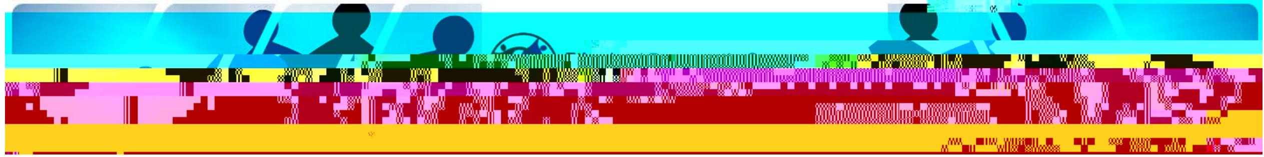

Explaining Multiculturalism Policy Development in Urban Canada:

An Exploration of the Social Diversity Hypothesis

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Abstract

In Canada, multiculturalism is primarily an urban phenomenon as close to three-quarters of the country's immigrants settle in its three largest city regions. Given their similarly high levels of ethno-cultural diversity, why do municipalities in these city regions vary so significantly in their multiculturalism policy-making processes and efforts? The paper addresses this question through engagement with the "social diversity interpretation" of American politics (Hero 1998). The social diversity interpretation argues that the *ethnic configurations* of political units affect their *policy outcomes*, *policy processes*, and *institutional development*. The paper explores the relationship between multiculturalism policy development and the ethnic configurations of seven municipalities located in English-speaking Canada's most numerically significant immigrant-receiving city regions: Toronto, Mississauga, Brampton and Markham in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and Vancouver, Richmond and Surrey in Greater Vancouver (GV). It introduces two categories of ethnic configurations in these municipalities – *biracial* and *multiracial* – and examines whether there are patterns in their policy outputs in multiculturalism policy, changes in the political dynamics of their communities and the nature of governance arrangements. It argues that although the patterns are not perfect, there is indeed strong evidence of a relationship between a municipality's ethnic configuration and the local politics of multiculturalism. Thus, the paper asks whether the social diversity interpretation might offer a cross-national comparative framework within which to study immigrant and ethno-cultural minority incorporation into urban governance concluding that the enterprise would offer many rewards but that the social diversity framework would have to be adjusted and refined.

I. Introduction

Canada's commitment to official multiculturalism establishes a normative framework that prescribes a proactive public role in facilitating positive ethno-cultural relations and inter-ethnic equity. This commitment is entrenched in the Constitution and is implemented through a variety of policies and programs in Canada including, for instance, anti-racism programs, employment equity initiatives and immigrant settlement policies. Although Canada's official multiculturalism is a model of ethno-cultural relations, given immigration patterns in Canada, the model is also, as Canadian political philosopher Will Kymlicka (1998) puts it, "a response to the *pressures that Canada exerts on immigrants* to integrate into common institutions [emphasis added]" (Kymlicka 1998, 40).[1]

Empirical research on the effectiveness of Canada's multiculturalism model in terms of facilitating immigrant integration shows that rates of naturalization, intermarriage, political participation and proficiency in one of Canada's two official languages have increased since Canada first adopted its multiculturalism policy in 1971 (Kymlicka 1998). Similarly, more recent work that compares patterns of immigrant political incorporation in Canada and the United States credits Canada's multiculturalism model of integration with greater levels of success in this enterprise (Bloemraad 2006).

[1] The model has evolved a great deal since Canada first adopted official multiculturalism as federal policy in 1971 (Ley 2007). As Audrey Kobayashi (1993) characterizes the policy's evolution, there have been three stages of the development of multiculturalism in Canada - *demographic multiculturalism*, *symbolic multiculturalism* and

Nevertheless, since more than three quarters of Canada's immigrants choose to settle in its three largest city-regions - Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal – Canada's multicultural reality is largely an urban, and highly spatially concentrated, one. The social, economic and political consequences of immigration and its associated changes in ethno-racial demographics in Canada are most immediate in these locales. The uneven spatial realities of multiculturalism will only grow as immigration continues. For instance, Statistics Canada predicts that by 2017, close to three-quarters of Canada's "visible minorities" will be living in either Toronto, Vancouver, or Montreal with approximately 45 percent choosing to live in the Toronto region (Statistics Canada 2005). In Canada, questions of immigrant integration, ethnic relations, and ethno-cultural accommodation have very important spatial dimensions.

How have the governments that are closest to Canada's multicultural reality responded to the dramatic changes in the ethnic composition of their populations? A growing literature documents a great deal of variation in the extent to which municipal governments in these locales respond to immigration by ad

argues that there is a causal relationship between the *ethnic configurations* of political units and their *policy outcomes*, *policy processes*, and *institutional development*. The paper explores the relationship between multiculturalism policy development and the ethnic configurations of seven municipalities located in English-speaking Canada's most significant immigrant-receiving city regions: Toronto, Mississauga, Brampton and Markham in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and Vancouver, Richmond and Surrey in Greater Vancouver (GV). In section II, the paper begins by outlining Rodney Hero's social diversity perspective. Then, in section III, the paper introduces two categories of ethnic configurations that can be found in the Canadian cases – *biracial* and *multiracial* – and develops hypotheses as to how these social contexts might affect policy processes, policy outputs and institutions in these locales. Next, in section IV, the paper presents the findings through a social diversity perspective lens, describing differences in multiculturalism policy outputs, community dynamics and governance arrangements. Section V analyses the findings and assesses the social diversity perspective's ability to explain variation in the cases. It concludes that although the pattern is not perfect, on the whole, there is compelling evidence to suggest that the ethnic configuration of a municipal society matters to the politics of multiculturalism. Section VI turns to a discussion of whether the social diversity interpretation might offer a cross-national comparative framework within which to study urban governance of multiculturalism and immigration. The paper concludes (in section VII) with a call to develop a common cross-national social diversity interpretation of the impact of immigration on the politics of local communities.

II. The Social Diversity Interpretation of American Politics

In his pioneering work on American state and local politics entitled *Faces of Inequality (1998)*, Rodney Hero develops a new interpretation of politically relevant variation across American states (and to a lesser degree also counties) that rivals dominant theoretical paradigms of American politics. In this work, Hero puts forward and tests the hypothesis that the ethnic configurations of political units affect their *political processes*, *political institutions*, and *public policies*

Table 1: Rodney Hero's (1998) Ethnic Configurations

Racial/Ethnic Groups	State "Types"		
	Homogeneous	**Heterogeneous**	**Bifurcated**
White (Northern and Western Eurpn)	High	Moderate	High
White Ethnic (Southern and Eastern Eurpn)	Low	High	Low
Minority (Black/Latino/Asian)	Low	Moderate	High
Type of political pluralism	Consensual	Competitive	Hierarchical/Limited
Examples	MN, WI, WA, UT	NY, MA, NJ	SC, AL, MS, TX, CA, AZ

This table (with the exception of the last row) reproduces Figure 1.1 in Hero's seminal work (Hero 1998, 8).

Hero also advances hypotheses concerning how these configurations might exert their causal effect. In his conceptualization, *homogeneous* states have highly "white" populations that originate largely from Northern and Western Europe. He hypothesizes that in these states, a "consensual pluralism" is the norm because whereas "there might be high degrees of political competition [in homogeneous states], including [for instance] high political party competition," in these states "competition is

a bifurcated context, which is characterized by a dualism between White Northern and Western Europeans on the one hand and high numbers of racial minorities on the other hand, "leads to hierarchical or limited pluralism". This form of pluralism is "historically manifested in various legal and political constraints" in these states (Hero 1998, 16).

outcomes for racial minorities. On the other hand, bifurcated political units tend to perform poorly in terms of overall levels of success in policy outcomes but do better on the issue of the relative equality of racial minorities. Hero's heterogeneous states tend to produce policy outcomes in between these two categories (Hero 2003, 402). He concludes that one should consider the possible "dark side of social capital" insofar as social ties can be used both to include as well as to exclude (which appears to be the case for racial minorities in homogeneous settings).

In his *Faces of Inequality* (1998), Hero also examines the influence of ethnic configurations on policy debates and general attitudes in the United States that target ethno-racial minorities and immigrants specifically. For instance, he examines the adoption and support of *official English* policies, which he describes as measures that are "mechanisms of exclusion rather than assimilation …[that] condemn the multicultural traditions of minority populations". As he notes, such measures "threaten the continuity of services that are necessary for participation in the political process" (Hero 1998, 108). They threaten support for what Canadian policy-makers refer to as "multiculturalism policies". He finds a strong relationship between patterns of ethnic diversity and this policy alternative. More specifically, he finds that official English measures are more likely to be supported and adopted in *bifurcated* and *homogenous* locales and least likely in heterogeneous social contexts (Hero 1998, 108). He builds upon Citrin and others (1990) who found that support for English only policies was strongest in Southern states whose populations were primarily Anglo-Saxon with few foreign-born residents (including Hispanics and Asians) and in four bifurcated states – including Arizona, California, Colorado, and Florida – that experienced the largest influxes of immigration between

In her conceptualization, a *multiracial*

Table 3: Biracial Municipalities

City	Markham	Richmond	Surrey	Vancouver
Total Population	207,940	163,395	345,780	539,630
Foreign-Born Population (%)	52.9%	54%	33.2%	45.9
Visible Minority (%)	55.5	59	37	49
Visible Minority Population*				

hypotheses can be derived from the social diversity interpretation and the American urban politics literature.

First, one might expect that the ethnic configuration of a municipality would affect

literature argues that the most

society. Multiculturalism policies assume that

3) They vary in the extent to which they have developed governance relationships or "urban regimes" to build the capacity to manage immigration and ethno-racial change. Furthermore, where local leaders have formed coalitions that are responsive to the concerns of immigrants and ethno-cultural minorities, leaders of immigrant settlement organizations and other organizations with multiculturalism-related mandates participate in urban governance.

4) They vary in the *types of political pluralism* that have emerged in response to changing ethno-cultural demographics as well as the *nature of political debates* concerning immigration and multiculturalism.

Together, the first two forms of variation constitute a measure of *municipal responsiveness* to immigrants and ethno-cultural minorities. This measurement also considers the extent to which immigrant settlement leaders consider each municipality's approach to be responsive to the concerns of their communities.[6] *Appendices 1 and 2* describe the types of multiculturalism policies that are common at the local level and summarize the papers measurement of municipal responsiveness. Local political leaders and civil servants' decision to help form and maintain governance arrangements to respond to social change are also a measure of *municipal responsiveness* to immigrants and ethno-cultural minorities. However, this form of variation must remain analytically separate because it is both a "dependent" variable (measure of responsiveness) and an "independent" variable (cause of responsiveness) because it is through governance arrangements that the capacity to develop and implement multiculturalism policy objectives occurs. In addition, governance arrangements often emerge as a reaction to changing community dynamics. The discussion below illustrates that *variation in community dynamics* - or types of political

[6] Given national and international debates concerning the multiculturalism model of immigrant integration (Ley 2007), it is interesting that immigrant and ethno-cultural minority leaders' opinions are correlated with a municipality's multiculturalism policy efforts. In other words, despite the fact that national debates have questioned the multicultural model of immigrant integration in Canada, when one asks immigrant leaders what municipal responsiveness to the concerns of their constituents involves, they all consider multiculturalism policy initiatives to be responsive to immigrant and ethno-cultural minority concerns.

pluralism – as well as the *nature of community debates concerning multiculturalism and immigration*, intersects with the above factors in many ways.

Biracial Municipalities

Policy responsiveness

Of the biracial municipalities in the sample, the *City of Vancouver* has developed a comprehensive range of multiculturalism policies and has institutionalized support for its multiculturalism policy efforts in the civil service. In other words, it has been "responsive" to immigrants and ethno-cultural minorities. The three suburban biracial municipalities - the *City of Richmond, Town of Markham,* and the *City of Surrey* – have all taken an *ad hoc* approach to multiculturalism policy development. They have been "somewhat responsive" to immigrants and ethno-cultural minorities.

The extent to which the City of Vancouver has institutionalized support for its multiculturalism policy initiatives is unique among the biracial municipalities. The city's Social Planning Department has hired a "Multicultural Social Planner," it has established a separate office to facilitate corporate-wide change – the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) office - and has created the Hastings Institute, an arms-length not for profit, city-owned corporation that provides diversity training to a variety private and public sector organizations (Good 2005; Good 2006). These agencies assist in the development and implementation of a wide-range of multiculturalism policies. In addition, the city's "responsive" approach to managing ethno-cultural relations is evident insofar as it directs a significant portion of its direct service grants to community organizations that serve ethno-

racial minorities and immigrants.[7] These grants address both immediate settlement needs of immigrants and development of community capacity on the longer term. These initiatives reflect and support the city's *comprehensive* approach and *proactive* policy style in the field of multiculturalism policy.

In Richmond and Markham, race relations advisory committees play a central role in managing the city's response to social change. The two municipalities have also begun to translate some city information into Chinese and to develop communications strategies to respond to their diverse communities.[8] However, as will be seen below, the evolution of multiculturalism policy in these two locales tends to be *reactive*

In the three suburban biracial municipalities have been “somewhat responsive” to immigrants and ethno-cultural minorities in their communities. Their policy responses are limited and *ad hoc* – they respond to the ethnic relations challenge of the day.

Community Dynamics, Types of Political Pluralism and the Multiculturalism Debate

In response, in 1995, the city established the Advisory Committee on Intercultural Relations and redirected its efforts in multiculturalism policy from a focus on organizational change to facilitating intercultural bridges between the Chinese community and long-standing residents. For instance, it established "Good Neighbour Month," a street banner program celebrating multiculturalism and set up displays on the Official Community Plan in Aberdeen Mall, Richmond's first and very controversial "Asian mall,"[9] which was developed in 1992 as an alternative to Vancouver's Chinatown (Huhtala 2004).

The committee also hosted discussions between residents and developers of Asian malls regarding English signage and service to respond to concerns among long-standing residents. In fact, the cooperation of the new Chinese business elite in Richmond was integral to the city's ability to manage social change. For instance, Thomas Fung, a powerful Chinese developer who developed six Asian malls in Richmond decided to tear down and redevelop the Aberdeen Centre at a personal cost of millions of dollars to address the concerns of long-standing residents who complained that it catered to Chinese-speaking residents exclusively. There were, of course, also self-interested reasons for this decision as addressing the sense of long-standing residents' exclusion from Asian malls widens the market by 50 percent. In addition, poor ethnic relations in a community is simply bad for business. Thus, Aberdeen Mall's commercial tenant agreement now obliges shop-owners to maintain the mall for English language use and prohibits them from erecting permanent

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Chinese language signs either inside or outside of their stor

After extensive community consultations following the group homes conflict, RIAC developed an ambitious strategic plan.[10] What is perhaps most interesting about the plan is that it is just as much (if not more) of a response to the concerns of long-standing residents as it is to the concerns of immigrants and ethno-cultural minorities. For instance, it identifies the issue of non-English signage in the community as one of its key communications issues (RIAC 2004, 2) and recommends the establishment of a "City bylaw that would require all public stores and businesses to have some basic level of signage in English" (RIAC 2004, 7). Members of the committee spent a great deal of time debating the philosophy that should guide ethnic relations in Richmond opting to reject *multiculturalism*, a term that had become synonymous with ethnic segregation in their view, and to adopt instead the concept of *interculturalism* to reflect the need for bridges between communities and, most importantly, integration (Schroeder 2004, interview).

Markham's reactive policy style and the way in which immigration changed the nature of political pluralism there is also most evident in its history of race relations advisory committees and special task forces. In 1988, the Town of Markham established two ethno-cultural advisory committees – the Committee on Race and Ethnocultural [e1e5.5(r)(rk0-18.225 0 TD TD0.0

were made at a regional meeting,[11] were critical of the concentration of Chinese immigrants in Markham. She said: "The *growing concentration of ethnic groups is causing conflicts* in Markham" and "[t]he weakness of multiculturalism … comes *when there is a concentration*, *when you are getting only one group of people* [emphasis added]" (Queen 1995). She also added a personal statement: "I wouldn't come to the region and I would go because of it – and I'm saying that truthfully" (Queen 1995). An *ad hoc* committee of local leaders in Markham's immigrant community, which would later become a broader coalition called the Coalition of Concerned Canadians, mobilized after her comments to demand a public apology. Dr. Ken Ng and Marlene Magado, prominent leaders in Markham's Chinese and Filipino communities respectively co-chaired the coalition. An apology was never made despite the concerted pressure of the Coalition. Instead, Bell decided to "clarify" her position in a number of letters to the editor of the local newspaper. Her letters further inflamed the situation. She raised concerns about the number of Asian malls being developed in Markham as well as the lack of English language signage in these mall developments. However, her suggestion that residents who were the "backbone" of Markham were leaving because of immigration is what particularly aggravated the situation (Bell 1995). The Coalition of Concerned Canadians garnered the support of national organizations and of the Mayors of

tolerance" whereas "in Surrey there is a significant part of the population that proudly resent multiculturalism" (Hardy 2004, interview).

Nevertheless, the new dynamic between the long-standing residents who are largely "white," and the large South Asian immigrant community only describes part of the new dynamics there. Many informants described a highly diverse and even divided South Asian immigrant community making statements such as there are many South Asian "interest groups" and the community is "very political" (Basi 2004 interview). According to community leaders, religious cleavages appear to be a central source of division within the South Asian community. A Superintendent with the RCMP also mentioned that intra-group violence is a problem within the South Asian community – in his words "there is fighting in Temples, if they're not shooting at each other in the streets…" (Hall 2004, interview). The South Asian community appears to lack the "social capital" to organize to pressure the municipality to respond due to in-group divisions.

Vancouver's community dynamics were also affected by large-scale immigration to the city. In a general way, many residents blamed immigrants for displacing them from the housing market by driving up housing values and ultimately also property taxes (Ley et al. 2001). In addition, many informants in the community cited conflicts over architectural preferences in housing as an area of particular contention between the long-standing residents and Vancouver's large Hong-Kong Chinese immigrant community. For instance, the practice of some immigrants who would tear down existing homes and re-build larger ones that deviated from the neighbourhood's planning norms became known as the "monster homes"[12] issue. According to geographer David Ley (2001), resistance on the part of the

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long-standing community to the housing preferences of newcomers was a general phenomenon and in some neighbourhoods – namely the upscale, well-established neighbourhoods such as Shaughnessy and Kerrisdale – the resistance was "sustained". A public hearing on the matter was hosted by the city in 1992 that led to a compromise position on the issue (Ley et al. 2001, 14). David Ley and others (2001) describe the compromise as surprising due to the expectation that the city would favour the long-standing socio-economic elite that lives in neighbourhoods such as Shaughnessy and Kerrisdale (Ley et al. 2001, 14). However, as we will discover below, this outcome is less puzzling when one considers the connection between the city's response to its immigrant population and its general economic development paradigm.

Informal Urban Governance Relationships and Municipal Institutional Purposes

The new community dynamics that emerged in *biracial* municipalities contributed, in varying degrees, to the emergence of new governance arrangements to create a joint public-private capacity to accommodate and manage change in the ethno-cultural demographics of their populations. In Markham and Richmond lasting public-private governance relationships have developed around the goal of fostering positive race relations between the largely Chinese immigrant community on the

channels of communication and resource pooling between the city and leaders in civil society.

The emergence of governance arrangements to manage social change has been facilitated by the development of strong community- based institutions that represent the Chinese communities in Richmond and Markham. The strength of the Chinese community in Richmond (and other municipalities in GV) is evident in the strength of S.U.C.C.E.S.S., an immigrant settlement agency that is exceptional insofar as it receives 40 percent of its revenue through donations and fundraising events whereas most settlement agencies rely almost exclusively on government funding. The Federation of Chinese Canadians in Markham[13] is also resourced very well. The leader of this organization (Dr. Ken Ng) was one of the co-chairs of the *ad hoc* committee and its successor, the Coalition of Concerned Canadians, which organized in response to Carole Bell's controversial remarks. In addition, in both of these municipalities, prominent developers and other business owners are members of the immigrant community.

In Surrey, more limited public-private relationships have emerged at the departmental level. However, these relationships are more tenuous than in Richmond and Markham as, due to cleavages within Surrey's largely South Asian immigrant community, civil servants and "street level bureaucrats" (Lipsky 1980), have a difficult time discerning who the community's leaders are. In other words, the lack of cohesion among Surrey's large South Asian immigrant population, appears to be an important reason why stronger governance arrangements have not emerged. In addition, because of divisions, the community has not

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comprehensively to its concerns. Furthermore, whereas backlash against immigration is clearly a problem, – recall a community leader's comment that in Surrey long residents "proudly resent multiculturalism" – in the absence of intra-group solidarity, the South Asian community has been unable to fight its *racialization* in the community.

In Vancouver, the governance arrangements that have emerged to manage immigration and multiculturalism policy are much stronger than in the suburban biracial municipalities. There appear to be several reasons for this. First, like in Richmond and Markham, the Chinese community in Vancouver has developed a wide range of powerful ethno-specific community institutions. Second, Vancouver's innovations in multiculturalism policy are linked to its economic development objectives, which focus on its status as a Pacific Rim metropolis (Hutton 1998, 97). As Kris Olds (2001) observes, in Vancouver, both Pacific Rim specific institutions (such as the Asia-Pacific Foundation, the International Finance Centre of Vancouver, and the Hong Kong Business Association) as well as "mainstream" institutions such as (such the Greater Vancouver Real Estate Board and the Vancouver Board of Trade) are interlinked and "command considerable public and private resources that are used to *structure the nature of policies and processes* which influence Vancouver's future [emphasis added]" (Olds 2001, 92).   According to Olds (2001), "the reach and influence of the Pacific rim contingent [in Vancouver] is long, sinuous, and hegemonic" (Olds 2001, 92). The city's institutionalized commitment to supporting multiculturalism, coupled with a strong, proactive group of private sector leaders contributes to its "power to" manage ethno-cultural relations.

The social diversity interpretation also leads one to expect a correlation between the ethnic configuration of a municipality and the way in which institutional goals are oriented

(Hero 1998, 20). The governance arrangements in the three biracial municipalities that have developed such arrangements – Richmond, Markham and Vancouver – serve to broker interests and identities. They serve as an intercultural bridge. Furthermore, in all three municipalities, and in Vancouver in particular, the business community supports the municipality in this goal.

Multiracial Municipalities

Policy Responsiveness

Multiracial municipalities are at the polar opposite ends of the "responsiveness" spectrum. The City of Toronto has been "responsive" to immigrants and ethno-cultural minorities, whereas, the *City of Mississauga* and the *City of Brampton* have both been "unresponsive" to these populations.

The City of Toronto's response to immigration has been to develop a comprehensive range of multiculturalism policies and to institutionalize support for these policies at the apex of power in the municipal civil service – the City Manager's Office. In Toronto, the "Diversity Management and Community Engagement Unit" in the City Manager's office supports and monitors the implementation of the city's multitude of formal (written) multiculturalism policies[14] but is also a flexible unit that initiates action when unanticipated needs arise. It serves as a "catalyst" and "facilitator" of the entire corporation and as a "bridge" between council, the civil service and the community (Lee 2003, interview). For instance, the unit conducts "social audits" of its departments to assess whether they are incorporating multiculturalism policy frameworks into their corporate culture and service

[14] Some of the city's most important multiculturalism policy initiatives include its Workplace Human Rights and Harassment Policy (1998), its Hate Activity Policy and Procedures (1998), its Employment Equity Policy (2000), and its Multilingual Services Policy (2002).

delivery (City of Toronto 2004). The city has also established an Access and Equity community grants program to build capacity in its diverse community. The city's many multiculturalism policy initiatives are too numerous to mention here.

In sharp contrast, the only responses to social change in the suburban multiracial municipalities of Mississauga and Brampton are community festivals and annual

based cleavages within their South Asian communities. For instance, McCallion used an example of a conflict between two Sikh "factions" within the South Asian community to illustrate her approach to race relations in the municipality (McCallion 2004, interview). A community leader also mentioned that if an Indian candidate were to run in a municipal election, Pakistanis would mobilize against the candidate (Seepersaud 2003, interview). Local municipal officials in Brampton also cited the tendency of the South Asian community to run many candidates in each ward in municipal elections as a reason for the community's lack of electoral success.

In Brampton, former Mayor Peter Robertson (1988-2000) was unable to sustain community interest in the Brampton Race Relations Action Committee due to its diversity. According to the former chair of the committee, there was more interest in the committee within Brampton's Hindu, Sikh, and black communities than there was in its French, German, Croatian, Greek and other communities (Biggs in White 1992a). Brampton's diversity was a barrier to developing a local multiculturalism policy agenda.

Thus, Mississauga and Brampton's pluralism appears to be somewhat competitive (rather than cooperative) but it is also *highly limited* in a general sense.

In contrast, Toronto, the final *multiracial* municipality in the sample is characterized by a highly competitive or, perhaps more accurately, *dynamic* form of pluralism. The qualifier is in order as its political pluralism is conducive to both competition and high levels of cooperation. As will be discussed below, the extent to which Toronto's form of political pluralism is conducive to cooperation is evident in the strong governance arrangements that have developed there as well as in its broad-based urban autonomy movement.

The political strategies of local leaders in Toronto are more radical than in other municipalities in the sample. For instance, un

Multiracial municipalities diverge in yet another respect. Urban governance arrangements to respond to multiculturalism did not emerge in Mississauga and Brampton. However, in Toronto, local leaders built strong and inclusive governance arrangements – urban regimes – to create the capacity to respond. In addition to city officials, these arrangements include prominent, "blue-chip" community leaders in the business community, labour, social service, immigrant settlement, and other sectors. For instance, under the umbrella of the Toronto City Summit Alliance, high-power leaders cooperate to address a number of challenges in the city including "becoming a center of excellence in the integration of immigrants" (Toronto City Summit Alliance 2003). The Toronto City Summit Alliance has established the Toronto Regional Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC) to address barriers to immigrant integration into the labour force. The council is co-chaired by the President and Vice-President of Manulife Financial, one of Canada's most powerful financial institutions. Like in Vancouver, in Toronto, powerful business leaders and city officials tie immigrant settlement goals to the city's economic development objectives. Local community and municipal resources are pooled within its public-private governance arrangements to address a variety of policy goals. However, coalitions in the city are not only concerned with developing cooperative responses to diversity at the local level. Rather, together, local leaders are fighting for greater levels of autonomy for the municipality and for a new status for the City of Toronto within Canadian federalism – what has been popularly referred to as a "New Deal" for the city (Good 2007). In fact, the lobbying efforts of this dynamic alliance of city leaders were a major force that pushed the "New Deal for Cities" agenda onto the national agenda (Broadbent 2003). Immigrants' policy preferences and their leaders are included in local coalition agendas and in the urban autonomy movement.

V. Analysis: Interpreting the Findings

on the symbolic and aesthetic face of the municipality. In Surrey, there was also backlash against immigration. However, a power struggle was absent as the South Asian community has not mobilized against its *racialization* to the same degree. Thus, a dynamic of community *backlash* and, where the immigrant community possesses sufficient social capital to mobilize, also a *counter-reaction* from the immigrant community, appears more likely to develop in municipalities where there is a large concentration of a single ethnic group. These new community dynamics in *biracial* municipalities increase the likelihood that the community will agree that there is an ethnic relations problem, which pushes the issue onto the municipal agenda. Rather unexpectedly, backlash is a central factor that leads to greater levels of responsiveness in biracial municipalities.

Third, when a single group settles in a municipality there is less of an immediate need to integrate since it is more likely that the group will develop an extensive array of ethno-specific institutions. This process has potential positive and negative implications. One the one hand, it appears to contribute to backlash on the part of long-standing residents who argue that the immigrant group is not integrating. On the other, it provides the immigrant community with resources – for instance, ethno-specific community institutions in which to develop social capital - with which to organize to pressure the municipalities to respond to its concerns and to counter backla

Thus, in all of the *biracial* municipalities with large Chinese immigrant populations, the immigrant community has developed an extensive network of Chinese-specific institutions. The Chinese community appears to possess a great deal of intra-group social capital or "Chinese social capital". However, as Orr (1999) also observes in his work, social capital is not a substitute for economic capital. The Chinese community possesses high levels of both forms of capital in Vancouver, Richmond and Markham.

In contrast, in Surrey, the only biracial municipality in the sample with a predominantly "South Asian" immigrant community, the immigrant community appears to be more *divided* than Chinese immigrant communities are. The community lacks ethno-specific "South Asian social capital". Furthermore, in Surrey, the business community does not appear to be pressuring the municipality to adapt its services despite the fact that many of the developers in Surrey are South Asians. At the local level, immigrant inclusion in local governance is a two-step collective action problem. First, the immigrant group must be able to mobilize for collective action at the level of civil society. Second, bridges must be created through the development of public-private governance coalitions – or "urban regimes". The South Asian community in Surrey has failed to overcome the first level collective action problem. Even the *racialization* of the community has not spurred it to mobilize.

This raises the question of why Chinese immigrant communities appear to have higher levels of social capital than "South Asian" immigrant communities. This finding is apparent in Surrey, but also in Mississauga and Brampton. Perhaps Statistics Canada's category "South Asian" is too imprecise. It is clear that future studies are needed to explore whether some immigrant communities have greater levels of social capital than others and why. Immigrant communities that fail to overcome the first order collective action problem

(to organize as a community) will neither be able to pressure municipalities to respond to their concerns nor will they be able to participate in policy-productive "urban regimes".

Similarly, the increased complexity of the first order collective action problem in multiracial municipalities means that it is less likely that immigrants will be included in municipal governance in these locales. One can observe the effects of this factor in Mississauga and Brampton, the two suburban multiracial municipalities in the sample.

One might be tempted to conclude that, due to the cleavages in its South Asian population, Surrey should be considered a multiracial municipality. However, although it shares the divisions within its immigrant community that are inherent to a multiracial context, we see that the way in which the overall community perceives immigration differs. More specifically, *backlash* against immigration appears to be less likely in highly heterogeneous, multiracial municipalities since there is not a perception that a single immigrant group is redefining the cultural norms of the municipality. Municipalities with a reactive policy style need something to react to in order to begin developing multiculturalism policies. In Surrey, despite cleavages within its immigrant community, long-standing residents have reacted to the arrival of a single group in large numbers by *racializing* the community. In other words, social context influences both relationships *between the long-*

Brampton's Black community described Brampton's "race relations" climate as at a "boiling point" as members of his community feel excluded from the city's power structures (Manning 2004, interview). Nevertheless, in the absence of political mobilization and pressure on the part of the community, municipalities – and suburban municipalities in particular - tend to resist involving themselves in new policy areas. As former Brampton

municipality and transplant it into another province or even country and similar community dynamics and debates about multiculturalism would occur. As the social diversity interpretation implies, "the context within which individuals and/or groups are situated is as, if not more, important than the values or ideas that people "bring with them" or "have within"" (Hero 1998, 10). The context is "transsubjective" or "transindividual" (Hero 1998, 10). The strong similarities among biracial municipalities in the sample suggest that one could transplant almost any long-standing Canadian individual into a biracial social context and their opinion on the changes occurring in the community would be the same. Similarly, one could expect individual immigrants to react correspondingly to the type of *racialization* that occurs in these locales. The biracial cases provide very strong evidence that social context matters to the nature of political pluralism, institutional development and, ultimately, to policy outputs.

VI. Evidence Beyond Canada: Toward a Cross-national Framework of Urban Governance

If the ethnic configuration of a municipal unit is significant in the ways described above, then one should to find patterns cross-nationally as well. The degree to which Canadian municipalities vary insofar as they adopt multiculturalism policies/frameworks suggests that national policy context is not completely decisive. Applying Hero (1998)'s pioneering perspective to Canada is, of course, based on this premise. The findings of his large N study contributes further weight to the above findings which were based on a limited seven case comparative research design. However, the categories that Good (2005) developed differ from Hero (1998)'s in ways that reflect the available data in Canada as well as her focus on high-immigration centres. Furthermore, historical

and patterns of immigration in Canada and the United States potentially complicate one's efforts to compare. However, since Hero (1998) suggests that one of the primary contributions of his social diversity perspective is that it offers a better explanation of change than the dominant theoretical approaches to the study of state politics in the United States, to the extent that immigration continues to change the face of the United States, we might see more convergence in race relations in the two countries. To what extent can we build upon Hero (1998) and the above findings in our attempt to develop a cross-national research agenda that examines the responsiveness of local governments to immigrants and ethno-cultural minorities?

One literature growing literature in geography provides evidence to support the value of a cross-national research agenda. The literature on "ethnoburbs" shows that *at least some 'bifurcated' localities in the United States are characterized by similar political dynamics as the 'biracial' Canadian municipalities with concentrations of Chinese residents* discussed above. For instance, the political dynamics that resulted from demographic change in Richmond[15] and Markham are similar to those that characterize American "ethnoburbs", a concept that American geographer Wei Li theorized to characterize new suburban ethnic clusters of Chinese immigrants. Li distinguishes the "ethnoburb" from traditional ethnic ghettos or urban enclaves such as Chinatowns insofar as *actors with economic power* deliberately create "ethnoburbs" whereas, in ethnic ghettos and urban enclaves, "ethnic people do not have economic power" (Li n/d, 2). The first American "ethnoburb" emerged in Los Angeles' Monterey Park as the result of large-scale Chinese immigration. The suburban City of Monterey Park is 7.5 miles east of downtown LA. The political dynamics

[15] David Edginton, Michael Goldberg and Thomas Hutton (2003) also make this observation with respect to Richmond.

that developed in Monterey Park seem *very similar* to the dynamics that emerged in Richmond and Markham. For instance, "English only" movements developed and Chinese immigrant business owners were accused of using Chinese signage to deliberately exclude long-standing residents (Li 1999). Changes in the built environment – for instance, the construction of a Buddhist temple - became "racialized" in Monterey Park (Li 1999) just as Asian malls were controversial in Richmond and Markham. In response, the City of Monterey Park initiated a number of multicultural events including festivals and "community roundtables" that brought together community leaders to share their opinions on issues facing the city (Li 1999, 19). These "community roundtable

addition, to what extent does the fact that immigrants in ethnoburbs have power and deliberately create these communities matter? These questions speak to the differences between the way in which Hero (1998) and Good (2005; 2006) theorize ethnic configurations in the United States and Canada respectively.

To what extent are Hero (1998) and Good's (2005; 2006) typologies of ethnic configurations are compatible? According to Hero's conceptualization, Good's (2005) two categories – multiracial and biracial – would be subsumed under the category "bifurcated" in the sense that both types have high levels of ethno-racial minorities. What evidence is there to suggest that all of the Canadian municipalities discussed above should be considered bifurcated? We saw above that "multiracial" municipalities are characterized by a *limited pluralism with some competition* in suburban municipalities and a highly *dynamic form of pluralism* in Toronto. As such, multiracial municipalities share some features of Hero (1998)'s "heterogeneous" political sub-units, which have moderate levels of ethno-racial minorities, high levels of "white ethnics" and are characterized by a "competitive pluralism". Thus, although the biracial and multiracial categories focus on "visible minorities" to the exclusion of "white ethnics,"[16] one still finds competition among groups (although in a highly limited form in suburban municipalities) and a dynamic form of competition in Toronto. To a certain extent, this finding calls into question Hero (1998)'s bifurcated category, which groups all ethno-racial minorities together. In other words, Hero's categories do not adequately capture the possibility of competition among ethno-racial

[16] Good (2005) does not include white ethnics in her categorization although, interestingly, what Hero refers to as "white ethnics" tend to be more numerous in multiracial municipalities.

minorities.[17] In addition, from a theoretical perspective, it is unclear why a combination of what Hero calls "white ethnics" and ethno-racial minorities would lead to a greater level of competition than a mixture of ethno-racial minorities and what he considers "whites". However, on the other hand, together, the *largely limited pluralism in the multiracial suburban municipalities* and the *limited pluralism in biracial municipalities* suggest that his hypothesis of what type of pluralism one would expect in bifurcated municipalities is confirmed to a certain degree.

Nevertheless, according to Hero's conceptualization, a bifurcated context "leads to hierarchical or limited pluralism" due to the history of race relations in the United States. The form of pluralism that characterizes bifurcated locales is, in his words, "historically manifested in various legal and political constraints" and "[d]espite major social and political change during the last generation, this condition continues, albeit in modified form" (Hero 1998, 16). This inference seems to have been developed with the historical experience of African-Americans (and perhaps also Latinos) in mind and, as such, limits one's ability to apply this category to Canada. Furthermore, unless we are to assume that all immigrant racial minorities will experience the same discrimination and hierarchy as an arguably exceptional racial minority group – African Americans – it is unclear why one must necessarily expect limited pluralism to also exhibit hierarchy. Moreover, from a theoretical perspective, although it seems intuitively logical that one might expect a more "limited" form of political pluralism in less diverse locales, it is unclear why one should expect a "hierarchical" pluralism in many of the American locales that Hero would consider "bifurcated". Hero acknowledges that the historical experience of minority groups differs

[17] Hero acknowledges: "[t]here is, of course, extensive inter- and intra-group complexity, and there also may be interminority political competition" (Hero 1998, 11).

(Hero 1998, 8). However, he argues that "there is enough similarity within groups and enough differences across groups as delineated to support the designations and arguments made" (Hero 1998, 8). Hero made the choice to oversimplify ethnic categories for the "sake of clarity and parsimony" (Hero 1998, 151).

Based on the findings discussed above, the extent to which hierarchy exists depends on the power and resources of the ethno-racial minorities in the community. In addition, the growing literature on "ethnoburbs" suggests that one must incorporate a political economy perspective to understand changing community dynamics as well as the way in which immigrants resources might structure community reactions and debates (Li 2007). The above findings as well as the "ethnoburb" literature suggest that the concentrated settlement of *highly powerful* immigrants that are capable of changing the cultural face of a locale appears to matter in many ways including to the reaction of the long-standing residents (it intensifies feeling of cultural threat) and to the immigrants themselves (they have more power and resources to mobilize and influence policy making).

states tend to produce better policy outcomes for ethno-racial minorities than both homogeneous and heterogeneous states. Since comparable data was not collected in Canada, exploring this possibility will have to await further study. However, it is notable that debates about official English did not emerge in multiracial municipalities in the sample. In addition, biracial municipalities were more responsive to ethno-cultural diversity than were multiracial municipalities (with the exception of Toronto). These findings suggest that ethnic concentration and possibly also power matter.

Furthermore, the findings discussed in this paper raise questions with respect to what one might expect of *institutions* in contexts with varying types of social diversity. Hero suggests that in heterogeneous environments "there is a need to arbitrate or broker social heterogeneity and complexity" and, in a bifurcated environment, "government is expected to interfere little with existing stratified conditions, themselves the product of institutions and social relations historically defined in racial/ethnic terms" (Hero 1998, 20). We saw above that, with the exception of the City of Toronto, local leaders in Canada's heterogeneous *multiracial* municipalities were unresponsive to immigrants and ethno-racial minorities. They failed to develop informal governance institutions that bridge the public-private divide to broker social change. In addition, in Canada, it was the bifurcated locales that were more likely to intervene to "broker social heterogeneity". Vancouver intervened proactively and Richmond and Markham were pressured to intervene in reaction to "race relations" crises and pressure from socially and economically powerful Chinese immigrant communities. Again it is possible that Hero's expectations regarding institutional and policy purposes hold for bifurcated municipalities in which the dominant minority is African American. In this case the hierarchical pluralism that Hero observes would indeed be structured by a historical

legacy of stratified social conditions and past institutions. However, these conditions do not appear to apply to either Canadian municipalities or to American "ethnoburbs".

Furthermore, in Canada, the case of Surrey suggests that intra-group dynamics are important and that other forms of diversity – in this case *religious diversity* - might be an important factor in a social diversity interpretation of politics (Good 2005). Cross-national

suggests that one must examine how patterns of resource distribution within civil society affect the local governance of immigration and ethno-racial diversity. As we move forward, the social diversity perspective might also incorporate a political economy perspective. Perhaps it is necessary to sacrifice a degree of *parsimony* in order to extend the theoretical framework cross-nationally. However, in return, urban scholars will be rewarded with a greater degree of *generality* and *accuracy*.

Furthermore, the social diversity perspective offers the potential to *predict* the development of new political dynamics on the basis of tracking demographic change that results from migration and immigration. As Hero acknowledges, a central contribution of the social diversity interpretation is its potential to offer a "clear" and "precise" way of theorizing change in a variety of areas of importance to political scientists. Its theoretical potential is even greater in high-immigration countries where ethnic configurations are particularly dynamic. Both "large N" and case studies of political sub-units would be valuable in this process. Case studies would have the benefit of describing the nature of political pluralism in a more accurate and convincing way. Case studies allow one to explore the causal mechanisms that establish the correlations in larger N studies such as Hero's and to refine categories. Together, these two methods could lead to a powerful explanatory framework to understand one of the most significant policy challenges of our time – the politics of immigration and multiculturalism in urban places.

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Appendix 1

Multiculturalism Policies at the Municipal Level: Policy Types

1. Municipalities may establish *a separate unit of government to manage diversity and organizational change* in response to immigration and dramatic increases in the ethno-cultural diversity of their populations.

2. Municipal governments may provide *grants* to community organizations, offer *in-kind support* to community organizations (space and staff for instance) and conduct *research* on community needs.

3. Municipalities may develop *employment equity* initiatives to address systemic barriers to immigrant and ethno-cultural minority access to employment. The scope of these policies can vary. Municipalities may address these barriers within their own organization but may also take steps to encourage the fair integration of immigrants and ethno-cultural minorities into the private sector.

4. Municipalities may develop an *immigrant settlement policy* that explicitly acknowledges that they are playing a role in this policy field through multiculturalism policy initiatives.

5. Municipalities may also take steps to increase their *political inclusiveness* by establishing mechanisms by which immigrant and ethno-cultural minority preferences enter council deliberations on policy matters. In practice, this might involve creating advisory committees that deal with immigrant and ethno-cultural concerns specifically, offering interpretation services for citizens who wish to make deputations to council, or translating information on municipal elections.

6. Municipalities may make efforts to increase *access and equity in service delivery*. This can involve translation and interpretation services, offering culturally sensitive services, or establishing a communications strategy.

7. Municipalities may initiate *multiculturalism and anti-racism initiatives* including efforts to improve inter-cultural relations, to combat racism and to eliminate hate activities.

8. Municipalities may choose to create an inclusive *municipal image* by, for instance, establishing inclusive symbols and using inclusive language in key municipal documents.

9. Municipalities may support *multicultural festivals* and events.

Appendix 2

A Typology of Municipal Responsiveness to Immigrants and Ethno-cultural Minorities

	Responsive	**Somewhat Responsive**	**Unresponsive**
Breadth and depth	Comprehensive	Limited	Highly limited
Policy Style	Proactive	Reactive	Inactive
Immigrant Settlement Leaders' Assessment	Positive	Moderately Positive	Negative
Immigrant and Ethno-cultural Minorities and Governance	Included	Variable levels of inclusion.	Excluded
Policy types (See appendix 1)	1-9	5-9	9