Another Fine Balance: Managing Diversity in Canadian Cities

Canada defines itself by its diversity. In a 2005 poll that asked "What makes Canada unique?" the dominant response, far outranking "freedom" or "geography," was "our diverse, multicultural nature" (Evans 2005). This diversity is overwhelmingly an urban phenomenon. By international standards, Canada's largest cities have highly diverse populations, and the attraction of our cities to immigrant populations is well known. For instance, the Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) of Toronto and Vancouver have a higher percentage — over 40 percent in each case — of foreign-born residents than most other immigrant gateway cities, including New York, Miami, Los Angeles and Sydney (Statistics Canada 2003).[1] Diversity in Canadian cities is not confined to the presence of recent immigrants, however. Approximately 50 percent of Canada's Aboriginal peoples live in cities, both large and small, with the western cities having particularly visible Aboriginal populations (Graham and Peters 2002). Furthermore, although Statistics Canada has yet to collect data on sexual orientation, Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Victoria and Vancouver all have relatively high proportions of same-sex couples (Jedwab 2004). Indeed, among Toronto's tourism marketing strategies is the pitch that the city has the third-largest gay and lesbian population in North America.

Diversity is thus a defining characteristic of Canada's big cities. Canada's claim to being a diverse, multicultural nation is defined by its big cities, where the vast majority of the population resides. How urban governments are responding to this diversity is a critical public policy issue. Of course, diversity is not a new characteristic of Canadian cities. It is important that we recognize the

historic African Canadian population in Halifax; the centuries-old mix of anglophones and francophones in Montreal, enriched by vital Jewish and Black communities; the significant Italian population in Toronto, established in the 1950s; the Ukrainian diaspora in Winnipeg; and Vancouver's strong and long-standing Chinese community.

Although issues of diversity related to Canadian cities are not new, they have taken on an increased significance in recent years, and so they demand new types of responses. What is different? Why is the issue of how to address diversity in cities high on the urban policy agenda? At a national and pan-Canadian level, some argue that a distinctly Canadian model of diversity has emerged over the years (Jenson and Papillon 2001; Kymlicka 1998). The distinctiveness of the Canadian model is that it accommodates both liberal freedoms and group identities; it is committed to both equity and special treatment; and it addresses issues of diversity through a mix, and often a partnership, of public, private and voluntary sector action. Does the same model apply to urban governments?

This chapter explores how Canadian urban governments are responding to changing patterns of diversity and to evolving understandings of diversity. To be sure, the increased salience of diversity for urban governments derives in large part from the fact that Canadian cities have become more multi-ethnic and multiracial over the past several decades, as immigration and residential settlement patterns have changed dramatically. But the policy responses of Canadian cities have not automatically followed from shifting demographics, nor are these responses the same in all of the major cities. Rather, the "problem" or, alternatively, the "asset" of diversity has been constructed and understood in different ways in different cities. In general, we can view the policy responses as reflections of a Canadian model that embodies both individualism and group identity, both equity and special treatment, but that model is arguably put to a tough test in some locales.

Focusing on four major cities — Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal and Winnipeg — we look at how urban governments are grappling with diversity. We provide an overview of the kinds of new policy instruments, programs and institutions that these governments have developed to address diversity, and we describe some of the outstanding and emerging challenges. Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal, respectively, are Canada's major destinations for immigrants, whereas Winnipeg has Canada's largest Aboriginal population. The very

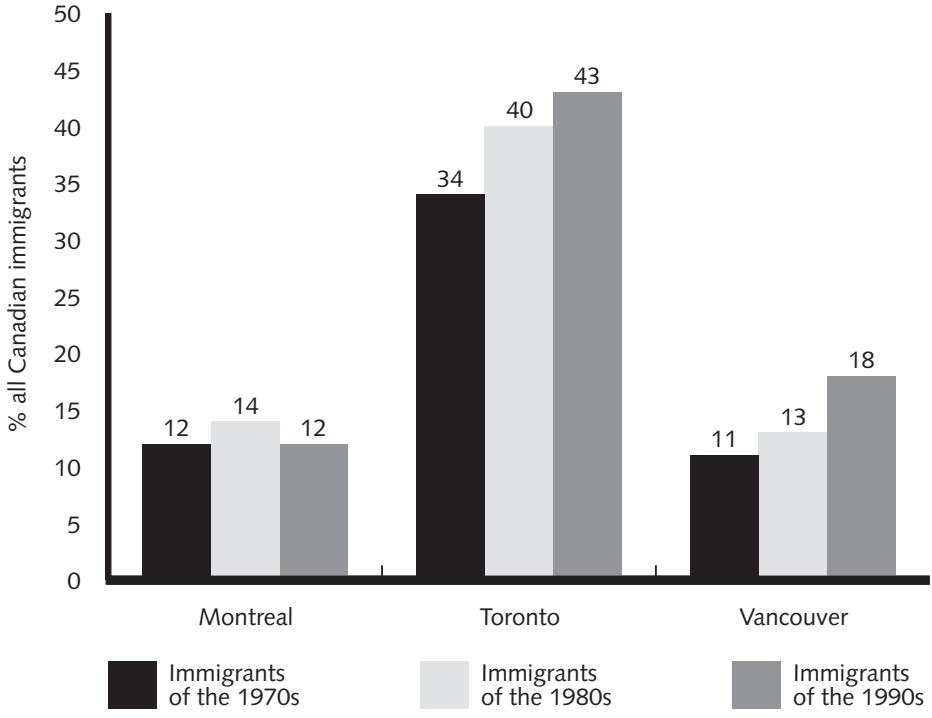
definition of an "urban response" to diversity is problematic, because in metropolitan areas, governance is dispersed among numerous municipal governments. This may not have been a serious situation when diverse populations and urban poverty were largely issues for the core municipality. As we will see, however, greater residential segregation in selected suburbs has put diversity on the agenda of suburban municipalities as well as those of the urban core and increased the need for more coordinated policy responses. Although our focus is on urban governments, the reality is that responsibility for many policy and program areas relevant to diversity is held by, or shared with, provincial and federal governments, a challenge we address in our concluding section. Before turning to urban responses, we briefly sketch the patterns of diversity in the four major Canadian cities and identify certain underlying tensions in the social construction of diversity as a policy problem.

The Changing Diversity of Canadian Cities

Although Canada was built on immigration, and diversity is a long-standing feature of its major cities, the pace and composition of immigration and the resulting ethnoracial composition of urban populations have changed significantly in a short period, particularly in those cities. Changes in immigration patterns have been felt most dramatically in three centres — Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal — where the vast majority of immigrants have settled over the past 40 years. As illustrated in figure 1, immigration became even more concentrated in these three cities over this period: from the 1970s to the 1990s, the percentage of all immigrants to Canada going to Toronto, Vancouver or Montreal rose from 57 to 73. Only 6 percent of immigrants went to Canada's 11 next-largest cities combined (Statistics Canada 2003). Although other Canadian centres have fairly large foreign-born populations, a much larger percentage of the foreign-born populations of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver is composed of recent immigrants, as shown in table 1. Indeed, it is a stunning fact that almost 40 percent of Toronto's immigrants arrived in the 1990s (Statistics Canada 2003).

As we well know, not only the level but also the composition of immigration has changed over the past few decades. Beginning in the 1970s, the

Immigration in Canada's Three Largest Cities, 1970s to 1990s



Source: Statistics Canada, *Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait: The Changing Mosaic* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2003), accessed January 16, 2006, http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/etoimm/subprovs.cfm

Proportion of Foreign-Born and Aboriginal Populations in Selected Census Metropolitain Areas

Metropolitan Areas	Foreign-born as % of the population[1]	Recent immigrants as % of the population[2]	Recent immigrants as % of foreign-born population	Aboriginal people as % of the population[3]
Montreal	18.4	6.4	34.6	0.3
Toronto	43.7	17.0	39.0	0.4
Vancouver	40.2	16.5	44.0	1.9
Winnipeg	16.5	4.0	24.1	8.1

[1] Martha Justus, "Immigrants in Canada's Cities," *Our Diverse Cities* 1 (2004): 41-8.
[2] Recent immigrants, 1991-2001.
[3] As of the 1991 census. From Evelyn Peters's chapter in this volume, table 1.

predominant sources of immigration shifted from Europe to Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and Central and South America, and this gave rise to cities populated by a broader range of cultures, races, religions and languages. In both Toronto and Vancouver, as shown in figure 2, there was an almost threefold increase in the visible minority population between 1981 and 2001 (see also Siemiatycki et al. 2001). Moreover, the effects of in-migration are not all generated from abroad. As Katherine Graham and Evelyn Peters point out, the significant internal migration of Aboriginal peoples to the cities and the much younger average age of this population adds complexity to urban diversity (2002). In this regard, Winnipeg stands out, as more than 8 percent of its population is composed of Aboriginal peoples, compared to less than 1 percent of the populations of Toronto or Montreal.

Place Matters: Differing Patterns of Diversity

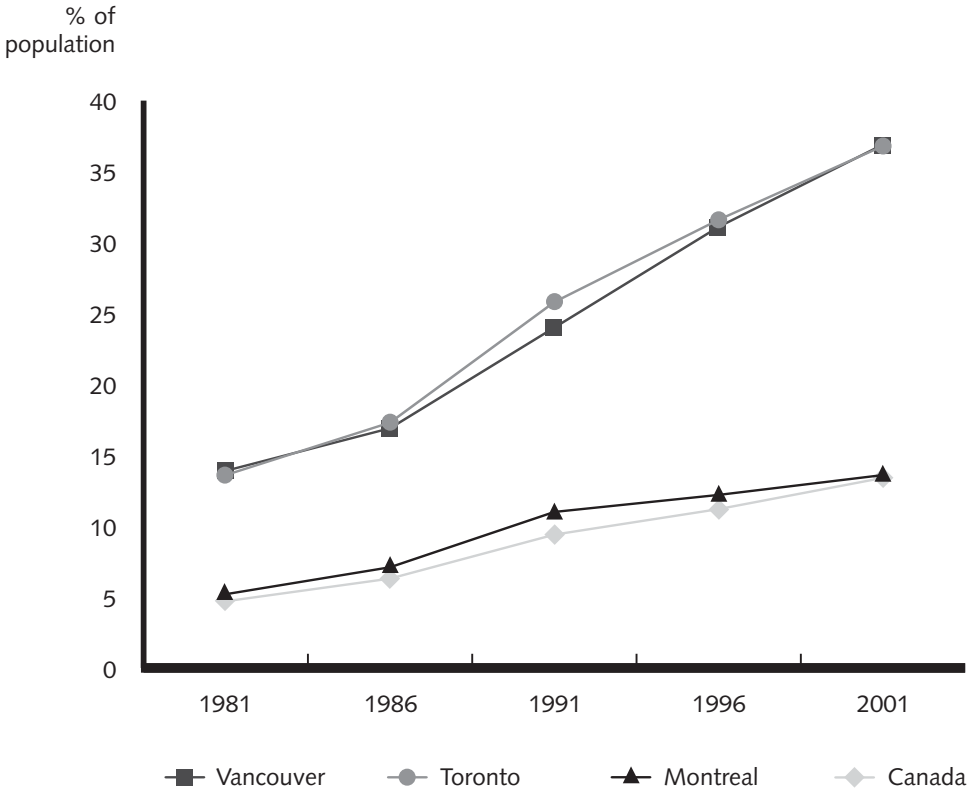
In our attempt to understand patterns of diversity, place matters, as there are significant differences in the composition and spatial patterns of ethnoracial diversity across and within the four metropolitan areas. As shown in table 2, the single largest non-White population groups in Toronto and Vancouver are Chinese and South Asian, while in Montreal the largest visible minority groups are Black and Arab (although we should note that Toronto has more than double the Black population of Montreal). In Winnipeg, by far the largest minority population group is Aboriginal peoples.

More than absolute numbers shape the effects of population mixes, however. For example, although in absolute numbers, metro Toronto has a considerably larger Chinese and South Asian population than metro Vancouver (in 2001, 868,000 compared to 490,000), its overall ethnoracial population is much more mixed, with roughly equal proportions of Chinese, South Asians, Blacks and "others." In contrast, Vancouver, particularly the suburban municipalities of Richmond and Surrey, could be described as essentially biracial (Good 2005), with Chinese and South Asians representing over 60 percent of the visible minority population.

Within cities, the spatial pattern of immigrant settlement has changed quite significantly over the past two decades, resulting in increased residential segregation and greater suburbanization of ethnoracial populations (see Fong and Shibuya 2005). Ethnic segregation has always been an element of Canada's urban

Figure 2

Visible Minorities as a Proportion of the Population, Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and Canada, 1981-2001



Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Canada, *Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait: The Changing Mosaic* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2003).

Ethnoracial Diversity in Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal and Winnipeg, 2001 (percent)

Population group (proportion of total population)	Toronto	Vancouver	Montreal	Winnipeg
Total population (*n*)	4,647,960	1,967,475	3,380,645	661,730
White	62.2	61.0	85.4	79.1
Chinese	8.6	16.9	1.5	1.5
South Asian	10.1	8.2	1.7	1.8
Black	6.3	0.7	3.8	1.4
Filipino	2.8	2.8	0.5	4.5
Latin American	1.6	0.9	1.6	0.7
Southeast Asian	1.1	1.4	1.1	0.7
Arab	0.9	0.7	2.0	0.2
West Asian	1.1	1.2	0.3	0.1
Korean	0.9	1.4	0.1	0.1
Japanese	0.3	1.0	0.1	0.7
Other visible minorities	1.4	0.2	0.2	0.3
Aboriginal people (self-reporting)	0.4	1.8	0.3	8.3

Source: Statistics Canada, "Population Groups (28) and Sex (3) for Population, for Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 2001 Census — 20 percent Sample Data" (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1991).

landscape — witness the concentrations of Italian, Portuguese and Jewish populations in the major cities at various times (see Murdie and Teixeira 2003). As David Ley and Annick Germain note, such segregation can be both negative — if it limits economic opportunities, for instance — and positive — if it provides social support and community-based private financing (2000). Recent research indicates that there has been a significant rise in the tendency of visible minority populations to concentrate in own-group neighbourhoods in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal, as evidenced by the fact that the number of census tracts with a 30 percent or higher concentration of a particular group rose from 6 to 254 between 1981 and 2001 (Hou 2004). Feng Hou's analysis indicates that this is mainly due to overall increases in the visible minority population (2004, 2), although it also reflects differences among ethnoracial groups and is affected by a city's structural contexts, such as unemployment rates and the proportion of new housing (Fong and Wilkes 2003). In particular, the Chinese in metro Toronto and the South Asians in Vancouver and Montreal tend to have much higher levels of residential concentration than Blacks or other visible minorities.

There has also been a significant, albeit selective, suburbanization of residential segregation. Whereas the central urban core historically tended to absorb most new immigrants, the lack of affordable housing and supportive networks in the core and the attraction to the suburbs by more affluent immigrant groups has created suburban pockets with high concentrations of certain ethnoracial groups (Siemiatycki et al., 2001). The largely biracial (Chinese-White) populations of Markham, north of Toronto, or Richmond, south of Vancouver, contrast in this regard with the more multicultural mix of Mississauga.

In examining such residential concentrations, John Myles and Feng Hou make an important distinction between "immigrant enclaves," which are receiving areas for newcomers, particularly poorer ones, and "ethnic communities," which tend to be culturally homogeneous and economically heterogeneous, with high levels of home ownership (2002). In ethnic communities, longer-term immigrants choose to remain alongside more recent and poorer newcomers rather than dispersing and assimilating as they become more affluent, as forecast by traditional models of urban spatial location. Although there has been an increase in segregation, the overall level of ethnoracial segregation in Canadian cities is still low compared to that in American cities, and even in neighbourhoods of high concentration, the majority of residents are not part of a single group. With a few

exceptions, Canadian cities encompass multi-ethnic neighbourhoods rather than highly segregated enclaves (Ley and Germain 2000; Hou 2004).

We must also remember that the formation of community identity is not simply a function of people being classified as part of an immigrant or visible minority group or living in close proximity to one another. For the purposes of formulating policy and program responses for particular communities, the standard Statistics Canada categories used to describe population groups may be much too blunt an analytical instrument. Within the South Asian community, for instance, the ethnic and cultural differences among those from India, Pakistan or Sri Lanka, or among those of the Hindu, Sikh, Muslim or Christian religions may denote more disparity than community. An important step for urban governments in moving from demographic analysis to policy response, then, is to acquire a good working knowledge of what constitutes community and an understanding of how various population groups and locales are joined and divided by an operative sense of community. Understanding these cultural differences becomes particularly important to urban policy because, as Eric Fong and Rima Wilkes predict, greater sharing of neighbourhoods among immigrant/visible minority and established majority populations, which might foster better interracial relations, is not likely to increase in the foreseeable future (2003, 599).

For Canada's three largest metropolitan areas, the policy challenges relate both to the face of diversity — large portions of their populations are visible minorities — and to the newcomer effects — they have large numbers of recent immigrants. The changing intra-urban patterns mean that as a policy issue diversity is clearly no longer just for the core urban municipalities. The specific differences in ethnic configuration across these cities are also important, because they enable municipal governments to muster nongovernmental allies to build the collective policy capacity to advance multicultural policy goals, a development somewhat more likely to occur, suggests Kristin Good, in biracial settings than in multi-ethnic/multiracial ones (2005, 282).

Finally, it is important to note when talking about urban diversity that the meaning of diversity has changed in recent years; it is no longer understood in simply ethnocultural terms. Disability has been an important basis of identity formation and mobilization across Canada, particularly in the larger urban centres, and most cities include disability as an aspect of their diversity policies. In addition, changing social attitudes toward sexual diversity have made it easier for gay,

lesbian, bisexual and transgendered (GLBT) individuals to be open about their preferences. This has contributed to the rise of gay villages in a number of cities and public activities associated with gay pride. Widespread interest in the work of Richard Florida has further expanded our diversity lens to include bohemians, artists and other creative individuals (see Florida 2002). The implication of the changing nature and meaning of diversity for policy action is that, as Leonie Sandercock notes, "we must understand 'difference' and how it becomes significant in identity politics, in claims regarding multiculturalism, and in spatial conflicts as well as cooperative encounters and exchanges" (2003b, 4).

Different Takes, Competing Paradigms

Not only have population mixes and locations changed in recent years, but so too have the meaning and understanding of "diversity" as a policy issue for Canadian cities. Varying public and political views about diversity have produced, we suggest, a certain tension — at times creative and at times divisive — in the responses of urban governments and their voluntary/nonprofit and private sector partners. Several additional factors have shaped the understanding of diversity in Canadian cities, making it more complex than at provincial or national levels of government.

The Intersection of Diversity and Poverty

Historically, Canada's immigrant population tended, after a 10-to-15-year period of adjustment, to do economically as well or even better than the Canadian-born, so that diversity and poverty were not synonymous (with the exception of urban Aboriginal peoples, whose poverty rate has always been high [Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996]). That began to change in the 1990s, when the wages of immigrants, even skilled economic immigrants, fell below the Canadian average, and family-class immigrants and refugees, particularly those from Africa and South Asia, began to fare much worse than they once did (Grant and Sweetman 2004; Ornstein 2000). Thus, governments of cities — particularly Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver — with large visible minority populations and cities with large populations of Aboriginal peoples must increasingly deal with the intersection of diversity and poverty.[2]

This challenge was exacerbated by the cuts to social programs and to municipal transfers that occurred in the mid-1990s.[3] The funding of services and programs broadly related to diversity and poverty is a complex undertaking that involves all three levels of government, the United Way, various foundations, private funders and voluntary groups. The downloading of responsibility and the withdrawal of provincial and federal governments from key areas (such as social housing) that affect vulnerable populations has had a disproportionate effect on low-income newcomers and Aboriginal peoples. Some funding has been restored, but negative effects are still felt from the shift from direct investment in the myriad voluntary and nonprofit organizations (which provide the bulk of the services) to managed competition and short-term project funding. The impact has been to significantly diminish the stability and capacity of the service providers by increasing competition, creating higher staff turnovers (due to short-term funding horizons) and reducing a sense of partnership with governments (Sadiq 2004; Scott 2003; City of Toronto 2003). In this respect, there is both a greater demand for policies that address the intersecting issues of diversity and poverty and a strained capacity to implement such policies.

The Original Urban Diversity

Long before the term "diversity" came to denote multiculturalism in the urban context, it had a different meaning: it described the built form of the city (a diversity of styles, public and private spaces and so on). Indeed, in managing diversity, urban governments must not only set policies, plan spending, run programs and regulate in the way that federal and provincial governments do, but they must also accommodate diversity while working with an existing built form. The debate over this meaning of diversity began to heat up in response to the challenge issued by Jane Jacobs in the early 1960s to the dominant, technically oriented planning profession, which sought to impose order and efficiency in cities.

Jacobs saw cities as inherently organic, spontaneous and untidy places in which the intermingling of uses and users is crucial. She argued that cities elude rational planning because they are, to a large degree, a product of market forces, but to the extent that they can be planned, the process should be participatory: "Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody" (1962, 238). Carried through to contemporary planning debates, Jacobs's argument points to our need to consid-

er the impact of market forces and the cultural biases of the built environment — as well as the biases of planners — and to keep in mind that altering the built environment in major ways may take a long time (Ley 1999; Sandercock 2003a).

An Instrumental View

One of the most recent approaches to diversity is to advocate its advantage for economic competitiveness. From a labour market perspective, Canada needs more immigrants, and the "ethnic advantage" of a linguistically and culturally diverse population will help cities compete in the international marketplace for employment opportunities and skilled workers (Ley 2005, 5). In addition, the celebration of diversity is thought to make cities more attractive as tourist destinations. Cultural events celebrating diversity, such as Toronto's Caribana, have become international attractions. Montreal's gay village is among the premier gay tourist attractions in North America (Ray 2004), which is somewhat ironic, given that it emerged in reaction to the efforts of city officials (most notably Mayor Jean Drapeau) to drive gay businesses out of the central business district in preparation for the 1976 Olympics.

Richard Florida has elevated social diversity to the status of key determinant of economic growth with his argument that knowledge workers are drawn to places where there are critical masses of other creative people, both in their own fields and in dissimilar ones, and to places that provide "authentic" physical environments defined by their historical and cultural content (2002). Such places tend to have high proportions of bohemians and gays, reflecting a tolerance of difference. In contrast to other views of this kind of "cosmopolis" (Sandercock 2003b), which not only value the presence of people from different backgrounds but also stress their right to use city space, Florida and his followers see diversity in an instrumental light. As Susan Fainstein notes, Florida should not be misinterpreted — he does not suggest that diversity promotes equity as well as growth (2005). Florida himself argues that "while the Creative Class favors openness and diversity, to some degree, it is a diversity of elites, limited to highly educated, creative people" (2002, 80).

Competing Policy Paradigms

From this overview, we can see that there are two basic paradigms for thinking about diversity in Canadian cities. The first is that diversity is a problem that city

governments need to manage. This involves not only long-standing issues of how to maintain civil order but also new challenges — dealing with poverty and reaching out to specific communities in order to understand their perspectives, needs and interests as well as to engage their support for developing the common good and shared urban spaces. The second paradigm is both more celebratory and more instrumental. It involves seeing diversity as an asset that enriches the local environment and makes a city more competitive on the world stage. From a policy and program perspective, this view would have municipal governments working with other governments and with the voluntary and private sectors to remove barriers and take advantage of opportunities arising from a city's diverse character.

We argue that there is an inherent tension between these two paradigms, because they have differential implications for how public policy addresses diversity and equity, how it approaches difference and special treatment and how it treats the particular versus the community as a whole. This tension is reflected, we suggest, in the ways that urban governments address diversity.

The first step in our analysis of how Canadian urban governments are addressing diversity is to question the relative prominence of each paradigm in civic discourse. If both paradigms are evident to some degree, it suggests that they constitute a continuum rather than a strict opposition, and so the question becomes "What is the relative emphasis on each view in local debates and governmental action?" The second step is to consider whether, over time, there is a balance or a shift in perspective. To do this, we must acknowledge that there could be short-term spikes as a result of local events (for example, the shootings during Toronto's 2005 Caribana) or international events (the Madrid and London bombings). But the question we are interested in exploring is whether there are long-term trends or possibilities.

The remainder of this chapter addresses these questions, albeit in a tentative way. We have undertaken a review of the secondary literature on diversity in Canadian cities, a Web search and a review of selected reports in order to learn about the ways in which issues of diversity are framed in four Canadian cities and the approaches taken to the issues identified. The results of our search have prompted some conclusions about the challenges that lie ahead. Our primary focus is, unapologetically, on big-city governments. We recognize that managing diversity in an urban setting is a complex task that involves all sectors of society

and, in the context of Canadian federalism, all levels of government. Increasingly, however, city governments are on the front line, and so their approach is worthy of particular attention.

Approaches to Diversity in Four Cities

Policy Repertoires

Unquestionably, the interest in and role of urban governments in managing diversity have changed over time. What is important to note before we turn to specific examples is that the range of policy tools available to urban governments remains somewhat limited and the strategies are necessarily embedded in the legislative, funding and policy frameworks of the federal and provincial governments. Before the development of the modern welfare state, particular communities were mainly left to manage themselves through benevolent societies and other community-based structures. For many years, the role of government, including municipal government, remained largely regulatory. Its main role lay in rule-making and enforcement related to everything from criminal activity (real and imagined) to public health. Policing and maintaining order was job one for municipal governments. In many respects, in this earlier period managing diversity meant containing it.

Since the announcement of the federal government's multiculturalism policy in 1971 and the advent of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, the public policy context within which diversity issues are seen has become much broader (Driedger 2001). This is true at the local as well as at the national and provincial levels — in part because some federal money has trickled down to the local level, and in part because Canadian urban governments appear increasingly willing (or pressured) to broaden their sphere of activity to more positively engage and serve diverse communities.

Beyond those related to symbolic celebration and narrow regulatory roles, municipal governments have several other types of policy tools at their disposal for addressing issues of diversity. These include:

- *Strategic and corporate policy frameworks*: Within certain provincial legislation constraints, municipalities can address diversity through their

own strategic policy and corporate plans and the bylaws and institutions that support them.

- *Involvement and representation*: At the heart of how the urban state recognizes and engages different communities and groups is its ability to structure public participation (in planning and other decisions) and to represent difference on council and in its own workforce. In particular, municipalities can give institutional expression to diversity issues by creating standing committees of councils, advisory committees or task forces.
- *Administrative structures*: Institutional embodiment of attention to diversity may also occur at the administrative level in the way departments are configured.
- *Planning and resolving conflicts over the urban space and its use*: While municipalities have responsibilities and constraints under provincial planning and municipal acts, so much of the real matter of planning comes down to the specifics of particular spaces. Such place-specific planning involves knowledge of different communities and the cultural sensitivity of planners.
- *Funding and the provision of services*: Although most social programs, settlement and immigrant services, and services for Aboriginal peoples are the responsibility of provincial or federal governments, and though many are delivered under contract by nonprofits, municipal governments maintain scope for funding and delivering specific human services that fall through the cracks of these programs. In addition, municipal governments can provide project or core funding to community-based organizations and undertake capital spending.
- *Recruiting newcomers*: Immigration is under federal jurisdiction. However, beginning with a 1970s agreement with Quebec, the federal government negotiated agreements with most provinces that give these provinces greater say in planning immigration levels, categories and settlement services. Many of the larger cities are consulted by the provinces or seek formal involvement in such decision-making. Working through more informal channels, Canada's big cities have long been involved in boosterism, advertising, trade missions, twinning with international cities and generally establishing favourable conditions for business to attract newcomers.

Regardless of the policy instrument used, the management of diversity can be approached with different underlying philosophies or intentions. In particular, Christian Poirier (2004) has found a distinction in the approach taken to diversity by different city governments in Canada: there are those that primarily see the question as one of how to build on multiculturalism — celebrating and institutionalizing cultural differences; and there are others that frame the issue as one primarily of intercultural relations — mediating differences to promote harmony. Our review suggests that Toronto and Vancouver have a multicultural orientation (however, Daniel Hiebert notes intercultural tensions in the case of Vancouver [2000]). In contrast, Montreal focuses more on fostering good intercultural relations. While celebrating its rich multicultural roots, Winnipeg maintains a distinctive focus on its population of Aboriginal peoples and on relations between it and the non-Aboriginal population. An overview of the specific approach taken by each city provides the basis for further observations and analysis.

Toronto

"Diversity our strength" is the City of Toronto's motto. Although meant to celebrate the city's demographic, it has become more than a slogan. In her analysis of immigrant populations and urban politics in Canada, Kristin Good contends that this motto reflects a consensus among Toronto's municipal, voluntary and private sector leaders that the city needs to focus on the integration of immigrants. In support of this contention, she cites the fact that the Toronto City Summit Alliance determined that one of the city's major policy goals should be to become a centre of excellence in the integration of immigrants.

When discussing diversity in Toronto, one should first address diversity in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), the arc-shaped conurbation including and surrounding the City of Toronto that is home to over 5 million people. Recent research suggests that there is significant variation among municipal governments of the GTA in their degree of willingness to deal proactively with diversity issues (Wallace and Frisken 2004; Good 2005). Indeed, Good has found that at least one major GTA municipality, Mississauga, implements policies that put the onus on diverse communities to fit in; another, Markham, has established a task force on intercultural relations in response to alleged incidents of racism. Interestingly, Markham is also the site of some of the most important debates about diversity

and the urban landscape. These debates have focused on the construction of "Asian malls" and on accommodating diverse housing preferences.

Given the variability in policy and practice across the GTA, it is not unreasonable to assert that the City of Toronto remains the key municipal actor in managing diversity. As such, it is awarded the limelight for its policy initiatives and for how it deals with specific problems. We suggest that the city's approach has been to be proactively multicultural — providing political leadership, mobilizing community resources and establishing multiculturalism-friendly governance structures — while dealing in a very focused way with troubling issues that have arisen.

Toronto's response is significant for many reasons. The establishment of the "new" City of Toronto in 1998 as an amalgamated city created by provincial fiat did not foreshadow the municipal reaction. The scale of this amalgamation was unprecedented in Canada, and it gave rise to very heated local opposition. However, as Myer Siemiatycki and Engin Isin observe, this opposition was confined to the managerial and professional classes, and the movement was inaccessible to ethnocultural communities (1997). This is despite the fact that the prospect of amalgamation raised issues of concern to immigrant and minority communities, such as service access and employment equity in city government, as well as issues related to access to public space.[4]

In the aftermath of amalgamation, the new city has been highly proactive in dealing with diversity. In its first year of existence, it established the Task Force on Access and Equity, perhaps partially in response to the mobilization of diverse community-based organizations during the 1997 election for the new city council. Furthermore, the chief administrator's office of the new municipality housed the Diversity Management and Community Engagement Unit, which was created to handle council-community relations on diversity issues (Good 2005). Toronto's government has shown leadership in working with other key actors in the community to build on the assets of diversity. One prime example is the establishment of the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC). The Maytree Foundation played an important role in setting up TRIEC, assisted by local private-sector leaders. The City of Toronto participated in working groups that were part of the process. Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the Maytree Foundation provided initial funding for the secretariat and have continued to provide financial assistance for administration and coordination. In addition, TRIEC initiatives have received funding from various sources.

This initiative is consistent with the fact that the City of Toronto is, to our knowledge, the only municipality in Canada to have a formal immigration

and settlement policy framework, passed by council in 2001. Not only does this framework imply outreach within the city, but it also incorporates a substantial intergovernmental dimension. Among other things, the cost of absorbing large inflows of newcomers into the city and its education system is of significant concern.

Looking at the issue of costs, we can see that building on the positive has, of necessity, only been part of the picture in Toronto. M.S. Mwarigha suggests that in Toronto, "the public celebration of ethnic diversity is accompanied by an undercurrent of private disquiet about the emergence of residential neighbourhoods of distinct ethnic character, namely ethnic enclaves" (1997, 7). By 2002, the issue of racism in Toronto had become sufficiently serious to prompt council to establish a reference group of councillors to determine how to deal with the situation. Its 2002 report urged an assertive approach to dealing with racism and discrimination. Council designated one of its members as its official diversity advocate, with crosscutting responsibility to promote awareness of, and positive action on, diversity issues within the city government. The advocate's consultations on the reference group report identified nine areas for specific action: poverty reduction, housing, public transportation, youth leadership and the elimination of youth violence, employment, policing, education, public awareness and community outreach (City of Toronto 2002).

In Toronto, as in other Canadian cities, the challenge of managing diversity is ongoing. Because the GTA is a highly interdependent and integrated space and responses to diversity by municipalities other than Toronto tend to vary, the City of Toronto's share of this task may be increased. The conscious decision to focus on diversity as an asset is noteworthy. The approach to managing diversity in Toronto is influenced by the scale of diversity, the range of necessary policy and program responses, and the limited fiscal capacity of the City of Toronto and community-based organizations, including those that provide settlement and immigration services. The challenge is also magnified by the "private disquiet" to which Mwarigha alludes and by very serious instances of intra- and intergroup conflict (including gang activity) and gun violence, as well as by tension between the police and diverse communities. Since the summer of 2005, when a number of violent incidents occurred, the more extreme aspects of state regulation — including stricter police controls, racial profiling and curfews — have been hot topics of public debate.

Vancouver

When we talk about diversity in Canadian cities, we often mention Vancouver and Toronto in the same breath. The composition of Vancouver's population is different from Toronto's, however, with Chinese and South Asians dominating its recent immigrant and visible minority populations. In addition, its population of Aboriginal peoples is more visible due to the presence of a First Nations reserve in the city centre and the unfortunate concentration of Aboriginal peoples in the infamous Downtown Eastside.

Just as one must begin a study of diversity management in Toronto by looking at the GTA, one has to begin any exploration of the Vancouver case by looking at the BC Lower Mainland Region. Once again, Good's work is informative. She examined the approach to managing diversity taken by the City of Vancouver and the municipalities of Richmond and Surrey, where the Chinese and South Asian populations are particularly concentrated. She found that Vancouver adopted a systematic and proactive approach, while Richmond tended to react to specific issues, including the desire of its large Chinese population to be informed about municipal business and planning proposals in their own languages. The municipality's decision to translate some of its documents was a response to a public uproar over the proposal to locate group homes in a predominantly Chinese neighbourhood; it was not initiated by a more forward-looking impulse. Surrey, however, has taken some tentative steps to explore the impact of its multicultural population, but it has yet to act in policy or program terms (Good 2005).

All of this would appear to indicate that Vancouver shoulders the management of diversity in the Lower Mainland as Toronto does in the GTA. Indeed, the city has long been a leader, and its efforts have been both direct and catalytic in nature. The City of Vancouver began training staff on diversity issues more than 20 years ago, and as early as 1989 it established the Hastings Institute, a nonprofit centre that provides multicultural, diversity, language and equity training for city employees. The Hastings Institute also offers such services to other government agencies and the private sector for a fee. More directly, the city has focused its internal administration on the management of diversity and collaborated with the local voluntary sector in this area. Corporately, it has infused its planning department with a working understanding of the nature and importance of diversity by hiring land-use planners from diverse backgrounds and

ensuring that at least one position in its social planning department has a specific multicultural mandate. In addition, the city has worked to engage voluntary organizations that deal specifically with the needs of different ethnocultural and other minority populations. Organizations that receive grants from the city are required to produce evidence that they are adapting their programs and their governance to reflect the city's diverse reality (Good 2005).

Vancouver has struggled to deal with several hot button issues stemming from diversity. It has also found itself in the position of having to focus concertedly on interracial issues as well as work in a multicultural paradigm. As elsewhere, one hot button issue relates to policing: the varying extent to which the police serve and protect different segments of the population. For example, there were allegations that police were slow to investigate a growing number of homicides among female sex trade workers, many of whom were Aboriginal people (this ultimately erupted in the Robert Pickton case).

The second controversial issue relates to planning and the expression of cultural preferences in urban space. It is epitomized by the well-known "monster-house debate." Long-term residents of some affluent parts of the city vociferously objected to the demolition of stately neighbourhood houses to make way for what they viewed as badly designed, oversized boxes. The debate highlighted the conflicting ideals of inhabitants of a relatively homogeneous urban space and the newcomers who wished to assert their right to realize their personal living space preferences. It has been ably analyzed by David Ley and others (Ley 1995, 2005).

In some respects, the monster-house debate has the characteristics of an interracial issue, if one considers it primarily as a contest between established Anglos and wealthy Hong Kong immigrants. But the imperative of dealing with interracial differences and potential tensions in Vancouver extends beyond the affluent parts of the city. Much has been written about the appalling social and economic conditions of the Downtown Eastside, the poorest postal code zone in all of Canada. What is often omitted is that at least three distinct populations (in addition to Caucasians) inhabit this area: Aboriginal peoples, Chinese and Latinos. All levels of government and several community-based organizations have been working collaboratively under the trilateral Vancouver Agreement, signed in 2000, to improve conditions in this troubled area. They are using models of social intervention that balance meeting broad needs with specific cultural sensitivity. Fostering intercultural understanding among the different groups is a

big part of the city's effort in the Downtown Eastside and elsewhere (McCann and Coyne 2004). One example of this model in action is the establishment by the city, along with the Vancouver United Way, of Collingwood Neighbourhood House, a service centre in a multi-ethnic low-income area. The centre's program combines universal access to services with specific cultural sensitivity. An important goal is to ensure that the centre's communal governance has the support and involvement of all of the people it serves. This approach seems to have been successful, in that Collingwood House now receives funding from a variety of local sources, beyond the initial support provided by the municipal government and the local United Way (Sandercock 2003a).

To the extent that Vancouver has had to confront interracial issues as well as deal with the management of diversity from a multicultural perspective, it represents a bridge between diversity management as a public policy problem and diversity management as a source of celebration and a strategy for economic growth — as exemplified by the following discussions of Montreal and Winnipeg. In the case of Montreal, the dominant emphasis in municipal initiatives has been on intercultural harmony. In the case of Winnipeg, multiculturalism is enthusiastically celebrated through festivals, most notably Folklorama and Aboriginal people's powwows, but the main challenge the city faces is how to engage its Aboriginal population in shaping a better future for itself and the city population as a whole.

Montreal

The City of Montreal began to confront the fact of its diversity in a positive manner in the late 1980s. Until that time, civic officials tended to ignore the diverse character of the population or, as in the case of the removal of gay businesses prior to the 1976 Olympics, suppress diversity outright. By 1988, the challenges of immigrant absorption and, specifically, of dealing with refugees prompted the city to set up special services for refugees. Simultaneously, a standing committee on cultural development was created at the political level, as well as a bureau of intercultural affairs within the civic administration, which in 1992 was elevated to divisional status.

The city issued a formal declaration against racial discrimination in 1989 and then undertook a number of initiatives to foster cross-cultural harmony. These included the establishment of the Montreal Advisory Committee on Cross-

Cultural Affairs, and area-specific initiatives such as the 1991 Petite-Bourgogne Action Plan, designed to address racial tensions in an area with a significant Black population, and projects conducted with a broad coalition of social development organizations in the problem-ridden area of Ahuntsic, home to a large immigrant population (Germain and Gagnon 2000; Dumas 2000; Achour and Tavlian 2004). In 2000, prior to amalgamation, the former City of Montreal's executive committee endorsed a multifaceted action plan. It featured efforts to foster the participation of immigrants in the associative and community life of neighbourhoods, to support immigrants' use of sports and recreational services, to improve immigrants' access to municipal services available at the neighbourhood level, and to foster cultural development in French through projects in municipal libraries and cultural centres (Dumas 2000).

Intercultural harmony in the use of public and private space and intercultural accommodation have been important issues in the management of diversity in Montreal. One persistent question is related to the establishment of places of worship by increasingly numerous religious communities. Thirty-five percent of the places of worship on the island of Montreal are associated with specific immigrant or ethnoreligious groups. These places are often more than places of prayer; they also provide daycare, education and recreational services. Some of these institutions are regional ones serving a membership that is dispersed throughout the metropolitan area, and they often have neighbours who do not share their religious convictions and who object to their presence or expansion. The reluctance of borough officials (who issue permits) to reject these objections is strengthened by the tax-exempt status of places of worship. They bring no direct revenues into municipal or school commission coffers (Germain 2004). Prior to amalgamation, the former City of Montreal had explicit religious heritage conservation policies, which were embedded in the 1994 Montreal Development Plan; an added problem at that time was the illegal establishment of places of worship, which involved breaking zoning regulations (Germain and Gagnon 2000). In recent years, the issue of Orthodox Jews erecting temporary structures on their Montreal balconies and lawns during the fall holiday of Sukkot worked its way through the courts.

Intercultural accommodation has also been a consideration in the design and delivery of recreational services in Montreal. As it is in many municipalities, the front line of recreation in Montreal is community-based organizations. Since

1996, such organizations wishing to use city facilities have had to do so in formal association with the city's Service des sports, des loisirs et du développement social (SSLDS) and in conformity with the principles of universalism and equity that the city has set out for recreation and leisure services. These principles were founded on three types of action: accepting and respecting ethnic and cultural traditions and preferences; actively working on interethnic communication and cooperation; and breaking down barriers to make all activities as accessible as possible (Cecile Poirier 2004). In many respects, then, the challenges inherent in simultaneously implementing all of these actions underlie the broader management of diversity in the City of Montreal.

Winnipeg

As Canada's historic gateway to the West, Winnipeg developed as a stopping point for a diverse population of immigrants, primarily from Western and Eastern Europe. After a period of adjustment and accommodation that spanned the early and middle part of the twentieth century, the city turned to celebrating its history and cultural diversity. Folklorama is one of the most enduring multicultural festivals in Canada. At various times, Winnipeg has also enacted a fine balance between the celebratory and the regulatory aspects of managing diversity. For instance, during his tenure as mayor — 1998 to 2004 — Glen Murray, a Richard Florida enthusiast, led an initiative to dramatically increase funding for arts and culture as a means of attracting more "creatives," and, ironically, he also brought in a strong law and order budget.

The contemporary stress point for Winnipeg relates to its Aboriginal population. The city's approach to this population has, until recently, been based on the notion that it poses a social and economic problem. The aftermath of the 1988 killing of Aboriginal leader J.J. Harper during a confrontation with Winnipeg police exemplifies this attitude. Unanswered questions about the incident and the police department's rapid and full exoneration of the officer involved were determining factors in the establishment of a provincial Royal Commission on Aboriginal justice. The commission's 1991 report concluded that there was widespread fear of police among Aboriginal peoples and that the police demonstrated a woeful lack of understanding of the cultures and policing needs of Aboriginal peoples. Around the same time, the Urban Governance Advisory Group of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples was informed by the chief

commissioner of the City of Winnipeg (himself a member of the advisory group) that there were no special initiatives within the city government to engage Aboriginal peoples.

The 1990s saw changes in the level of engagement between the City of Winnipeg and its Aboriginal peoples (see Evelyn Peters's chapter in this volume). To a considerable degree, this was driven by the increasingly well-developed institutions in the city that were controlled by Aboriginal peoples (Peters 2002). In 1992, Winnipeg's CPR station was bought by a coalition of Aboriginal service organizations and renamed the Aboriginal Centre of Winnipeg. The Aboriginal Centre Incorporated and the Native Family Economic Development Corporation, among others, have used the centre as a focal point for community development and service delivery. Over time, there has been active engagement with the City of Winnipeg, as well as with the provincial and federal governments, in these initiatives. The Aboriginal Centre was where Mayor Murray chose to deliver an apology for past municipal practices shortly after he was first elected. At the same time, the centre was identified as the anchor of a major redevelopment of the Main strip involving the numerous vacant buildings and the seedy hotels that are home to some of the city's most disadvantaged Aboriginal peoples.

Engagement of the Aboriginal population in urban planning and economic development matters has expanded since the early 1990s. The city employed the innovative practice of reaching out to engage Aboriginal peoples in a dialogue on economic development through city workers, such as public health nurses, who were routinely in touch with members of the Aboriginal population (Fielding and Couture 1998). In 2004, the city, along with Winnipeg Aboriginal organizations and the federal and provincial governments, concluded Canada's first Urban Aboriginal Strategy. The Winnipeg Partnership Agreement focuses on the participation of Aboriginal peoples, neighbourhood renewal and sustainability, downtown renewal, and support for innovation and technology in local development.

The foregoing suggests significant progress on developing civic awareness of the complex and critical role of Aboriginal peoples in Winnipeg's future. Aside from the Aboriginal Centre, there are also public and private spaces devoted to the understanding and celebration of Aboriginal cultures. The city's redevelopment of The Forks, at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, was done in consultation with Aboriginal peoples, who regard the area as sacred. The Forks contains public spaces that reflect the traditions of Aboriginal peoples, and these

spaces are used frequently for cultural and other events. The Neeganin ("our place") complex is part of the redevelopment around the Aboriginal Centre; it includes the Circle of Life Thunderbird House, a centre for spiritual and cultural affirmation and development. In one interesting initiative, Thunderbird House has undertaken explorations of shared values and practices with people of other traditions. For example, the common celebration of a thanksgiving was the basis for an intercultural dialogue with Winnipeg's Jewish community.

While these developments are salutary, flashpoints and challenges remain. These include high poverty levels among the city's Aboriginal peoples, poor police-Aboriginal resident relations, the presence of violent Aboriginal gangs, the high proportion of Aboriginal peoples among the city's street and sex trade worker populations, and the unsatisfactory participation and achievement rates of Aboriginal peoples in the city's education system. Building on positive initiatives and dealing with these challenges will likely dominate Winnipeg's diversity agenda for the foreseeable future.

Finally, Winnipeg has also been very aggressive in attempting to attract new immigrants. Prompted by federal-provincial nominees agreements that give provinces a more direct role in selecting their immigrants (they can set their own criteria based on specific labour needs) and that allow them to nominate a certain number of applicants (to be approved by Citizenship and Immigration Canada), Manitoba, with the support of the City of Winnipeg, has been particularly active. In addition, in 2002, the city created a fund to financially back private sponsorships of refugees destined for Winnipeg.

Comparative Perspectives

General Observations

THIS QUICK TOUR OF FOUR MAJOR CANADIAN CITIES, AS SUMMARIZED IN TABLE 3, yields a number of more general observations. While each of our case study cities takes multiple approaches to managing diversity, the table displays the most prominent tendency in each city as indicated by our research. It also points to some real future challenges as cities deal with the reality of their current diversity and the evolution of their population profiles.

The first and perhaps most basic observation is that because Canadian cities are diverse in different ways, the nature of their challenges is different. For example, in absolute terms, the number of Aboriginal people in Toronto and Montreal is substantial (20,000 and 10,000, respectively); however, Aboriginal peoples represent only a small fraction of the broad multicultural/multiracial diversity of these cities, and less attention is paid to them there than in places like Winnipeg, where urban Aboriginal issues are very prominent, if not dominant. Kristin Good found no clear correlation between the ethnic makeup of Canadian municipalities (characterized as biracial or multiracial) and policy responsiveness to diversity; rather, she found that the effectiveness of diversity management is dependent upon the nature of relations between municipal governments and community organizations (2005). Nevertheless, the relationship between population and policy often evolves differently under bifurcated versus heterogeneous circumstances. On the one hand, nongovernmental organizations and municipal governments are more likely to find common cause and to develop policy capacity in biracial populations than in more mixed ones. On the other hand, the escalation of tensions and a sense of otherness might be quicker and more intense in the biracial context. What this suggests is that there is no one-size-fits-all policy response to diversity for Canadian urban governments. Rather, urban policy-makers need to know their communities and understand well the differences among segments of the population. Yet evidence suggests that most urban municipalities neither collect much information on diverse communities — beyond the basic census data that comes across their desks — nor make effective use of what is available (Milroy and Wallace 2002).

Our survey suggests that to date most attention to the management of diversity in Canadian cities has been focused on immigrant and visible minority populations, and to a lesser extent on the disability community. Relations with GLBT communities seem to concentrate on policing issues, including issues of public and private space, and on celebrations such as gay pride parades, which have both symbolic value and, more instrumentally, significant economic benefits. To the extent that there is a class of "Floridians" (for example, gays, bohemians, artists and other creative people), it is of interest, but not a central focus of municipal action. One reason may be that while the economic advantage of having a critical mass of knowledge workers and creatives may be recognized, policies to expand the creative classes do not truly deal with issues of equity, difference and poverty, which are intertwined with matters of diversity.

Policy Responses to Diversity in Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal and Winnipeg[1]

Approaches and responses	Toronto	Montreal	Vancouver	Winnipeg
Main approach				
	Proactive multiculturalism; increased focus	Intercultural harmony	Both proactive and reactive	Celebration of multiculturalism; distinctive approach to Aboriginal peoples
Urban government responses				
Corporate policies/ frameworks	Immigration and settlement policy; plan to eliminate racism; access action plan (with annual reporting)	Charter of Rights and Responsibilities; Declaration against Racism; cultural development policy	Civic policy on multicultural relations	
Representation (council, committees)	Diversity advocate	Standing Committee on Diversity	Standing Committee on Aboriginal relations	
Involvement (task forces, advisory councils)	Task Force on Access and Equity; Aboriginal, disability and other advisory committees	Advisory Committee on Cross-Cultural Affairs	Diversity Advisory Committee; Police Diversity Advisory Committee; a disability advisory committee (disbanded in 2005)	Consultations (for example, on The Forks development
Administrative structures/processes	Diversity management and citizen engagement	Bureau of Intercultural Affairs	Cultural and translation outreach services	

(cont. on p. 29)

Policy Responses to Diversity in Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal and Winnipeg[1]

(cont. from p. 28)

Approaches and responses	Toronto	Montreal	Vancouver	Winnipeg
Urban government responses				
Planning processes	Training and awareness; translation (for example, a planning guide in 22 languages)	Integrated urban redevelopment program	Recruitment of planners with different backgrounds	
Funding and services	Professional mentoring of immigrants program; celebrations and events	Service des sports, des loisirs et du développement social; promoting a creative capital initiative	Hastings Institute; celebrations (for example, Aboriginal art, Chinatown walks)	Aboriginal Centre; multicultural celebrations; increased arts funding
Collaborative responses				
Intersectoral (voluntary, private sectors)	TRIAC[2]; Aboriginal economic development; Toronto City Summit Alliance	Montreal Summit, 2002	Collingwood House	Urban Aboriginal Strategy
Multigovernmental	Guns and gangs task force		Vancouver Agreement	Urban Aboriginal Strategy; Winnipeg Partnership

Source: Authors' calculations.

[1] The examples provided are illustrative only; they do not constitute a comprehensive list of initiatives in each city.

[2] Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council.

The locales we examined are large urban agglomerations with numerous municipal governments. This is no less true in the Toronto and Montreal metro regions, postamalgamation. In all cases, it appears that the central cities are still doing the heavy lifting in policy and program terms, in the management of diversity, and in the provision of human services and the other supports on which surrounding areas have historically taken somewhat of a free ride. In some cases, this is a result of history. Central cities have been the traditional receiving grounds for newcomers and those who are "different," and they have responded over time by developing a broad range of services and supports — supports that are increasingly in demand due to the influx of new immigrants. Despite the fact that the traditional patterns of settlement have been replaced by the decentralized residency of certain ethnic groups, central cities still appear to be in the vanguard. They not only continue to provide services, but they also take the lead, in many different ways, when it comes to new policies and practices. The changing patterns of diversity suggest that many suburban municipalities with growing multicultural populations have some catching up to do and that the need for consultation and collaboration among municipalities in the urban agglomeration is more important than ever.

Even in municipalities where there have been major initiatives to manage and build on the fact of diversity, the character of the local population is unlikely to be reflected around the local council table. Karen Bird found that visible minorities are one-third of the way to being proportionally represented on councils in Vancouver, Montreal and Toronto (2004).[5] She concludes that the absence of voting rights for resident noncitizens, the predominance of single-member ward systems and the lack of any form of proportional representation in local elections are impeding factors to greater representation. Some Canadian municipalities do have council members who are openly part of GLBT communities and see their role as, in part, being advocates for these communities.

In many respects, council composition may not be a serious barrier to innovation, because there tends to be fairly strong engagement of community-based organizations with local governments when it comes to diversity issues. This involves both advocacy and service provision. While this engagement in policy and co-production of services may be laudable, it injects a high degree of fragility into local action. This is largely due to the uncertainty of funding for voluntary organizations — be it through donations or government sources — even as service needs are increasing and becoming more complex. Furthermore, the

development of representative local-level voluntary organizations that have the capacity or willingness to engage effectively with governments may be challenging for certain communities.

In terms of funding, the main problem a decade ago was cuts, but that has changed, since many voluntary/nonprofit agencies are experiencing a growth in service-related funding. Today the central issues are the restrictive nature of short-term project and contract funding, the stringent accountability regimes associated with such funding and the introduction of managed competition in many fields (City of Toronto 2003; Phillips and Levasseur 2004). In immigration and settlement services, as well as in other multicultural human services, the current system of competitive bidding established by federal and provincial governments has tended to favour large organizations, both for-profit and nonprofit, over small ones; and it has produced a two-tier system of dependency. Large multiservice agencies, which are often not very representative of, or culturally sensitive to, multicultural communities, use their superior capacity to secure contracts and then subcontract services for particular communities to ethno-specific organizations, which can make use of their ethnic capital — language, shared culture and ethnicity (Sadiq 2004, 6). The large multiservice agencies are highly dependent on government funding, and the small ethno-specific organizations rely on the multiservice agencies. The result, suggests Kareem Sadiq, is a reduction in the supply of ethno-specific organizations; a geographic mismatch of agencies and communities, which limits accessibility; and more difficulties in collaborating with each other and with governments, given the loss of autonomy and bad experiences with forced collaboration (2004). Municipal governments have little control over this contracting regime, however, as it occurs within provincial and federal spheres of responsibility.

A related, serious consequence of the funding regime for all voluntary organizations has been an "advocacy chill" (Scott 2003). Voluntary organizations of all types tend to keep their heads down, rather than criticize or advocate policy change, so as not to jeopardize their next contract or round of project funding. In spite of these constraints, community-based voluntary organizations remain key partners for urban governments in serving diverse populations in Canadian cities.

We also see some early signs of interest in the private sector in managing diversity in Canadian cities — in playing a greater role than its traditional one of philanthropy and shaping the built environment. This is exemplified by the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council initiative. It is significant that

this initiative reflects a recognition of the need to integrate recent arrivals in a way that builds the local economy. The role of the private sector in supporting the economic development component of the Winnipeg Urban Aboriginal Strategy is also worth examining. It is clear, however, that there still remains enormous potential for engaging the private sector.

Challenges

These observations suggest that specific challenges lie ahead for municipal governments as they continue to work in a diverse reality. The first challenge is how to deal with interethnic and intra-ethnic tensions. These are real and have a range of manifestations from competition for voice and resources to outright violence. As we have noted, Montreal may be the most advanced in developing approaches that balance respect for different minorities with the service of broader needs. The Downtown Eastside and Collingwood Neighbourhood House initiatives in Vancouver also provide possible salutary examples. But the existence of tensions within and among specific communities may be an ongoing and complicating factor in future local action. The challenge is to invest not only in urban spaces but also in democratic ones — that is, to establish ongoing, institutionalized mechanisms for communication with various groups and communities before tensions arise.

The second challenge relates to the planning and use of the built environment. As we have seen, the use of public and private space by particular communities has been a significant issue in a number of Canadian cities, and the planning profession continues to come under harsh criticism for its lack of cultural sensitivity and openness (Sandercock 2003a; Milroy and Wallace 2002). This raises hard questions for municipal governments, which necessarily have the regulation of natural and built space as one of their chief mandates. The outstanding questions are basic but become increasingly complex when there are different conceptions of individual and collective character and of property rights. To what extent should civic space celebrate or even tolerate different tastes and traditions? What are common needs in terms of civic space? How can the process better engage the relevant communities?

The third challenge concerns policing in a diverse metropolis. Incidents involving police and members of different communities have frequently been flashpoints, and racial profiling by police is highly contentious. These incidents and debates sometimes overshadow innovative efforts by police to engage specific communities, deal with particular incidents and recruit a more diverse workforce.

Police-community relations and inter/intracommunity relations are sometimes conjoined as police and individual communities try to resolve conflicts. This is the most serious hurdle to managing diversity through a positive approach.

Fourth, there is the challenge of representation in Canadian city governments. Electoral and workforce representation provides local institutions with an understanding of the needs and interests of different groups; it also encourages a willingness to consider those needs and interests as legitimate, and a willingness on the part of city councils and their departments to engage different populations in ways that are efficacious for both citizens and government.

The final challenge is to recognize that dealing effectively with urban diversity is both multilevel, involving federal and provincial governments, and horizontal, involving a range of voluntary and private sector partners. No matter how activist a municipal government is, it must still contend with the legislative and regulatory frameworks and funding and contracting regimes established by federal and provincial governments, and it is largely reliant on nonprofits for the delivery of services. In spite of this interconnectedness, municipalities lack access to the policy-making process at the federal and provincial levels and in the intergovernmental arena. This creates a situation where "confusion, rather than coordination, becomes the rule" (Papillon 2002, 24). The challenges of this embeddedness are threefold. First, municipalities need to figure out how to reinvest in community organizations so as to enhance the stability and capacity of the voluntary sector on which they are so dependent. Second, they need to engage more effectively with the private sector, which plays such a large part in shaping urban space. Third, they need to devise a means of participating in intergovernmental decision-making and collaborating with other governments on the myriad policies that affect the management and accommodation of diversity in Canadian cities.

Toward Greater Collaboration

A WIDE RANGE OF POLICY TOOLS, SUBJECT TO PROVINCIAL LEGISLATION AND AGREEMENT, is being used to manage diversity in Canada's big cities. Although we have focused on the policy responses and initiatives of urban governments, the municipal policy environment for the management of diversity is profoundly affected by

provincial and federal policy and the wider policy context. The federal government's policy stance on matters related to Aboriginal peoples, immigration and multiculturalism are cases in point. We think it is important to reflect briefly on the broader intergovernmental policy context for urban governments' management of diversity and on some of the available policy instruments.

Several aspects of the broad intergovernmental policy context are particularly noteworthy. The first is the federal government's interest in, and approach to, having a metapolicy for cities. During the period of the Martin government, this was embodied in the "cities and communities" agenda, which was led by the minister of infrastructure and communities. Early signals from the Harper government suggested some interest in linking infrastructure and communities more explicitly with transportation. Hence we now have a minister of transportation, infrastructure and communities, rather than two separate portfolios. This suggests a somewhat more comprehensive approach to the federal role in infrastructure (although we should remember the prominent place of public transit in the Liberal agenda). But it also begs the question of whether the new government will focus on the community impacts of its transportation and infrastructure initiatives. Will the federal government look beyond physical and political geographic boundaries and consider the impact of future transportation and infrastructure initiatives on diverse communities? This is still an open question.

The second aspect concerns the intergovernmental funding regime. In our recent national political discourse, closing the alleged gap between urban governments' fiscal capacity and fiscal demands has been prominent. Big-city governments have advocated action on this by both the federal and provincial governments. Parallel to this, of course, is the provincial call to address the federal-provincial fiscal imbalance. The provincial chorus now seems to have the federal ear. From the standpoint of managing diversity, the question becomes "What is the best approach to adjusting fiscal relationships?"

Our view is that the transfer of tax room from the federal government to the provinces is not the best approach. Newly endowed provincial governments would have a difficult time determining which cities require the greatest focus on diversity management. Furthermore, selecting particular municipalities *and* diversity management as objects of expenditure over other competing priorities could prove to be an insurmountable problem for both provincial and urban governments. One possible exception is in the area of policing. The best approach,

then, is to employ a predictable system of intergovernmental transfers focusing on policy sectors — such as immigration, labour market adjustment and housing — that have a strong diversity management component. It is still early days, but we see two potential courses of federal action to address fiscal imbalance. One holds more promise than the other in terms of targeting money at issues of urban diversity. It involves a series of bilateral agreements with each province. With this approach, the challenges of immigrant settlement, urban issues related to Aboriginal peoples and social inclusion would be potential factors in shaping the transfer agreements. A more generic, multilateral approach holds less promise for allocating resources in a much-needed place-based manner.

Reliance on sector-focused intergovernmental transfers to assist urban governments in managing diversity poses significant challenges. Beyond money, both vertical and horizontal engagement are needed to address diversity issues in cities. City-focused agreements have demonstrated promise — as shown by the Winnipeg Urban Aboriginal Strategy and the Vancouver Agreement. They engage all three levels of government and, within each level, involve a broad set of appropriate actors in tackling comprehensively defined issues. In both of these cases, diversity issues are prominent. These models suggest, however, that there is nothing to prevent a similar organizational approach to dealing with comprehensive challenges in cities where diversity issues are less prominent. Hence, the singling out of diversity is driven by local circumstances and awareness rather than by federal and/or provincial edict. The local voluntary and business communities have a strong and, as illustrated by the TRIEC case in Toronto, potentially very active role to play.

Finally, recent developments in Toronto provide an example of a new and potentially useful way of enabling city governments to have more of a policy voice and scope of action in dealing with diversity. The recently passed *Stronger City of Toronto for a Stronger Ontario Act* explicitly provides the City of Toronto with the independent authority to enter into agreements with the federal government. The Act also recognizes that the municipal government shares policy interests with the province in many areas of provincial jurisdiction, and so it accords the city "shared policy space" through collaborative provincial-municipal policy development. Since the Act was only promulgated in early 2006, its real impact has yet to be determined. It does, however, suggest a new acknowledgement of the potential of greater urban government leadership in policy-making on complex intergovernmental issues, such as those related to the management of diversity.

Conclusion

We began by advocating a shift in view from negative to positive — from seeing urban diversity as a problem that needs to be managed (and sometimes contained) to considering it an asset that also needs to be managed, but that can confer certain benefits and promote economic growth. Our review suggests that the policy perspectives of a number of large Canadian cities now tilt toward the positive view. For these cities, this positive approach goes beyond celebrations and slogans and tries to engage communities in ways that acknowledge and work with their deep diversity. Diversity management is at various stages of development in the cities we examined. These cities also make use of different policy and program tools, because the understanding of diversity as both problem and asset varies in each. In general, we see the Canadian model of diversity at work in urban governments. As a consequence, urban approaches to diversity involve a series of balances and trade-offs: between assimilation or integration and the freedom to be different; between special accommodation and equal treatment; and between roles for the public, private and voluntary sectors. In the urban context, perhaps the most important balance is between building on multiculturalism and managing intercultural relations among minority and majority communities and specific cultural communities. Although many urban governments recognize that diversity has instrumental value for economic growth, most of the focus of diversity management is on creating more workable and liveable urban spaces, not simply on enhancing competitive advantage.

Three important challenges make the balance a delicate one and pull the agenda toward the "problem" end of the continuum. Two relate to policing and to intercommunity relations, as expressed largely in planning and in competing views of the use of the built environment. The final challenge is to foster greater recognition that diversity is not simply of concern for central and inner cities or for urban governments alone. Increasingly, it is a collaborative effort involving the federal and provincial governments as well as the voluntary and private sectors. It is indeed a fine balance.

Notes

1 As of the 2001 census, 43.7 percent of Toronto residents, 40.2 percent of Vancouver residents and 18.4 percent of Montreal residents were foreign-born, as compared to those of Miami (40 percent), Sydney (31 percent), Los Angeles (31 percent) and New York (24 percent) (Statistics Canada 2003). The percentage of foreign-born across all 27 of Canada's CMAs was 18.4 percent. Montreal sat right on the average, while nine other CMAs (Toronto, Vancouver, Hamilton, Windsor, Kitchener, Abbotsford, Calgary, London and Victoria) had a higher than average percentage of their population in this category (Justus 2004).

2 The assumption has been that newcomers move to the largest urban areas —Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver — for the economic advantages these locales offer. However, as Chantal Goyette shows, the primary reason for destination choice is family and social support, not perceived economic advantage, and recent immigrants in CMAs outside the big three actually had higher employment incomes than those within them (2004).

3 One debate regarding multiculturalism policies is whether in a diverse society that employs these policies — policies that support the maintenance of different identities and practices — it is more difficult to sustain a robust welfare state. Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka provide definitive evidence on this (2003). In a comparative study, Banting finds no connection between support for multiculturalism and the maintenance and funding of a strong welfare state (2005; see also Banting and Kymlicka 2003).

4 For example, as Siemiatycki and Isin point out, all but 10 of the 165 parade permits issued in the old City of Toronto in 1996 were to ethnic, racial or religious groups (1997).

5 Vancouver's current council is perhaps further along in terms of representation of minority groups, in part because of its small size. Mayor Sam Sullivan, a quadriplegic, has been an active advocate for the disability community and is the first mayor of the city to speak Cantonese. He is joined on the 11-member council by three members of the Chinese community and Canada's first openly gay person to be ordained in a mainstream Christian denomination.

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