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COPING WITH DIVERSITY

Municipal Actions in Response of Increased Immigrant Diversity in the Cities of Hamilton and Markham in Ontario

MPA Research Report

Submitted to
The Local Government Program
Department of Political Science
The University of Western Ontario

COPING WITH DIVERSITY

Municipal Actions in Response of Increased Immigrant Diversity in the Cities of Hamilton and Markham in Ontario

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The 2001 Census data strongly affirms two fundamental facts in Canada: urbanization and immigration. These concepts seem to be strongly correlated, as most immigrants settle in large urban centres to start their new lives in Canada. In this paper I would like to investigate through the examples of two municipalities – the City of Hamilton and the City of Markham - how local governments acted to cope with the increased diversity of the immigrant population under their jurisdiction.

The large influx and changing composition of immigrants pose increasingly difficult questions to the Canadian society as a whole. Could these recent immigrants integrate into the mainstream society just as well as their previous cohorts? Or, will Canada face increased social inequality, marginalization and segregation of visible minority groups, and amplified social tension in the future? Whatever way municipalities decide to respond to the needs of this new immigrant population, their actions will have a huge impact on how these questions will be answered, and how Canada's future will be shaped.

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better qualified employee.

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1. - INTRODUCTION

This research paper was prepared to explore the actions taken by two selected municipalities – Hamilton and Markham - to cope with increased diversity of the immigrant population living under their jurisdiction. During the last 100 years or so, Canada has accepted more than 13.4 million¹ immigrants into the country, and Citizenship and Immigration Canada reported that in 2005 alone over 262,000 immigrants came to Canada². Immigrants of the 21st century are very different from those who arrived 100, or even 20 years ago. According to the Statistics Canada report, in 2001, 73% of the immigrants who came to Canada during the 1990s were visible minorities and the proportion of Canada's visible minority population has increased three-fold since 1984³. The top ten countries of birth of immigrants in Canada in 2004 were: China (15.4%), India (10.8%), Philippines (5.6%), Pakistan (5.4%), United States (3.2%), Iran (2.6%), UK (2.6%), Romania (2.4%), Republic of Korea (2.3%) and Sri Lanka (1.8%)⁴.

The 2001 census also indicated that large urban centres - such as Toronto,

Vancouver and Montreal - and their surrounding areas are the preferred destinations of

Canada's new immigrants, and that immigration is one of the most significant factors

contributing to both economic and population growth in these cities. As a result, these

municipalities face specific challenges in policy making and implementation in areas of

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¹ Statistics Canada. Canada's ethnocultural portrait: The changing mosaic, 2001 Census: analysis series-Catalogue: 96F0030XIE2001008, Ottawa: Minister of Industry (January 21, 2003), 6.

² Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Facts and Figures 2005, Immigration overview: Permanent and Temporary Residents (2005) June 19, 2006 http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/facts2005/overview/1.html Statistics Canada. Canada's ethnocultural portrait: The changing mosaic, 2001 Census: analysis series-Catalogue: 96F0030XIE2001008, Ottawa: Minister of Industry 2003, 10.

⁴ Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Facts and figures 2004, Immigration overview – Permanent residents 2004 May 19, 2005 http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/facts2004/permanent/12.html

education, language training, settlement services, housing, job creation and access to employment. The large influx and changing composition of immigrants pose increasingly difficult questions to the Canadian society as a whole. Could these recent immigrants integrate into the mainstream society just as well as their previous cohorts? Or, will Canada face increased social inequality, marginalization and segregation of visible minority groups, and amplified social tension in the future? Whatever way municipalities decide to respond to the needs of this new immigrant population, their actions will have a huge impact on how these questions will be answered, and how Canada's future will be shaped.

The first part (Sections 1 - 4) of this paper provides a brief overview of the history of immigration, recent immigration trends in Canada and describes the role of municipalities in the process of immigration. This section of the paper also discusses the theoretical framework around ethnicity and social inequality in general and in the Canadian context. In the next sections, the research question and research methodology are outlined, as they apply to the two Ontario municipalities examined here as cases.

Section 5 discusses the specific challenges municipalities face in accommodating an increasingly diverse immigrant population, while Section 6 describes the conditions presently existing in the two municipalities. In the next section, the paper looks at selected actions, programs and policies the case municipalities have taken from an investment-based perspective. In its concluding section, Section 8, the paper provides an analysis of the findings and offers recommendations for potential actions to accommodate the increased visible minority groups in these and in other municipalities.

2.1 Immigration history and trends

We often hear the remark that Canada is a nation built on immigration. Canada's immigrant population has been steadily growing and, according to the 2001 Census, 5.4 million people (18.4% of the population) were born outside the country. This represents the highest proportion of immigrant population reached in Canada since 1931⁵, and the second highest immigrant population in the world after Australia.

In the past, the main goal of the Canadian immigration policy was to populate empty spaces with people who could built cities "from scratch" and turn vast open regions into fertile agricultural lands. The selection criteria for immigrants were very simple: the prospective immigrant needed to be young, healthy, hard working and willing to perform physical labour for long days. In return for these qualities, Canada provided all immigrants with stable and steadily improving economic conditions, ownership of property and the promise of almost limitless opportunities. The main goals of the immigration policy today are not that much different, although Canada's goal has somewhat changed, and immigration policy no longer concentrates on the agricultural perspective. Today's immigrants are essentially fulfilling two main objectives in Canadian society: 1) to replace the rapidly aging Canadian population in the workforce; and 2) to provide a healthy population growth either by immigrating themselves or through giving birth. Statistics show that immigration currently accounts for an

⁵ Statistics Canada. Canada's ethnocultural portrait: The changing mosaic, 2001 Census: analysis series-Catalogue: 96F0030XIE2001008, Ottawa: Minister of Industry (January 21, 2003), 5.

estimated 70% of Canada's net labour force growth, and it is estimated that by 2011 it will account for 100% of the net labour force growth⁶. However, statistics also show that, during the last 20 years, immigrants have encountered increased difficulties with economic and social integration.

Canada possesses a long history of immigration, and it is at the very core of the vision that Canadians hold about themselves as a society. With the exception of the aboriginal population, each Canadian is an immigrant or a descendant of immigrants who arrived sometime in the last 450 years. From the 1860s to the end of the 19th century, net immigration was negative, followed by a short-lived burst between 1900 and 1914. It is only after World War II that immigration became a significant and persistent contributor to the Canadian economic and population growth. There are three major historical changes that need to be mentioned while introducing the Canadian government's immigration policy. The first change happened in 1967, when the Pearson government introduced the point system, under which independent immigrants are considered even today for admission into Canada. Discrimination based on place of origin of immigrants became a major concern of Canada in the early 1960s and, consequently, preferential access of persons from European countries was abolished. The introduction of the point system reinforced the non-discriminatory aspects of Canada's immigration policy and placed the emphasis on education, training, skills and other special qualifications under which immigrants were to be selected.

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⁶ Statistics Canada. The changing profile of Canada's labour force, 2001 Census: analysis series (February 11, 2003) May 15, 2004

http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/paid/contents.cfm

Presently, there are three categories under which immigrants could gain admittance into the country: 1) family class; 2) skilled workers (or independent immigrant) and business class; and 3) refugee class. Skilled workers represent the largest proportion of immigrants, and in 2004 they accounted for 57% of all newcomers⁷. They are assessed under the point system, which emphasizes their suitability to become residents of Canada. The points are awarded to immigrants based upon their education, specific vocational skills, work experience, demand for their occupation, age, language proficiency and personal suitability. Currently, skilled workers require a minimum of 67 points as a passing mark from a possible maximum of 100 points. According to the Citizenship and Immigration Canada website, reaching this mark is not very difficult. An individual could receive 20 points for a university degree at a bachelor's level or for a two-year diploma, trade certificate or apprenticeship. In addition, the same individual could get 21 points for a minimum of 4 years full-time, paid work experience, obtained at their home country⁸. By applying this grading system, more than half of the necessary points - 41 out of 67 - could be obtained for occupational factors alone, therefore ensuring almost guaranteed admittance into Canada for those who have these qualifications.

The second major immigration related policy change happened in 1976 with the introduction of the Immigration Act. This Act established, for the first time ever, an annual target level for immigration. The Federal Minister of Citizenship and

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⁷ Citizenship and Immigration News Release Canada welcomed almost 236,000 new permanent residents in 2004 Ottawa (March 7, 2005) July 2, 2006 http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/press/05/0505-e.html

⁸ Citizenship and Immigration Canada Six Selection Factors and Pass Marks (March 7, 2005) July 2, 2006 http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/qual-5.html

Immigration is accountable for setting the annual number, after consultation with the provinces concerning their regional demographic and labour market needs. Starting the in late 1980s, the average number of immigrants increased from 102,000 annually to over 200,000 annually between 2000 and 2005. The Minister is also responsible for providing and annual statement to Parliament, describing activities in the past year and announcing target numbers for the upcoming year. In late 2005, the Honourable Joe Volpe, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration announced Canada's Immigration Plan for 2006 and committed to "admit between 225,000 and 255,000 newcomers to Canada as permanent residents in 2006, with a 54:44 ratio between the economic and noneconomic categories"9.

The third and most important change is the introduction of multiculturalism. In 1971, Canada became the first country in the world to adopt multiculturalism as an official policy, approved by the Parliament. Multiculturalism ensures that all Canadian residents can keep their identities, culture and be proud of their ancestry, while have a sense of belonging in the Canadian society. Although multiculturalism can be interpreted in many different ways, Canada can be described as a multicultural society. Most Canadians in general are supportive of a multicultural society, at least in principle if not always in practice. Some of the immigrants themselves would say that multiculturalism creates a division between immigrants and the mainstream society as it requires immigrants to adopt a "psychology of separation" 10. Yet, for the purposes of this paper,

⁹ Citizenship and Immigration of Canada Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration 2005 Section 1, Canada's Immigration Plan for 2006 (October 31, 2005) February 12, 2006

http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/annual-report2005/section1.html#4

¹⁰ Bissoondath, Neil 1994. Selling Illusions: The cult of Multiculturalism in Canada Mosaic Winnipeg, 15

we will only highlight the importance of this change as it relates to immigration, ethnic and racial minorities.

2.2 The role of municipalities

The objectives of the Canadian immigration policy are clearly defined in the Act of Parliament. Even though there is no clear definition in this document to clarify the responsibility of municipalities with respect to immigration, it is worthwhile to quote a few of the main goals stated in the Act, as these establish a broad immigration-related role description for municipalities. In addition, listing these goals will also provide a general background on which we could later assess the adequacy of the actions municipalities have taken and recommend future improvements to accommodate increased diversity. We have to note that the role of municipal governments in this area varies greatly, and depends on the degree of autonomy and the nature of services provincial governments delegate to municipalities. However, municipalities are usually responsible for areas such as urban planning, housing, infrastructure and cultural activities, which all play an important role in supporting a sustainable environment for immigrants.

The Parliament of Canada declared its Immigration and Refugee Protection Act as "An Act respecting immigration to Canada and the granting of refugee protection to persons who are displaced, persecuted or in danger." Furthermore, it states, "The objectives of this Act with respects to immigration are: (a) to permit Canada to pursue maximum social, cultural and economic benefits of immigration; (b) to enrich and

strengthen the social and cultural fabric of Canadian society, while respecting the federal, bilingual and multicultural character of Canada; ... (e) to promote the successful integration of permanent residents into Canada, while recognizing that integration involves mutual obligations for new immigrants and Canadian society;"... and "(j) to work in cooperation with the provinces to secure better recognition of the foreign credentials of permanent residents and their more rapid integration into society"...

Although these objectives are set by the Federal Government and the selection of immigrants is a federal responsibility, the process and reality of settlement take place at the local level. People find homes and become citizens in a particular city and ultimately choose to remain in a community where they are welcomed and feel included – economically, socially and politically. In that sense, the responsibility of attracting, retaining and supporting immigrants in settling in their chosen new country lies with municipalities, and they should take particular interest in these areas if they are to meet the goals set by the Federal Government.

The 2001 Census data strongly affirms that immigration and urbanization are strongly correlated concepts in Canada, as most immigrants settle in large urban centres to start their new lives. Along with immigration, urbanization has been also a growing trend in Canada. In 2001, more than 79 % of the population lived in cities, making Canada one of the most urbanized countries in the world. This is a sharp contrast to 1931, when over half of the population lived in rural areas and 31.1 % of those were

¹¹ Parliament of Canada. *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act.* 2001 c.27 Assented to November 2001 3.(1) Objectives and Application

classified as "rural farms" ¹². Urbanization and immigration are strongly interrelated concepts, as most immigrants settle in urban centres such as Toronto or Vancouver..

During the last census period, 94 % of new immigrants - those who arrived in Canada less than 10 year ago - were living in census metropolitan areas; in contrast, of the total population, only 64 % were located in such areas. ¹³. The highest population growth due to immigration took place in Toronto, where almost half a million immigrants arrived in the five-year census period (1996 - 2001). In 2001, Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal absorbed 48%, 15% and 12% of immigrants and refugees arriving to Canada respectively and the tendency for new immigrants to concentrate in these three cities continues to increase ¹⁴.

Large cities and their surrounding areas are chosen as the preferred destinations of immigrants for several reasons. For skilled immigrants - the category that represented the largest proportion of immigrants in 2004 - the most important factor is economic opportunity. It is natural for these immigrants to settle initially in large urban centres, where they perceive the greatest number of employment opportunities. Second, skilled immigrants also hope that they would encounter better opportunities for professional development and advancement, even if they would have to start from the bottom of their occupational career. The third and also very important factor is the presence of family

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¹² Statistics Canada. Canada's ethnocultural portrait: The changing mosaic, 2001 Census: analysis series-Catalogue:96F0030XIE2001008 Ottawa: Minister of Industry (January 21, 2003) May 15, 2004 http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/etoimm/contents.cfm 15.

Statistics Canada. Canada's ethnocultural portrait: The changing mosaic, 2001 Census: analysis series-Catalogue: 96F0030XIE2001008 Ottawa: Minister of Industry (January 21, 2003) May 15, 2004 http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/etoimm/contents.cfm 6.

¹⁴ Papillon, Martin, *Immigration, Diversity and social Inclusion in Canada's cities*, December 2002, Canadian Policy Research Network 7

and friends in Canada, and the previous knowledge gained about the prospective settlement city through these contacts. Immigrants feel much more secure if they have family and friends who could "show them the ropes" in their new country and who could help them through the initial settlement period financially and emotionally. In addition, the presence of a shared ethno-cultural community in the city could be an important selection criterion for settlement, as most immigrants want to preserve their cultural identity and language even after immigrating to Canada.

As immigration is mostly an urban experience in Canada, there is a growing pressure on municipalities to have the capacity for planning, coordinating and providing services for newcomers. As discussed later in this paper, cities are presently ill-equipped to cope with the large amount of immigrants, and lack the resources to provide adequate services to the immigrant population. Nevertheless, cities must take special interest in how to accommodate diversity if they hope to avoid future social and economic problems.

2.3 Immigration and social conflict

Ethnicity and visible minority status remain important determinants of social stratification in Canadian society. With a steady increase in the visible minority population in Canada, one could expect a widening social and economic gap between the immigrant population – particularly visible minorities – and the non-immigrant groups. This is particularly worrisome in large urban centres, and some recent events in other

large cities in the world have demonstrated that exclusion and marginalization of visible minorities could create violent outbursts and wide-spread social unrests.

Among the latest examples for social conflicts triggered by immigration are the events that recently transpired in France. In the fall of 2005, the streets of Clichy-sous-Bois, a northeast rundown suburb of Paris, erupted into violence and riots. The fights were triggered by the deaths of two Muslim teenagers who were accidentally electrocuted at an electricity sub-station while trying to escape from the police. The violence quickly spread into other suburbs of Paris and into other cities in France. The fights, mostly between the French police and Muslim residents, continued for over 3 weeks, caused an estimated \$200 million damage, and resulted in approximately 3,000 arrests¹⁵.

Many believe that that this outburst of violence in France was triggered by the escalating social and economic exclusion of immigrants from the mainstream society, and that the violence and aggression were only a cry for help of the immigrant population. France's present immigrant population is more than 10%, which is considered significant compared to other European countries. Most of the first immigrants arrived during the post World-War II era, when France's economy took off due to reconstruction and economic expansion. Because France lost many of its men in the war, the French government actively recruited workers from France's foreign colonies to fill jobs in factories and other manual labor positions. In the 50s and 60s, immigrants arrived mostly from North and West Africa. People coming from these areas spoke French, and it

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¹⁵ Wikipedia 2005 Civil unrest in France (June 2, 2006) June 21, 2006 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005 civil unrest in France#Summary_statistics>

helped them to enter the labour force immediately. The French government initially settled these newcomers in suburban housing estates, clustered around the outskirts of large cities. Unfortunately, these housing estates have become "ghettos" of immigrants over the last few decades. Most of the first, second and even third generations of immigrants still live in these suburban "ghettos" with little hope to ever break out from there or become accepted by the mainstream, white French society.

Although Canada's immigrant population is much higher than France's – 18.4% in 2001¹⁶ - most Canadians think that such violent events will never take place in Canada. The average Canadian believes in the inclusiveness of the Canadian society and approves multiculturalism, at least in principle. However, conditions similar to those that triggered the unrest in France have been emerging in Canada's large cities during the past 20 years.

3. - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 An overview of social inequality

Although the subject of this paper is to describe and evaluate municipal activities that accommodate increased diversity within the community, an introduction to the basic terms of social inequality is necessary. Its relevance to immigration is apparent since the long history of immigration in Canada is also, in part, a history of particular forms of inclusion and exclusion. Exclusion based upon race and countries of origin was quite common in Canada's immigration policy until the 1960s. Racialized evaluation of immigrants determined who was let into the country and defined what suitable work for

16 Statistics Canada. Canada's ethnocultural portrait: The changing mosaic, 2001 Census: analysis series-Catalogue:96F0030XIE2001008 Ottawa: Minister of Industry (January 21, 2003) May 15, 2004 http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/etoimm/contents.cfm

different immigrant groups was. One of the most blatant forms of exclusion was the introduction of head tax for people emigrating from China in 1885. The first Chinese immigrants were asked to pay fifty dollars per person entering Canada, and it was subsequently raised to \$100 in 1900 and to \$500 in 1903. The Chinese Immigration Act introduced in 1923 was based explicitly on the idea that Chinese people were racially inferior and that they caused problems whenever they settled ¹⁷.

The term social inequality is most often used in conjunction with the terms of social class, social stratification and power. In his 1896 book "Elements of Political Science", classical writer Mosca, explains that stratification of society is derived from power and the society is organized into two groups: those who rule and those who are ruled. Mosca also explains that democracy — or the rule by the people — is impossible to achieve as power is concentrated in the hands of those who have the most money and lie the most persuasively. As a result, the organized minority will always rule the disorganized majority and inequality is purely a function of differences in power.

Other social theorists, such as Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore describe social inequality as a kind of social differentiation and a "universal necessity" ¹⁸. For them, social stratification is "functional" and a direct result of the specialization in roles and division of labour. According to them, the two main factors determining the relative rank of a position in a society are 1) having the greatest importance for the society and 2) requiring the greatest training or talent. Kingsley and Moore state that inequality exists

17 Li, P. 1988 The Chinese in Canada Toronto: Toronto University Press :23

Davis, Kingsley and Wilbert E. Moore 1947 Some principles of Stratification American Sociological review pg.242

because it serves a certain function in society and it evolves unconsciously. They were also convinced that "only a limited number of individuals in any society have the talent which can be trained into the skills appropriate to these positions"19 e.g. the more functionally important positions.

Functionalist theories are especially popular in North America as they support the views of an individualistic society, and place the responsibility of getting ahead purely on the individual. Believers of this theory still think that individuals can advance limitlessly in a society only by hard work and perseverance, and that only the individual can be blamed for failure to achieve a status. One might say that these views diffuse the responsibility of society and completely ignore the existing power structures, always serving those who rule, rather than those who are ruled.

There are also many other arguments against the functionalist theory of stratification. One of the most known anti-functionalists is Melvin M. Tumin, who systematically attacked all the points raised in Davis's and Moore's work. Tumin questioned whether any position could be determined as "more functionally important"20, and associated dispensability of a certain position with the power it occupies within a society. According to Tumin, this power is "a culturally shaped consequence of the existing system of rating, rather than something inevitable in the nature of social

¹⁹ Davis, Kingsley and Wilbert E. Moore 1947 Some principles of Stratification American Sociological

²⁰ Tumin, M. Melvin 1953 Some principles of Stratification: a critical analysis American Sociological review 18:388

organization".21 Tumin also argued that it is false to assume that there are only a limited number of individuals who can be trained for structurally important positions. He pointed out that a well-established system of stratification "tends to build-in obstacles to the further exploration of the range of available talent"22 and therefore limits the number of individuals having access to these prestigious positions. Tumin eloquently writes: "Where, for instance, access to education depends upon the wealth of one's parents, and where wealth is differentially distributed, large segments of the population are likely to be deprived the chance even to discover what are their talents." This observations points out that inequality arises from the past, and that subsequent generations can pass on disadvantages or advantages to their children.

Other social theorists, such as Charles Tilly considered inequality structural and associated social stratification with categories based on ethnic origins, religion or race. Tilly stated that "durable inequality" is created "because people who control access to value-producing resources solve pressing organizational problems by means of categorical distinctions"23 and set up systems of social closure, exclusion and control. According to Tilly, significant inequalities in advantages (or durable inequalities) among people correspond to categorical differences, such as black/white, male/female, rather than to individual differences in attributes, inclination or performances. Tilly, and other structuralists, focused mainly on structures of society, structures of inequality within the

²¹ Tumin, M. Melvin 1953 Some principles of Stratification: a critical analysis American Sociological

²² Tumin, M. Melvin 1953 Some principles of Stratification: a critical analysis American Sociological

²³ Tilly, Charles. 1998 *Durable inequality* Berkley: University of California Press :8

society and on the methods of maintaining inequality by the elites, rather than explain what causes inequality in general.

Classical power theorists, such as Marx, explain social inequality and the formation of a class structure as entirely based upon the ownership of society's productive instruments. For Marxists, society is divided into two groups: the owners of production and the workers. The owners of productive instruments, or capitalists, use exploitation to maximize their profit and offered work to the masses only at the time and under such conditions that allow them to maximize profit and accumulate capital.

According to Marx, eventually, the proletariat will become class conscious and will overthrow the capitalists, forming an egalitarian society with equal distribution of and access to society's goods. Such a utopian society has never been achieved by any nation, however. Rather, it seems that capitalism achieved a sweeping world-wide victory by the early 21st century.

3.2 Social inequality and ethnicity in Canada - An introduction

One of the best known works on the area of social class, power and ethnicity is

John Porter's book, "The vertical mosaic – An analysis of social class and power in

Canada". Porter examined the Canadian class structure by looking at different ethnic

groups and determining what occupations the groups ended up in. He then determined,

based upon their occupations, that these ethnic groups could be sorted into a so called

"vertical mosaic" or a vertical class system. Porter differentiated between the powers of

the charter groups – the English and the French – and non-charter groups by saying that

"... the first ethnic group to come into a previously unpopulated territory, as the effective possessor, has the most say. This group becomes the charter group of the society, and among the many privileges and prerogatives which it retains are decisions about what other groups are to be let in and what they will be permitted to do"24. Porter's study revealed that "economic power belongs almost exclusively to those of British origin, even though this ethnic group made up less than half of the population is 1951"25. Similarly, the British dominated the political scene and occupied 75 per cent of the political elites.

Porter also described that, upon arrival, the less preferred ethnic groups were assigned by the charter groups a so called "entrance status"²⁶, which implied a lower level occupational role. Porter investigated census data from 1931 to 1961, when most immigrants came from Europe and Great Britain. He was curious to see whether certain immigrant groups moved out from their "entrance status" over the 30 years he investigated. Based upon the 1931 census, occupations were grouped into three broad occupational categories: agriculture; professional and financial; and primary and unskilled labour. Professional and financial occupations were considered as high occupational levels, and primary and unskilled occupations as low occupational levels. Agriculture was included to see what ethnic groups moved out from this category into the others over time. Porter determined that, by 1961, the relative positions of the various

²⁴ Porter, John, 1965 The vertical mosaic - An analysis of social class and power in Canada, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Chapter III Ethnicity and Social Class, pg. 60

²⁵ Porter, John, 1965 The vertical mosaic – An analysis of social class and power in Canada, Toronto: University of Toronto Press Chapter III Ethnicity and Social Class pg. 286

²⁶ Porter, John, 1965 The vertical mosaic - An analysis of social class and power in Canada, Toronto: University of Toronto Press Chapter III Ethnicity and Social Class pg. 64

ethnic groups had changed very little. In fact, the British (English, Irish and Scottish) increased their overrepresentation in the professional and financial occupations over the 30 years. Most other ethnic groups increased their occupational status very little during the same time, with the exception of Asians and Jews. These two groups increased their representation significantly in the professional and financial occupations between 1931 and 1961.

The goal of Porter's work was to prove that a relationship exists between the ethnic composition and the class structure of Canadian society. In addition, Porter was arguing that social mobility and access to power are limited for ethnic groups and there tends to be very little change in the class structure over time in Canada. Porter insisted that there was a strong association between ethnic affiliations and social class in Canada, and that a "democratic society may require a breaking down of the ethnic impediment to equality, particularly the equality of opportunity"²⁷.

In her work, "Vertical mosaic among the elites: The new imagery revisited", M.

Reza Nakhaie, continued to investigate Porter's claims of British dominance. She looked at the census data until 1987 and determined "that there has been little, if any, decline in British dominance among the Canadian (particularly economic) elites" Nakhaie argued that there is little randomness in the representation of ethnic groups at the elite level and that "patterns of selection and access to elite positions demonstrate inequality of

²⁷ Porter, John, 1965 The vertical mosaic – An analysis of social class and power in Canada, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Chapter III Ethnicity and Social Class pg. 73

²⁸ Nakhaie, M. Reza 1997 Vertical mosaic among the elites: the new imagery revisited The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 34, pg. 120

opportunity"29. She did not believe that this was evidence of limited mobility for ethnic groups in Canada. Rather, she considered this as proof of "sufficient continuity to maintain class institutions" and maintain the power of the British.

There have been many scholars who questioned whether the entrance status of an immigrant group may lead to permanent stratification linked to ethnicity. However, there is clear evidence that visible minority status increases one's chances to end up in the lower strata of society. A more recent hypothesis of social inequality and visible minorities is the discrimination thesis³¹, which attributes the inferior position of some ethnic groups to the socioeconomic structure of society. According to this theory, unequal relations arise in a society that systematically discourage and exclude some minorities from fully participating in the mainstream society. For example, visible minorities may be placed into an inescapable socioeconomic trap because of racial prejudice and discrimination, so that access to the full range of job opportunities and other socioeconomic resources of the country may be limited for them. As a result, they are forced to stay at the periphery of the civic, economic and political centres of society, without hope of ever breaking into these circles. This hypothesis describes the most accurately the present conditions in the Canadian society. Although structural discrimination is almost non-existent in Canada, it is believed that systemic discrimination still persists in institutional settings and in interpersonal relations. In

²⁹ Nakhaie, M. Reza 1997 Vertical mosaic among the elites: the new imagery revisited The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 34, pg. 123

³⁰ Nakhaie, M. Reza 1997 Vertical mosaic among the elites: the new imagery revisited The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 34, pg. 122

³¹ Hou, F., Balakarishnan T.R. 1996 The integration of visible minorities in contemporary Canadian society Canadian Journal of Sociology, 21, 3, pp. 307 -26

addition, racial discrimination has become more subtle and hidden, therefore harder to combat.

4. – MUNICIPAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Research question and methodology

In this section, the following argument will be constructed: in order to avoid future social conflicts and economic problems, municipalities must take an active role in accommodating the increasingly diverse immigrant population, concentrating under their jurisdiction. Two municipalities have been selected for closer investigation: the City of Hamilton and the City of Markham. By looking at the actions and policies these municipalities have created, this paper seeks to demonstrate some effective methods for coping with increased diversity and its consequences at the local level. The research undertaken consists of a literature review through library and web resources, file review related to the selected municipalities, and collection of expert opinion from individuals at these municipalities. The following individuals were interviewed either by phone or via e-mail:

Hamilton's Centre for Civic Inclusion (HCCI) - Ms. Barbara Smoke, Administrative Coordinator

Markham Race Relations Committee (MRRC) – Ms. Erin Shapero, Ward 2 Councillor York Region United Way – Mr. Simon Cheng, Director of Community Resource.

4.2 Why immigration matters for municipalities?

Diversity and the inclusion of immigrants occupy an important place in recent discussions about the sustainability of cities. As the facts of immigration and urbanization are so much intertwined in Canada, cities are crucial actors in the management of diversity. As of today, Canada has not experienced the kind of overt racism and conflict-ridden anti-immigrant sentiments as other nations, such as France or the United States. However, we have several reasons to be worried about the success of Canadian cities in maintaining a sustainable environment for an increasingly diverse immigrant population. A recent paper published by Richard Florida and his Canadian colleagues has found that "a local creative class and openness to diversity attract knowledge workers in Ontario and Canada", and that "there appears to be a strong set of linkages between creativity, diversity, talent and technology-intensive activity that are driving the economies of Ontario's - and Canada's - city regions"32. Creating an environment that fosters innovation and attracts a highly-skilled, diverse immigrant population is essential for urban development and must be combined with creating policies aimed to reduce exclusion and segregation. Although there are overarching policies that are created at the federal level - multiculturalism, Immigration and Refugee Act - there is also a need for municipalities to develop their own strategies and policies in response to specific local conditions and needs. As we will see later, the two municipalities have taken two different approaches, depending on their local circumstances, in accommodating an increasingly diverse immigrant population. First,

³² Gertler, M.S., Richard Florida, Gary Gates, Tara Vinodrai November 2002 Competing on creativity: Placing Ontario Cities in North American Context A report prepared for the Ontario Ministry of Enterprise, Opportunity and innovation and the Institute for Competitiveness and Prosperity :ii

we should look at the general challenges that all municipalities face in connection with the increased immigrant population.

5. - MUNICIPAL CHALLENGES

5.1 - Increased diversity

During the last several decades there has been a considerable change in the source countries of immigrants. Asian origins are dominant among immigrants who landed after 1985 and their share increased even more among those who landed after 1995. The share of recent immigrants from China is 13% and India has the second largest share at 10%. In the second half of the 1990s, South Asia – India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka - has become a most important source of immigrants. In comparison, the United Kingdom and Italy used to be the main countries of birth of immigrants who landed before 1986. Only 2% of recent immigrants were born in the United Kingdom and less than 1% in Italy³³.

Canada's visible minority population has increased three-fold during the last 25 years and the majority of immigrants – more than 75% in 2004 – are presently arriving from Asia, Africa, Middle-East and South and Central America. If recent immigration trends continue, projections show that by 2016, visible minorities will account for one-fifth of Canada's population³⁴.

³³ Citizenship and Immigration Canada Recent immigrants in the metropolitan areas: Canada a comparative profile based on the 2001 census Part B: Who are the recent immigrants? (April 2005) May

^{11, 2006 &}lt;a href="http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/research/papers/census2001/canada/partb.html">http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/research/papers/census2001/canada/partb.html
³⁴ Citizenship and Immigration Canada Facts and Figures 2004: Immigration overview Permanent Residents Permanent residents by Gender and Source area (July 31, 2005) June 23, 2006 http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/facts2004/permanent/9.html

Immigration has also given Canada several "new" religions that were virtually absent before 1986. While Christians are still the dominant group even among recent immigrants (43%), nearly one in five recent immigrants is a Muslim. This religion accounts for almost 18% amongst all recent immigrants while Buddhists, Hindus and Sikhs combined account for another 15%. An interesting fact is that the number of people immigrating to Canada with no religious affiliation has been steadily increasing. In the group who immigrated before 1986, people with no religious affiliation accounted for 14%, while their proportion rose to 23% amongst those who came to Canada between 1996 and 2001³⁵.

Is there a real chance for violent conflicts to be emerging in Canada as a result of increased social inequality and segregation of ethnic groups? Some say that we are only 10-20 years away from similar conflicts, since this is how long it will take for the second generation of immigrants to grow up from infancy to youth. A study done by Dr. Jeffrey Reitz at the University of Toronto points to the fact that dissatisfaction with the Canadian life grows in the second-generation and third-generation of immigrants ³⁶. Canada did not accept visible minorities until the early 1970s, when the immigration policy was changed from the "country-of-origin" quota to the point systems. As a result, two thirds of today's native-born visible minorities are under the age of 16. To support this even further, a recent statistics also show that Muslims, one of the largest visible minority immigrants group in Canada, are much younger than the rest of the Canadian

35 Citizenship and Immigration Canada Recent immigrants in the metropolitan areas: Canada a comparative profile based on the 2001 census Part B: Who are the recent immigrants? (April 2005) May 11, 2006 http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/research/papers/census2001/canada/partb.html

³⁶ Gregg, Allan Multiculturalism: Will the concept of the Canadian Mosaic eventually come back to haunt us? The London Free Press, March 11, 2006, Section F

population. The median age for the total Canadian population in 2004 was 37 years, whereas Muslims are much younger, with a median age of 28 years. Sikhs and Hindus had median ages of 30 and 32 years respectively³⁷.

5.2 Economic integration and increased poverty

The economic failure of recent immigrants is a potential "hot-spot". Employment is critical for the economic integration of immigrants and it is the most valuable indicator for measuring success in immigrant settlement. There is growing evidence that new immigrants coming to Canada in the 1990s did not integrate into the Canadian labour market as successfully as previous groups of immigrants. The so called "taxi driver" phenomenon³⁸ suggests that there is a substantial underutilization of immigrants' skills and education, so that many highly trained immigrants are forced to choose a job well below their qualifications upon arrival in Canada. Both participation in the labour market and earnings of immigrants, especially initial earnings, have been significantly declining during the last 15 years compared to the non-immigrant Canadian population. In 1981, the labour force participation of non-immigrants was 74.6 % versus 79.3 % of all immigrants. In 2001, the labour force participation of non-immigrants was 81.8 % versus 75.6 % of all immigrants. The statistics are even worse for recent immigrants, since this group's labour force participation declined by almost 10 % between 1981 and 2001, from a 75.7 % to a 65.8 %. In 2001, immigrant men, 10 years after arrival to Canada, earned 79.8 % of earnings of people born in Canada; meanwhile, immigrant women with the

Janhevich, Derek and Humera Ibrahim Muslims in Canada: An illustrative and demographic profile published in Our Diverse Cities Number 1 (Spring 2004):13
 Thompson, Eden Nicole, Immigrant Occupational Skill Outcomes and the Role of Region-of-Origin-

Thompson, Eden Nicole, *Immigrant Occupational Skill Outcomes and the Role of Region-of-Origin-Specific Human Capital* W-00-8E, September 2000, Applied Research Branch Strategic Policy, Human Resources Development Canada, 7.

same characteristics earned 87.3 % of the earnings of people born in Canada³⁹. To illustrate with plain numbers, in 2000, Canadian born males aged 25-64 with university education enjoyed an average earning of \$66,520; immigrant males with the same characteristics, and even after being in Canada for 10 years, earned only \$47,522⁴⁰. These outcomes occurred in spite of the fact that recent immigrants are more highly educated than those in the previous groups. In the 1990s and beyond, there was a substantial increase in the proportion of immigrants landing with university-level education. In 2002, 34.11 % of immigrants arrived to Canada with Bachelor's degree, 10.14 % with a Master's degree and 1.78 % had a doctorate. In addition, another 15 % of immigrants had a college diploma or trade certificate⁴¹. These statistics lead us to believe that there is a growing problem with equitable access of immigrants to the Canadian labour market, potentially causing wide-spread poverty among the immigrant population.

The low- income rate among recent immigrants to Canada almost doubled from 1980 to 1995, and by 2000 it was 2.5 times that of the Canadian-born⁴². Recent immigrants earned substantially less than their Canadian-born counterparts, even after 15 years in the country. Unfortunately, this statement was equally true for both immigrants

³⁹ Statistics Canada. The changing profile of Canada's labour force, 2001 Census: analysis series (February 11, 2003) May 15, 2004

http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/paid/contents.cfm ⁴⁰ Statistics Canada. The changing profile of Canada's labour force, 2001 Census: analysis series (February 11, 2003) May 15, 2004

http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/paid/contents.cfm 41 Statistics Canada. The changing profile of Canada's labour force, 2001 Census: analysis series (February 11, 2003) May 15, 2004

http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/paid/contents.cfm ⁴² Statistics Canada The Daily Low-income rates among immigrants 1980 - 2000 (June 19, 2003) November 9, 2003 http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/030619/d030619a.htm

with low level of education and those with a university degree⁴³. The increase in lowincome levels is an indication that new immigrants are disproportionately segregated in low-paying, menial and unskilled occupations well below their qualifications. These jobs provide little or no access to security or prospects for promotion and results in a massive and permanent falling in income levels of immigrants. The increase in poverty is particularly worrisome among the visible minority population, who comprise the majority of recent immigrants. A study done by Michael Ornstein revealed a staggering poverty rate among Toronto's visible minority population. Based upon the analysis of the 1996 Census data collected in Toronto, he determined that "combining all the non-European groups, the family poverty rate is 34.3 %, more than twice the figure for the Europeans and Canadians. Non-European families make up 36.9 % of all families in Toronto, but account for 58.9 % of all poor families. For families from East and Southeast Asian and the Pacific, the least disadvantaged non-European region, the incidence of poverty is twice as high as for European-origin families, 29.6 versus 14.4 %. For Latin American ethno-racial groups, the incidence of family poverty is 41.4 %, for Africans, Blacks and Caribbeans it is 44.6 % and for Arabs and West Asians it is 45.2 % - all roughly three times the European average. The figures for Aboriginal persons in Toronto, 32.1 %, and South Asians, 34.6 %, are also very high"44.

http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/030311/d030311a.htm

⁴³ Statistics Canada The Daily Census of Population: Earnings, levels of schooling, field of study and school attendance (March 11, 2003), November 9, 2003

⁴⁴ Ornstein, Michael Ethno-Racial Inequality in Toronto: Analysis of the 1996 Census. March 2000 Page i.

5.3 Immigrant clustering and low-income housing

Recent research points to the fact that it is relatively common for the recent immigrant population to live in crowded, low-income housing areas in large Canadian cities. A report released by Statistics Canada and investigating low income distribution in 27 Canadian census metropolitan areas (CMAs) reported that "low income rose substantially among recent immigrants between 1980 and 2000" and the people in this segment of the population are also concentrated in certain areas of large urban centres such as Toronto or Vancouver⁴⁵. There was also a worrisome trend of widening income gap between richer and poorer neighborhoods in all metropolitan areas.

According to Citizenship and Immigration of Canada, more than 22% of recent immigrant households live in crowded conditions (i.e. have one person or more per room), compared to 3% of Canadian-born households and 3% of earlier immigrants. It is also relatively common for recent immigrant households to spend a large share of income on shelter. Approximately 40% of recent immigrant households spend more than 30 per cent of their income on shelter, compared to 25% of the Canadian-born households. For households consisting only of persons who immigrated between 1991 and 1994, this share is over one half (53%). Home ownership also seems to be an unachievable dream for most recent immigrants as only one-quarter of immigrants arriving between 1996 and 2001 own their home, compared to over two-thirds of Canadian households.

⁴⁵ Heisz A., Logan McLeod Low income in census metropolitan areas Published in Our Diverse Cities, Number 1, Spring 2004, Metropolis

Homelessness also seems to be a major problem for new immigrants, particularly refugees. 24% of families requiring emergency shelters in Toronto in 1999 were refugee claimants and in 2001 the City of Toronto housed 800 refugee claimants in city shelters at any given time⁴⁶.

5.4 Changing attitudes of Canadians

It seems that the increased number of immigrants and visible minorities have been causing increased dissatisfaction and changing attitudes towards immigrants in the Canadian society. Since the definition of multiculturalism is very broad, it has been difficult to assess public opinions regarding the term "multiculturalism" as a policy and "multiculturalism" as a fact of life. Yet, most polls found that attitudes towards immigration in general have been favourable, but most Canadians also had an expectation that newcomers would change with time to fit into the Canadian society. In the 1990s, Angus Reid polls consistently showed that a majority of Canadians believed racial intolerance was increasing.

A survey done by the Strategic Counsel in 2005 indicated that fewer than half of those surveyed believed that Canada is currently accepting "the right amount" of immigrants, with an overwhelming view that we are accepting "too many" rather than "too few". When it comes to ethnic composition of immigrants, more than half of those surveyed believes that immigrants from some countries make a bigger contribution than others. Nearly 80 % claimed that European immigrants make a positive contribution, but

⁴⁶ City of Toronto Towards a new relationship with the Federal Government 2001b

this number fell to 59 % for Asians, 45 % for East Indians and to 33 % for those from the Caribbean⁴⁷.

In addition, recent world and national events, such as the events transpired on September 11, 2001, the Toronto bomb plot and the subsequent arrest of the 17 alleged suspects, have contributed to increased intolerance towards certain groups of visible minorities, mainly from Middle-Eastern and South-East Asian countries. According to a statistics released by the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics in 2004, hate crimes increased three times after September 11, 2001. During the two-month period, following September 11, police reported 232 hate crimes against visible minorities, more than three times the level of 67 during the same two-month period in 2000⁴⁸.

6. - CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SELECTED MUNICIPALITIES

6.1 The changing face of Hamilton

Hamilton is currently Canada's 8th largest city with a population is estimated at 714,900. According to the 2001 census, approximately one-quarter of the metropolitan census area population of Hamilton was foreign-born, making Hamilton a Canadian city with the third highest proportion of foreign born residents after Toronto and Vancouver. Hamilton's immigrants came from all over the world and represent a wide-range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds. However, over the past several decades there has

⁴⁷ Gregg, Allan Multiculturalism: Will the concept of the Canadian Mosaic eventually come back to haunt us? The London Free Press, March 11, 2006, Section F

⁴⁸ Statistics Canada The Daily *Pilot Survey of hate crime 2001 and 2000* (June 1, 2004) July 10, 2006 http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/040601/d040601a.htm

been a considerable change in the source countries of immigrants. As Appendix 1 shows, Hamilton is still overwhelmingly populated by white ethnic background immigrants from the United Kingdom, Italy and other Eastern and Western European countries. Hamilton also seems to be a preferred destination for refugees from the former Yugoslavia, as 9% of immigrants immigrating between 1996 and 2001 came from this area. However, recent immigration trends are evident in Hamilton as well, since the second largest group immigrating to this are is from China (8%), the third is from India (7%) and the fourth is from Iraq (6%)⁴⁹.

In the past, white immigrants chose Hamilton as their preferred destination, mostly due to the city's reputation for providing many well-paying job opportunities for immigrants in the heavy industry sector. The city's nickname used to be "Steeltown" or "Hammertown" based upon the two major employers in the heavy industry steel sector, Stelco and Dofasco. Presently, the health care industry seems to overtake the leading role from heavy industry and provides many job opportunities for recent immigrants. More than two-third of recent immigrants arriving to the Hamilton area entered under the economic category while the number of refugees has sharply declined between 1996 and 2001. Skilled workers and their dependants accounted for the largest portion of economic immigrants, and there was a steady flow of new entrants of this type destined for Hamilton throughout the 1986-2000 period.

⁴⁹ Citizenship and Immigration Canada Recent immigrants in the metropolitan areas: Hamilton - A comparative profile based on the 2001 census Part B: Who are the recent immigrants? (April 2005) June 23, 2006

Changes in the religious makeup of the city is also evident, as nearly one-quarter of recent immigrants are Muslim, while Buddhists, Sikhs and Hindus account for another 9% of this immigrants population. It is interesting to note that the age distribution of recent immigrants is significantly different of that of the Canadian population.

Immigrants seem to arrive during their prime working age, between the ages of 25 – 44, have fewer senior citizens and more children. In 2001, nearly one half of the recent immigrants were in this age group and only 4% of them were senior citizens, compared to 10% of the Canadian population⁵⁰.

Recent immigrants also seem to be very well educated, compared to the Canadian population in the Hamilton area. 29% of immigrants arriving between 1996 and 2001 had a university education, compared to 15% of Canadian-born residents. Recent immigrants are also added to the pool of scientists and engineers in the Hamilton area as 48% of them had degrees on these fields, compared to only 31% of the Canadian-born. (Note: this number is not representative of the number of immigrants working in this field. Rather, it is a report of their educational background, which they may or may not be able to use.)

The patterns of immigrant employment in Hamilton are also similar to the general Canadian trends. Immigrants generally experience a higher unemployment rate, even after being in the country for 10 years. For example, in 2001, the average unemployment rate of immigrants who arrived between 1986 and 1985 was 9%, while the rate for the

⁵⁰ Citizenship and Immigration Canada Recent immigrants in the metropolitan areas: Hamilton - A comparative profile based on the 2001 census Part B: Who are the recent immigrants? (April 2005) June 23, 2006 http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/research/papers/census2001/hamilton/partb.html#b1a

Canadian-born was only 5%⁵¹. Employed immigrants are more likely to work in sales, service and processing occupations, and the jobs of recent immigrants in general require lower skills than the jobs of the Canadian-born. Recent women immigrants experience an even greater gap than the men in the skill requirements of their jobs compared to their Canadian-born counterparts. The jobs of recent immigrants with a university degree do not require the same level of skill as the jobs of Canadian-born persons with a university degree. Seven in ten employed Canadian-born women with a university degree have a job requiring a university degree. But only four in ten employed women who immigrated after 1995 and hold a university degree have a job that requires a university degree. Three-quarters of Canadian-born men with a university degree, but only one-half of very recently immigrated men with a university degree, have jobs requiring a university education ⁵². These statistics all support the fact that similar to other areas of Canada, the education and skills of immigrants are not sufficiently utilized in Hamilton.

6.2 - Markham - A town of visible minorities

Markham is located in the York region, just north of Toronto. Although a detailed analysis of immigrants, similar to Hamilton's, was not available, trends similar to those experienced in Hamilton can be observed. Markham's population quadrupled since 1976, and its estimated population in 2005 was 267,400, with one of the largest foreignborn populations in Canada. Census data from Statistics Canada reports that 55.5 % of

Citizenship and Immigration of Canada (April 2005) Recent immigrants in the metropolitan areas: Hamilton - A comparative profile based on the 2001 census Part D: Participation in the economy http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/research/papers/census2001/hamilton/partd.html

⁵² Citizenship and Immigration of Canada (April 2005) Recent immigrants in the metropolitan areas:

Hamilton - A comparative profile based on the 2001 census Part D: Participation in the economy

http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/research/papers/census2001/hamilton/partd.html

Markham residents are visible minorities - making it the municipality with the second highest proportion of visible minorities in Canada after Richmond, BC (59%). In 2001, the visible minority population consisted 30% Chinese, 12.7% South-Asian, 3.8% Black and 2.5% Filipino and 6.5% defined as "other" 3. The large proportion of Asian immigrants might be associated with the fact that Markham claims to be "Canada's High-Technology Capital". A number of key high-tech companies set up their Canadian headquarters in the area, including IBM, Motorola, Apple and Microsoft, and it also houses of the head office of the world's largest graphic card producer, ATI. In addition, Markham is home to more than 100 life sciences companies such as Pfizer and Wyeth. Markham also claims to have one of the lowest unemployment rates in the area -5.4% with a relatively high average income of \$39,260⁵⁴ and a mean household income of \$77,163. The combination of high-tech industries and well-paying jobs certainly makes this community very attractive to prospective immigrants. However, 31% of recent immigrants to the town are within the low-income cut-off, compared to 12% of the total population. This represents the highest level of low income of recent immigrants in the York Region. In addition, 13% of Markham's recent immigrants have no knowledge of either official language, also the highest percentage among York Region municipalities.

Markham's religious makeup is also changing. It consists of 55.3% Christians, 5.3% Muslims, 5.7% Hindus, 3.4% Buddhists and 1.6% Sikhs. In addition, 23.1% of the

⁵³ Statistics Canada 2001 Census Visible minority groups, percentage distribution for Canada and Census subdivisions with 5000 plus population (August 13, 2004) June 23, 2006

http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/highlight/Ethnicity/Page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo=CSD&V iew=1&Code=0&Table=2&StartRec=352&Sort=2&B1=Distribution>

⁵⁴ Town of Markham Economic Development Department Markham's Economic Profile - Year End 2005 http://www.markham.ca/markham/resources/ecoprofile_yearend05.pdf

population reported no religious affiliation, which is consistent with the large number of immigrants arriving from the communist mainland China.

Markham is a part of the Regional Municipality of York (York Region), along with 8 other municipalities. Belonging to a larger entity, as this paper demonstrates later, has a great impact on Markham's approach to manage diversity and multicultural issues.

7. - MUNICIPAL ACTIONS

7.1 Strengthening Hamilton's Community Initiative (SHCI)

In 2001, right after September 11, the community of Hamilton faced the reality of racism and a sharp increase in race-related hate crimes. The most publicized event from this time was the arson of the Hindu Samaj of Hamilton and Region Temple on September 15. This attack was directly associated with the events that happened on September 11. In addition, several Hamilton area mosques were targeted with vandalism, such as graffiti and destruction of windows, doors and artifacts on the buildings. The community was shocked to experience such violence, and many people were disappointed that their multicultural city was brought to the world's attention by these events. It seemed that, overnight, Hamilton had changed from the city of tolerance and multiculturalism to a place where dark-skinned people became the targets of hate crimes.

The events following September 11 pressed the City's leadership to act promptly and with great force. In the fall of 2001, on the request of leaders from the local human

services sector, Hamilton Mayor, Robert Wade established the Community Roundtable discussion forum, which consisted over 70 representatives from business, education, law enforcement, academia, community service providers and representatives from the city's many multicultural and faith groups (see a complete list of participating organizations in Appendix 2). The Community Roundtable formulated its vision statement as:

"A vibrant and harmonious community, which values our racial, religious and cultural diversity that fosters respect and encourages public dialogue: a community in which people are enabled to become active participants and contributors." 55

During its 3-year tenure, the Community Roundtable developed the Strengthening Hamilton's Community Initiative (SHCI). SHCI's main mandate was to gather, assess and report on successful community-directed anti-racism initiatives. In addition, SHCI was to establish a strategic working group to address racism, enhance safety and acceptance within the Hamilton community. As its first action, SHCI organized 25 Community Dialogue sessions within the community with the participation of 940 people. The meetings took place between September 30, 2002 and November 15, 2002 and provided opportunities for input in the decision-making process for all stakeholder groups. In June 2003, a "Report on the Community Dialogues" was issued 56,

55 Reddy, M. Report on the Community Dialogues (June 5, 2003) June 23, 2006 http://www.myhamilton.ca/NR/rdonlyres/67615259-EF0B-4679-95C7-CA1F706C89CB/0/CommunityDialogueReport.PDF

⁵⁶ Reddy, M. Report on the Community Dialogues (June 5, 2003) June 23, 2006 http://www.myhamilton.ca/NR/rdonlyres/67615259-EF0B-4679-95C7-CA1F706C89CB/0/CommunityDialogueReport.PDF

summarizing all the concerns and recommendations raised by participants during the sessions.

As a result of the community dialogues, SHCI developed four project teams to initiate actions on four key areas. The project teams were the Implementation and Administration Group, the Resources Group, the Animateurs Group and the Strategy Teams. These Groups worked on the following areas:

- Research, Evaluation and Dissemination to review best practices and to develop evaluation and monitoring processes.
- 2) Community Dialogue to ensure ongoing dialogue with stakeholders in the community.
- 3) Action Strategies to combat racism, address safety concerns and cultural understanding.
- 4) Promotion and Recognition to promote SHCI work and encourage participation in its activities.

SHCI also commissioned a report to get some background information on antiracism initiatives that have taken place in Hamilton in the past and in other areas of the world. The report "Hamilton at the Crossroads: Anti-Racism and the Future of the City—"Lessons Learned" From Community-Based Anti-Racism Institutional Change Initiatives" was prepared by Charles C. Smith Consulting and was published in February 2003. In March 2003, SHCI also held a public forum at a local school, called

⁵⁷ Charles C. Smith Consulting Hamilton at the Crossroads – Anti-racism and the future of the City – "Lessons learned" from the community based anti-racism institutional change initiatives (February 2003) June 2, 2006 http://www.myhamilton.ca/NR/rdonlyres/22BCE1A6-F1BF-4E71-9587-909585B752D2/0/lessonslearnedfinalreport.pdf

"Uniting our Community". Interested community members had an opportunity to openly discuss the report, their concerns, communicate with the Animateurs (Community Roundtable Members from key sectors who committed to "take responsibility for bringing people together in an inclusive way, empowering and mobilizing them to generate ideas, in order to achieve the outcomes established by the Community Roundtable" to volunteer to participate in Strategy Teams and to network with other stakeholders. During 2003, there were also five Strategy Teams established, each led by an Animateur, responsible for specific areas of concern.

The Community Roundtable continues to work on achieving a strong and inclusive community in Hamilton. One of the biggest achievements of the SHCI is the establishment of the Centre for Civic Inclusion (HCCI), a community-based resource centre. The centre's main mandate is to advocate a strong sense of inclusiveness in the community and it is clearly reflected in its vision statement:

"To build and strengthen our community that values our racial and cultural diversity that fosters respect and encourages public discussion: a community in which people are enabled to become active participants and contributors."

The Centre is currently seeking an Executive Director who will be responsible for implementing the three-year Strategic Plan and will work closely with the Municipal Council. The job description (see Appendix 3) received from Ms. Barbara Smoke,

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⁵⁸ Strengthening Hamilton's Community, Implementation, Section 3 June 23, 2006 http://www.myhamilton.ca/myhamilton/CommunitiesAndOrganizations/shci/

Administrative Coordinator at the SHCI identifies this individual's role as central in coordinating efforts directed to combat racism and to create an inclusive community. The creation of a permanent position devoted to this initiative is also significant, as it acknowledges the fact that diversity is now a permanent fact of life in Hamilton. Creating an inclusive and harmonious society requires a strategic and comprehensive approach and the creation of the Centre for Civic Inclusion is a major step towards that goal.

7.2 - Markham and Regional Government initiatives

In dealing with immigration related issues, being part of the larger York Region entity has been a defining factor for Markham. Most large scale initiatives related to this issue start at the regional level, as Markham's plans must fit into the region's long-range strategic plan, Vision 2026. Fortunately, the leaders of York Region are strongly committed to assisting new immigrants to integrate into the communities, and to help them maximize their potential. For example, in the recent 102-page publication "Community Snapshot: Recent immigrants living in the York Region", the region identifies one of the major goals of the Vision 2026 Strategic Plan as "to foster quality communities for diverse population". The report also declares that there is a strong need now to respond to diversity with innovative service delivery options and to support vulnerable residents⁵⁹.

⁵⁹ The Regional Municipality of York. Community Snapshots: Recent Immigrants Living in York Region. Newmarket, Ontario (2006)

Although it is a part of the larger York Region, Markham has taken steps on its own towards recognizing and accommodating the increased diversity in the area. In 2003, the city established the Markham Race Relations Advisory Committee. The Committee consists of 15 members, including three members from Council and one senior staff from the City. The Committee's main purpose is to gather information, listen to and understand the concerns of the community and advise Council to achieve "harmonious Race and Ethnocultural relationships" in the city. Through its subcommittees, the Markham Race Relations Advisory Committee also provides education, diversity training and corporate outreach to individuals and businesses in the area. The Markham Race Relations Advisory Committee considers the annual "Many Faces of Markham" concert as its biggest achievement. The concert has been offered every year since 1998, and this year's event was dedicated entirely to celebrate the city's diversity. Markham's Ward 2 Councillor, Erin Shapero, who is also a member of the Race Relations Advisory Committee, declared that "Markham has achieved the distinction of being a racially harmonious community, setting an example of how different cultures can retain their own identities while together celebrating the cultural diversity they represent. The Committee and the community as a whole have a responsibility to be constantly vigilant to prevent racism and hate in our society. This is exactly the type of event that helps bring us all together united in this cause."61

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⁶⁰ Town of Markham *Markham Race Relations Committee – Purpose* (2005) June 23, 2006 http://www.markham.ca/markham/channels/council/committees/mrrc.htm

⁶¹ Town of Markham Media Advisory Markham hosts a celebration of diversity – Concert April 9, 2006 (April 4, 2006) June 23, 2006 http://www.markham.ca/markham/resources/060404 manyfaces.pdf>

Markham was also part of the needs assessment study conducted by the United Way of York Region (UWYR). This is a more traditional approach to immigrant settlement issues, as in the past, non-governmental organizations played a significant role in the inclusion process of immigrants. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been considered as the primary service providers for the immigrant population, and Markham became part of this tradition as a participant in UWYR's Leading Ethnoracial Access Dialogue (LEAD) Project.

In the fall of 2002, UWYR undertook a 6-month project to assess its capacity of reaching three immigrant communities in the Region. They have selected the three fastest growing communities - the Chinese, the South-Asian and the African Caribbean - as targets for their evaluation. The report published as a result of the assessment uncovered major deficiencies in the areas of serving current immigrant needs and engaging those who need these services the most. Simon Cheng, Director of Community Resources at UWYR admitted that "their organization was not keeping up with the sweeping changes in the area and was somewhat caught off guard" According to Mr. Cheng, the report was not triggered by any violent events; however they recognized the importance of the events that happened on September 11, 2001 and wanted to be better prepared to deal with the growing ethnoracial minorities in their area. The idea of assessing the needs of this population came as part of their usual planning and priority setting process.

A few of the major issues identified in the report were:

⁶² Interview was conducted over the phone on June 28, 2006

- Insufficient and physically inaccessible human services;
- Existing human services are not linguistically accessible and culturally sensitive;
- Absence of policy framework and commitment towards diversity and inclusion;
 and
- Lack of representation and responsiveness of UWYR and its member agencies ⁶³

The UWYR decided to conduct a stakeholder consultation process, and a total of 96 external community representatives were interviewed from these ethnoracial communities to receive input. In addition, UWYR interviewed approximately 25 of its own staff members and volunteers to gain a better perspective on this issue. At the end, 47 specific recommendations were made to address issues raised during the consultation process. None of the recommendations were geared specifically to Markham; rather, they covered broad system issues related to the UWYR itself and some general recommendations to enhance communication and service to the ethnoracial communities in question.

8. - CONCLUSION

As this paper has demonstrated, urbanization and immigration are strongly interrelated issues and municipalities now have to deal with not only a rapidly growing city, but also with an ever-increasing and vastly diverse immigrant population. Some of the changes are easily accommodated, such as the growing numbers of ethnic eateries

⁶³ United Way of York Region *LEAD Project* Prepared by Kappel Ramji Consulting Group (Prepared February 3, 2003, Printed April 15, 2004)

that please all imaginable taste. Yet, other changes, such as increased poverty and clustering of the visible immigrant population, require special attention from municipal governments. As the increase in visible minority groups is a recent phenomenon, cities must learn and develop strategies quickly to cope with diversity in order to avoid future economic and social problems. However, they cannot do this without help from other levels of government. For example, a report prepared by the Conference Board of Canada identified major funding gaps and lack of growth in revenues of local governments. The report states that the "average growth in local governments' total revenues over the last 10 years (1993 to 2002)... has been a modest 2.4% per year".

Over the same period, the average growth of total revenues of provincial governments was 3.9% and 4% for the federal government.⁶⁴

There is an urgent need for more financial support from all government sources to support the integration of immigrants, especially in large urban areas. This need is strongly expressed for example in the report prepared by the York Region's Community Services and Housing Department in 2006. In its forewords the report declares that "To date, York Region has faced significant under-funding of immigrant settlement services that has not kept pace with new immigration patterns". They also acknowledge that the report was prepared mostly to assist the regional government to make a strong case regarding the need for funding services for recent immigrants and to "make the case for

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⁶⁴ Conference Board of Canada Performance and Potential 2004-05: How can Canada Prosper in tomorrow's World? pg:146

⁶⁵ The Regional Municipality of York. Community Snapshots: Recent Immigrants Living in York Region. Newmarket, Ontario (2006)

York Region to receive its fare share of funding"⁶⁶ from the provincial and federal governments. Without the proper support and services, immigrants will not be able to quickly and effectively maximize the skills and education they have. A mismatch between the needs and available services can have a significant impact on municipalities with large immigrant population; directly, in terms of community and social assistance costs and public health cost and indirectly on economic development and quality of life.

There are certain indicators that provincial and federal politicians have recognized the need for increased funding to municipalities. A recent report prepared by the Conference Board of Canada states that "Canada's cities are note receiving the investment they need to fulfill their role as economic drivers of national prosperity" and that there is an urgent need for strategic investment to bolster productivity and economic growth in these areas. The report also identifies policy priorities that should be targeted in order to maximize cities economic growth and emphasizing that "cities economic performance depends not just on business activity per se, but also on the environmental, social housing and quality of life assets that attract mobile workers..." 68 In 2004, the Federal Government announced its "New Deal for Canada's Cities and Communities" program in an effort to increase transfer funds to municipalities. Although the "New Deal" is still surrounded by a lot of controversy, its most important contribution is that it gave a seat at the decision-making table to municipalities. This essentially means that

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⁶⁶ The Regional Municipality of York. Community Snapshots: Recent Immigrants Living in York Region. Newmarket, Ontario (2006)

⁶⁷ Lefebvre, Mario and Natalie Brender Conference Board of Canada Canada's Hub Cities – A driving force of the national economy (July 2006)

⁶⁸ Lefebvre, Mario and Natalie Brender Conference Board of Canada Canada's Hub Cities - A driving force of the national economy (July 2006):18

when the provincial and federal governments create policies related to immigration, infrastructure or housing, cities must be part of the process and their opinion must be taken into consideration. This is an entirely new approach to inter-governmental collaboration and will provide cities with a major opportunity to utilize their expertise and infrastructure and help higher levels of governments to use their resources the most efficient way.

It is also essential that Canadian municipalities identify the need to enhance and develop their own services that are geared towards the increasingly diverse immigrant population. As the paper demonstrated through the examples of two municipalities, there is lot that can and needs to be done on this area. Cities are and will be the preferred destination for immigrants and the management of diversity is crucial for the future success of both the immigrant population and the municipality. By management we mean, not to control or contain visible minorities, but to develop new approaches, programs, policies and practices while involving all community stakeholders. New funding approaches from higher levels of government will provide increased funds towards this goal but municipalities also must recognize the priority of this issue and invest the newly gained funds towards this mission.

While we should all celebrate increased diversity in our communities and the achievements gained on this area, we also must recognize that major gaps still exist at the municipal level. The limitations of this paper prevent us to address issues such as political representation of ethnic minorities and ask questions about why translation of

diversity into the municipal politics and administration has been so slow. In addition, a lot needs to be done on the areas of intergovernmental collaborations, particularly on the field of professional credential recognition and economic integration of immigrants. However, cities can make the first steps towards a more inclusive society by instituting programs similar to those introduced in Hamilton and Markham and make their communities a better place to live in for all.

Lastly, we have to recognize that the development and implementation of municipal policies and practices are a "work in progress" and will be greatly dependent upon the federal and provincial governments' policies and actions. Immigration is presently considered by most politicians as a "silver bullet", which they hope to solve all economic and population woes of Canada. However, while immigrants bring considerable benefit to the country, it is equally important to recognize the significance of successful social and economic integration if these benefits are to be realized. Cities must play a vital role in the integration process and as the examples demonstrated, municipal governments will formulate their own approaches to cope with increased diversity. In his novel "Casuals of the Sea" William McFee stated: "Responsibility is like a string we can only see the middle of. Both ends are out of sight". Only the future will tell whether municipal actions and programs will work in coping with diversity. Yet, the need is urgent and it is the present responsibility of all levels of government to act upon these changes.

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APPENDIX 1. – Hamilton immigrant population – Statistics Canada

lmm Meti	igrants by period of immigration—top a copolitan Area, 2001 (number and perce	ntage distribution)	XX. Antonio
All in	ningrants		Share
1	United Kingdom	31,490	20%
2	Italy	16,920	11%
3	Former Yugoslavia	13,850	9%
4	Poland	9,080	6%
5	Portugal	6,500	4%
6	Netherlands	5,670	4%
7	India	5,440	4%
8	Germany	5,410	3%
9	United States	5,080	3%
10	Philippines	3,530	2%
Top to	en countries	102,970	67%
All other countries		51,690	33%
Total		154,660	100%
Immi	grated before 1986		····
1	United Kingdom	28,580	28%
2	Italy	16,600	16%
3	Former Yugoslavia	7,320	7%
4	Netherlands	5,480	5%
5	Germany	5,030	5%
6	Portugal	4,780	5%
7	Poland	4,280	4%
8	United States	3,600	3%
9	Yugoslavia	2,690	3%
10	India	2,450	2%
Top ten countries		80,810	78%
All other countries		22,730	22%
Total		103,540	100%
Immi	grated 1986=1995		a.
1	Poland	4,390	14%
2	United Kingdom	2,370	7%
3	Philippines	1,720	5%
4	India	1,650	5%
5	Portugal	1,610	5%
6	Yugoslavia	1,500	5%
7	Viet Nam	1,430	4%

8	United States	970	3%
9	Iraq	930	3%
10	Croatia	910	3%
Top ten countries		17,480	54%
All other countries		14,960	46%
Total		32,440	100%
Immi	grated 1996-2001		
1	Yugoslavia	1,660	9%
2	China	1,450	8%
3	India	1,330	7%
4	Iraq	1,150	6%
5	Pakistan	1,060	6%
6	Bosnia and Herzegovina	1,040	6%
7	Philippines	680	4%
8	Croatia	590	3%
9	United Kingdom	560	3%
10	United States	520	3%
Top ten countries		10,040	53%
All other countries		8,650	47%
Total		18,690	100%

Strengthening Hamilton's Community

Roundtable Member Organizations

Chair

Robert Wade, Mayor of Hamilton

Champions

The Honourable Lincoln Alexander Chair, Canadian Race Relations Foundation

Dr. Atif Kubursi Department of Economics, McMaster University

Shirley Elford Board Member, Hamilton Community Foundation

Community/Social Services

- United Way of Burlington, Hamilton-Wentworth
- Settlement and Integration Services Organization (SISO)
- Hamilton Community Foundation
- Volunteer Hamilton
- Social Planning & Research Council
- Hamilton & District Labour Council
- Safe Communities Coalition of Hamilton
- Employee Assistance Council of Hamilton/Halton (Eap)
- YMCA of Hamilton/Burlington
- Trillium Foundation
- Youth Serving Agencies Network
- Hamilton District Health Council
- St. Joseph's Healthcare Hamilton
- Action 2020

Multicultural/Anti-Racism

- Working Group on Racial Equity
- Community Coalition Against Racism
- Centre for Peace Studies
- Community College Anti-Racism
- The Canadian Arab Federation
- Hamilton Black History Committee
- Mundialization Committee
- National Association of Japanese Canadians
- Aboriginal Youth Representative
- Hamilton Executive Director's Aboriginal Committee

Interfaith

- Hamilton Interfaith Council
- Hamilton Islamic Centre
- Temple Anshe Sholom
- Diocesan Outreach Committee
- Muslim Association of Hamilton
- Razavi Islamic Centre
- Pakistani Christian Community of Hamilton
- Gursick Sangat Hamilton-Wentworth
- Hindu Samaj of Hamilton and Region

City of Hamilton

- Mayor's Office
- Community Relations
- · Access and Equity Office
- Social and Public Health Services Department

Police

- Chief of Police
- Community Relations Coordinator

Provincial Government

Ministry of Community and Social Services

Federal Government

- Department of Canadian Heritage
- Human Resources and Development Canada
- Office of The Honourable Sheila Copps

Education/Academic

- McMaster University
- McMaster University, Working Group on Racial Equity
- McMaster Student's Union
- Mohawk College
- Mohawk College Student's Association
- Hamilton District School Board
- Hamilton-Wentworth Catholic District School Board
- Catholic Secondary School Council of Principals
- Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University

Business/Media

• Hamilton Chamber of Commerce

- Clairford Studio Glass
- Orlick Industries Ltd.
- The Hamilton SpectatorCH Television

Arts

- Hamilton & Region Arts CouncilTheatre Aquarius



Hamilton's Centre for Civic Inclusion

LIUNA Station, Lower Concourse 360 James Street North, Hamilton, Ontario, L8L 1H5

Tel: (905) 667-3088 Fax: (905) 667-7477

Web Site: www.shci.hamilton.ca

Strengthening Hamilton's Community

Job Opportunity

Position: Exc Deadline: Jun

Executive Director June 5, 2006, 4:00 p.m.

Organization Overview

Hamilton's Centre for Civic Inclusion (HCCI) is a community-based resource centre that has recently been formed, based on recommendations from the Strengthening Hamilton Community Initiative (SHCI) and the SISO-sponsored report, *Building a Mosaic Community*.

HCCI's vision is to make Hamilton a united community that respects diversity, practices equity and speaks out against discrimination. Its mission is to mobilize all Hamiltonians to create an inclusive city, free of racism and hate. Its goal is to create in every sector, and among youth, effective and sustainable ways of integrating all Hamiltonians into the civic life of the community, using their contributions to create a strong and vibrant city.

HCCI will support the City of Hamilton and its major institutions, businesses and service providers to initiate and sustain transformative processes that promote equity and create racism-free and inclusive environments in all areas of civic life. It will develop and provide public training and education resources, and enable access to research and information. HCCI will also be a source of support and information for members of newcomer immigrant and refugee communities, diverse ethno-racial and ethno-cultural groups as well as Aboriginal communities. HCCI is committed to building community leadership and to conflict transformation, enabling productive dialogue and partnerships between Hamilton's racialized communities and established institutions in all sectors.

Position Overview

The Executive Director of HCCI will be responsible for implementing an ambitious three year Strategic Plan which aims to involve Hamilton's community, local government, and institutions in making the city truly inclusive, reflective of the city's diversity, and free of racism. The Executive Director will be responsible to the Governing Council.

Responsibilities

- 1. Work closely with the Governing Council to set clear priorities and implement HCCI's 3-year Strategic Plan in the areas of Public Education and Resource Sharing; Equity, Access and Participation; Accountability; and Finance and Operational Oversight.
- 2. Build strong, cooperative and sustainable community and sector-based institutional networks committed to HCCI's goals of supporting accessible, inclusive and equitable anti-racist change. In addition, the ED will establish a Hamilton-wide Anti-Racism Network to link groups with similar goals and values in the city, and support anti-racism Advisory Committees within various sectors.
- 3. Develop, in consultation with community groups, a strong Public Education program to educate Hamiltonians about the effects of racism and anti-racist best practices. Develop tools, resources, and evaluation models to enable institutions to implement inclusive change practices.
- 4. Manage HCCI's day-to-day infrastructure including planning, finances, program development and evaluation, and on-going education of staff and volunteers in antiracist practices and methods.
- 5. As directed by the Governing Council, represent HCCI and its mission to the public, media, funders, sector-based institutions, and ethno-racial, ethno-cultural, and faith-based communities.
- 6. Create clear and transparent evaluation and communication mechanisms to report to the Governing Council, funders, stakeholders and the general public about HCCI activities and progress.
- 7. Facilitate research initiatives, where appropriate, identifying relevant trends and issues and reporting findings to the community.
- 8. As directed by the Governing Council, respond knowledgeably and articulately (in the media and at public events) to mandate-related issues that arise in the larger Hamilton community.

Skills and Qualifications

The ideal candidate

- 1. Is self-motivated, experienced, knowledgeable and fully committed to the goal of creating an inclusive city free of racism and hate.
- 2. Has a strong theoretical, practical understanding and analysis of anti-racism within an anti-oppression framework and is able to communicate this analysis with simplicity and sensitivity to people in local government, business and institutions and to Hamilton's diverse communities.

- 3. Has experience in establishing strong networks with ethno-racial, ethno-cultural, Aboriginal and faith-based communities, building bridges between racialized communities and mainstream institutions in sectors such as employment, health, education and housing.
- 4. Is a dynamic and inspiring leader who will respond with clarity, vision, integrity and team-work to the challenges of starting up Hamilton's Centre for Civic Inclusion.
- 5. Is an effective communicator, skilled in building and maintaining relationships across different groups and sectors.
- 6. Has experience with collaborative and community-based approaches to initiating and implementing long-term change processes.
- 7. Has significant experience with organizational capacity building, conflict resolution and leading an organization through a time of early development and growth.
- 8. Understands the implications of accountability and knows how to apply them in relationships with Governing Council, staff, funders, stakeholders and the community at large, while advancing HCCI's fundamental vision, mission and goals.
- 9. Skill in public policy development and leading change.
- 10. At minimum, has a Post Secondary degree, or the equivalent, 5-10 years experience in social justice work (including the not-for-profit sector), with strengths in anti-racism/anti-oppression work, and significant experience in working with racialized communities. At least 3 years management experience.

Please forward Resume, along with three (3) references, by 4:00 p.m. Monday, June 5, 2006 to:

Selection Committee

Hamilton Centre for Civic Inclusion

Re: Executive Director Position

LIUNA Station, Lower Concourse, 360 James St. N., Hamilton, Ontario, L8L 1H5 Tel: (905) 667-3088 Fax: (905) 667-7477 E-mail: bsmoke@siso-ham.org