone society that is exposed to deep-seated changes. In this context, our community, which wishes to embrace new cultures, sees immigration as a golden opportunity to meet the challenges facing it. ... The Acadian region of New Brunswick is open to and welcomes immigrants." The mission of CAIIMM is to provide integration services for Francophone newcomers and for immigrants who have already settled in the area and, at the same time, to provide a forum for immigrants and the host society to communicate with one another and share ideas. According to Sylvia Kasparian, CAIIMM's goal is to project a "global and interactive vision of integration" and a "desire to create dynamic networks in a variety of physical integration locations". Many CAIIMM activities, including meetings on the themes of employment, education and language, have resulted in a new sense of sharing between the host community and immigrants, particularly with respect to cross-cultural contacts. CAIIMM plans to build something more tangible over the longer term: a downtown reception and integration facility for Francophone newcomers. It will be a place where newcomers can obtain information and resources to help them integrate into the host community; it will also be a cultural venue fostering contact and sharing between communities. Another recent initiative was the formation of a new soccer team, which was entered in the Moncton's men's soccer league. The team members are from Africa, the Maghreb and the Acadian region and therefore clearly reflect the thinking behind CAIIMM, a constructive initiative designed to ensure that Francophone newcomers and native born Francophones "play" together.

Immigration is also being promoted by economic stakeholders, who see it as a key factor in the Greater Moncton Area's social and economic development. Working with the cities of Fredericton, Moncton and Saint John, the Enterprise Greater Moncton (Community Economic Development Agency) has crafted a strategy to attract businesses. One of the main messages being conveyed by the stakeholders is their interest in fostering recruitment and in
promoting Moncton overseas. In 2006, the strategy resulted in the creation of the Greater Moncton Immigration Board. About 20 people representing a variety of sectors sit on the Board, and they have set four main priorities: reception, integration, awareness-raising, and research needs. With funding from the three municipalities, the Board was able to hire a general manager to implement its strategy. The general manager assumed her position in May 2008, and has been working with various communities in Moncton to prepare a status report on immigration. A number of projects are underway, including an advertising campaign in the Moncton Times and Transcript (daily newspaper), meetings with Moncton's Korean community, and awareness-raising in the hospital sector. As co-chair of the Board alongside Annette Vautour-MacKay, director general of the Centre de bénévolat du sud-est du Nouveau-Brunswick [southeastern New Brunswick volunteer centre], I hope that the Board will succeed in getting all stakeholders involved to recognize the importance of immigration to the overall development of the Greater Moncton Area. Bringing together municipal politicians, representatives of reception and settlement agencies and engaged citizens has made it possible to share information and create an appropriate climate for dialogue. The main challenge will be to ensure that the work of the Board continues.

Conclusion
This article serves to highlight the changes that are occurring on the immigration front in Moncton—changes resulting from the recent influx of both Francophone and Anglophone newcomers and from the development of new reception structures. It is vital to support these changes and to devise means of ensuring that the various stakeholders work together. The situation is not as settled and harmonious as it appears on the surface, and the idea of cooperation and consultation is a sensitive one, particularly in communities dominated by our immigration pioneers who fought a lonely battle for immigrants and racial diversity in a city reluctant to embrace plurality. Some people still harbour the preconceived notion that immigration is the preserve of specific groups that refuse to share resources with new players. While there is no need to stifle the differences between groups, we must move beyond this competitive mentality.

Another diversity management challenge in cities with little exposure to diversity is to devise policies to make immigrants visible participants in the social, political and cultural development of the city and to ensure that the city understands that immigrants as full-fledged citizens. To make this a reality, the city must embark on an authentic planning process involving dialogue with the immigrant communities. This means including them in the development process, and avoiding any attempt to exploit immigrants on the basis of ethnic and cultural differences, confine their role to that of just another exotic attraction at cultural festivals, or consider them as commodities that meet the needs expressed solely by the host community. In addition, it is important to tackle issues that have too often been neglected, including racial discrimination and racism, which continue to be problems in the urban environment. People often avoid the subject, preferring to focus on best practices in diversity management. As Aline Essombe points out, attacks on African students by young whites outside Moncton nightspots never make the newspaper headlines.10

There are, however, a number of encouraging signs that the Greater Moncton Area is becoming more innovative in dealing with immigration and diversity management. Communities are becoming more aware of the immigration and diversity issue and want to develop and launch initiatives.

That being said, people must understand that diversity generally becomes a reality "on the ground" when immigrants are part of that reality; it is not enough to project a positive image that can be exploited by the diversity industry. Diversity on the ground means a different way of experiencing and feeling the city; this is sometimes reflected in the small details of daily life that usually escape the watchful eyes of managers and experts. Careful observation of what is going on in the city provides insight into how immigration is changing. A number of events and actions serve to illustrate this point, including CAIMM's happy hour meetings, the meetings of the Greater Moncton Immigration Board, MAGMA's annual dinner, Black Month, the children's football team played by Moncton's Congolese community, and the international evening organized by the international students of the Université de Moncton.

Against this background, the "welcoming community" must be viewed as a place that can fully integrate the "Other". Thus, the principle underlying the welcoming community is the requirement to foster the creation of a democratic space where human beings can make contact and communicate at the grassroots level, to devise means to bring together stakeholders of different origins, and to hear different and even discordant voices. Creating a welcoming society will be a tremendous challenge, but it is a planning challenge worthy of the role and mandate of Canada's cities.

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