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FINDING MEANING IN (THE) DIVERSE-CITY:
The Competitive City and Immigration in Toronto

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ABSTRACT

This doctoral dissertation focuses on multiculturalism as it is experienced and perceived in the everyday lives of recent immigrants from racialized groups in Toronto, a city that promotes itself as “one of the most multicultural cities in the world.” From a demographic point of view, around half of its population (of 2.6 million) is foreign-born and more than 140 languages and dialects are spoken there. As a result of changes to Canada’s immigration policies in the 1970s, recent immigrants are no longer primarily from the European continent, but from Asia, Latin America, and Africa. These migration trends have resulted in growing numbers of “visible minority” (according to the definition by Statistics Canada) groups who, by 2031, are expected to make up 63% of Toronto’s population.

Given this demographic reality, immigration is not only reshaping Toronto’s self-perception, but ethnocultural diversity has become a central component in the way the city defines itself and constitutes its image. This popular image and rhetoric of Toronto being a “world class” “multicultural” city is a central component of the City of Toronto’s entrepreneurial strategies to foster economic development and growth by conveying a favourable climate to attract tourists and investment. The doctoral research presented here interrogates this civic imaginary centred on ethnocultural diversity as an instrument of public action of the competitive city (Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009). This research highlights the ways in which immigrants from racialized groups create their urban imaginaries of the “multicultural” city through their daily practices of mobility in the city and puts them in conversation with “official” discourses of diversity espoused by local institutions in Toronto. This dissertation presents the findings of research that included 41 interviews carried out in Toronto during 2010 and 2011 with 26 newcomers and 15 representatives of local institutions.

This dissertation based on articles includes five chapters. Chapter 1 presents the local context of Toronto, focusing on social, geographic, and political aspects. This chapter allows us to understand the changes in immigration trends since the post-war period as well as the settlement patterns of recent immigrants. It also outlines the City of Toronto’s diversity policy framework implemented since amalgamation in 1998, as well as a portrait of civic actors dealing with issues of immigrant integration. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 are articles that have been submitted to academic journals. One of these articles has been published and another is currently being revised for resubmission. Chapiter 2 presents the narratives of recent immigrants from racialized

groups regarding Toronto as a “multicultural” city. Chapter 3 focuses on the valorization of ethnocultural diversity in the discourses of representatives of local institutions in Toronto. Chapter 4 provides a comparison of the narratives of racialized newcomers with those of representatives of local institutions in order to determine the elements that comprise their urban imaginaries. Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the evolution of diversity policies in Toronto and looks at the daily practices of newcomers, particularly mobility, consumption, and social relations. The conclusion offers a reflection on the contribution of this dissertation to the field of urban studies as well as future research prospects.

Key words: multiculturalism, diversity, competitive city, immigration, urban imaginary, Toronto

RESUME

Cette thèse doctorale porte sur le multiculturalisme tel qu'il est vécu et perçu dans la vie quotidienne des nouveaux arrivants faisant partie de groupes racisés à Toronto, une ville qui se vante d'être « une des villes les plus multiculturelles dans le monde ». D'un point de vue démographique, ceci semble être vrai car environ la moitié de sa population (qui s'élève à 2,6 millions) est née à l'étranger et plus de 140 langues et dialectes y sont parlées. En effet, vu les changements dans les tendances migratoires depuis les années 1970, les immigrants récents sont principalement originaires de l'Asie, de l'Amérique latine et de l'Afrique ainsi augmentant le nombre de personnes considérées comme « minorités visibles » (selon la définition de Statistiques Canada). Selon des prévisions démographiques, d'ici 2031 ces groupes formeront 63% de la population torontoise.

Au cours de la dernière décennie, la présence de cette diversité ethnoculturelle est devenue un élément central dans la façon dont la ville de Toronto se définit et crée son imaginaire civique. Cette « célébration de la différence » est utilisée afin de promouvoir Toronto comme une « ville mondiale » pour favoriser le développement économique et la croissance en créant un climat favorable pour les investisseurs et les touristes. Notre recherche doctorale interroge cet imaginaire civique centré sur la diversité culturelle comme étant un instrument d'action publique de la ville compétitive (Boudreau, Keil et Young 2009). Ainsi, cette recherche tente de mettre en évidence la façon dont les nouveaux arrivants issus de groupes racisés construisent leurs propres imaginaires de la ville « multiculturelle » à travers leurs pratiques quotidiennes et de mettre ces derniers en relation avec le discours « officiel » véhiculé par les institutions locales à Toronto. Nous avons effectué un total de 41 entretiens à Toronto durant 2010 et 2011 dont 26 avec des nouveaux arrivants et 15 avec des représentants d'institutions locales.

Cette thèse par articles comprend cinq chapitres. Le chapitre 1 est une présentation générale du contexte social, géographique et politique de la ville de Toronto. Il nous permet de comprendre les changements démographiques en matière d'immigration survenus depuis la période d'après-guerre et la localisation des récents immigrants à travers la ville. On y présente également les politiques de gestion de la diversité mises en place depuis les fusions municipales en 1998 et les acteurs dits civiques oeuvrant dans le domaine de l'intégration des immigrants. Les chapitres 2, 3 et 4 sont des articles qui ont été soumis dans des revues

scientifiques. Un de ces articles a été publié et un autre est en cours de révision afin d'être resoumis après une première évaluation. Le chapitre 2 présente les récits des nouveaux arrivants sur Toronto comme « ville multiculturelle ». Le chapitre 3 porte sur la valorisation de la diversité ethnoculturelle dans les discours des représentants d'institutions locales à Toronto. Le chapitre 4 a pour but de comparer et de mettre en perspective les récits des nouveaux arrivants avec ceux des représentants d'institutions locales afin de cerner les éléments qui comprennent leurs imaginaires urbains. Le chapitre 5 présente l'évolution des politiques en matière de diversité de la Ville de Toronto ainsi que des données sur les pratiques quotidiennes des nouveaux arrivants notamment la mobilité, la consommation et les relations sociales. En conclusion nous offrons une réflexion sur la contribution de la thèse au champ des études urbaines et nous proposons des pistes de recherche pour l'avenir.

Mots clés : multiculturalisme, diversité, ville compétitive, immigration, imaginaire urbain, Toronto

Conformément à la politique linguistique de l'INRS, nous fournissons en annexe un résumé long en français de la thèse.

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INTRODUCTION

My encounter with "multicultural" Toronto took place during the summer of 2009 when I was hired as an interviewer for a research project conducted by the United Way of Greater Toronto on the living conditions in the numerous high-rise towers located in Toronto's inner suburbs[1]. A child of Italian-born parents who immigrated to Toronto during the post-war period, I grew up in a predominantly Italian neighbourhood in North York and lived there until I moved to Montréal to pursue graduate studies. Growing up, my parents explained to me that Toronto was not always such a peaceful place for immigrants. They shared stories of being called WOPs ("Without Papers") and how the police would break up groups of Italians congregating on College Street – something that would be totally unheard of nowadays on this street that now forms the heart of the popular Little Italy neighbourhood. Their stories made me acutely aware of the complexities involved in the immigrant experience. But the Italians, as well as some of the other groups who arrived in the post-war period, eventually became well-established and experienced upward social mobility. However, immigrants who arrived during the past four decades have not been as fortunate and now bear the brunt of racism in Toronto, which may not be as overt in nature but is certainly insidious and systemic. I also always had a feeling that there was more to Toronto than the confines of my neighbourhood and often took bike rides to explore other parts of the city. Later, when I was an undergraduate student at the University of Toronto, after class I would often walk west along Bloor Street to Dufferin passing by Korean, Portuguese, Italian, and Ethiopian grocery stores and restaurants to name a few. However, I must admit that my knowledge of the multi-ethnic spaces of Etobicoke, North York, East York, York, and Scarborough remained rather limited. What's more, during my lengthy absence from Toronto, demographic changes resulting from immigration had clearly left their mark on the urban landscape.

My first day of work as an interviewer took place in Thorncliffe Park, an area of the city that I had never been to before. Only later did I learn that this neighbourhood is showcased, at home and abroad, as Toronto's "multicultural success story"[2] because of the high number of newcomers living in the area, representing at least twenty different languages. The majority of residents are from Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, the Philippines, and Bangladesh. At our first team meeting held in the Thorncliffe Neighbourhood Office, known to locals as TNO, I met the

[1] This research is presented in the report *Poverty by Postal Code 2: Vertical Poverty*.

[2] In October 2010 a delegation of eight parliamentarians from Germany visited Thorncliffe Park to learn about Canadian experiences of multiculturalism.

other interviewers who were also recent immigrants to Canada who took this job mainly as a way to gain the elusive "Canadian employment experience". Under the hot August sun, we spent days and evenings going door-to-door in all of the high-rise buildings that comprise this crescent-shaped neighbourhood, one of the first planned communities in Toronto during the 1950s. I took the time to walk around the area checking out the local shops, such as Iqbal Foods and those in East York Town Centre. I will never forget one Friday evening when I decided to take a short-cut through R.V. Burgess Park and stumbled upon hundreds of people gathered there for the weekly bazaar held during the summer months[3]. I lingered there for a while, going from table to table looking at the items being sold, including brightly coloured clothing, as well as other products like shampoo and soap.

Thorncliffe Park has been referred to as an "arrival city" that works because people do not feel stuck there, which is in part because of its links with the rest of the city through easily accessible public transit and the sense of comfort it provides to its residents (Saunders 2010). I ended up spending quite a bit of time in Thorncliffe Park because I was given a large quota of questionnaires to complete for this area. The residents who graciously welcomed me into their homes (often serving me a cold glass of mango juice) taught me what life for a newcomer in Toronto can be like. For many in Thorncliffe Park, it means paying over $1000 a month for an apartment located in an aging concrete slab tower built in the 1960s and 1970s[4], men working night shifts as taxi drivers, women living with their children while their husbands are working overseas, or families sharing a 1-bedroom apartment due to high rents. I heard similar stories of neglected buildings and unsanitary conditions (rodents, mould, etc.) as I interviewed tenants of buildings located in other areas that comprise the inner suburbs, such as Jane and Finch or Flemingdon Park. I sometimes had the feeling that I was intruding into people's daily lives. One such experience occurred on an afternoon when I knocked on a tenant's door in a building on Thorncliffe Park Drive and a man answered very upset that I had woken him up. He explained that he works nights and needs to sleep during the day in order to be functional at work. I didn't even bother asking him to complete the questionnaire as I just felt awful about disturbing him. It was then that I realized that the tenants were not given any notice that this project was being carried out and that they could expect interviewers at their doors. Many residents told me that they were wary of unexpected visitors because there are often people who come to their buildings asking for "donations" as part of a scam. For example, I witnessed their disbelief every

[3] Many events such as this are organized by the Thorncliffe Park Women's Committee

[4] For more information see: National Film Board "High-Rise" Series; City of Toronto Tower Renewal Project; City Institute Global Suburbanism project.

time I handed a $25 President's Choice Gift Card to people as compensation for their participation explaining that it was a real card that could be used in various grocery stores. As one woman living in a Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC) building around Yonge and Sheppard told me: "this is Canada and nobody gives you anything for free here!"

During this period I was also putting together the proposal for this doctoral research project and I began to think more and more about the glaring disconnect between how diversity is a source of pride for Torontonians and how those who actually make up the city's diversity experience racism and discrimination and many challenges accessing opportunities, employment, housing, health care, and the list goes on. It was then that I decided to undertake this research in order to understand what (the) diverse-city really means, particularly for those who seem to be the focus of "official" city discourses on diversity. Given that ethnocultural diversity has become a central component of the way Toronto as a city defines itself and projects its image at home and abroad, I found it relevant to interrogate the elements that make up newcomers' urban imaginaries of Toronto as well as those that comprise "official" discourses espoused by local authorities and civic leaders. Following Croucher (1997: 328-329), it is useful to ask "how and why a particular image or set of perceptions come to dominate the public mind and how, in the process, other conditions or complaints are not defined as problems and are denied a position on the polity's public agenda." The approach adopted in this research contends that cities are not simply material or lived spaces – they are also spaces of the imagination that are an inevitable part of a city's reality. There are public imaginaries of cities, expressed in official policies and discourses, but also personal imaginaries of cities, encompassing the realm of individual dreams, desires, and social constructions of reality. However, there is often a discord between how the city is represented in "official" discourses and how it is experienced. Lived experience can differ along the lines of class, ethnicity, gender, age thereby influencing subjectivities, identities, and the daily realities of citizens. As Huyssen (2008: 3) notes, "what we think about a city and how we perceive it informs the ways we act in it."

Research Problem, Questions, and Objectives

According to the City of Toronto's website, Toronto is "heralded as one of the most multicultural cities in the world." It is by far the most pluralist city in Canada with a population of 2.6 million originating from literally all over the world. Historically, Toronto was once a parochial Protestant town, with the majority of its population of European origin. However, the city has experienced substantial growth, particularly over the last fifteen years, given that the majority of immigrants landing in Canada settle there. According to the 2011 census, foreign-born

immigrants make up about 49% of the Toronto area population and one-third of immigrants are newcomers having arrived in the last ten years (Statistics Canada 2011). Furthermore, changes in migration patterns since the 1970s have meant that the majority of immigrants arrive from Asia, Latin America, and Africa resulting in a larger proportion of "visible minorities."[5] In 2011, this population totalled 1.2 million representing 49% of the city's population with the top five groups being South Asian, Chinese, Black/Caribbean, Filipino, and Latin American (Ibid).

The large, steady influx of immigrants raises important issues about settlement services and long-term integration, urban planning, and the place of immigration in shaping the city's culture, economy, and institutions (Troper 2003). As Wood and Gilbert (2005: 685) explain, Toronto is unique because "it is the most explicit in its self-identification with multiculturalism, and stands in sharp contrast to cities that do not emphasize, internally or externally, the diversity of their populations." Indeed, the pervasive diversity script is a cornerstone of the "official" discourse, from the motto "diversity our strength", which replaced the former one "industry, intelligence, integrity" when six municipalities were amalgamated in 1998 to form the mega-city, to the commemoration of Toronto's 175th anniversary in 2009 that focused on "heritage, unity, and diversity." As the City's website indicates, "the City's motto "Diversity Our Strength" captures the entire city's celebration of difference and the importance placed upon welcoming newcomers to Toronto." However, scholars argue that this popular image and rhetoric of Toronto being a world class multicultural city is a central component of the City of Toronto's entrepreneurial strategies to foster economic development and growth by conveying a favourable climate to attract tourists and investments (Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009).

Commentators on contemporary Toronto have noted the marketing of an urban experience shaped by "diversity without difference" (Levin and Solga 2009). Some authors describe this as "private pay to enter venues masquerading as public space and complex webs of ethnic, racial, religious, and economic difference masquerading as a smiling, multicultural city" (Levin and Solga 2009: 38). Underlying Toronto's recent cultural renaissance are discourses of the "creative" and "diverse" city produced and disseminated by various actors, including city hall, local civic institutions, and the private sector, as well as a grassroots movement composed of environmental and cycling activists, public space advocates, and arts professionals (Ibid). Over the past decade, a number of initiatives have been implemented, including the physical renovation of cultural institutions through 'starchitecture' projects (the Royal Ontario Museum and the Art Gallery of Ontario), the transformation of city space into public and creative space

[5] According to Statistics Canada, visible minorities are people other than Aboriginals, who are not from a "white race" or whose skin is not "white" (Statistics Canada 2001).

through various festivals (Nuit Blanche and Luminato), and the creation of a civic imaginary that embraces "diversity without difference" as outlined above. While this civic imaginary appears to be inclusive, it largely ignores the economic and social stratification that determines who gets to benefit from the dream of a utopic city. Scholars have argued that this is the result of neoliberal urbanization processes related to the consolidation of the competitive city (Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009; Kipfer and Keil 2002).

Since the early 1990s, most cities in advanced capitalist economies have undergone processes of neoliberalization (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). According to Allahwala, Keil, and Boudreau (2010) global contemporary processes of urbanization are structured by neoliberalism as a hegemonic governance framework and these urban processes, in turn, reinforce neoliberalism as a dominant global governance framework. Brenner (2004) asserts that new state spaces are being produced under contemporary capitalism arguing that city-regions have become key institutional sites in which a rescaling of national state power is taking place. The role of cities has been enhanced, whereby the deployment of urban locational policies has attempted to turn localities into "self-promoting islands of entrepreneurship", which has, in turn, entailed a fundamental redefinition of the national state as a mediator of uneven development (Brenner 2004: 16). However, as Dikeç (2007) observes despite the burgeoning geographical literature on neoliberalism, defining the term is not an easy task given the complexity of the practices and principles that it denotes. Drawing on Brown (2003) and Larner (2000), Dikeç (2007: 62) takes neoliberalism "as a political rationality" and defines "neoliberalization as a particular form of restructuring guided by this particular rationality premised on the extension of market relations that privilege competition, efficiency and economic success." Dikeç's justification for such a definition is based on the following reasons: it emphasizes a process rather than a static condition, it encourages an approach that does not reduce neoliberalism to a set of economic policies, and it pays attention to practices that (re)-constitute spaces, states, subjects, individuals and institutions for the purposes of government in a particular way.

In terms of the competitive city, Robinson (2014: 407) notes that,

> cities seeking to develop their international profiles, attempting to innovate in urban policy, or looking to support economic growth are conventionally understood to be competing with other cities to succeed under the generalised conditions of globalised neoliberal capitalism.

The issue of competitiveness in Western countries emerged in the late 1980s as a consequence of the shift from a Fordist regime to one based on flexible accumulation (Harvey 1989). In terms of urban governance, Harvey (1989) theorized these transformations as going from a

managerial to an entrepreneurial approach whereby cities engage in place-based competitiveness to attract resources, jobs, and capital investment to secure future development. Recent analyses argue that the consolidation of the competitive city is an incomplete and ongoing process (Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009). As Kipfer and Keil (2002: 234) note:

> the formation of the competitive city represents a broader shift in contemporary city politics: a shift in city governance understood loosely as a constellation of gendered and racialized class forces, political coalitions, ideologies, and discourses that tie civil society to policy patterns and administrative forms of the local state.

Boudreau, Keil, and Young (2009) describe the competitive city as comprising three aspects: a shift to entrepreneurial modes of governance (Hall and Hubbard 1996, 1998), multicultural "diversity management", and revanchist law-and-order campaigns (Smith 1996). These three elements could be seen to reflect, respectively, the economic (strategies of accumulation), social (patterns of class formation), and penal (forms of social control) aspects of neoliberalism at the urban scale (Dikeç 2007; Kipfer and Keil 2002). From an economic perspective, inter-regional and inter-urban competition is institutionalized through urban policies based on the logic of the market. With regards to the socio-spatial and socio-economic manifestations of neoliberalism, strategies deployed in cities aim to impose a certain 'social landscape' on the city, which accentuate inequalities and displaces certain groups deemed undesirable, such as the homeless (Dikeç 2007). The 'revanchist' strategies involve policing and surveillance with a focus on particular groups and particular spaces, criminalization of poverty, and the increased use of the penal system. As Kipfer and Keil (2002: 232) further explain:

> ...these different aspects of the competitive city have one thing in common: they are tied to an overarching (imputed or material) imperative of intercity competition that treats cities as homogeneous units that compete with each other for investment and mobile segments of new urban middle classes through strategies of municipal state restructuring and policies of economic development, finance, taxation, land-use planning, urban design, "culture", diversity management, policing and workfare.

Therefore, urban neoliberalism can be conceptualized as a political rationality (Dikeç 2007) and, as Kipfer and Keil (2002: 235) suggest, "competitive city governance represents a broader project of cementing and reordering the social and moral landscape or the contemporary urban order" and cannot be simply considered in terms of the economic and social policies of neoliberalism. Robinson (2014) suggests that in light of recent debates in urban studies competitiveness can be understood as being more about building local comparative advantages rather than inter-city competition of territorialised entities. She argues that "it is not necessarily cities as territories which are competing but firms, clusters and global production networks (Robinson 2014: 410)."

Diversity is increasingly coupled with the creative city model, which has gained in popularity since Richard Florida is based in Toronto (at the Martin Prosperity Institute). Florida (2001: 4) contends that "social and cultural diversity attracts talent and stimulates high-tech growth." He argues that a "creative class" has emerged in American and other Western societies and a city-region that can attract creative people will be those that succeed in an economy increasingly driven by industries in the "creative" sector, such as art, fashion, high-tech. The three main ingredients in Florida's recipe of economic development are what are known as the three 'Ts': technology, talent, and tolerance. As Atkinson and Easethorpe (2009: 66) note, "while Florida's focus on technology and talent harks back to discussions on the 'information society' and the 'knowledge worker', what is new about his analysis is the addition of 'tolerance'." In sum, Florida asserts that in order to attract creative workers to a city it must have a lifestyle attractive to the new "creative class", a group who value diversity and tolerance in the places in which they live. For Florida, companies follow creative workers (rather than the reverse) and creative workers have a large degree of choice over their location. As Allahwala, Keil, and Boudreau (2010) note, one of the key aspects of the competitive strategies deployed by cities to attract new consumers, new highly skilled workers of the knowledge economy, and new businesses is to focus on the quality of life, which is increasingly defined in terms of the availability of consumer choices. It is argued that such people look for recreational and lifestyle amenities, a clean environment, and cultural stimulation. The urban environments that the "creative class" seeks are open, diverse, dynamic, and cool (Florida 2004). In an attempt to link cultural development policies and urban economic competitiveness, branding strategies centered on notions of diversity and creativity are increasingly mobilised. These branding exercises tend to reify notions of difference given that they are based on a superficial conception of ethnocultural diversity, which is used as a marketing tool to promote what Goonewardena and Kipfer (2005: 672) call a "'food and festivals' brand of aestheticized difference - premised largely on the exotic pleasures of 'visible' and 'edible' ethnicity." In their discussion linking "race" and the "creative city", Catungal and Leslie (2009: 703) note that "appropriating ethnic and racial diversity to sell the city serves as an expression of power and privilege, emptying difference of its political integrity and cultural meaning." According to Kipfer (2004: 18), "if difference has moved from margin to core in the reconstruction of capitalism after Fordism, theorizing the role of difference in hegemony has become more, not less important." For the scholars in the tradition of urban political economy, the "city of difference" is interpreted as a product of shifts in the capitalist mode of production and dynamics of uneven urban restructuring. Kipfer (2004) refers to this perspective as a "political economy of culturalization and diversification" in the contemporary

urban world. This work points out that contemporary phenomena of diversity and difference are inextricably linked with dynamics of urban restructuring and commodification.

In terms of the process of settlement and integration of immigrants, Anisef and Lanphier (2003: 4) note that it may be more difficult today for many immigrants than in previous decades due to several factors, including rapid social change, globalization, and high unemployment rates among minority newcomers. A number of recent studies conducted in Toronto (both by academics and community organizations)[6] have pointed to the increased social and economic disparities among the city's population and inequalities experienced by recent immigrants. According to *Toronto Vital Signs* (2009; 2012), recent immigrants are three times more likely to have lost jobs due to the economic downturn than their Canadian-born colleagues and, more recently, Toronto has emerged as Canada's least equitable city with an increasing upper-class, growing lower-income groups and disappearing middle-class. In a city of disparity and increasingly localized poverty, recent immigrants face difficulties in accessing affordable housing and adequate employment opportunities, are confronted with racism and systemic discrimination in their daily struggles, and present declining health over time. Further, as the central city becomes more exclusive due to gentrification, newcomers are increasingly confined to suburban areas, particularly the post-war inner suburbs, which are plagued by inadequate public transit, thereby exacerbating difficulties in accessing settlement services, adequate and affordable housing, as well as educational opportunities and skills training. While first generation immigrants were hopeful that their children would have access to better opportunities, the latest *Toronto Vital Signs* (2012) shows that even second generation immigrants are not reaping the rewards. What is paradoxical is that Toronto attracts so many immigrants because of the opportunities it is seen to offer, but they remain largely inaccessible to the vast majority of newcomers and their children. This raises a number of important questions about Toronto's multicultural reputation and the relationship between creativity, diversity, and equity in cities. What makes a city "multicultural"? Is it simply by the presence of a large number of immigrants? How do newcomers, particularly those from racialized groups facing numerous challenges, perceive ethno-cultural diversity in Toronto? What purpose does the valorization of ethnocultural diversity serve? Toronto's demographic reality constitutes one of the reasons behind the focus on those who are objectified in the city's civic imaginary centered on notions of ethno-cultural diversity. While they are presented in statistics as "visible minorities", this category is not relevant, not only because the term itself is problematic, but also because they will soon

[6] Hulchanski (2007), Wallis and Kwok (2008), Galabuzi (2006), Khosla (2003); United Way of Greater Toronto (2004; 2011)

constitute the majority in Toronto. Recent immigrants from racialized groups do not form a monolithic block and this research is adheres to the notion of "diversity within diversity" (Veronis 2006) in reference to the internal diversity that exists within immigrant groups and how this is negotiated. Some also argue that the newcomer status itself is very subjective and does not depend on the date of arrival, but on the level of social inclusiveness (Daswani, Bunce, and Cummings 2011). For example, someone who has lived in Canada less than five years may or may not actually feel like a newcomer depending on his/her socio-economic conditions. As community activist and writer Farheen Khan asks, will the newcomer experience ever end?[7] This newcomer status is reinforced by systemic issues such as employers' demands for Canadian experience as well as a lack of recognition of skilled immigrants' international credentials.

This research is based on an approach that considers the categorization of ethnocultural groups as problematic, particularly the term "visible minority". As Bannerji (2000a) argues, it is simply a category produced by Canada's multicultural project, which involves naming the "Other" and giving them labels that originate in the ideology of the nation, the Canadian state apparatus, the media, and the education system. For Bannerji (ibid), the problem with categories such as "visible minorities", "immigrants", "newcomers", "refugees", "people of color", and "multicultural communities" is that they tend to focus on culture and ignore issues of class, gender, and race, which are at the heart of power relations and systemic barriers. In order to counter this dominant approach, the term "racialized" is often used to acknowledge "race" as a social construct and a way of describing a group of people. The Canadian Race Relations Foundation defines racialization as the process through which groups come to be designated as different and on that basis subjected to differential and unequal treatment. Racialized groups include those who may experience differential treatment on the basis of race, ethnicity, language, economics, and religion. In addition, this research adopts the following definition of discourse outlined by Hall (2007: 56): "A group of statements which provide a language for talking about – i.e. a way of representing – a particular kind of knowledge about a topic". Hall's definition of discourse is based on the relationship between power and knowledge, as established by Foucault. As Hall (ibid) explains, "discourse is about the production of knowledge through language, but produced by a "discursive practice", referring to the practice of producing meaning.

Two main questions guided the research presented here:

1. How has ethnocultural diversity come to be a central component of marketing strategies put into place by local actors since amalgamation?

[7] Khan, F. (2009). Available at: http://iqra.ca/2009/will-the-newcomer-experience-ever-end/

a. What are the issues surrounding the evolution of local discourses from equity to diversity?

b. How is ethnocultural diversity mobilized by local actors?

2. How do recent immigrants from racialized groups perceive and experience the "multicultural city"?

    a. What are the elements of their social and spatial imaginaries of the city?

    b. What role do their daily practices play in the formation of their urban imaginaries?

First, it was necessary to examine how the civic imaginary of the diverse-city came about, which was accomplished by consulting City of Toronto policies and programmes and through interviews with representatives of municipal government and other local organizations. Toronto's diverse-city image has been outlined by Croucher (1997) who looked at the social construction of the image of ethnic harmony. The findings of my research indicate that after six municipalities were amalgamated in 1998 there was a concerted effort to implement a diversity and equity lens throughout all divisions within municipal government and develop Access and Equity Plans for all divisions. Among local officials and civic leaders, diversity is increasingly spoken of as a lever of prosperity and as a competitive advantage for the city-region as Toronto competes with other global cities to attract the world's best and brightest. Second, my research explored how racialized newcomers perceive and experience multiculturalism in Toronto and what it means for them to settle in a city that markets and defines itself in this way. Semi-structured interviews with immigrants who have been in Toronto for less than five to ten years enabled me to understand how they construct their imaginaries of Toronto, both before and after arriving, as well as how they describe its ethnocultural landscape. From the outset, my main argument held that Toronto's civic imaginary does not reflect the lived experiences of recent immigrants from racialized groups as it presents a superficial view of diversity and does not account for the complexities of living in the diverse-city and the contradictions that they encounter in their everyday lives. By comparing and contrasting the social and spatial imaginaries of the city of local officials with newcomers, I was able to understand how newcomers' knowledge of the city evolves over time and what is emphasized in the imaginaries of representatives of local institutions (as outlined in Chapter 4).

Theoretical and Empirical Contributions

This research aims addresses some gaps in the various strands of literature with which my work engages. First, the literature on the competitive city from an urban political economy

perspective has focused primarily on the broader policy frameworks and macro-economic structures and processes involved. My research offers a contextualized case study of the experiences of recent immigrants from racialized groups who are objectified in competitive city discourses and strategies based on the promotion of ethnocultural diversity. It can also contribute to debates within the critical work on the relationship between competitiveness, creativity, and diversity (Allahwala and McLean, 2009; Gilbert, 2008; Peck, 2005; Catungal and Leslie, 2009). My research also elaborates on the concept of diversity as it traces the origin of the shift away from discourses of multiculturalism in what Berg and Sigona (2013: 348) refer to as the "diversity turn" in academic and policy circles. They note that studies of localized diversity offer an "adequate analytical lens for understanding the complexity and dynamism of urban multiculture" and enable scholars to acknowledge a wider range of differences and similarities between and within groups, as well as taking into account the spatial dimensions of the politics of difference (Ibid). Second, there is a burgeoning literature in geography and urban studies that has studied urban imaginaries by looking at literature/novels, film, and other artistic genres. This research adds to this work by offering a different perspective by discussing the relationship with the urban imaginary and everyday life. As Delorme (2005) argues, approaching the city through an understanding of the imaginary means proposing new ways of capturing an urban reality but also ways in which to transform it. My research demonstrates how daily practices, including mobility, consumption, and social relations, can contribute to shaping the construction of imaginaries of the city.

Dissertation Outline

This dissertation based on articles is comprised of five chapters. Chapter 1 presents the local context of Toronto, focusing on social, geographic, and political aspects. This chapter allows us to understand the changes in immigration trends since the post-war period as well as the settlement patterns of recent immigrants. It also outlines the City of Toronto's diversity policy framework implemented since amalgamation in 1998 as well as a portrait of civic actors dealing with issues of immigrant integration. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 are articles that were submitted to academic journals. Each of these articles was submitted to peer-reviewed journals as stipulated in the protocol outlined by the INRS. One has been published and another was evaluated and is being revised in order to be resubmitted. The third article was not accepted for publication. Chapiter 2 presents the narratives of recent immigrants from racialized groups regarding Toronto as a "multicultural" city. Chapter 3 focuses on the valorization of ethnocultural diversity in the discourses of representatives of local institutions in Toronto. Chapter 4 provides a comparison of

the narratives of racialized newcomers with those of representatives of local institutions in order to determine the elements that comprise their urban imaginaries. Chapter 5 presents the evolution of the diversity policies developed by the City of Toronto as well as data on the daily practices of newcomers, particularly mobility, consumption, and social relations. The conclusion offers a reflection on the contribution of this dissertation to the field of urban studies as well as future research prospects. The methodology section is included in the Appendix, in conjuction with the INRS-UCS protocol on dissertations based on articles.

The first article is entitled “Global Roots: Reflections on Multiculturalism in Toronto” and published in *Spaces and Flows: An International Journal of Urban and ExtraUrban Studies*, 2(3), 2012, p. 183-196. This article focuses on whether Toronto’s multicultural character is important for newcomers (and if so, how and why), as well as the role it plays in their lives. It presents findings from semi-structured interviews carried out with 26 newcomers from various racialized groups across the city of Toronto during 2010 and 2011. The article describes contemporary immigration trends in Toronto and the context of immigration and settlement in an increasingly divided city, particularly in terms of socio-economic inequalities. It outlines some of the theoretical underpinnings of the relationship between multiculturalism and everyday life and highlights three salient aspects of newcomers’ narratives on multiculturalism in Toronto: feelings of comfort given the presence of large numbers of immigrants, the challenges of labour-market integration, and their critical perspectives on living in a “multicultural” city.

The second article is entitled “Competing on Diversity, Accelerating Prosperity: Understanding the Valorization of Ethno-Cultural Diversity in Toronto” and submitted to *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. This article interrogates the reasons why diversity has come to be valued as a basic principle of political decision-making, public investments, and the legitimation of public action. It asks whether this is the result of a genuine concern about improving the outcomes of racialized groups or whether it stems from an interest in the “bottom line.” I highlight the discourses and practices of local civic institutions and city officials regarding the economic valorization of ethno-cultural diversity, drawing from fifteen semi-structured interviews carried out during 2010 and 2011 with representatives from municipal government, civic institutions, and community-based organizations. The article discusses diversity and its growing importance for cities as a key for prosperity with a focus on an initiative called DiverseCity: The Greater Toronto Leadership Project co-developed by two civic organizations in Toronto to provide opportunities for skilled immigrants to access leadership positions both in the private and public sectors. The research findings highlight the constructed value of diversity as a social ideal in Toronto, as well

as the disjuncture between the normative discourse that extolls the benefits of diversity and the systemic inequalities experienced by those who make up the city's "diverse" population.

The third article is entitled "Urban Imaginaries of (the) Diverse-City" and was submitted to the journal *Mobilities*. The premise of this paper is that there is a discord between how Toronto is represented through the dominant imaginary centered on diversity and how it is perceived and experienced by recent immigrants from racialized groups who make up a large part of the city's diversity. In order to examine this discord and unearth alternative meanings of the multicultural city, this paper uses the concept of the urban imaginary to investigate the everyday ways in which a city can be imagined as a city, by its inhabitants or by others. Further, this paper aims to establish the relationship between the urban imaginary and daily life by arguing that inhabitants construct their imaginaries by moving around the city and that it is through these movements throughout urban space that locality is continuously produced (Huyssen 2008; Appadurai 1996). The paper presents findings based on semi-structured interviews with 26 new immigrants from racialized groups and 15 key informants from various sectors, including municipal government, local civic institutions, community-based organizations, and settlement services. The main objective is to compare and contrast the social and spatial imaginaries of the city, including the built environment, different neighbourhoods and their socio-economic composition.

CHAPTER 1 LOCAL CONTEXT

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the social, political, and geographic context of Toronto as it relates to immigration and ethnocultural diversity. It outlines the immigration trends that have changed the ethnocultural composition of Canadian cities and how multiculturalism as a social fact manifests itself at the urban level. It also explains the federal, provincial, and municipal responsibilities for immigration and settlement in Ontario, as well as the City of Toronto's diversity policy framework. Finally, it describes civic leadership in immigration that has developed in Toronto since the municipal amalgamation in 1998.

The discussion will focus on the Greater Toronto Area and the City of Toronto, which are shown in the Figures 1 and 2. The Greater Toronto Area, which boasts a population of around 6 million people (2011), includes the regions of Peel, York, and Durham. Each region is composed of cities of various sizes. In Peel, Mississauga and Brampton are larger whereas Caledon is much smaller. In York there are five urban areas, including Newmarket, Aurora, Vaughan, Richmond Hill, and Markham, as well as other communities classified as rural. Durham is composed of cities that lie just outside the limits of the Greater Toronto Area, such as Pickering and Ajax, as well as Whitby and Oshawa.

FIGURE 1
The Greater Toronto Area

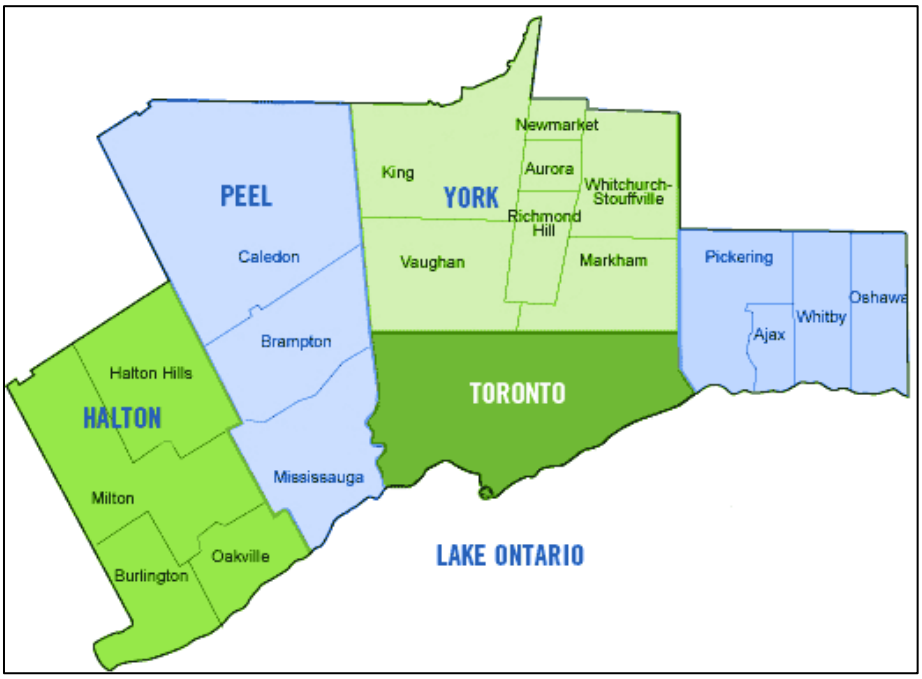
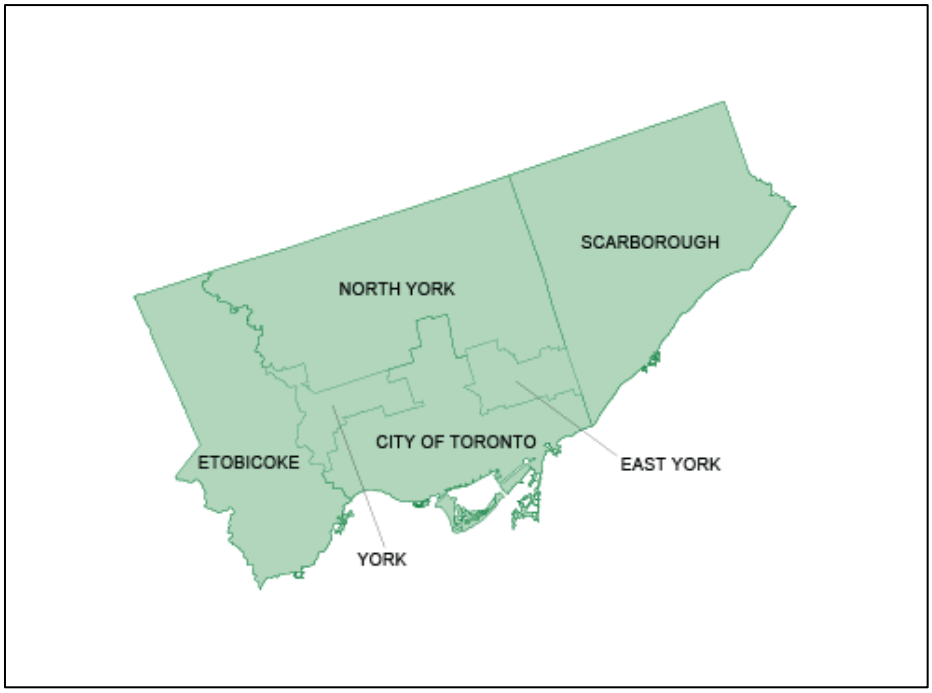


Figure 2 shows the composition of the City of Toronto with the former municipalities of Toronto, North York, York, East York, Scarborough, and Etobicoke that were amalgamated in 1998. This new “megacity” is home to 2.6 million people according to the 2011 census. The old city of Toronto constitutes the central city with dense neighbourhoods as well as the downtown business and administrative core. The former municipalities are commonly referred to as the inner and outer ring suburbs. The inner ring suburbs are York and East York, which are older and consist of single family homes built before World War II and high rise apartment complexes constructed after the war. The outer ring suburbs of North York, Etobicoke, and Scarborough were built during the post-war period and are socially and physically diverse spaces that do not resemble the typical North American suburb composed solely of single family homes. As we will see in the following section, the post-war suburbs are home to a large number of immigrants, although greater numbers are settling in the regions of Peel and York as well.

FIGURE 2
City of Toronto – Former Municipalities



Immigration and the Changing Diversity of Canadian Cities

Over the past forty years, Toronto has experienced tremendous demographic changes as a result of immigration. It has gone from being a primarily "white" city to one where about half of the population are part of "visible minority" groups. This demographic shift can be attributed to changes in Canada's immigration policies, which were stripped of their racial bias when the "points system" was introduced in 1967. Since the inception of the points system, Canadian immigration policy has been based on selecting immigrants based on their ability to succeed economically in Canada. Canada's immigration program is based on the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2002) which outlines three streams to access permanent residency: family class, economic immigrants, and refugees. Economic immigrants are selected based on their skills and their ability to contribute to Canada's economy. For example, through the Federal Skilled Worker Program applicants are awarded points for knowledge of English and/or French, age, education, work experience, and adaptability. There is also the Temporary Foreign Worker Program, established in 1973 as the Non-Immigrant Employment Authorization Program, which provides workers with a temporary residence status with no access to immigration and citizenship except for those admitted through the Live-In Caregiver Program. The Canadian Experience Class also facilitates access to permanent residency for those with recent Canadian work experience or international students who have completed their studies. These programs have resulted in an increase in the volume of immigration since the 1980s, which has reached over 200,000 immigrants per year (Ray 2009). It is also interesting to note that in recent years the number of Temporary Foreign Workers has increased markedly.

As opposed to the period immediately after the Second World War, which saw an influx in migration of non-skilled workers to Canada mainly from Europe, today Canadian immigration policy is centered on the "attraction of talent", as industrialized nations compete with one another to attract highly skilled workers (Germain 2013; Pellerin 2003). This means that immigrants today are highly skilled as compared to their predecessors during the post-war period and they boast higher education levels than the Canadian-born population. According to the 2006 Census, of those who immigrated to Canada between 2001 and 2006, 51 percent held a university degree, which was much higher than the proportion of 28 percent among immigrants who arrived before 2001 (CIC 2010). These numbers have remained stable in recent years, but there has also been a steady increase in those with a trade certificate or non-university diploma (Ibid). Despite being highly qualified, recent immigrants have not fared as well in the labour-market as the Canadian-born population and university-educated immigrants experience high rates of unemployment. It is has been widely documented that skilled

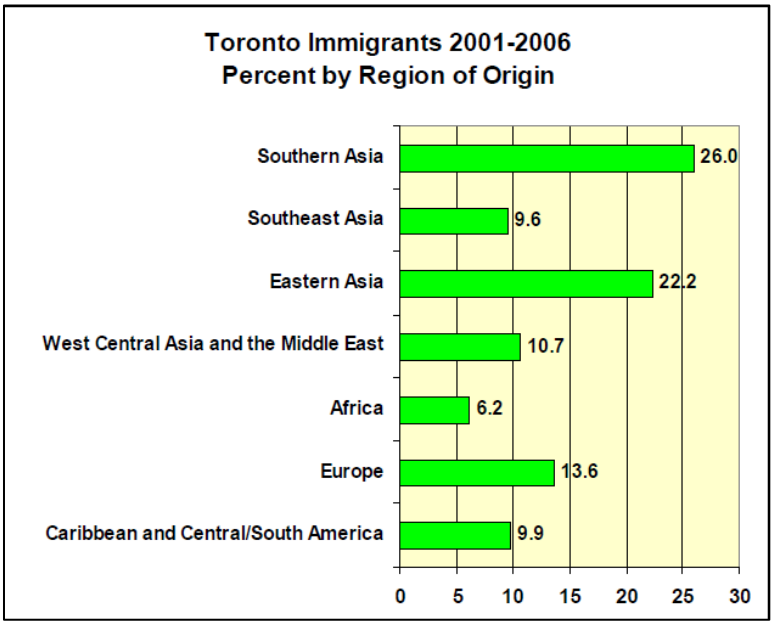
immigrants in Canada face many barriers to employment, including difficulty obtaining Canadian work experience, the non-recognition of international education, training and experience, lack of professional networks, insufficient information about employment opportunities and requirements, and lack of targeted training programs to bridge gaps in qualifications (Preston et al. 2010). The federal government has implemented programs to fill labour shortages in sectors in need of skilled workers in certain trades in demand. In addition, temporary foreign workers are hired for jobs they can't fill with Canadians. Many of these workers have been victims of abuses by their employers, such as being underpaid, and they have very little opportunities to exercise their rights to fair treatment. However, the Temporary Foreign Worker program came under fire in 2013 when media reports revealed that some Canadian companies were replacing their staff with temporary foreign workers.

These contemporary immigration trends have dramatically changed the composition of urban populations in the cities that attract the most immigrants – Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, Ottawa-Gatineau, and Calgary (Graham and Phillips 2007; Germain 2013). As Germain (2013) confirms, today immigration is without a doubt a metropolitan phenomenon. In addition, during the period from 2001-2010 almost 1 million permanent residents settled in Toronto, which is an average of 99,530 per year (CIC 2010). Toronto has tended to attract the majority of immigrants to Canada, but in recent years these numbers have been decreasing from 49.9 per cent in 2001 to 32.8 per cent in 2010 (Ibid). During this same period, the proportion of immigrants who chose cities such as Winnipeg and Calgary has been on the rise (Ibid). Although, as Biles et al. (2011) note, the province of Ontario still has a high retention rate of those who choose to settle there. In 2011[8], 51 percent of Toronto's population was born outside of Canada and 15 percent of immigrants arrived between 2006 and 2011, totalling 381,745 (Statistics Canada 2011). Over the past few decades, the predominant sources of immigration shifted from Europe to Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and Central and South America, which has given rise to cities populated by a broader range of cultures, religions, and languages, as well as increased numbers of "visible minorities". For example, in Toronto prior to the 1960s the largest numbers of immigrants came from Italy, the United Kingdom, Germany, Poland, and Greece (Doucet 1999). However, by the

[8] The data from 2011 is derived from the National Household Survey (NHS) a voluntary questionnaire that replaced the mandatory long form census. As a result of this change the NHS may under-report the number of people belonging to certain subgroups. A comparison between data from 2011 and 2006 is therefore not possible because of inaccuracies.

1990s the top sending countries were Hong Kong, Sri Lanka, China, the Philippines, and India (Ibid). Thus, in a relatively short time span the proportion of racial minorities went from less than 3 per cent in 1961, to 20.7 per cent in 1986, to 37.3 per cent in 1996 and up to 49 per cent in 2011 (Doucet 1999; City of Toronto 2013). The following figure illustrates immigration patterns to Toronto during the period from 2001-2006. In 2006, the five largest racialized groups in Toronto were the following: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, and Latin America.

FIGURE 3
Toronto Immigrants 2001-2006 by Region of Origin



Source: City of Toronto (2007).

In 2011 the top three source countries of immigrants in Toronto were India, China, and the Philippines. The following table illustrates the number of “visible minority” groups in Toronto and the percentage of the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) population they make up.

TABLE 1
Designation and Size of "Visible Minorities" in the Toronto CMA (2011)

"Visible Minority" Group	Number of People	Percentage of Toronto CMA
South Asian	833,080	15.1
Chinese	531,635	9.6
Black	397,180	7.2
Filipino	230,075	4.2
Latin American	117,005	2.1
Southeast Asian	90,990	1.6
West Asian	96,650	1.8
Korean	61,300	1.1
Arab	74,985	1.4
Japanese	20,010	0.4

Source: Statistics Canada (2011).

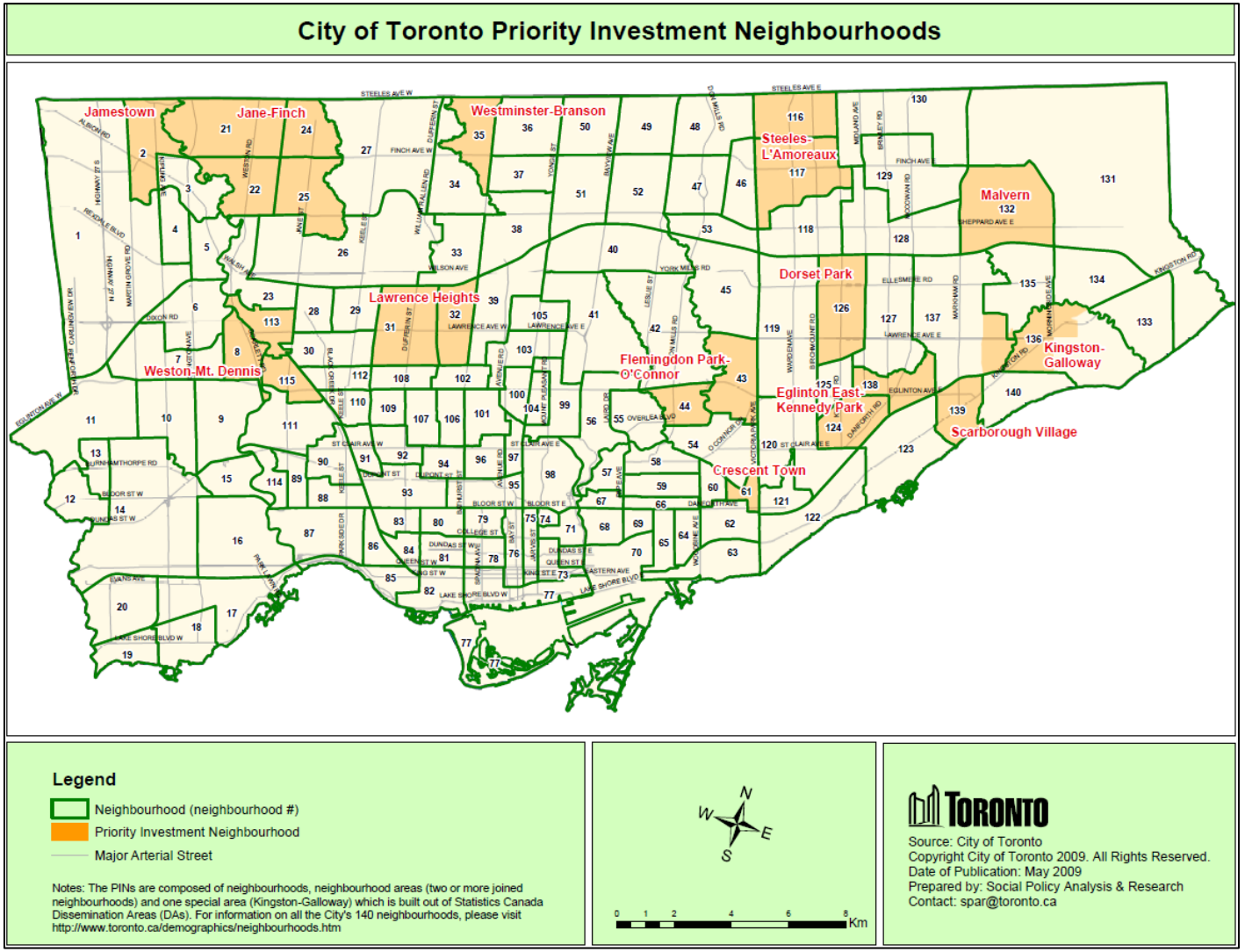
Some regions in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) also boast high numbers of immigrants, such as Peel region, where they account for 50.5 per cent of the total population and "visible minorities" make up 57 per cent of the population (Peel Data Centre 2013). About 15 per cent of the population in the cities of Mississauga and Brampton are recent immigrants who arrived after 2006, primarily from India, the Philippines, and Pakistan (Ibid). Other cities in the GTA with high immigrant populations include Markham, Richmond Hill, and Vaughan mainly from Asian countries, as well as from the Middle East and Africa (Lo et al. 2010).

In addition, within cities, the spatial pattern of immigrant settlement has changed and ethnic residential segregation appears to have increased, as well greater suburbanization among well-established and new immigrant groups alike (Ray 2009). In Toronto, the central urban core historically tended to be an immigrant reception area, but the lack of affordable housing and supportive networks in the core and the attraction to the suburbs by more affluent immigrant groups has created suburban pockets with high concentrations of certain ethnocultural groups (Siemiatycki et al. 2001). As Ray (2009: 85) notes, "to a considerable extent, metropolitan Toronto is characterized by immigrant suburbanization and suburban ethnocultural diversity." The majority of these diverse neighbourhoods can be found in the post-war suburbs, as well as newer municipalities, which lie just beyond the borders of the City of Toronto. These areas are generally multi-ethnic as they are home to people who originate from a variety of countries. However, there are also areas in Toronto that are considered to be "ethnic enclaves" as they are marked the presence of one predominant group in terms of residential, institutional, commercial, and community concentration (Paré 2008). Although as a

Canadian study by Hiebert, Schuurman, and Smith (2007: 5) reveals, “most areas of immigrant and/or visible minority concentration tend to be socially heterogeneous, with a mixture of low- and medium-income households.” Their findings corroborate the idea that while there are areas of concentrated poverty with particular ethno-cultural groups in Canadian cities, they are far from being sites of exclusion and disconnection from broader society as is the case with some American cities or suburban areas in French cities (Hiebert, Schuurman, and Smith 2007).

Many of the neighbourhoods with high concentrations of recent immigrants are located in what are known as Priority Neighbourhoods designated by the City of Toronto and the United Way of Greater Toronto as part of its Neighbourhood Action Plan. This strategy was developed as a way to enhance community safety after 2005, which was qualified as the “year of the gun” given the high numbers of gun crime and youth deaths in the city. There are thirteen Priority Neighbourhoods (see Figure 5) located in the post-war suburbs. These suburbs are “a juxtaposition of working-class bungalow tracts, public and private apartment nodes, and privileged middle- and upper-class enclaves” (Kipfer and Saberi 2014: 140). As a result of socio-economic changes over the past thirty years, such as immigration patterns, labour and housing markets, gentrification in the central city, and disinvestment in post-war suburbs these neighbourhoods are home to low-income residents who are very often also from racialized groups (Cowen and Parlette 2011). These areas also severely lack social services available for residents. For these reasons, the Priority Neighbourhood Strategy was implemented in an effort to “strengthen and supplement the existing services, reduce poverty, and engage local residents in community planning” (Cowen and Parlette 2011: 3). Between 2005 and 2011, Priority Neighbourhoods received an estimated $225 million from governments, companies, and other entities (Dale 2013).

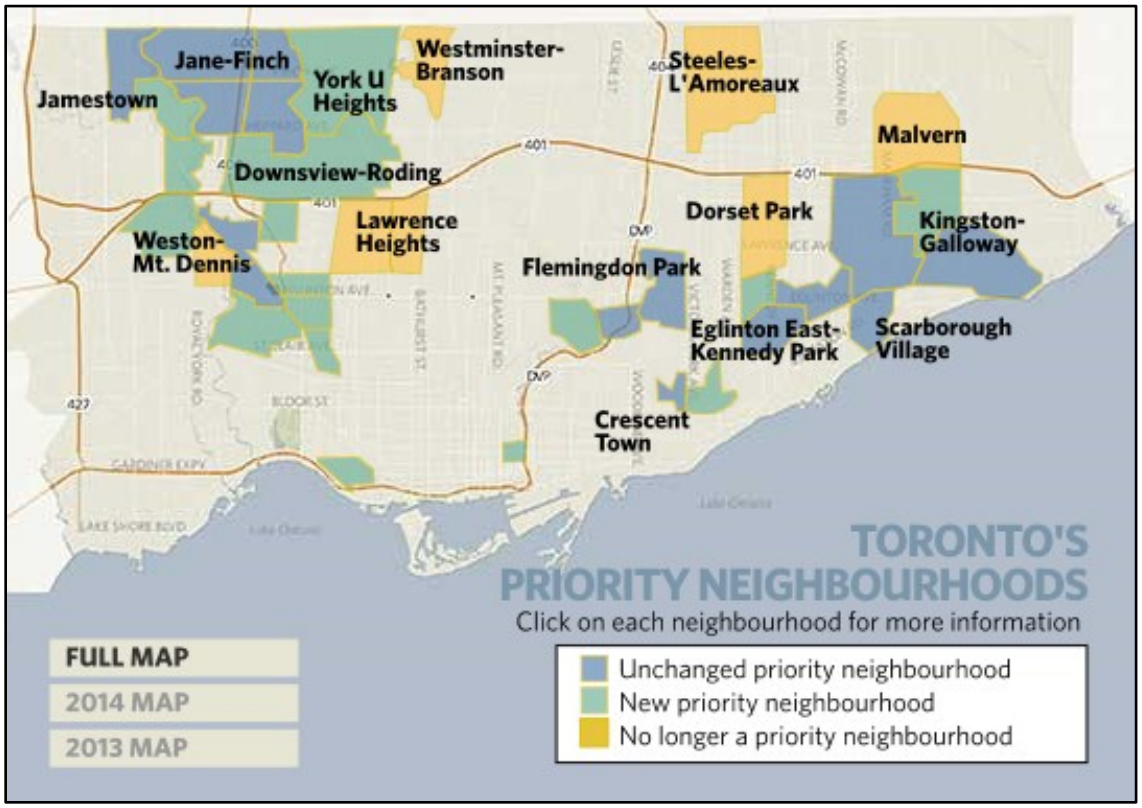
FIGURE 4
City of Toronto Priority Neighbourhoods (2005-2013)



Source: City of Toronto

While the Priority Neighbourhoods Strategy has had some positive outcomes, such as creating much needed social infrastructure, recent research has shown that it has done little to actually reduce concentrated poverty (Cowen and Parlette 2011). Cowen and Parlette (2011: 10) recommend that anti-poverty strategies also focus on broader trends, such as "the deindustrialization of the economy, the rise of precarious work, the dismantling of social protections, the growing problem of housing affordability, limited access to transportation, and racism in local labour and housing markets." In 2014, City Council adopted a new neighbourhood improvement initiative to deal with inequity, defined as unnecessary, unfair, and unjust differences faced by residents in terms of economic opportunities, social development, health, participation in decision making, and physical surroundings (City of Toronto 2014). These inequities are captured by a Neighbourhood Equity Score (using 15 socio-economic indicators) and the 31 neighbourhoods with the lowest scores are designated as Neighbourhood Improvement Areas. As shown in the following map, under this new ranking system some former priority neighbourhoods no longer qualify as neighbourhood improvement areas thereby making them ineligible for future funding (Doolittle 2014b).

FIGURE 5
City of Toronto Neighbourhood Improvement Areas (2014)



Source: Toronto Star (2014)

Multiculturalism and Diversity in the City

At the turn of the 20th century, the Chicago School became a reference point for studying the socio-spatial trajectories of immigrants in America's large industrial cities. However, contemporary urban scholars point to the need to understand the city's role in facilitating and regulating social relations within the broader context of state decentralization, the transformation of the welfare state, and the redefinition of the classic division of labour between the State and municipalities whereby cities play a greater role in developing social and economic policies. Further, cities are key spaces in the fight against discrimination in terms of access to employment, housing and schools, and representation in public institutions. In addition, it is in shared spaces in the city that social groups come into contact with alterity in their daily social relations. As Germain (1998) suggests, the "metropolisation" of immigration has led to an increase in the frequency of contacts, whether positive or conflictual, between individuals of diverse ethnic backgrounds. This has spurred debates on the encounter between strangers in daily spaces and, more specifically, interethnic coexistence in everyday urban space, particularly at the scale of the city block or neighbourhood. As De Souza Briggs (2011: 7) notes,

> It is at the local level where political, economic, and cultural forces, some locally generated and some not, either cohere in ways that support co-existence and shared access to the goods of society or to thwart co-existence in tangible ways, through spatial, institutional, and other barriers.

In terms of practices of inter-ethnic encounter, Amin and Thrift (2002) have argued that spaces of mundane encounter involving relations of kindness and compassion represent a sense of hopefulness and democratic resource. Similar arguments have been made by Amin (2002) who speaks in terms of urban "interculturalism", which is used to stress cultural dialogue. Amin (2002) offers a contrasting view of versions of multiculturalism that either stress cultural difference without resolving the problem of communication between cultures, or types of cosmopolitanism that speculate on the gradual erosion of cultural difference through interethnic mixture and hybridisation. Amin (2002) suggests 'micro-publics' such as schools, youth centres, and sporting teams offer opportunities for engaged intercultural intermingling because they involve prosaic negotiations with difference and often banal transgressions across ethnic boundaries. He suggests these spaces offer more hope than simply creating public spaces of diversity where dialogue and negotiation are absent. Rather, micro-publics bring diverse people together, disrupting familiar patterns, thus creating possibilities for new alliances and attachments to form across ethnic boundaries. Wood and Gilbert (2005) also contend that public spaces and institutions are spaces of interaction in which the negotiation of multiple cultural identities (between and amongst different and dominant groups) take place. Their

understanding of public space is inspired by De Certeau (1984), in terms of a physical, social, and political place of practices. As they explain,

> in particular, public transit and the public spaces of the streets offer everyday places and scenarios of sociability. They are spaces of mediation between private lives and experiences, and their public roles as residents and citizens. The fact that people assembled on a sidewalk or shared a subway train certainly does not automatically translate into engaging with each other or with the state; but it is nevertheless the initial contact (made of silence, brief conversations and even conflicts) blurring our private conceptions and public affirmations of multicultural politics" (Wood and Gilbert, 2005: 687).

Although the focus of this dissertation is on multiculturalism as a social fact, a brief discussion of the official policy enacted by the federal government is necessary for contextual purposes. The original policy, which was approved in 1971 and later revised in 1988, established that "cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity" (House of Commons 1971 cited in Wood and Gilbert, 2005: 680). Official multiculturalism

> establishes a normative framework that prescribes a proactive public role in facilitating positive ethnocultural relations and interethnic equity. It represents a rejection of past assimilationist approaches whereby immigrants were expected to integrate into the dominant culture and become culturally indistinguishable from long-standing citizens (Good 2009: 6).

Vasta (2007) explains that multiculturalism is based on two key principles: social equality and participation, and cultural recognition. The first refers to access for immigrants in all societal institutions, including the labour market and education, in order to ensure social equality, while the second focuses on immigrants' rights in the realm of religious and linguistic freedoms, which is directly linked to recognition and respect for difference (Vasta 2007: 2). However, Berman and Paradies (2008: 2) take this understanding one step further as they distinguish between inequality and inequity, whereby the former refers to difference and the latter to a disadvantage or disparity. This distinction is at the heart of anti-racism, which is "best conceptualized as the endeavour to create equality of opportunity (which implies equity of outcome) rather than equality of outcome per se (Berman and Paradies 2008: 5)." These authors contend that in order for a multiculturalism policy to be effective, it must encompass anti-racist strategies that address ethnoracial disadvantage and directly combat racism (Ibid).

Canada's policy of multiculturalism was enshrined within a bilingual framework thereby perpetuating the continued domination of British- and French-origin groups in Canada (Mackey 2002). Trudeau's multiculturalism policy comprised the following four main aspects: 1) State funding given to ethno-cultural groups for cultural maintenance; 2) Removal of cultural barriers

to full participation in Canadian society; 3) Fostering cultural interchange; 4) Providing official language training for new immigrants. An important feature of the policy was the funding given to support ethnic minority associations. In terms of the programs that were created as a result of the policy, these include “Ethnic Liaison”, which focused on heritage language maintenance and liaison with mono-ethnic organizations (often considered the “song and dance” aspect of multiculturalism”), and “Canadian Identity”, which focused on official language instruction and participation in public institutions. According to Helly (2000), this shows how the foundation of a Canadian identity is intended to be developed through institutional integration and the symbolic equality of immigrants and their descendants. For many immigrant groups, the multiculturalism policy symbolized recognition by the federal government, even though the complexities of differences within ethno-cultural communities, including class and gender, were largely unrecognized (Abu-Laban and Gabriel 2002).

As a result of its multiculturalism policy, “Canada is routinely cited as a world leader in multiculturalism, exuding a discourse of relatively peaceful coexistence of multiple ethnicities, religions, and so on” (Ibid). As Juteau et al. (1998) explain, multiculturalism as a policy formula acts a principle for an ideal society, not only recognizing the existence of different ethnic groups and promoting their heritage, but defining how to conduct oneself in a pluralist society and construct a national identity. However, one of the major limitations of early multiculturalism is that by putting all individuals at the same level in terms of culture, the economic, political, and cultural inequalities experienced by different ethnic groups are ignored (Juteau et al., 1998). In order to address these criticisms, in 1988 the Multiculturalism Act was revised to include both the recognition and development of cultural heritage, and the legislative shift to promote equality, political participation and institutional reform for equal opportunity and equal protection of all groups. Thus, in this sense multiculturalism refers to the guarantee and enforcement of citizenship yet there are still some challenges. As Wood and Gilbert (2005: 683) contend, “meaningful citizenship is institutionally possible but the everyday, social citizenship, where the discourse of equality still hides practices of racism, discrimination and marginalization, remains a challenge.” Bannerji (2000a) has addressed the discrepancies between the myth and reality of multiculturalism, which she qualifies as a project to manage and control non-white ethnicities in Canada.

> While the usefulness of the discourse of diversity as a device for managing public or social relations and spaces, of serving as a form of moral regulation of happy co-existence is clear, the resulting emphasis on diversity sensitization or training has largely displaced talk about and/or resistance to racism and sexism (Bannerji 2000a: 38).

For Goonewardena and Kipfer (2005: 671), multiculturalism in Canada is part of a hegemonic discourse on social justice and economic development in the country's major cities:

> multiculturalism in Canada is best understood as an influential, liberal-cosmopolitan component of 'bourgeois urbanism': an ensemble of strategies, knowledge forms and everyday sensibilities that has absorbed subcultural practices and socio-political aspirations into dominant processes of capitalist urbanization and popular milieus shaped by elite and new middle-class fractions.

Moreover, Wood and Gilbert (2005) remind us that it is necessary to interrogate the historical origins of Canada's immigration policies, which harkens back to a not so peaceful and distant past, which saw such policies as the Chinese head tax, the internment of Japanese, Italians, and Germans during the Second World War, as well as the devastation of indigenous people and cultures. Thus, it can be said that "multiculturalism was never a goal of Canada's domestic policies, nor its immigration policy. It was never a democratic goal of the population as a whole, nor was it a popular movement (Wood and Gilbert, 2005: 684)."

The effectiveness of multiculturalism has been questioned from both sides of the political spectrum. For Bissoondath (1994: 192) "multiculturalism has heightened our differences rather than diminished them; it has preached tolerance rather than encouraging acceptance; and it is leading us into a divisiveness so entrenched that we face a future of multiple solitudes with no central notion to bind us." Such criticisms have been exacerbated in a post-9/11 era and, as Vasta (2007: 3) notes, in many European countries "there is a pervasive view that pluralist or multicultural approaches to immigrant inclusion into society have failed and that a large part of the problem lies with immigrants themselves." Vasta (2007) observes that policy and public discourses have moved away from multiculturalism towards more assimilationist views of immigrant incorporation. As Reitz (2009) explains, debates in Canada about the social integration of newcomers have focused on identity and religion in relation to fears that certain religious minorities have values, beliefs or practices that are incompatible with Canadian ideas on gender equality or secularism in public institutions[9]. As Joshi (2006) notes, in the contemporary period debates have shifted from cultural differences to religious differences, in reference to the "racialization" of religious status." As a result, we have witnessed the stigmatization of religious minorities and discrimination based on religion, as well as a perception of religious minorities as a racialized "Other" (Reitz 2009). Bilge (2013: 2) argues that debates on religious accommodations have more to do with "race" than with religion and

[9] For example, debates in Ontario on Sharia Law and in Québec on "reasonable accommodations" (Bouchard-Taylor Commission, Parti Quebecois Charter of Values).

secularism and that the language used in the dominant discourse reflects racialized power dynamics rooted in white habitus.

However, Canadian multiculturalism continues to be lauded as an example to follow, particularly for European countries where the multicultural model has been qualified as a failure. As Vasta (2007) notes, the fact that multiculturalism is enshrined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1982 is particularly remarkable as it demonstrates the government's commitment to human rights and equality. Further, in a relatively short time span cities like Toronto have "moved from insular, openly hegemonic, British-Canadian places to ones that self-identify as cosmopolitan, multicultural and diverse (Wood and Gilbert 2005: 685)." For Wood and Gilbert (2005) the answer to this mystery lies in examining what multiculturalism does in practice (Kymlicka 1998), particularly in the city's public spaces and institutions, which is the focus of the following section.

Municipalities and Multiculturalism

The intensification of international migration has raised questions about the State's role in "managing" ethnocultural diversity and immigration. In the context of processes of state restructuring, the city plays a greater role in the political, institutional, and procedural treatment of ethnocultural minorities. According to Good (2009: 4),

> we are seeing the retrenchment of government policies designed to accommodate ethnocultural differences and to facilitate the integration of ethnocultural minorities into social, economic, and political institutions as well as a breakdown in the societal consensus as it relates to the accommodation of ethnocultural differences.

In Canada, the role played by municipal governments has been expanded for a number of reasons, particularly as a result of the increased number of immigrants settling in large metropolitan areas and the increasingly diverse backgrounds of these immigrants (Poirier 2009). Further, "municipalities are acting on a perceived priority to attract skilled immigrants for the purpose of better positioning themselves in the globalized competition among cities and mixed urban-rural-suburban regions for talent and investment (Stasiulis, Hughes, and Amery 2011: 74)." As Good (2009: 5) notes, given that multiculturalism is experienced in cities, "municipalities have an important role to play in designing and implementing Canada's model of official multiculturalism in a way that responds to place-based differences." Gagnon and Jouve (2006) use the term "political minority" to refer to groups of individuals who share particular cultural and socio-political traits based on identity claims (tied to language, religious beliefs, ethnicity, gender relations, and sexual orientation) and who face problems of exclusion and discrimination in terms of access to the political and/or economic system within liberal

democracies. As Gagnon and Jouve (2006) further explain, in a changing political, economic and social context, in which individual and collective identities redefine themselves, the question of the political management of cultural diversity occupies an important place on the political agenda of local public authorities.

Biles et al. (2011: 229) argue that "municipalities can, as large employers, encourage integration and inclusion through positive workplace practices as well as through the provision of grants to community groups and the purchase of goods and services from a wide range of providers." With regards to the management of diversity at the municipal level, Poirier (2009) explains that it can be articulated around three elements: 1) political and administrative structures; 2) measures, programs, services and policies to deal with ethnic communities; and 3) the discourses articulated by the main political agents. In terms of the first, one would examine the consultative committees created by municipalities to handle issues of cultural diversity and to adapt municipal services. These committees are composed of members of ethnic communities and/or leaders of ethnic interest groups who play an advisory role and propose various recommendations. The programmes and policies developed to deal with ethnic communities include employment equity for local public service, awareness building programmes for municipal staff regarding the intercultural dimension, financial and technical support for ethnic associations, information and translation services, and declarations on intercultural and interracial relations as well as against discrimination and racism. Finally, with regards to the discourses, Poirier (2009) notes that they are symbolically important because they formulate formal models of integration, which are articulated around two broad conceptions: the civic universalist model based on a principle of equality for all citizens regardless of personal or group differences; and multiculturalism as a socio-political project that recognizes cultural diversity as an asset and that there is no dominant culture. In their research on municipalities in Montreal, Paré, Frohn, and Laurin (2004: 113) found that the presence of immigrants has translated into responsiveness at the municipal level, including allowing for the use of municipal facilities and equipment, offering subsidies and developing projects with community groups, as well as assisting them with their activities. Poirer (2005) has also shown how municipalities have adapted recreational programs to tailor them to the needs of immigrants. Good (2009) has also researched municipal responsiveness to multiculturalism in Toronto and Vancouver finding that levels of responsiveness vary in addition to how comprehensive they are and their policy style. Good (2009: 50) describes a multiculturalism policy as "any policy, initiative, or practice that addresses ethnocultural barriers to equitable access to social, economic, and political institutions." As Stasiulis, Hughes, and Amery (2011)

point out, multiculturalism policies do not apply to immigrants only, but any member of a multiethnic and multiracial population. In their study of five city-regions in Ontario, Stasiulis, Hughes, and Amery (2011: 98) found that the City of Toronto uses "an approach that envelopes immigrants into the management of ethnocultural diversity more generally, efforts that often focus inward on the operation of government services." In addition, it has a broad conception of social diversity to include Aboriginal peoples, people with disabilities, women, the LGBT community, and ethnocultural/racial minorities.

The City of Toronto Diversity Policy Framework

Before examining the City of Toronto's diversity policy framework, it is useful to outline the federal, provincial, and municipal responsibilities for immigration and settlement in Ontario. As Tolley (2011: 29) notes, the settlement service sector is multilevel and multisectoral, which has given rise to framework legislation, intergovernmental agreements, funding to non-governmental organizations, and various policies. The federal government (Citizenship and Immigration Canada) is responsible for immigrant recruitment and funds settlement services and official language training through the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program. These programs are available to permanent residents and refugees. According to Biles et al. (2011), the Ontario government has traditionally not been active in the management of immigration aside from providing modest funds through its Newcomer Settlement Program which offers official language training, labour market programs (Global Experience Ontario) for foreign skilled workers, as well as grants for organizations that promote diversity and social inclusion (Community Builders Program). Programs funded by the provincial government are available for permanent residents, refugees, refugee claimants, and new Canadian citizens. The government funding is allocated to large multiservice immigrant-serving agencies that contract out services to smaller organizations (Stasiulis, Hughes, Amery 2011). These agencies offer a wide range of services, including counselling, housing assistance, language training, health services, child care, employment assistance, as well as programs for women, seniors, and youth (Ibid).

In terms of the relationship between the federal and provincial levels of government, up until 2005 there was no formal agreement between Ontario and the federal government as has been the case with other provinces such as Québec. In 2005, the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA) was signed, injecting an additional $920 million in new federal funding for settlement services and language training programs in Ontario over a five-year period (Biles et al. 2011). The COIA expired in April 2010 and was extended until 2011, but it has not been

renewed. At the municipal level, the City of Toronto can directly interact with the provincial and federal governments on immigrant settlement issues through the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) which was signed in 2006. The Toronto MOU is not a funding agreement, but it formalizes a collaborative partnership on immigration and settlement issues that affect Toronto, particularly in four areas: access to employment, access to services, access to education and training, as well as citizenship and engagement. As Stasiulis, Hughes, and Amery (2011: 121) explain, "Toronto's city government has undoubtedly developed the most responsive policies attuned to the many issues that arise for newcomers, largely incorporating immigrants into a broader notion of diversity for the purpose of government-only activity." The rationale behind this approach is twofold: immigrants are considered as residents of the city and are thus eligible for any municipal service (not only those specifically geared towards immigrants) and immigration and diversity are central to the "branding" of Toronto to attract tourism and capital investment (Ibid: 123).

After amalgamation took place in 1998 the City of Toronto developed and worked on implementing a framework for diversity management at the municipal level. The amalgamated City of Toronto comprises six former municipalities (East York, Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough, York, and the former city of Toronto) and the regional municipality of Metro Toronto. The main goal was to build on the tradition of multiculturalism policies established by the former city of Toronto and Metro Toronto as early as the mid-1970s, which was lacking in some of the former municipalities. For example, Metro Toronto had developed policies to encourage access to services and grants for ethnoracial groups, as well as employment equity. One of the first steps in making the approach to diversity consistent within the City of Toronto was the creation of the Diversity Management and Community Engagement Unit, which was housed in the City Manager's Office. This Unit provided leadership and coordination for the development of an equity lens developed by the Roundtable on Access, Equity and Human Rights (2004-2006) established by Toronto City Council to advise the mayor on diversity issues. The equity lens and equity impact statement are tools to be used by Council and the Toronto Public Service to identify barriers that exist for diverse groups and develop best practices to remove them. In 2011 a restructuring took place that resulted in the creation of a new division called the Office of Equity, Diversity, and Human Rights, which combined the Diversity Management and Community Engagement Unit, the Employment Equity Program, and the Human Rights Office. The Office of Equity, Diversity, and Human Rights overseas the development of Access, Equity and Human Rights Action Plans that are required of each of the City of Toronto's forty-four divisions, which was one of the recommendations of the Final Report

of the Task Force on Community Access and Equity (1999) and the Plan of Action for the Elimination of Racism and Discrimination (2003). The Action Plan "provides a mechanism to establish a strategic approach to be used in identifying and managing the impact of diversity" (City of Toronto 2006). The practices that must be included in the Actions Plans are: policy and program development, serving and communicating with the public, community engagement and civic participation, strengthening communities, public education and event planning, and employment and staff development (Ibid). The goal for each department is to identify access, equity, and human rights issues that can arise in the provision of services, as well as service gaps and issues for minority groups that need to be addressed. Prior to the restructuring, the Diversity Management and Community Engagement Unit was responsible for administering the Access, Equity, and Human Rights Grants Program which allocated funding to various community-based organizations and equity-seeking groups who engage in anti-racism initiatives. In 2010, the program had a budget of $800,000 and offered funding to about 80 groups across the city, which contributes greatly to community capacity building (Interview T2, June 2010). The Access, Equity and Human Rights Funding program is now under the umbrella of the Community Partnership and Investment Funding and the responsibility for allocating funds has been transferred to the Social Development, Finance and Administration Division.

The City of Toronto's diversity policies constitute an attempt to include and engage all residents under the principles of human rights, justice, and universal citizenship (Sharpe-Harrigan 2010). An important policy document dealing with ethnocultural diversity is the final report of the Task Force on Community Access and Equity entitled *Diversity Our Strength, Access and Equity Our Goal* (2000). The Task Force on Community Access and Equity was established by Toronto City Council in 1998 in order to provide a framework for implementing access and equity in the City of Toronto. The Task Force (which is no longer active) was composed of residents and city councillors who consulted community stakeholders, advocacy and anti-poverty groups, and individuals concerned with access and equity. The final report of the Task Force outlines the following guiding principles: 1) Strengthening the civil society by facilitating the participation of community-based organizations in the decision-making process; 2) Civic leadership at the municipal level on issues of diversity by advocating to the private sector and other levels of government; 3) Accountable, accessible, and equitable governance when dealing with service provision, purchasing of goods and services, and allocating grants; 4) Aboriginal self-determination through the establishment of an Office of Aboriginal Affairs. The Task Force also recommended that City Council create seven community advisory committees including: aboriginal affairs, disability issues, status of women, racial minorities, ethno-cultural

and faith issues, immigrant and refugee issues, and LGBT issues. However, these advisory committees were eventually brought down to five as the racial minorities, ethno-cultural and faith issues, and immigrant and refugee issues were combined into one committee called the Race and Ethnic Relations Committee. Viswanathan (2007) argues that these advisory committees were problematic because they did not take into consideration the fact that people may identify with more than one category. She notes that "…these Task Force advisory committees were not organized in categories of difference. Rather they were simply organized in bureaucratic categories of diversity (e.g. race, gender, ability, sexuality) (Viswanathan 2007: 161." The recommendations of the Task Force also led to the development of two working groups: the Immigration and Refugee Issues Working Group and the Language Equity and Literacy Working Group (Good, 2009). As a result, in 2001 the Immigration and Settlement Policy Framework was adopted by City Council which explicitly acknowledges the City of Toronto's role in immigration and settlement policies. The goal of this policy is to attract newcomers and provide supports to enable them to develop a sense of identity and belonging and fully participate in the social, economic, cultural, and political life in the City (Good 2009: 60).

Another policy document is the Plan of Action for the Elimination of Racism and Discrimination (2003), which was developed after the release of a scathing report written by Ornstein (2000) that highlighted the deepening inequalities experienced by recent immigrants. As a result, the City of Toronto initiated a series of community consultations which led to the development of the Plan of Action. The goal of the Plan of Action is to "remove barriers, promote equitable participation of all residents and build an inclusive society (City of Toronto 2003: 8)." The Plan of Action reiterates the ninety-seven recommendations of the Task Force on Access and Equity and includes the following initiatives: promoting employment equity; publishing an annual diversity report card; developing indicators to monitor the socio-economic status of groups; identifying and addressing barriers to equitable participation in municipal elections; and advocating with upper levels of government to improve Toronto's social infrastructure (Good 2009). The Plan of Action has come under criticism, particularly for its vagueness and for not actually resulting in the allocation of additional financial resources (ibid). Further, as Almeida (2012) points out, it is problematic that the Plan of Action never actually names race, dominance, and white privilege:

> The Plan of Action for the Elimination of Racism and Discrimination constructs a homogeneous "Torontonian" through the same denial of race, and through the same

> construction of the strange "Other" that redefines boundaries of belonging in the nation (Almeida 2012: 44).

Therefore, it can be argued that the Plan of Action is consistent with Canada's discomfort with racial issues and the symbolic celebration of multiculturalism, which does not address the need to understand the material conditions of minorities and the racism and discrimination that they experience (Boudreau 2005b).

In February 2013 Toronto became Canada's first official "sanctuary city", meaning that all municipal services, such as health services and libraries, can be accessed by any resident, regardless of immigration status. All city staff and managers will also receive training to ensure that non-status residents will not be detained or deported. Although exact numbers are impossible to determine, it is estimated that Toronto is home to 200,000 non-status residents (Keung 2013) and given the increase in foreign temporary workers in Canada this number is set to increase in the future. However, a recent report by Social Planning Toronto entitled *Accessing Community Programs and Services for Non-Status Immigrants in Toronto: Organizational Challenges and Responses* (2013) indicates that many community organizations still ask for clients' immigration status and thirty per cent of them would share information with the police or immigration officials. As a result of inconsistencies in applying "don't ask don't tell" policies and a lack of knowledge of legal obligations amongst agencies, non-status residents face barriers in accessing health, legal, housing, and employment services which increases the risk of falling into poverty and makes them vulnerable to abuse (Social Planning Toronto 2013).

Civic Leadership in Immigration

In Toronto, "social forces" are also active in the field of immigration and settlement and include immigrant-serving organizations, the business sector and organized labour (Stasiulis, Hughes, Amery 2011). In addition, civic institutions have joined forces and developed strategies to engage both the public and private sectors to stimulate the integration of skilled immigrants, particularly through inter-sectoral immigrant employment initiatives (Ibid). Two prominent organizations in Toronto are the Maytree Foundation and the Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance (formerly the Toronto City Summit Alliance). The Maytree Foundation is a private foundation established in 1982 that focuses on reducing poverty and inequality in Canada. It is headed by Chairman and Founder Alan Broadbent, Vice-Chair Judy Broadbent, and President Ratna Omidvar. Maytree works on issues such as employment insurance, caregiver benefits, community engagement, diversity in the arts, and immigration and refugee policy. Under the leadership of Ratna Omidvar, Maytree has become well known for its work on developing and

implementing programs dealing with immigration, integration, and diversity in the workplace. Maytree has established a number of initiatives and also allocates grants to non-profit organizations working on immigration and refugee issues as well as a scholarship program for protected persons or permanent residents who were protected persons to cover their university or college education in Toronto. The initiatives created by Maytree dealing with the integration of skilled immigrants and diversity in the workplace include ALLIES and DiverseCity – The Greater Toronto Leadership Program. ALLIES stands for Assisting Local Leaders with Immigrant Employment Strategies and provides funding to immigrant employment councils in Canadian cities. These employer led councils also include community organizations, post-secondary institutions, assessment service providers, labour, immigrant professional associations, as well as federal, provincial, and municipal governments. One such immigrant employment council is the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC) which will be discussed below. The DiverseCity project was created in 2008 following the third Toronto City Summit in 2007 and aims to address the gap that exists between those who live and work in Toronto and those who occupy leadership positions. The DiverseCity project consists of eight initiatives to address the issues discussed above and can be grouped into four objectives: expanding networks (DiverseCity Nexus and DiverseCity Fellows), strengthening institutions (DiverseCity on Board, DiverseCity in Civic Leadership, DiverseCity Voices), advancing knowledge (DiverseCity Advantage, DiverseCity Perspectives), and tracking progress (DiverseCity Counts). Some of the more prominent initiatives include: 1) DiverseCity Fellows, a one-year action-oriented leadership development program for individuals considered to be future city-builders, working in a variety of sectors but committed to engaging in collective efforts to address challenges to improve the Toronto region. The program's vision is to develop a city-building leadership that a) reflects and leverages Toronto's diversity, b) has an understanding of key city-building issues, and c) operates across sectors and collectively; 2) DiverseCity on Board which matches candidates from diverse ethno-racial backgrounds with governance positions in agencies, boards, commissions, and non-profit organizations in Toronto; 3) DiverseCity Counts, a research project that has measured the number of visible minorities in positions of leadership in the largest and most influential employment sectors in the Toronto region.

Maytree participated in the first Toronto City Summit in 2002, which resulted in the founding of the Toronto City Summit Alliance (renamed the Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance since 2010). The Alliance is a coalition of civic leaders and acts as a platform to engage key players from business, labour, academic, non-profit, and voluntary sectors, as well as the federal, provincial, and municipal governments in order to address the city-region's most

pressing issues. Its three areas of focus include: accelerating regional transportation, enhancing the Greater Toronto Area's economic performance, and fostering inclusion and resilience. The Alliance's "vision of civic leadership and engagement is a collective vision based on creating a common fact base and understanding of the issues and then defining a consensus for action (Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance 2003: 28)." Since its inception the Alliance has held four summits in 2002, 2003, 2007, and 2011 bringing together city builders and leaders from across the city-region and from all sectors in order to develop an action plan to guide future initiatives.

The first Toronto City Summit, held in 2002, was convened by former mayor Mel Lastman and led by the late David Pecaut, who has come to be known as a civic leader and visionary.[10] The idea behind the first summit was that if government alone cannot tackle all of Toronto's social and economic issues, there is a role for civil society to come together and take the lead in order to come up with innovative solutions and formulate a vision for the city. This summit resulted in the report entitled *Enough Talk: An Action Plan for the Toronto Region*. One of the areas for action included in this report was to make the Toronto region a centre of excellence in integrating immigrants. As the report states:

> Toronto is not fully capitalizing on this multicultural and highly skilled labour force advantage. Immigration-related policies, funding and services are currently fragmented or poorly coordinated across governments, the voluntary sector and other service providers, and are often unresponsive to the specific needs of Toronto region communities (Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance 2003: 20).

The need to improve access to employment for skilled immigrants led to the creation of the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC) in 2003. As Stasiulis, Hughes, and Amery (2011: 114) explain, TRIEC was an "experiment in multisectoral governance that focused on the employment and economic integration of newcomers and on addressing the disconnect between immigrant selection policies and economic integration outcomes." TRIEC is Chaired by representatives from the private banking sector, namely Gordon Nixon, President and CEO of RBC and Zabeen Hirji, Chief Human Resources Officers at RBC. TRIEC comprises many stakeholders, including employers, regulatory bodies, professional associations, educators, labour, community groups, government, and immigrants. TRIEC connects employers to programs to assist them in recruiting immigrants and helps immigrants build their professional networks through mentoring programmes and professional immigrant networks. In addition, the actors involved in TRIEC collaborate on research, providing information, workshops, awareness raising, training for employers aimed at changing practices and attitudes towards immigrants

[10] See Gee, M. (2009). The Best Mayor Toronto Never Had. *Toronto Star*, p.A13.

(Stasiulis, Hughes, Amery 2011). The involvement of the business sector has been important because "a social-services approach was perceived as being ineffective in economically integrating skilled immigrants (Ibid: 114)." The integration of skilled immigrants in the labour-market in relation to public discourses on diversity as a lever of prosperity for the city-region is the topic of Chapter 3.

More recently, another experiment in multi-level, collaborative governance has been the implementation of Local Immigration Partnerships (LIP) in neighbourhoods across Canada, with initially 17 located in Toronto neighbourhoods with high numbers of newcomers. In 2012, a quadrant model was put into place so that all of Toronto's 140 neighbourhoods belong to one of the four LIPs. This initiative is funded by Citizenship and Immigration Canada and consists of the creation of a council, stakeholder consultations, research and information gathering, and the development of strategic action plans (Biles et al. 2011). The LIPs have been incorporated into Toronto's Newcomer Strategy (also funded by Citizenship and Immigration Canada), which also includes the Newcomer Leadership Table and Strategic Pillars. The Newcomer Leadership Table brings together the federal, provincial, and municipal governments, as well as community-based organizations and other institutions such as hospitals and school boards. There are four Strategic Pillars: advancing labour market outcomes, promoting and supporting good health, improving access to municipal supports, and supporting civic engagement and community capacity. The goal is to provide better coordination of services and remove barriers to employment, good health, and municipal services, as well as foster the civic participation of newcomers.

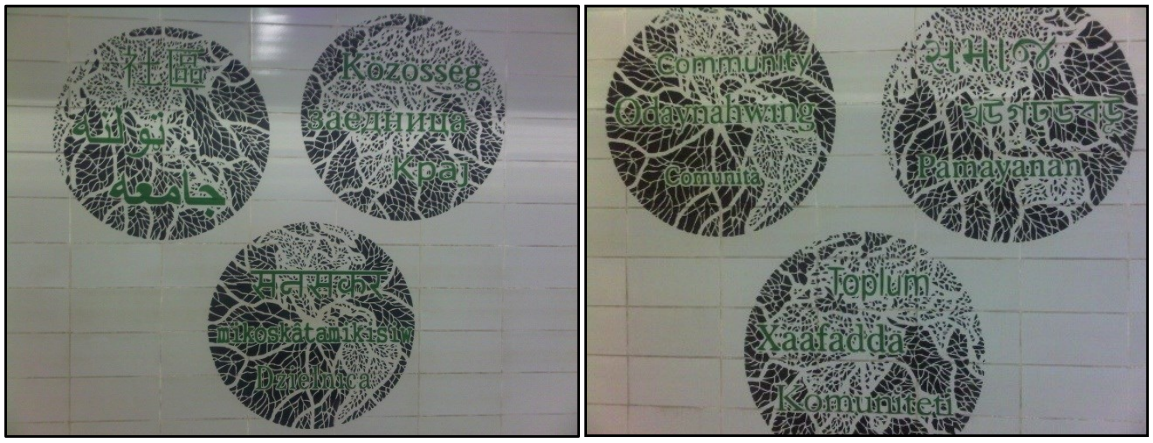
This chapter has outlined the local context in Toronto beginning with a snapshot of changing immigration patterns over the past forty years. It has shown that from a demographic point of view, Toronto is a very different place now compared to what it was in the post-war period. This underscores how important it is for the City of Toronto to show leadership in order to ensure that all residents, regardless of "race", ethnicity, age, gender, sexual orientation, and place of residence, have equal access to services and opportunities. The priority must be to tackle issues of systemic racism and discrimination so that they can be ultimately eliminated. It is also interesting to note that an emphasis is being placed on the integration of newcomers through the Toronto Newcomer Strategy. The strategy adopts a holistic approach, based on the idea that employment, health, access to municipal services, and civic participation are interrelated.

CHAPTER 2 "GLOBAL ROOTS": MULTICULTURALISM IN TORONTO (ARTICLE 1)[1]

Toronto, a city where those with diverse roots can grow and intermingle into a complex and exciting multicultural garden.

(**Figure 6: Mural by Aniko Meszaros, Victoria Park Station, Toronto, Author's Photo 2011**)

The text above is part of a mural included in the recent redevelopment of the Victoria Park subway station located in an area of Toronto's east end that is home to many new immigrants. This area is known as Crescent Town and is the heart of Little Bangladesh where many people from Bangladesh live and own local businesses. The theme of the mural is "global roots" and the word "community", layered onto an image of the globe, is written in different languages (Arabic, Hindi, Tagalog, Bengali, Italian, etc).



(**Figure 7: Victoria Park Station, Toronto, Author's Photo 2011**)

[1] This is a revised version of the article published in *Spaces and Flows: An International Journal of Urban and ExtraUrban Studies*, Volume 2, Issue 3, 2012, p. 183-196.

This is but one of the many examples that illustrate how Toronto displays its pride in being one of the most multicultural cities in the world. Indeed, it is by far Canada's most pluralist city with a total population of 2.6 million originating from approximately 170 countries (Anisef and Lanphier 2003). Toronto has created its own myth around the idea that the United Nations once declared it the most multicultural city in the world. However, Doucet (2001) argues that this urban legend, which the media began to disseminate as far back as the late 1980s, is a tool to promote Toronto as a "world class" city in the context of inter-urban global competition. According to the City of Toronto, "diversity of race, religion and lifestyle help define and set Toronto apart from other world cities."[2] However, in her book *Imagining Toronto*, Lavender Harris (2010: 191) suggests that it is not only about this external image, but that "Toronto is a city in search of its own creation myth", a narrative recounting the story of its coming into being. Lavender Harris (2010: 191) goes on to suggest that:

> in Toronto, a city whose inhabitants lack access to the common history and shared traditions that give rise to identity in so many other places – a city perched, perhaps perennially, on the verge of becoming – the myth of the multicultural city seems to have special resonance. Like other creation myths, the myth of the multicultural city is rife with tensions that arise from our efforts to speak the city into being. But it is only through principled engagement with these tensions – over cultural identity, difference and the limits of tolerance – that we learn how to live together, or determine whether we can do so at all.

Toronto is particularly unique in this regard because "it is the most explicit in its self-identification with multiculturalism, and stands in sharp contrast to cities that do not emphasize, internally or externally, the diversity of their populations (Wood and Gilbert 2005: 685)." The pervasive diversity script is a cornerstone of the "official" discourse, from the new motto "diversity our strength" (which was adopted after six municipalities were amalgamated in 1998 to form the mega-city), to the commemoration of Toronto's 175th anniversary in 2009 that focused on "heritage, unity, and diversity", to the branding of "Global Toronto" (see Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009). As the City's website indicates, "the motto 'Diversity Our Strength' captures the entire city's celebration of difference and the importance placed upon welcoming newcomers to Toronto." It has been argued that such branding exercises tend to reify notions of difference given that they are based on a superficial conception of ethnocultural diversity, which is used as a marketing tool to promote what Goonewardena and Kipfer (2005: 672) call a "'food-and-festivals' brand of aestheticized difference – premised largely on the exotic pleasures of 'visible' and 'edible' ethnicity." Fish (1997) calls this "boutique multiculturalism", referring to

[2] City of Toronto website: www.toronto.ca/diversity

ethnic restaurants and festivals, and characterized by a “superficial and cosmetic” commitment to diversity.

But is Toronto really such a welcoming place, particularly for racialized groups who constitute the largest numbers of immigrants who have arrived over the last fifteen years? The “global roots” mural suggests that everyone is equal and has a place to grow in Toronto’s “multicultural garden”. Yet the persistence of deepening inequalities experienced by new immigrants undermines this image. This raises a number of important questions about Toronto’s “multicultural” reputation: Does the presence of immigrants alone make a city “multicultural”? And how do immigrants, particularly racialized groups facing difficult living conditions, perceive multiculturalism in Toronto? This article addresses these questions and stems from exploratory research on what it means for a city to be “multicultural” with a particular emphasis on how recent immigrants from racialized groups understand multiculturalism in Toronto. Here, I focus on whether Toronto’s multicultural character is important for newcomers (and if so, how and why), as well as the role it plays in their daily experiences. In order to accomplish this goal, this article presents findings from semi-structured interviews carried out with 26 newcomers from various racialized groups across the city of Toronto during 2010 and 2011. The article begins with a description of immigration trends in Toronto and the context of immigration and settlement in what has been described as a divided city increasingly characterized by socio-economic inequalities. It then outlines the theoretical underpinnings of the relationship between multiculturalism and everyday life before moving on to three salient aspects of newcomers’ narratives on multiculturalism in Toronto: feelings of comfort given the presence of large numbers of immigrants, the challenges of labour-market integration, and their critical perspectives on living in a “multicultural” city.

Immigration and Settlement in a Divided City

Historically, Toronto was a parochial Protestant town, with the majority of its population of European (exclusively white) origin. However, the city has experienced substantial growth, particularly over the last fifteen years. Since 2000, Toronto has accepted between 80,000 and 125,000 new immigrants each year, making it one of the most immigrant-intensive large cities in the world (Reitz 2011). Those born outside of Canada now make up half of the population and according to Census data, half of all immigrants in Toronto in 2006 had been in Canada for less than fifteen years. Further, changes in migration patterns since the 1970s have meant that the majority of immigrants arrive from Asia, Latin America and Africa resulting in a larger proportion

of “visible minorities.”[3] In 2006, this population totalled 1.1 million representing 47% of the city’s population with the top five groups being South Asian, Chinese, Black/Caribbean, Filipino, and Latin American. According to recent demographic projections from Statistics Canada, by 2031 the growing numbers of “visible minority” groups are expected to comprise 63% of the city’s population.

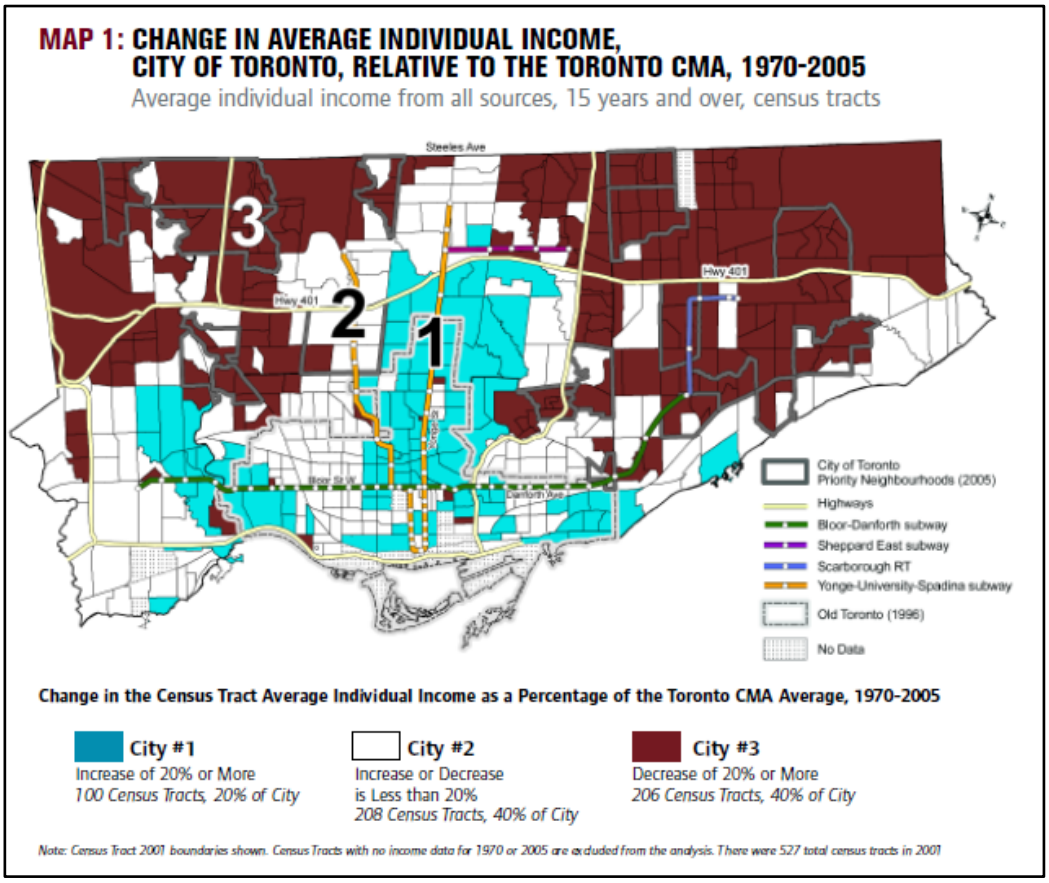
Toronto’s demographic reality constitutes one of the reasons behind the focus on those minorities who are objectified in the city’s civic imaginary centered on diversity. Some argue that the newcomer status itself is very subjective and does not depend on the date of arrival, but on the level of social inclusiveness (Daswani, Bunce, and Cummings 2011). For example, someone who has lived in Canada less than five years may or may not actually feel like a newcomer depending on his/her socio-economic conditions. This newcomer status is reinforced by systemic issues such as employers’ demands for Canadian experience as well as a lack of recognition of skilled immigrants’ international credentials. Another problematic term is “visible minority”, which Bannerji (2000a) argues is simply a category produced by Canada’s multicultural project, which involves naming the “Other”. Bannerji (Ibid) holds that non-whites are given labels that originate in the ideology of the nation, the Canadian state apparatus, the media, and the education system. The problem with categories such as “visible minorities”, “immigrants”, “newcomers”, “refugees”, “people of color”, and “multicultural communities” is that they tend to focus on culture and ignore issues of class, gender, and race, which are at the heart of power relations and systemic barriers. Conversely, the term “racialized” is used to acknowledge “race” as a social construct and a way of describing a group of people. The Canadian Race Relations Foundation defines racialization as the process through which groups come to be designated as different and on that basis subjected to differential and unequal treatment. Racialized groups include those who may experience differential treatment on the basis of race, ethnicity, language, economics, and religion.

In terms of settlement and integration, Anisef and Lanphier (2003) note that the process may be more difficult today than in previous decades due to several factors, including rapid social change, globalization, and high unemployment rates among minority newcomers. A number of recent studies conducted in Toronto have pointed to the increased social and economic disparities among the city’s population and inequalities experienced by recent

[3] The Employment Equity Act defines visible minorities as “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour”. The groups identified include Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Japanese, Korean.

immigrants. One of these studies was carried out by Hulchanski (2010) who looked at income polarization among Toronto's neighbourhoods, which is illustrated in the map below.

FIGURE 8
Three Cities in Toronto



(Source: Hulchanski, 2010).

Hulchanski's (2010) results point to an increasingly divided city: the central city has become more exclusive due to gentrification whereas racialized newcomers are increasingly confined to the post-war "inner suburbs". These areas are plagued by inadequate public transit, which exacerbates difficulties in accessing settlement services, adequate and affordable housing, educational opportunities, as well as skills training. Many of the neighbourhoods in the "inner suburbs" have been designated Priority Neighbourhoods[4] by the City of Toronto through the Neighbourhood Action Plan because of extensive poverty and a lack of social and community

[4]There are 13 priority neighbourhoods in Toronto. For more information: http://www.toronto.ca/demographics/priorityareas.htm

services. The "inner suburbs" encompass what Hulchanski (2010) calls the "third city",[5] which has witnessed a significant decrease in income levels since 1970. *Poverty by Postal Code 2: Vertical Poverty* (2011), a report by the United Way of Greater Toronto, echoes these disturbing trends and shows that poverty is becoming increasingly concentrated vertically in the high-rise towers that dot the city's skyline. As Teelucksingh (2006: 1) suggests, "…race continues to be "mapped", both materially and symbolically, onto Canadian cities as an important organizing principle in keeping with notions of desirability and undesirability."

According to the *Toronto Vital Signs* (2009) report, new immigrants were three times more likely to have lost jobs due to the economic downturn than their Canadian-born colleagues. In a city of disparity and increasingly localized poverty, recent immigrants face difficulties in accessing affordable housing and adequate employment opportunities and are confronted with racism and systemic discrimination in their daily struggles. This undermines the dominant image of Toronto as a multicultural utopia. A growing body of literature based on research in a number of Canadian cities speaks to the racialization of poverty, whereby "poverty becomes disproportionately concentrated and reproduced among racialized group members, in some cases inter-generationally (Block and Galabuzi, 2011: 15)." A recent study by Block and Galabuzi (2011) discusses the persistence of a colour coded labour market in Canada, which blocks racialized minorities from accessing good paying, stable jobs and has resulted in an income gap between racialized and non-racialized Canadians. The prospect of opportunities, which is what attracts many immigrants to Toronto, are in fact inaccessible to many newcomers who remain marginalized in "Global Toronto" Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009). The following section will look more closely at the relationship between multiculturalism as a social fact and the realm of the everyday.

Theorizing the Multicultural City

For Fernando (2006: 44), "a 'multicultural city' means there are many different ethnic groups and a variety of ethnic influences, and this label has been good for business and tourism." However, she argues that Toronto does not have the structural multiculturalism needed to include racialized groups more fully. This becomes evident when tensions arise, which, in turn, raises questions about Toronto's image as a beacon of racial harmony. As Croucher (1997: 323) argues:

[5]Hulchanski speaks of a divided Toronto, which is comprised of three separate cities: City #1 which is mainly white and boasts an annual average income of $88,400; City #2 which has a relatively mixed population and an annual average income of $35,700; and City #3 which has a high number of "visible minorities" and an annual average income of $26,900.

> images of cities are not direct reflections of an objective or empirical reality. Rather, the images and identities that come to characterize a given urban setting are social constructions having form and content that both reflect and reinforce the existing distribution of power and resources within a given political, cultural, and economic context.

When thinking of multiculturalism as a social phenomenon the focus becomes the realm of the everyday, in contrast to other approaches that consider multiculturalism as a political philosophy of community recognition, representation and provision (Goldberg 1994). Focusing on the everyday means first and foremost acknowledging the urban as a significant scale of negotiation of cultures, knowledge and power between immigrants, members of cultural groups, and dominant groups (French or English) (Wood and Gilbert 2005). For Wood and Gilbert (2005), the urban is a place where we can better identify the interdependence in our various living, working, shopping, traveling, or recreation patterns. They suggest that this encourages actual social relations rather than more passive acts of tolerance and acceptance. Goonewardena and Kipfer (2005: 676) concur by recognizing that "the promise of the city consists not in simply celebrating the plurality of actually existing differences given to us under the signs of 'cultural diversity': multiculturalism, diaspora and creolization." In a similar vein, Burman (2007) speaks of the diasporic city as one step beyond the multicultural city. She defines the diasporic city as:

> one in which the circulations of peoples, cultural influences, and objects has transformed the site to the extent that any idea of a shared history of place is displaced by over-lapping call-and-responses reaching outside national borders. These links – emotional, financial, historical – to other places have a profound impact on the usages of the city and on the practices in which residents engage that move toward translating the city into a place of betweenness (Burman 2007: 258).

Thus, while the multicultural city can be conceptualized as a mosaic composed of separate elements, the diasporic city presumes a hybridized population that is constituted relationally, having been transformed and still in a process of transformation.

Clayton (2008: 256) focuses on everyday geographies of multiculturalism as "a way of appreciating that ethnic difference and similarity is constituted through the rhythms and spaces of the routine, which are embedded in wider social, political and economic process." Clayton's (2008) position rests on an understanding of space as productive of differences, not just a reflection of them. Similarly, there has been increased scholarly interest in recent years in exploring situations of multicultural encounter in everyday shared places. Wise and Velayutham (2009) offer the concept of everyday multiculturalism as a response to the fact that much of the scholarship on multiculturalism considers it from a top-down perspective as a set of policies concerned with the management and containment of diversity by nation states. As Semi et al.

(2009: 81) note, everyday multiculturalism "assumes the necessity to ground in daily routines the practices of dealing with difference" thereby highlighting the practices, the context and subjective experiences. Thus, the everyday multiculturalism perspective explores how cultural diversity is experienced and negotiated on the ground in everyday situations and pays close attention to encounters with cultural difference. These encounters occur in ordinary spaces and situations that are part of everyday life. In terms of practices of inter-ethnic encounter Amin and Thrift (2002) have argued that spaces of mundane encounter involving relations of kindness and compassion represent a sense of hopefulness and democratic resource. Similar arguments have been made by Amin (2002) who speaks in terms of urban "interculturalism", which is used to stress cultural dialogue. Amin (2002) aims to offer a contrasting view of versions of multiculturalism that either stress cultural difference without resolving the problem of communication between cultures, or versions of cosmopolitanism that speculate on the gradual erosion of cultural difference through interethnic mixture and hybridisation.

Clayton (2008) argues that encountering difference does not always take place in positive terms and that it is necessary to take into account experiences and cultural baggage brought into such encounters and the power relations which operate through such meetings. Indeed, as Fernando (2006) notes, concepts such as multiculturalism are based on a non-conflictual ideal and ignore 'race' and issues of systemic racism. As Teelucksingh (2006: 6) highlights, "racial harmony, which is assumed to be an integral component of multiculturalism, makes it easier for Canadians to further contend that racism does not exist in Canada." She further argues that "in practice, multiculturalism is a shifting ideal that, at its best, is a substitute for anti-racism and, at its worst, reinforces the economic, political, and cultural interests of dominant groups with power in Canadian society (Ibid)." Teelucksingh (2006) offers the notion of racialized spaces as a way to understand how racialization operates in relation to the dynamics of the social and spatial organization of the city: "The notion of racialized space considers the hegemonic social relations between racialized people and dominant groups and institutions that impact on the uneven development of racialized people and their communities (Teelucksingh 2006: 10)." For Fernando (2006), the main problem is mainstream Canadian society's denial of systemic racism, which results in the marginalization of racialized groups, particularly in terms of political representation and participation. As Berman and Paradies (2008: 4), "systemic (or institutional) racism occurs when the production and control of, and access to, material, informational, symbolic resources within society serve to maintain or exacerbate the unequal distribution of opportunity across ethnoracial groups." In the following sections, we will turn to what the newcomers themselves have to say about living in "multicultural" Toronto.

"I don't feel like a foreigner here"

In her book *Feeling Comfortable? The Urban Experience of Anglo-Montrealers*, Radice (2000: 87) argues that "dwelling comfortably in a city is partly a question of exploring it, knowing it, investing in it, and shaping it. But feeling comfortable in a place is also a question of liking it, even loving it." When asked to describe Toronto all of the interviewees qualified it as "multicultural" and stated that this was one of the things they like most about living there. The participants consider Toronto to be a "multicultural" city not only because of the presence of people with different cultures, religions, food, and languages, but because people can get along easily with each other. Some of the examples provided include hearing people speaking languages other than English in public spaces (such as in the street or subway), diversity in the workplace, store signs written in different languages. According to an Algerian participant named Mustafa[6] who came to Toronto after having studied in France for a few years:

> Pour moi, Toronto c'est vraiment l'exemple de la diversité culturelle. Parce que j'ai été dans quelques villes en Europe, je dirais Montréal aussi, mais Toronto beaucoup plus. Ça veut dire que c'est des gens qui viennent de partout dans le monde sans vraiment accorder de l'importance à la couleur de la personne, sa religion, sa langue, etc. Ça ne pose aucun problème dans la vie quotidienne, tout est accepté. Je trouve que c'est très important (Interview N11, December 2010).

A student from Algeria named Amel who arrived a few years ago shared similar thoughts:

> Je pense que le fait d'être dans une ville très multiculturelle nous donne cette sensation de bien-être parce qu'on se sent accepté déjà, on vient avec un bon sentiment de départ. Tout le monde est étranger et tout le monde est le bienvenu. Donc ça nous donne plus de confiance aussi et ça se confirme jour après jour parce que personnellement je n'ai pas eu de problèmes (Interview N12, December 2010).

It becomes clear that the fact that Toronto's immigration is so varied and pervasive is seen as an advantage for the research participants because it makes them feel that the city is more open and accepting of immigrants. François who is from Cameroun but lived in Europe before coming to Toronto realized this as soon as he arrived at the airport when he saw that the immigration officials were not all "white":

[6] All the names of people interviewed have been changed in order to ensure confidentiality.

> La diversité du personnel déjà, les gens qui travaillent dans les aéroports. Même si les aéroports en Europe se vantent d'être diversifiés, mais on voit bien que c'est une diversification qui est un peu au premier échelon. C'est-à-dire que c'est du personnel exécutant, les contrôleurs, les gardiens. Déjà à l'arrivée à Toronto, dans le bureau d'immigration c'est des postes qui ne sont pas des postes de main d'œuvre, d'exécutant. C'est aussi des postes où tu as besoin de fournir un travail intellectuel (Interview N4, June 2010).

Yacine, who has lived in other provinces before coming to Toronto, had the same impression that Toronto is more accepting of immigrants:

> I: So had you heard anything about Toronto before coming here?
>
> Y: Yeah, I heard that they accept more immigrants.
>
> I: Accepting in what sense?
>
> Y: In jobs. Accepting like in everything. The most thing affecting the immigrants is jobs. So if you accept me to work with you then no problem. Because what people see when they come here from the airport to the street to any administration you will find many cultures, multicultural people working there. So that gives the impression for people that Toronto is more open for immigrants, which attracts more people (Interview N9, October 2010).

Nadira from Malaysia offered the following thoughts:

> I think this is a good place because we don't need to try to prove ourselves in this multicultural society because everybody is kind of multicultural. So people wouldn't judge you based on how you look or dress. I would imagine that in a white dominant society I would need to prove and show them that I'm a good citizen. But whereas in Toronto when you see a person you don't think that she's from outside or she was born here because anyone could be from outside and anyone could be born here. So unless you talk to a person you don't know. But if you go to a white dominant society, even if you are born there they will still think that you are an immigrant. And even if you use native English, they will still think that your parents are from outside (Interview N10, November 2010).

Ghorashi (2010) presented similar findings in her research with Iranian women who had immigrated to Los Angeles after the revolution in 1979. These women felt at home in the US because they did not feel treated like "the Other", particularly in California where immigrants make up a large proportion of the population, including a large Iranian community. The same may be said for Canada where Reitz (2011: 5) finds that "positive perceptions of the economic impact of immigration and multiculturalism work together to support and stabilize a predominantly positive overall view of immigration."

While many of the participants did not expect such a culturally diverse environment before coming to Toronto, as they carried out their daily activities and moved around the city,

particularly by foot or public transit, they quickly began to notice that the population is composed of people from many different cultural and ethnic groups. As Asma from Egypt told me,

> We know here many other citizenships that I never knew before. Many countries that I didn't know before. Many religions, many foods, many things. I learned many things here because in my neighbourhood we have Sri Lankan people, Indian people, Arabic people, many things. And I think other places have many multicultural people, if you go to the bank, if you go to the store. Different people, not only white people, not only black people, many people (Interview N26, May 2011).

Many of the participants also spoke of the personal benefits they associate with living in a "multicultural" urban centre. These included the opportunity to get to know new people and different ways of life and mentalities, as well as the ability to learn about other cultures without having to travel to another country. This was expressed by Yacine:

> I feel like my mind is more stretched than other people who didn't meet other cultures, to know others, to connect, to accept others. Because in some cultures you can find things that are a normal thing and in other cultures it can be an insult. So you can manage that. You understand other cultures, you can accept others somehow (Interview N9, October 2010).

As Radice (1999: 105) notes, "contact with a broader range of people broadens one's knowledge, and increased knowledge is a means of mastering one's environment." The participants noted that these contacts and learning opportunities could be fostered mainly at school or at work, spaces that Amin (2002) refers to as "micro-publics". Amin (2002: 969) argues that "the ideal sites for coming to terms with ethnic difference are where 'prosaic negotiations' are compulsory, in 'micro-publics' such as the workplace, schools, colleges, youth centres, sports clubs, and other spaces of association."

From a settlement perspective, the availability of food from "back home", an established community, and accessibility to services and media in one's own language contributes to the development of a sense of familiarity despite being in a completely new environment. At the same time, many of the participants commented on the language barrier and noted that knowledge of English was crucial for gaining confidence in oneself, accessing employment opportunities and expanding one's social network. According to Amir from Iran who has worked in the settlement sector:

> It can facilitate and create access to jobs and it really helps when you have so many things in so many languages. So like different languages in the city and organizations have printed material in so many different languages, and the programmes that agencies provide in many languages. So such a multicultural city facilitates the inclusion of newcomers rather than rural communities across Canada. They have more challenges there. They feel excluded (Interview N3, May 2010).

Many of the interviewees were also able to compare living in Toronto with experiences that they, or people they know, have had in other countries. This was expressed by Isabelle, a vibrant woman originally from Haiti but who previously lived in Europe for a number of years:

> C'est en arrivant ici que j'ai vu à quel point la population était diversifiée et j'ai beaucoup aimé le fait que je ne me sentais pas comme une étrangère en fait. Parce que j'ai vécu en Europe ou il y avait, ou j'étais parfois la seule noire sur 1000 personnes. Très souvent la seule noire et ça m'a fait plaisir de voir que donc il y avait autant de, un mélange si important d'étrangers. J'en avais marre de me sentir comme une étrangère (Interview N8, September 2010).

For Michael from Cameroun, multiculturalism in Toronto means that racism can be "suppressed over time" and that immigrants can succeed regardless of where they came from. He also used an example from Europe to illustrate this point:

> If you go somewhere in Europe, like in France, you will see that many structures are still owned by French people, the white. They can afford to do that because they are the majority of the population. Any newcomer over there is pretty much kept where he is, regardless of how long he goes to school or how qualified he is. Whereas in Toronto if you go to school, if you're qualified you will be more likely to get a job and that's due to multiculturalism. People have learned to tolerate, people have learned to include people from other races into what they do without being afraid of any fall out or any other negative aspect and that's due to many people being together for a long time and being able to know people from other races and other countries and being able to trust them (Interview N7, July 2010).

Michael believes that this is the key to building confidence and trust and will eventually lead to building a society based on tolerance where "everybody feels welcome" and where "there is a place for everybody."

Thus, the most striking idea expressed by almost of the newcomers interviewed was that they do not feel like a foreigner in Toronto, which provides them with a sense of comfort and belonging. In her research on multi-ethnic neighbourhoods in Montréal, Annick Germain (1998: 105) calls this « le confort culturel que représente le fait de vivre dans un secteur où il n'y a que des minorités, ce qui revient à suspendre le statut de minorité dans l'espace-temps de la vie du quartier où tous sont d'abord et avant tout des citoyens. » This was clearly expressed by Khadija, originally from Afghanistan, who came to Toronto after completing high school in the US. She recalled the numerous difficulties and isolation that she experienced and how coming to Toronto was such a relief. When asked to share her views on multiculturalism in Toronto, Khadija stated the following:

> I really like it. I really do like it. That multiculturalism makes people feel comfortable. Trust me, like for me it really makes you feel comfortable. I had the experience being in the US and then Toronto. In the US they are really racist. I'm not judging them but they really were racist. If you are not blonde, if you are not white they don't like you. It's straight forward. But here they don't care if you are white, black, beautiful, ugly, whatever. That's how you are (Interview N24, January 2011).

In Toronto she hoped to start university, but was told by university administrators that she would need to complete an extra year of high school in order to be eligible to apply. This was certainly a great disappointment for her, but she was able to find solace in the fact that she was accepted by the other students at the high school she was enrolled in.

> The school was in Scarborough. I had so many friends, like 100 probably. Nobody cared about what you are wearing, how you dress up, what you eat, what you do. Nobody cares, you feel so comfortable, you feel like you are home in Toronto, in Scarborough, in school. People from everywhere, every country. You had no problem with them. Teachers are not just Canadian so you have like Indian teachers, there was an Afghan teacher, counsellors from everywhere, black, white everything mixed up so I was very comfortable here. And when I was in the US I was crying every single night (Interview N24, January 2011).

Asma from Egypt also had similar sentiments and explains that Toronto's multicultural character provides her with a sense of freedom to be and do whatever she chooses. Before coming to Toronto she thought she would find a predominantly "white" society, but was she discovered was quite the opposite:

> This is a black country! [laughter]. Is it South Africa? Many colours, not only white. It's good, you feel comfortable, you have many new different people. You can feel free, you can do anything. It's easy (Interview N26, May 2011).

The idea of freedom was also brought up by Samantha, a young woman from Mexico who appreciates the numerous possibilities to adopt a different lifestyle than what she had been accustomed to. Similar thoughts were expressed by Guillaume who had only come from Cameroun less than year before I interviewed him but already began to feel at home:

> Donc vraiment c'est le monde en miniature et c'est impressionnant. Et je crois que c'est l'une des raisons pour lesquelles on peut se sentir chez soi au Canada. Les autres populations, les autres citoyens du Canada ou bien les autres résidents viennent aussi d'ailleurs donc on est comme eux et on se sent bien aussi. Alors que si la majorité c'était des locaux on devrait se sentir un peu marginalisé. Parce que beaucoup viennent de partout, on se sent un peu chez soi ici (Interview N6, July 2010).

Despite the positive feelings about Toronto's "multicultural" character, the reality is that the majority of newcomers experience numerous challenges, particularly in accessing adequate employment opportunities. Of all the participants interviewed, the majority had university

degrees and years of work experience yet about half of them were unemployed at the time the interview took place. In the following section we will see how difficulties in finding employment is in contradiction with the openness to newcomers that the "multicultural" city is thought to represent.

"The Hands of the City"

On a chilly January morning at an Employment Resource Centre located in a strip plaza in Toronto's west end, I met Teresa, a psychologist who recently arrived from Bolivia with her husband and two children. She happily agreed to grant me an interview and seemed eager to share her experiences with me. She told me a story about a professional motivator she knows who refers to "visible minorities" as the "hands of the city". She explained that she sometimes feels that new immigrants are used only for their labour:

> You know, they are professional, skilled workers. They came here because they told us that they need a workforce because the country is getting older so they use that workforce but they (the workers) don't think that they receive enough (Interview N23, January 2011).

For Teresa, skilled immigrants do not receive enough recognition for their hard work:

> They are just workforce. But they are not recognized in the social part, like status. Because being the newcomer is as if they are the power, the economic, social force. Why they are not recognized like that? And I was thinking, maybe that can be true because if there are a lot of newcomers and they are giving their professionalism, their capacities they need to be recognized in some way. Even at the beginning as a newcomer they are new so then after when they become a citizen this is a different story because they are part of Canada, but at the beginning when they are newcomers they need to be more recognized (Interview N23, January 2011).

In saying this, Teresa is making reference to the thousands of low-paid invisible workers who, as Sassen (2002; 2006) points out, are so crucial to the functioning of global economies. Sassen (2006) claims that women and ethnic minorities are still disproportionately concentrated in the contingent labour market. This harsh reality is what stops Khadija from sponsoring her father in Afghanistan who works as an engineer, despite her longing to be reunited with her family:

> I know a lot of engineers from back home in Afghanistan and they came here and they are working in restaurants. I know it's not bad to work in a restaurant, it's a job right. But still comparing your career with working in a restaurant it's not acceptable. And even back home, when we work we have good jobs. Our parents have good jobs, they have drivers, they have guards, they have cleaning ladies, they have everything…What I want in this country, they have to give them the opportunity. And when they are engineers and doctors and all that give them the opportunity to do a 1 year program to get the career that they were working for in their field. But they don't (Interview N24, January 2011).

The issue of immigrant employment was identified as a major priority that came out of the Toronto City Summit in 2002. The Summit was followed by the creation of the Toronto City Summit Alliance, now called the Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance, and the report *Enough Talk: An Action Plan for the Toronto Region* which set out an action plan for the integration of skilled immigrants and foreign-trained professionals. One such initiative is the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC) whose primary objective, as Allahwala observes (2011: 2), is to "enhance the "skills commensurate" integration of immigrant professionals into the city-regional labour market" "through a variety of business-driven initiatives and programs." The problem that TRIEC works to address is that many newcomers end up in low-paying jobs and in the long run are unable to secure employment that is commensurate with their education, skills, and experience.

Like many of the people interviewed, Asma, a woman from Egypt who lives in a neighbourhood of high-rise buildings in Scarborough, explained to me that she and her husband chose to bring their three children to Toronto not only to open more doors for them, but also because they thought they would get good jobs since they both had professional careers in Egypt (she worked as an accountant and her husband was a human resources manager for a large company). When I asked her about how she pictured her new life in Toronto before coming, she said the following:

> We thought we would get a good job. Before we came here we thought we would get a good job. I thought we would take some course for some months and after then we would get a good job, not a labour job, a hard job. Like in our country, but we didn't find that (Interview N26, May 2011).

Her husband remained unemployed for about eight months before finding a labour job on the other end of town in Etobicoke and she has yet to secure employment. She thinks the reason for this is that there are barriers to their integration in the labour-market, including the fact that their education and work experience are not recognized in Canada. She also feels particularly disadvantaged as a Muslim woman who wears the headscarf:

> I think for Muslim women too it's hard, you know. My hijab. That's why if you go anywhere to ask for a job, they say we don't need people. And maybe for the education because it's not from here, maybe this is the reason. That's why I think to work in my community, maybe I will get something like babysitting (Interview N26, May 2011).

Along with knowledge of English, employment was seen by all participants as the number one challenge for newcomers to Toronto. As argued by Ratna Omidvar, president of the Maytree Foundation, the sooner skilled immigrants start working in their field, the better it is "because the

window is tight – research suggests that if you are not attached to your field within one year the chances of succeeding decrease (interview T7, August 2010)." The consequences are clearly explained by a resident of Thorncliffe Park, a neighbourhood considered to be the epitome of multiculturalism in Toronto. According to Noor who recently came to Toronto from India:

> Oh there are lots of employment issues here because this neighbourhood falls into the category of low-income. When you compare the education with the employment there is a lot of difference you know. Here in Thorncliffe you find people who are graduates and post-graduates but the problem is the employment for them. They are not doing the job in their professional fields. Most of them who are doctors are delivering pizzas, the ones who are engineers and other professionals are driving cabs. So once they start to drive a cab and all I think they feel it's the easiest way of earning money. And you have those shift systems whatever job you are doing and you don't find that much time to apply for a job in your field. So they just overlook it and the years pass and they are still stuck in that. They don't see anything bad about driving a cab or something like that. I mean for them it is work. But still you know, I know that the country where I come from getting into the professional field you have to go through an exam then you are selected as a professional student and takes years for you to graduate. The parents are proud. The struggle and the pain they take to put their children in the professional studies and it's not that easy. You have to spend a lot of money and I feel that's gone then (Interview N14, December 2010).

As a result, many newcomers turn to volunteering in their neighbourhoods or various associations in order to "not sit idle", as one participant mentioned. Asma volunteers in her community providing childcare for children whose mothers participant in an English learning circle held once a week in the common room of a Toronto Community Housing apartment building. Noor spoke very highly of her experience as a volunteer in her community of Thorncliffe Park:

> I was pretty much involved in the school, in the community. In the school I was working for this committee and I was working in all the locations of the TNO. I used to cover the reception desk, I used to volunteer in the Ontario Early Years Centre, I used to volunteer wherever they say. I was just so enthusiastic to learn something. This is a land of opportunity and you just have to grab it. So I was all open. As a volunteer it was a like a 9 to 5 job and I was considering it as a job. I came across many people who were asking me why I volunteer. They would ask what I was getting. But what I was getting I couldn't share with them. I was really satisfied and every day I was learning new things, meeting people (Interview N14, December 2010).

In addition, Noor told me that many women in Thorncliffe Park have turned to self-employment, selling clothes they bring from India or Pakistan out of their apartments. The Thorncliffe Park Women's Committee encouraged these women to participate in the weekly bazaars held every Friday night during the summer months where tables were set up in R.V. Burgess Park for

people to sell food, clothing, jewelry, and other goods. Noor considers the bazaar to be a huge success with over 500 people visiting each week.

In light of the narratives presented here, it is possible to ask whether coming to a "multicultural" city, such as Toronto, constitutes an advantage in the settlement and integration process of recent immigrants from racialized groups. Some of the participants mentioned that the key to finding employment is individual effort, hard work, and proving that one has the skills to perform in a position. Mustafa, who has a degree in computer science from France and Algeria, explained that it took him a little over a year to find a job in his field, but he never attributed this to the fact that he is an immigrant:

> Ça marche vraiment à la compétence. Si on la compétence on travaille. Je ne pense pas qu'il y ait du favoritisme canadien-étranger ou je ne sais pas quoi. C'est vraiment la compétence. Après peut-être certains boulots ou il y a de la communication bien sûr que quelqu'un qui est né ici parle anglais mieux qu'un étranger (Interview N11, December 2010).

In terms of individual effort, Michael who is satisfied with his current career position believes that:

> At the end of the day you're going to have to fend for yourself because whatever you have as education is not really considered. So when you arrive you only get hired in terms of what you can do. When you go to an interview and you speak to somebody, as long as you able to convince them that you can do the job they'll take you. That's the way it works. Which, in a way, I like it because there is no other measurement. Basically when you arrive here they look at you as somebody who has to prove themselves, which is accomplished by doing what you are being asked to do. So that's how I was able to get into Toronto.
>
> From the way I see it, I believe excellence in Toronto is the key. Regardless of who you are, black or red or yellow, whatever, they want somebody is going to do the job. Although there are situations where you can have the same credentials with maybe a white person, a Caucasian, they probably may get chosen, but at the end of the day if you are the best you will get the job. That's my experience (Interview N7, July 2010).

However, the situation seems to be quite different for those with highly specialized training, such as PhD degrees, which was the case for three participants. They all agreed that employment services offered by settlement agencies, such as job search, mentoring or bridging programs, are not useful for PhD graduates. For Omar, who is from Kenya but lived in the US for more than a decade receiving his PhD from an American university:

> The first time I wrote that I have a PhD I never got anything. It's only when I dropped the PhD and just said I had a master's degree I was able to get a few interviews here and there. With the PhD I never even get a response. Even within certain organizations such as those that are supposed to be helping with my field, those I know about and have studied, I never had any interviews. So I dropped the PhD and even with a master's it's difficult. To be unemployed is not something you look forward to. It's really discouraging and depressing (Interview N2, May 2010).

Fatia, a highly skilled woman from Iran, concurred that employment services were not helpful for her because they are unable to provide specialized assistance. She provided me with the following example:

> For finding a job this lady I went to was very nice but she was sending me all these ads for job fairs for just regular labour-type jobs and I won't go after that. I would have enough money to just live on it, I mean maybe not a good life, but I can survive. And I won't go sell things in a shop and do things like that after so many years of working. It's okay for a young person, but for somebody at my age I can live on my savings (Interview N18, December 2010).

These examples illustrate Allahwala's (2011: 14) point that "immigrants do not enjoy the same returns on their education than Canadian-born workers." The underemployment of skilled immigrants in the Canadian labour market is indeed a major issue and:

> points to a systemic contradiction in Canada's human capital-based immigration regime, a system that selects immigrants based on their education, professional qualifications, and work experience and which secures political legitimacy through references to the need to attract the "best and brightest" immigrants in an effort to maintain Canada's economic competitiveness and prosperity in the 21st century (Ibid).

Census data has shown that those from Africa, Asia and Latin America have difficulties finding permanent employment at their skill level and experience higher unemployment rates than Canadian-born workers (Allahwala 2011).

"House of Difference"

I interviewed Ali on a sunny spring day at a Tim Horton's in Scarborough. Ali came from Pakistan with his family about five years ago and at the time of the interview he was seeking employment in the social work sector. When I asked him about his vision of a multicultural society, he provided me with an interesting analogy:

> Multiculturalism is like a house with five people and all five people speak their own language, they have different religions, they are from different countries, but they have the same issues. Whenever there is an issue, whenever there is a problem, they combine their efforts to resolve that problem. In sadness, in happiness, in sorrow, they are together. It's just like a garden. You have different flowers in the garden. Multiculturalism is something like that (Interview N1, May 2010).

According to Ali, people will never forget their roots or culture, but the key to intermingling amongst people with different cultures is that each one should share the best things from their own culture. However, for Uzma Shakir, Director of the City of Toronto's Office of Equity, Diversity, and Human Rights, the missing element in this analogy is the issue of power: who owns the house and who has a say in the decision-making process? (Interview T5, July 2010). According to a recent report by Siemiatycki (2010) on the under-representation of "visible minorities" at all levels of government in Canada, the situation is particularly dismal in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) where "visible minorities" comprise only 11% of elected officials. At the municipal level, only 7% of all 253 municipal council members in the GTA are "visible minorities" and in Toronto only five out of 45 city councillors are "visible minorities". What is particularly worrisome is that while all sub-groups of "visible minorities" are under-represented relative to their population share, some have no representation at any level of government, which is the case for Arabs, Filipinos, Latin Americans, and Southeast Asians despite large populations living in the GTA (Siemiatycki 2010). This is problematic for a city that "aspires to be a global leader in diversity, inclusion, integration, and equity (Gee 2011)." When asked about his views on multiculturalism, Omar stated the importance of representation in leadership positions:

> As long as the demographic reality is not visible within the power structure itself, then a person does not necessarily understand the dynamics and where people are coming from and the opportunities that are available for them or the lack of opportunities (Interview N2, May 2010).

Perhaps the problem lies within the way the multiculturalism policy itself was developed, which does not really aim to change the dominant power structures. As Mackey (1999: 63) argues in her book *House of Difference*, in post-war Canada, "multiculturalism was developed as a mode of managing internal differences within the nation and, at the same time, created a form through which the nation could be imagined as distinct and differentiated from external others such as the United States." Therefore, rather than creating an imagined community based on the assimilation of "Others", the goal of the state was to "institutionalise various forms of difference, thereby controlling access to power and simultaneously legitimating the power of the state." (Ibid)

Despite the positive feelings about living in a "multicultural city", some of the participants expressed reservations about the nature of multiculturalism in Toronto and were more critical about what it actually means. This is something that Fatia is still trying to figure out as is she is not sure if it is Toronto's diverse population that makes it multicultural, and if so, what that implies. She believes that cultural diversity in Toronto is characterized by people living side by

side but not really intermingling, which reduces multiculturalism to a very shallow concept (Interview N18, December 2010). Victoria, a graduate student from Mexico City, expressed similar sentiments:

> Well, I think that when you look at the people when you are in the subway or at the university I can see people from different regions of the world. I say ok, maybe this is multicultural, if I see just the people. And I have learned about some other cultures with my friends but sometimes I have the feeling that it is fake. I don't know, maybe the idea of multiculturalism that I have is wrong, but I have this Chinatown here but I really don't understand what they are doing there. Like I just buy the fruit and that's it. I don't understand their culture and I haven't taken the time to do that. Yeah, multicultural because you have a lot of cultures but every culture is like inside. For example Mexico and Mexican food. I hate Mexican food in Toronto because it's not Mexican. So that's why I used the word fake. So I have the feeling that sometimes when I'm "learning" about other cultures I'm receiving something that is fake (Interview N17, December 2010).

Ali qualifies Toronto as a multicultural city, but he has also noticed that "people are not mixing with each other", which he sees as something that needs to be addressed:

> The government has to do something because people have their own circle. They have their own community. People are not coming out from their shell. They have certain boundaries. There are language-specific communities and they should mix with others (Interview N1, May 2010).

Nadira presently lives in an area where South Asians make up the majority of the population and finds this quite convenient for her life given that her husband is from Bangladesh. However, she is somewhat worried about ethnic residential segmentation for the future of Toronto and for her children. She eventually hopes to move to another area of the city where there is a mix of different cultures, which she feels would offer her children more opportunities to get in touch with others and broaden their experiences:

> I wouldn't say it's bad, but I'm a bit concerned about the ethnic enclaves, segregation. It is good to get people practicing their own culture in a certain community, but I think it also has to be accessible to other cultures. It has to be kind of an exchange. I have a feeling that if those ethnic enclaves grow bigger, if you have all different places with just one dominant culture then they will kind of live in their neighbourhood and they don't need to go out. Like they go out from the neighbourhood and it's kind of like they are going to another country. So I can see that might happen if there is nothing done (Interview N10, November 2010).

Nadira suggests organizing events to bring people from other cultures together and doing outreach work with various communities across the city. Ethnic residential segregation has been extensively researched by Qadeer and Agrawal (2006) who find that "ethnic" communities are

created both voluntarily, as residents recommend the area to friends and family, and involuntarily through circumstances, including financial constraints that prevent newcomers from living anywhere else. However, their research has not identified any systemic steering of ethnic groups towards certain neighbourhoods by public policy, social processes or real estate agents (Ibid). Their findings indicate that there is no correlation between the formation of ethnic enclaves with the racialization of certain groups and that the "binding elements" of enclaves are national origins, language, and religion (Ibid). In response to those who argue that ethnic enclaves isolate populations and stifle integration of immigrants, Qadeer and Agrawal (2006) explain that they are not ghettos because they are diverse in terms of income and ethnicity and that they can actually foster social inclusion because public spaces in the neighbourhood become spaces of encounter for people of different ethnic backgrounds. It is interesting to note that some of the participants in my research have made a deliberate choice not to live in areas that are populated by people from the same country of origin. This is the case with Ali:

> I did not live in the Thorncliffe area. The reason is that although I am paying a higher rent here, there are my friends who live in Thorncliffe, they always ask me why I don't move from Scarborough to there. They insist to me, but I don't want to move into this location. I already came from Pakistan, I want to mix with different people. So what's the difference between Thorncliffe and Pakistan? It's the same people, the same culture. So I want to have a new neighbourhood. I want to have new people, different languages, different cultures, different religion. That is why I moved here. Although I am paying a higher rent, but I am good here, I like this neighbourhood (Interview N1, May 2010).

For Victoria, multiculturalism is ideally about "cultures living in the same space but people really trying to understand the other" and "in daily life trying to learn about the other or trying to understand the food, the accent, the way of talking, the way of living" through "speaking and showing" (Interview N17, December 2010). She concedes that this is not always easy, but she firmly believes that at least everyone should be treated equally and that there should not be a hierarchy of "desirable" and "undesirable" immigrants. She recounted how she experienced a sense of betrayal when in 2009 the Canadian government imposed a visa for Mexicans who wish to travel to Canada, which highlights how some groups experience processes of racial exclusion:

> When I was in Mexico City, the idea that I had about Canada was that it was multicultural and open doors for everyone and that everyone here is valuable and that is not true. But now with this visa issue for Mexicans last year, I was like yeah it is a multicultural society but they want some cultures more than my culture. And that was like when a good friend breaks your heart. Even my friends in Mexico who don't live here have the feeling that Canada betrayed us but like in the sense of a friend. They told me several times, I can understand this from the US but not from Canada. So when I came back here I was mad at the system and I was thinking okay, this multicultural thing is a myth because my culture sometimes has no place here because other cultures can come to Canada without a visa. You know it was like I was involving these political issues with cultural issues and I was feeling like less part of the multiculturalism in Canada because I am Mexican (Interview N17, December 2010).

Victoria felt particularly rejected by the arguments used by the Canadian government to justify the visa imposition that suggest that Mexicans are "taking advantage of refugee policies". Ultimately this has changed her vision of Canada because she feels that the Canadian government perceives her as part of a group of people who need to be stopped because they are taking advantage of the system. Victoria believes that a country that is truly committed to multiculturalism implements equal rules for everyone.

Conclusion

So what then makes a city "multicultural"? This chapter has provided a glimpse into the different meanings ascribed to multiculturalism in Toronto, particularly from the viewpoint of newcomers. When people see multiculturalism in Toronto, it is in the faces of those who are categorized by the State as "visible minorities". Ethno-cultural diversity is visible in public spaces, subways and buses, as well as the businesses and restaurants that line commercial streets. Practically all of the participants thought that what makes Toronto "multicultural" is the presence of different cultures, food, languages, and religions. However, after some probing, many of them went on to say that living in a "multicultural" city means mixing, sharing, and understanding others. The research findings presented here indicate that the spaces of daily practices play a significant role in shaping a sense of belonging to the city, and to the neighbourhood of residency. In their narratives, despite the difficulties experienced in their everyday lives, particularly with the regards to labour-market integration, the participants often spoke about feeling comfortable in a city where they don't feel like a foreigner. However, despite Burman's (2007) characterization of Toronto as a "diasporic city", the participants still imagined Toronto as a mosaic composed of separate elements that rarely interrelate. One can argue that settling in an urban environment with a high presence of ethnocultural diversity is important for creating a sense of belonging, although what seems to attract newcomers to Toronto is the prospect of opportunity. The reality is that given the current demographic trends, immigrants'

labour is indispensable to the Canadian economy yet the conditions have changed considerably, which means that those who have arrived during the last fifteen years face greater difficulties than the immigrants who came during the 1960s and 1970s and, as a result, they are unable to access opportunities that would allow them to catch up with their Canadian-born counterparts. The inclusion of these groups is a major issue that the City of Toronto and other stakeholders must grapple with during the years to come.

CHAPTER 3 COMPETING ON DIVERSITY, ACCELERATING PROSPERITY: UNDERSTANDING THE VALORIZATION OF ETHNOCULTURAL DIVERSITY IN TORONTO (ARTICLE 2)

Introduction

Over the past two decades the valorization of diversity of "race", religion, and lifestyle has become central to the ways in which Toronto defines itself, particularly in terms of offering a high quality of life. In a city whose official motto is "diversity our strength", public discourses of diversity as a lever of prosperity seem to transcend municipal government as well as local civic institutions. According to this logic, in order for cities to be successful, they must have social environments that are open to creativity and diversity. These qualities are said to make cities attractive to "talented" and "creative" people who, in turn, generate innovations, develop high-tech industries, and stimulate economic growth. In Toronto, this idea has become particularly popular, but scholars have argued that the rhetoric of diversity as being "good for business" is part of the City's entrepreneurial strategies to foster economic development and growth by conveying a favourable climate to attract investment and tourists. According to Boudreau, Keil, and Young (2009), these strategies are the result of neoliberal urbanization processes related to the consolidation of the "competitive city", which include the following: a shift to entrepreneurial modes of governance with complex class alliances and political coalitions, diversity management initiatives, and revanchist law-and-order campaigns. From an economic perspective, inter-regional and -urban competition at the global scale is institutionalized through urban policies based on the logic of the market. Thus, it can be argued that the promotion of racial harmony and social cohesion in Toronto is part of a larger strategy of cities to increase their "liveability" in reference to the quality of life cities are able to offer to a globally-oriented and increasingly mobile new middle class (Kipfer and Goonewardena 2005).

In the current context of global inter-urban competition, the integration of immigrants has progressively become a major issue for urban areas because "successful integration" is thought to contribute to better social cohesion, as well as spur economic development. Across North America, alliances have emerged to promote the competitiveness of their cities, and cultural diversity is increasingly valorized as a key to accelerate prosperity. In Toronto, civic institutions have coalesced and developed strategies to engage both the public and private sectors to stimulate the integration of skilled immigrants, particularly through enhancing access to

leadership positions for “visible minorities”. However, it is interesting to interrogate the reasons why diversity has come to be valued as a basic principle of political decision-making, public investments, and the legitimation of public action. Is this the result of a genuine concern about improving the outcomes of racialized groups or does it stem from an interest in the “bottom line”? In other words, what is all the talk about diversity in Toronto really about?

This paper focuses on the practices of local civic institutions and city government regarding the economic valorization of ethnocultural diversity. I draw from fifteen semi-structured interviews carried out during 2010 and 2011 with representatives from municipal government, civic institutions, and community-based organizations as part of research on the experiences of racialized newcomers in “multicultural” Toronto. I begin by discussing diversity and its growing importance for cities as a key for prosperity. In order to illustrate this point, I focus on an initiative called DiverseCity: The Greater Toronto Leadership Project co-developed by two civic organizations in Toronto to provide opportunities for skilled immigrants to access leadership positions both in the private and public sectors. The research findings highlight the constructed value of diversity as a social ideal in Toronto, as well as the disjuncture between the normative discourse that extolls the benefits of diversity and the systemic inequalities experienced by those who make up the city’s “diverse” population.

Diversity, Immigration, and the Competitive City

Diversity is generally described as the presence of a wide range of human qualities and characteristics that constitute points of difference, including place of birth, culture, education, physical ability, social class, religion, language, place of residence, citizenship status, political ideology, ethnicity, race, age, gender, and sexual orientation, as well as personal style and attributes (Abu-Laban and Gabriel 2002). For Beauchemin (2010: 31), the notion of diversity proposes a representation of contemporary societies that highlights not only their ethnic and cultural heterogeneity, but also different ideologies and identities and makes reference to actual reality. Beauchemin (2010: 31) further suggests that the term “diversity” bears a normative dimension because it implies that social diversity constitutes an advantage for society, as well as a prescriptive aspect because it proposes a model of social integration based on the recognition of identity and calls for openness to alterity. As a societal value and within organizations, heterogeneous groups are viewed as more effective than homogeneous groups because they can bring about innovation and creativity. As a theoretical concept, Berg and Sigona (2013: 350) identify three dimensions of diversity:

> as public narratives in which 'diversity' is celebrated as a marketable good; as a social fact referring to areas characterised by a population comprising multiple ethnicities and countries of origin as well as other intersecting variables; as policies aimed at managing integration and fostering social cohesion.

King et al. (2010) highlight aspects of diversity that are present at the urban scale, including industrial, population, and neighbourhood, which refer to the various layers that make up a city: a varied industrial base, residents from different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds, and mixed-use neighbourhoods. King et al. (2010: 1) argue that "taken together, these forms of diversity are celebrated as symbols and catalysts of economic and social prosperity in city-regions." This logic forms the basis of Richard Florida's theory of economic growth, which emphasizes the role of creative capital and argues that certain underlying conditions of places, such as their ability to attract creative people and be open to diversity, inform innovation and growth (Gertler et al. 2002). Florida asserts that in order to attract creative workers a city must offer a lifestyle attractive to the new "creative class", who value diversity and tolerance in the places in which they live. A diverse city-region is described as a place "where people from different backgrounds can easily fit in […] reflecting a high degree of openness (Florida 2001: 20)." Essentially, Florida and his colleagues suggest that there is a possible relationship between openness to creativity and diversity and the ability to support high-tech industries and economic development based on talented workers (Gertler et al. 2002).

The creative class theory has been criticized by a number of scholars based on the fact that it neglects issues of intra-urban inequality and working poverty, particularly the service workers who are so crucial to functioning of global economies (Sassen 2006). These service workers are most often skilled immigrants who are unable to find employment in their field and they are somehow seen as not part of the creative city. As Boudreau and Keil (2010: 170) note, "it is not enough to be creative, but one must be more creative than others and to the detriment of other groups and spaces (for example, suburban areas) (author's translation)."

Despite the multiple attributes to which diversity makes reference, the term is very often employed when speaking of ethnic and cultural differences resulting from immigration. In the Canadian context, Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2002: 13), propose an understanding of diversity to reflect three intersecting socially constructed differences relating to gender, race/ethnicity, and class, which have played a role in the uneven distribution of power and resources amongst various groups of people. These scholars expose the importance of understanding how difference is related to deep and persistent inequalities. In the United States, Bell and Hartmann (2007) have found that Americans generally speak of diversity in positive and inclusive terms,

and that their experiences with diversity are inextricably linked with "race" and especially "racial others":

> Like colorblindness and related rhetorical strategies, the actual language of diversity deals with race by downplaying or diluting it, lumping it together with a host of social differences. At the same time, and in contrast to ostensibly race-neutral approaches, the core assumptions and understandings underlying diversity talk are anything but colorblind. Diversity talk is dominated by race, infused with racial knowledge or the lack thereof. At the discursive level, then, diversity talk simultaneously acknowledges racial (and other) differences while downplaying and disavowing related social problems. Race is always both present and absent in the diversity discourse (Bell and Hartmann 2007: 905).

In addition to the focus on racialized groups, Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2002) argue that diversity is increasingly spoken of in relation to the economic benefits of immigration, particularly in the context of neoliberalism, which emphasizes a smaller welfare state, the commodification of social goods (health care, education, social services), and "free" market economic efficiency and competitiveness. In the global race for capital, diversity is seen as an asset to attract investment and tourists and state actors stress attracting skilled immigrants to enhance national and global competitiveness and build trade links abroad (Abu-Laban and Gabriel 2002). In terms of multiculturalism, it is emphasized not only as a way to foster attachment to Canada, but also in terms of access to global markets and international trade offered by the networks and knowledge that skilled immigrants bring with them. Since the inception of the "points system" in the late 1960s, Canada has based its immigration policy on selecting immigrants based on their ability to succeed economically in Canada. Through the Federal Skilled Worker Program[1] applicants are awarded points for knowledge of English and/or French, age, education, work experience, and adaptability. As a result of these changes, the primary source countries of new immigrants shifted from Western Europe to Asia, South America, and Africa. The education level of immigrants has also increased and is generally higher than their Canadian-born counterparts. However, the paradox lies in the fact that despite their skills and qualifications, immigrants experience difficulties accessing skills-commensurate employment. As Allahwala (2011: 14) notes, "the underemployment of skilled immigrants in the Canadian labour market points to a systemic contradiction in Canada's human capital-based immigration regime." This discrepancy is particularly evident in Toronto, where a large proportion of new immigrants to

[1] The Federal Skilled Worker Program has been modified to allow more points for official language ability, young age, education equivalent to a completed Canadian educational credential, and adaptability criteria. The number of points for foreign work experience has also been reduced. For more information see: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/media/backgrounders/2012/2012-12-19.asp.

Canada choose to settle. Numerous studies have pointed to the barriers of labour-market integration, including language, a lack of Canadian work experience, non-recognition of foreign credentials and work experience, and no access to professional networks.

The issue of immigrant unemployment is increasingly being dealt with at the local level as cities realize that the economic success of immigrants constitutes a competitive advantage. The focus on skilled immigrants in particular is part of what Allahwala (2011: 3) calls "the politics of competitive multiculturalism", defined as the "discourses and practices grounded in market-based assumptions about the economic benefits of attracting and properly "utilizing" immigrant skills and the economic value of ethnocultural diversity." Poirier's (2006) research on Vancouver indicates that within the framework of global inter-urban competition, cities mobilize ethnocultural diversity in official discourses to position themselves in relation to other international cities. This is echoed by Wood and Gilbert (2005) who note that the discourse of multiculturalism has become particularly prominent at the urban level where cultural diversity is promoted as strength, particularly in tourism literature and with regards to economic development. According to Le Galès (2003: 287), the logic of the competitive city is characterized by three elements: the discourse on competitiveness and the market, the political priority given to issues of economic development and attracting investments, and the transformation of local government towards public-private partnerships in which private actors play an important role in defining the priorities of the city, management, and the development of projects.

The DiverseCity Project, which will be outlined in the following section, was developed by two organizations in Toronto (Maytree Foundation and Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance) to help skilled immigrants with their integration into the labour-market by providing them with access to professional networks and leadership opportunities. The ideas behind this project stem from a "diversity management" approach, which emerged in the USA in the 1990s with regards to an increasingly demographically diverse workforce. Diversity management in organizations is defined as "a voluntary organizational program designed to create greater inclusion of all individuals into informal social networks and formal company programs (Gilbert et al. 1999 cited in Hiranandani 2012: 2)." Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2002: 169) offer a more critical definition of diversity management:

> Such "managing diversity" measures construct diversity of any kind – gender, race, disability, age or sexuality - as a means to enhance the bottom line. A workforce is constructed in terms of comparative advantage, as a bridge to new markets (both at home and globally), and a source of product innovation. This market-oriented emphasis effectively sidelines issues of systemic discrimination and inequality that employment equity was intended to address.

Diversity management denotes a shift from employment equity legislation or anti-racism measures because it is voluntary and focuses on removing barriers to the labour-market rather than addressing inequality among social groups. As Allahwala (2011: 96) notes:

> In contrast to employment equity, with its particular focus on group-specific discrimination, diversity management emphasizes business benefits and market performance and is compatible with the overarching hegemonic status of economic liberalism.

The "business argument" for increasing diversity in organizations is often based on the idea that it can foster creativity and innovation, facilitate access to global markets and local ethnic markets (Hiranandani 2012).

Critics of diversity management approaches argue that assumptions about diversity lead to the essentializing of categories such as "race", ethnicity, and gender. Bannerji (2000b) argues that the contemporary treatment of difference as diversity allows for a reading of social and cultural forms of difference in terms of descriptive plurality and ignores the social relationships that create difference. This dominant discourse becomes a useful ideology to practices of power as the diversity concept presents the illusion of a horizontal space where all differences are equal (Ibid). As Bell and Hartmann (2007: 906) note:

> In the language of diversity, every American, regardless of background or social standing, is believed to have a place and perhaps even be welcomed. This defining element of the diversity discourse separates discussions about diversity, difference, and multiculturalism from more uncomfortable conversations about inequality, power, and privilege.

According to Bannerji (2000b: 555), what is gained from the discourse of diversity is "the erasure and occlusion of social relations of power and ruling." Therefore, in terms of the labour-market integration of skilled immigrants, the focus is shifted away from how the labour-market is structured and segmented along the lines of class, "race", and gender (Allahwala 2011). "Diversity" as a signifier of difference does not include class distinctions or the racialized/gendered dimensions of class experience, nor does it enable a questioning of power structures and relations. Alternatively, the concept of anti-racism is presented as a more useful tool for dealing with questions of race and social difference as it relates them to issues of power

and equity and not simply in terms of culture (Hiranandani 2012: 7)." Berman and Paradies (2008: 6) define anti-racism "as that which promotes equality of opportunity among ethnoracial groups." Ways to combat indirect racism through anti-racist praxis include positive discrimination, special measures, and affirmative action to prevent or redress a disadvantage (Ibid). In terms of addressing direct racism, Berman and Paradies (2008: 9) argue that it "requires a specific policy focus on the broader community and institutional structures that reproduce racism, rather than the communities who are the targets of racism."

DiverseCity: The Greater Toronto Leadership Project

In a promotional video entitled *Accelerating Prosperity*, people from different ethnoracial backgrounds holding senior positions in the public, private, and non-profit sectors make the case for how an organization can benefit from diverse leadership. The video is structured around three themes: new markets, innovation, and talent, each viewed as areas in which skilled immigrants can be assets. The belief is that because of its talent pool, Toronto's "diversity advantage" will make it stand out when competing with other international cities and emerging markets. Proponents of the project argue that diversity also enables organizations to see problems more holistically and provides different ways of thinking, and that strong social cohesion within communities will lead to greater prosperity. The DiverseCity project was developed by two civic organizations in Toronto and is partly funded by the provincial government of Ontario. One of the organizations is the Maytree Foundation, a private foundation that focuses on poverty reduction and inequality in Canada and the other is the Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance, which was originally founded as the Toronto City Summit Alliance in 2002 as an outcome of the first Toronto City Summit. The Alliance acts as a platform to engage key players from business, labour, academic, non-profit, and voluntary sectors, as well as the federal, provincial, and municipal governments in order to address the city-region's most pressing issues. As Boudreau and Keil (2010: 171) note,

> the hyperactive Toronto City Summit Alliance has succeeded in making a place for itself as an alternative "government", playing the role of official municipal authorities in various areas: welcoming immigrants, economic development, and sustainable development (author's translation).

The first Toronto City Summit, held in 2002, was convened by former mayor Mel Lastman and lead by the late David Pecaut, who has come to be known as a civic leader and visionary.[2] The idea behind the first summit was that if government alone cannot tackle all of Toronto's social and economic issues, there is a role for civil society to come together and take

[2] See Gee (2009). The Best Mayor Toronto Never Had. *Toronto Star*, p.A13.

the lead in order to come up with innovative solutions and formulate a vision for the city[3]. This mode of functioning is indicative of the current context of urban governance whereby the functions of social planning and redistribution are now in the hands of tertiary or private actors (Boudreau and Keil 2010). Pecaut championed the use of modern business methods, such as networking and working in partnership, in order to find solutions to problems that governments were unable to move forward on:

> He (Pecaut) has a major influence on the redefinition of governance around mechanisms of participation and partnership. Pecaut responded to the lack of transparency and the persistent slowness of municipal political action through a series of instruments that were far from being public and not officially democratic (Boudreau and Keil 2010: 172, author's translation).

One of the issues identified at the first Toronto City Summit was the need to improve access to employment for skilled immigrants, which lead to the creation of the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC). As Allahwala (2008: 2) explains:

> TRIEC is an employer-driven initiative and integrating skilled immigrants into the workforce is not framed as a social justice issue, but rather as a sound human resource and management practice geared towards fostering the competitiveness of individual firms and the city-region more generally.

The third Toronto Summit was held in 2007 and was attended by over 600 Toronto region leaders who called for a collective effort to diversify leadership[4], which is considered to be linked with financial prosperity, innovation, and social inclusion. Following this, in 2008, the DiverseCity project was launched in an attempt to address the gap that exists between those who live and work in Toronto and those who occupy leadership positions.

According to data collected by the DiverseCity initiative, while 49.5 percent of the Toronto region's population are "visible minorities", they represent only 14 percent of leadership positions. Further, 56.6 percent of organizations in Toronto have no "visible minority" representation in leadership roles. A number of Canadian studies have also shown that "visible minorities" fare poorer than their Canadian counterparts when it comes to labour market outcomes, unemployment, upward mobility, earnings, and income (see Hiranandani 2012; Pendakur and Pendakur 2002). A recent report by the Conference Board of Canada, an

[3] This resulted in the report *Enough Talk: An Action Plan for the Toronto Region.*

[4] The Conference Board of Canada (2008) defines leaders as those with substantial influence, authority, and accountability within an organization. Typically, this would include the board of directors, executive managers (e.g., vice-presidents and above), and senior managers (e.g., department heads).

organization said to be part of the consolidation of neoliberal hegemony in Canadian public policy (Carroll and Shaw 2001), lays out the DiverseCity project's main premise. This report, entitled *The Value of Diverse Leadership,* argues that a more diverse leadership will create a social and economic strategy for success in an increasingly inter-connected world, access new global and domestic markets, build on the best ideas from home and abroad, attract and retain talent, engage more people in generating shared solutions, and reflect Canadian values, both at home and to the world (Conference Board of Canada 2008). In short, the proponents of this project believe that enabling "visible minorities" to access leadership positions will not only maximize corporate performance and organizational effectiveness, but also increase social capital and prosperity among immigrant communities. In this regard, the report states that:

> Diverse leaders are better positioned to access and maximize the diverse talent available to Canadian organizations and communities. This is important because the difference in labour market results among immigrants and visible minorities compared with the Canadian-born and non-visible minority populations is huge (Conference Board of Canada 2008: 1).

This report also presents a financial argument for promoting diverse leadership. In 2001, the Conference Board of Canada calculated that unemployment and underemployment among immigrants costs Canada $3.4 to $5.0 billion annually (Conference Board of Canada 2008). The costs are not only in terms of dollars, but also the loss of talent that will result from the departure of immigrants who have difficulties getting their credentials recognized. The Conference Board of Canada argues that organizations will fall behind if they don't increase the diversity in leadership and fail to seize opportunities to link with global and domestic markets, as well as to attract talent because of the perception that their organization is not open to diversity. At the same time, it is necessary to bear in mind that there is still no substantive research that makes the link between diversity and prosperity and so the organizations discussed here mainly look to the market for proof.

The DiverseCity project consists of eight initiatives to address the issues discussed above and can be grouped into four objectives: expanding networks (DiverseCity Nexus and DiverseCity Fellows), strengthening institutions (DiverseCity on Board, DiverseCity in Civic Leadership, DiverseCity Voices), advancing knowledge (DiverseCity Advantage, DiverseCity Perspectives), and tracking progress (DiverseCity Counts). Here, I will discuss some of the more prominent initiatives. DiverseCity Fellows is a one-year action-oriented leadership development program for individuals considered to be future city-builders, working in a variety of sectors but committed to engaging in collective efforts to address challenges to improve the

Toronto region. The program's vision is to develop a city-building leadership that a) reflects and leverages Toronto's diversity, b) has an understanding of key city-building issues, and c) operates across sectors and collectively. DiverseCity on Board matches candidates from diverse ethnoracial backgrounds with governance positions in agencies, boards, commissions, and non-profit organizations in Toronto. DiverseCity Counts is a research project that has measured the number of visible minorities in positions of leadership in the largest and most influential employment sectors in the Toronto region. The research focuses on the municipalities with the highest proportions of "visible minorities": Toronto, Mississauga, Brampton, Markham, and Richmond Hill. Together they account for just under four million people or 72.5 percent of the Greater Toronto Area's population, of which 49.5 percent are "visible minorities". Six sectors were chosen to be examined: elected office, the public sector, the corporate sector, the voluntary sector, the education sector, and City of Toronto agencies, boards, and commissions. The research for the DiverseCity Counts report found that over the project's three-year period, from 2009 to 2011, there has been a gradual increase (8 percent) in the diversity of leaders in the Toronto region. In 2009, the study found that 13.4 percent of the 3,256 leaders analysed were "visible minorities", compared to 49.5 percent of the population in the area under study. In 2010, the study revealed some subtle changes: in total, 14 percent of 3,347 leaders examined were members of "visible minority" groups. In 2011, an analysis of the same institutions revealed that 483 of a total of 3,330 leadership positions, or 14.5 percent, are held by members of "visible minority" groups. The best overall results are found in government agencies, boards, and commissions where 22 percent of leadership positions are held by "visible minorities", representing an 18.3 percent increase since 2009. The lowest results come from the corporate sector where "visible minorities" hold just 4.2 percent of leadership positions.

Diversity "Talk" Among Civic Leaders

One of the first elements that stand out from interviews with civic leaders in Toronto is the meaning and value accorded to diversity. Local political and civic institutions have adopted the language of diversity, as is exemplified by a long-time city councillor:

> Oddly enough I don't use the word multiculturalism that much, but I do speak in terms of diversity. Diversity is a way of being, based on the idea that uniformity is not a good model of society. Diversity is the nature of the world's structure, which is diversity not uniformity. Uniformity, which was the fascist mindset, doesn't give you the best society; it's not how the world was created. Understanding and appreciating diversity and bringing it in offers endless possibilities (Interview T1, June 2010).

The same city councillor goes on to say that the emphasis on diversity is reflected in the official motto "diversity our strength", which is meant to tell the world that diversity is not something Toronto tolerates because they have to, but is something that actually makes the city stronger. In his words:

> What starts as fear of the other, moves up to tolerance and then wonder and joy that the other is not you. This is a process that people who engage with diversity go through – they are glad to live near folks who are Somali, or Latinos because they have such joy and a different way of looking at things. It brings a spirit of life to the city that we would miss if we didn't have that (Interview T1, June 2010).

Others use diversity and multiculturalism interchangeably. According to a now retired municipal civil servant, the emphasis is placed on access and equity and institutional reform in order to remove systemic barriers for racialized groups:

> Multiculturalism means you have to have respect for language and culture. Respect and value does not mean retention, because culture evolves in the context in which you are living. Multiculturalism and diversity means rethinking its value within institutions and looking at the inherent biases that exist. When you have been in power for a long time you may not see them. So multiculturalism and diversity is a lens through which to see how those biases create barriers to access. It's like equity; it's about being able to go beyond (Interview T2, June 2010).

When asked about the City of Toronto's image as a "multicultural success story", this individual stated that the City of Toronto is not actually striving for an image per se, but wants to be a city that respects and values diversity and has a high commitment to equality so that anybody who comes there can feel at home. Thus, the City of Toronto seeks to address racism through the kinds of policies and programmes they put into place (such as the Plan for the Elimination of Racism and Discrimination approved in 2003), with an overall goal to reduce the gap in economic ability and to increase engagement of all residents of the city. The City's main priority is providing core services where there is a lack for different communities (based on feedback from them), including housing, unemployment, transit, education, daycare, policing.

For Uzma Shakir, who has been mobilizing around issues of racism and discrimination for over twenty years, first as the executive director of the Council of Agencies Serving South Asians and now as the Manager of the City of Toronto Office of Equity, Diversity, and Human Rights, whatever the terminology used focusing on cultural diversity avoids talking about "race" and the social and economic marginalization experienced by racialized groups. She argues that:

> We have not even begun to appreciate the possibilities of multiculturalism. We are too focused on diversity of culture, which ignores power relations, racialization, privilege. As a result it becomes an oppressive discourse. In order to change this, we need to address systemic factors – looking at histories of colonial oppressions, power differentials, racialization, and racial hierarchies (for example, preferences between different ethnic groups, where some are seen as better, hard-working, etc.) (Interview T5, July 2010).

The same idea is echoed by Bell and Hartmann (2007: 910) whose research in the US found that "what makes the diversity discourse so potent and problematic is precisely the way in which it appears to engage and even celebrate differences, yet does not grasp the social inequities that accompany them."

A veteran City of Toronto employee deplores that during the 1980s and 1990s the language used was race relations, anti-racism, but now civic leaders talk about diversity and the private sector, in particular, has capitalized on the profitability of having a diverse workforce (Interview T14, December 2011). As a representative from the Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance stated: "There is a huge potential in the diversity that we are not tapping into. The Alliance is working to get people to understand what that potential is and to leverage it (Interview T4, July 2010)." This idea is confirmed by a long-time city councillor:

> Companies that make an active effort to hire visible minorities, or majorities, are poised for success because they have different skills and resources acquired in other countries. They are an asset because they have different ways of seeing the problem, analyzing it and they can bring different skills and resources to the issue that people who think exactly like you may not…There is value added in hiring immigrants. There is an economic reason to do this (Interview T1, June 2010).

During the 1980s and early 1990s, employment equity legislation in Canada focused on the systemic nature of employment-based discrimination and embraced a broad understanding of equality (Allahwala 2008). For example, the report of the Royal Commission on Equality and Employment states that ignoring differences and refusing to accommodate them is a denial of equal access and opportunity (Abu-Laban and Gabriel 2002). As Allahwala (2008: 3) argues, "such claims for employment equity are at odds with neoliberal ideology because they contradict its inherent individualism and preference for market-based forms of citizenship." This focus on the individual under-utilization of an immigrant's skills, rather than group-based disadvantages, has resulted in a shift in language from employment equity to diversity as an asset for not only an organization's competitiveness, but the city as a whole (ibid).

However, another leader of a prominent local civic institution that works in partnership with the CivicAction Alliance and the Maytree Foundation questions the idea of diversity as

being “good for business.” He asks whether we stop promoting diversity when it stops making business sense (Interview T9, October 2010). For him, the fundamental question is about societal values, such as openness, tolerance, and respect. He goes on to state that “if businesses only promote diversity when it is supportive of their bottom line then we have just rendered an entire generation of new immigrants to pieces of labour (Interview T9, October 2010).”

In Toronto, while diversity in the workforce is now generally accepted, this is not the case for leadership positions. According to Ratna Omidvar, president of the Maytree Foundation and co-chair of the DiverseCity project, the key indicators of diversity are: who governs, who gets business, and who works in leadership positions (Interview T5, July 2010). As the statistics gathered by the DiverseCity project indicate, these indicators are currently falling behind. For Uzma Shakir, the main problem is that “the power structures do not change and it becomes token multiculturalism, like getting people on Boards (Interview T5, July 2010).” She argues that if “visible minorities” are simply there to show that the Board is more diverse, they will likely get disillusioned over time as they realize that they do not actually have the power to make any structural changes. Thus, as Hiranandani (2012: 6) argues, it is necessary to examine existing power relations between groups and “the various forms of oppression that have resulted in racial and economic stratification and limited opportunities for ethnoracial minorities in the workplace.”

The reality in Toronto today, as seen by one civic leader, is that it is “a world class city from the outside looking in, but not everyone is accessing the same opportunities depending on where they live (Interview T9, October 2010).” This worrisome trend is illustrated by Hulchanski’s (2010) research on income inequality in Toronto which shows that there are pockets of poverty, particularly in areas with a high proportion of racialized groups. This disconnect is eloquently expressed by one Toronto civic leader when he states that “in many cases immigrants will come here full of education and full of hope and promise. And in many cases that is highly unrealized, for a host of reasons (Interview T9, October 2010).” Commonly cited reasons include the failure to recognize credentials, globalization, and the outsourcing of labour, as well as a lack of social networks and adequate language skills. Racialized immigrants in Toronto often find themselves unemployed, in precarious work or under-employed despite having high levels of post-secondary education, which points to the existence of discrimination in the workplace and in the hiring process (Hiranandani 2012). Discrimination in the labour market has been highlighted by recent studies in Canada using the testing method whereby

identical applications are submitted for a job opening, one bearing a "foreign" sounding name and the other a "Canadian" sounding name (see Eid 2012). The results of the study carried out in Québec by Eid (2012) indicate that someone with a common "Canadian" name has a 60 percent chance of obtaining an interview compared to a candidate with a "foreign" sounding name. In this context, it will likely take longer for recent immigrants to catch up with their Canadian-born counterparts because they have double the unemployment rate and those who are employed, earn less. As one civic leader stated in an interview:

> when you come to a city like Toronto which has gone from becoming seriously unaffordable to severely unaffordable you don't have much time to get onto the treadmill here. It's going very fast and if you don't get on and you start to slip it's very difficult to get back up because it's extremely expensive (Interview T9, October 2010).

Conclusion

The themes discussed in this chapter can be likened to Abu-Laban and Gabriel's (2002: 165) notion of "selling diversity", which refers to how, in the context of globalization, diversity is constructed in a manner congruent with neoliberal ideals. These ideals include a smaller welfare state where governments do less and individuals, families, and volunteers do more in order to ensure social services; the commodification of social goods, such as health care, education, and welfare, whereby residents are viewed as clients; the free market, economic efficiency, and global competitiveness, which entail the privatization of services. In terms of the policy areas of immigration, multiculturalism, and employment equity, they have been aligned with a discourse on globalization whereby state actors stress attracting skilled immigrants and enhancing national and global competitiveness and fostering trade links abroad through a diverse workforce (Abu-Laban and Gabriel 2002). This is the result of a narrow reading of diversity that does not account for the structural inequalities that exist between groups of people. As Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2002: 173) argue, "the focus on economic rationalism has rendered a profoundly narrow vision of diversity, which is basically a selling-out of an agenda based on pursuing substantive equality for those marginalized by race/ethnicity, gender, and class."

With a declining birth rate and gaining population, Canada will increasingly need to rely on immigrants to fill labour shortages. However, while immigrants' labour is indispensable to the Canadian economy, the conditions have changed so that those who have arrived during the last fifteen years are encountering more difficulties than those who came during the post-war period. As a result, they are unable to access opportunities that would allow them to catch up with their Canadian-born counterparts. The paradox is that what attracts many people to Toronto specifically is the prospect of opportunity. However, in reality, racialized groups experience

higher rates of poverty and discrimination in the housing and labour markets. As Boudreau, Keil, and Young (2009: 95) state, “diversity has become so central to Toronto’s identity that any threat to this harmonious image is silenced. Racialized poverty is simplified in the public debate as a problem regarding professional immigrants’ access to the labour market.” Thus, while initiatives geared towards skilled immigrants discussed in this paper, such as the DiverseCity Project and the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC) are laudable, they do not address the underlying issue of systemic racism and inequalities. As Hiranandani (2012: 7) states, “true and lasting equity can be possible only by taking a reflective, honest, and critical look at the ways in which the normal, apparently neutral mechanisms of most organizations benefit the dominant group and disadvantage visible minorities.”

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CHAPTER 4 URBAN IMAGINARIES OF (THE) DIVERSE-CITY (ARTICLE 3)

> *All cities are palimpsests of real and diverse experiences and memories. They comprise a great variety of spatial practices, including architecture and planning, administration and business, labour and leisure, politics, culture, and everyday life. They consist of a cacophony of voices and, more often than not, feature a multiplicity of languages (Huyssen 2008: 3).*

Introduction

Cities are not simply material or lived spaces – they are also spaces of the imagination that are an inevitable part of a city's reality. There are public imaginaries of cities, expressed in official policies and discourses, but also personal imaginaries of cities, encompassing the realm of individual dreams, desires, and social constructions of reality. However, there is often a discord between how the city is represented in official discourses and how it is experienced. It can be argued that this is the case for Toronto, Canada's largest and most ethnically diverse city. Lived experience can differ along the lines of class, ethnicity, gender, age thereby influencing subjectivities, identities, and the daily realities of citizens. As Huyssen (2008: 3) notes, "what we think about a city and how we perceive it informs the ways we act in it."

Over the past forty years, Toronto has experienced tremendous demographic changes as a result of immigration and it has gone from being a primarily "white" city to one where about half of the population are part of "visible minority" groups. Immigration in Toronto is not a new phenomenon as waves of immigrants from Europe flocked to the city during the pre- and post-World War II period. However, as Troper (2000: 5) notes, Toronto paled in comparison to other North American immigrant cities at the time, such as New York or Chicago, and "it envisioned itself a stolid guardian of British Protestant ascendancy, values, and traditions." Therefore, immigrants such as the Chinese, Jews, and Italians were relegated to enclaves in immigrant settlement areas that were not considered part of the "mainstream" or, according to Troper (ibid), "located in the city but not really an organic part of its urban core." Moreover, anti-immigrant sentiment was rampant as Toronto continued to attract more immigrants and "foreigners" were increasingly seen as a threat to a peaceful coexistence. It is important to note that during this period Canada's immigration policies were very restrictive in order to ensure that

"desirable" immigrants from Britain, the United States, and Northern Europe got in and "undesirables" were kept out, particularly Asians, Southern Europeans, and Jews. Things changed considerably after the Second World War as the booming economy spurred a growing demand for cheap labour, which resulted in an easing of immigration policies in order "to attract a continuing stream of industrial and urban-bound immigrants without casting an ethnic or racial immigration net beyond Europe's borders (Troper 2000: 11)." Along with this influx of immigrants came a somewhat more welcoming attitude towards them, mainly because immigration was considered essential to sustaining the booming economy and labour-market, particularly for residential construction and urban infrastructure expansion.

However, it was not until the late 1960s that all ethnic and racial restrictions were removed from Canada's immigration policies and the "points system" was introduced. These changes resulted in a major shift in immigration demographics, with the majority of immigrants entering Canada each year no longer coming from Europe, but rather Asia, the Caribbean, and Africa. These immigrants settled mainly in Canada's major urban centres – Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. Toronto in particular quickly became characterized by ethnic and racial pluralism given that it attracts the most immigrants representing 170 countries (Anisef and Lanphier 2003). Since 2000, Toronto has accepted between 80,000 and 125,000 new immigrants each year and those born outside of Canada now make up half of the population. Further, according to 2006 Census data half of all immigrants in Toronto had been in Canada for less than fifteen years and a large proportion are from racialized groups. In 2006, "visible minorities" totalled 1.1 million representing 47% of the city's population with the top five groups being South Asian, Chinese, Black/Caribbean, Filipino, and Latin American. According to recent demographic projections from Statistics Canada, by 2031 the growing numbers of "visible minority" groups are expected to comprise 63% of the city's population. In Toronto, ethnocultural diversity is promoted through festivals such as Caribana, the largest Caribbean festival in North America, and "ethnic" neighbourhoods like Greek Town and Little Italy. It has been argued that the marketing and commodification of ethno-cultural diversity is also part of the ongoing processes in the consolidation of the competitive city (Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009) and the images produced in and by cities are mobilized in global inter-urban competition (Cronin and Hetherington 2008). As Croucher (1997: 323) states:

> images of cities are not direct reflections of an objective or empirical reality. Rather, the images and identities that come to characterize a given urban setting are social constructions having form and content that both reflect and reinforce the existing distribution of power and resources within a given political, cultural, and economic context.

The premise of this paper is that there is a discord between how Toronto is represented through the dominant imaginary centered on diversity and how it is perceived and experienced by recent immigrants from racialized groups who make up a large part of the city's diversity. As Tarrazo (2011: 225) explains "official discourse emanates from those institutions invested with the power to construct, circulate, and enforce a dominant or hegemonic narrative of the city" whereas everyday discourses refer to "the individual and collective micronarratives of the city created by its inhabitants, by the ways in which urban dwellers use, perceive, represent, conceptualize, explain, or imagine urban spaces in their everyday lives." In order to examine this discord and unearth alternative meanings of the multicultural city, this paper uses the concept of urban imaginary to investigate the everyday ways in which a city can be imagined as a city, by its inhabitants. Further, this paper aims to establish the relationship between the urban imaginary and daily life by arguing that inhabitants construct their imaginaries by moving around the city and that it is through these movements throughout urban space that locality is continuously produced (Huyssen 2008; Appadurai 1996).

The research upon which this paper is based was conceived as a way to reconcile between the real (visible) and the imaginary (invisible) by looking at lived experience and daily routines. In other words, what is the relationship between the imagined city and everyday life in cities? Following Lehrer (1999: 38), it should be noted that at the core of this research is the assumption that images are "substantial elements in the three-pronged spatiality people encounter in cities – perceived, conceived and lived (Lefebvre, 1991) – and never as mere smoke screens in front of some "real" reality." The paper presents findings based on semi-structured interviews with 26 new immigrants from racialized groups and 15 key informants from various sectors, including municipal government, local civic institutions, community-based organizations, and settlement services. The main objective is to compare and contrast the social and spatial imaginaries of the city, including the built environment, different neighbourhoods and their socio-economic composition. These imaginaries taken together are part of the collective urban imaginary, which Tarrazo (2011: 225) defines "as a set of widespread perceptions, assumptions and generalizations about the city, which may or may not be sanctioned by official or institutional sources, but which nevertheless constitute a very important part of the reality of the city." The paper begins with a review of literature on the urban imaginary and then presents the elements that constitute the urban imaginaries of newcomers and representatives of local institutions.

Imagining the City

Representations of the city are based on the way in which cities are imagined. Appadurai (1996) points to changes in global cultural processes, in which the imagination plays a newly significant role because it has shifted from being confined to the spaces of art, myth, and ritual and is now present in the sphere of ordinary social life. As Appadurai (1996: 5) notes, "it (imagination) has now become a part of the quotidian mental work of ordinary people in many societies...and ordinary people have begun to deploy their imaginations in the practice of their everyday lives." Appadurai (1996: 31) describes the imagination as social practice:

> No longer mere fantasy (opium for the masses whose real work is elsewhere), no longer simple escape (from a world defined principally by more concrete purposes and structures), no longer elite pastime (thus not relevant to the lives of ordinary people), and no longer mere contemplation (irrelevant for new forms of desire and subjectivity), the imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work (in the sense of both labor and culturally organized practice), and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility.

According to Bridge and Watson (2000), the relationship between the city and the imagination is expressed in the way in which the city affects imagination and how the city is imagined. With regards to how the city affects imagination, there is a tension between the conditions of the city stimulating or constraining the imagination. The city can be a site of stimulation and imagination because it brings together people with different ideas and their webs of interconnection and this sharing of knowledge and ideas produces creative results. These ideas, in turn, have material effects, such as economic innovation (manufacturing) and profits from selling ideas in the innovation and informational economy. On the other hand, the city might act to constrain the imagination or to consolidate it in collective imagination as tradition and authority (Bridge and Watson 2000). For example, cities, like nations, can be the locus for imagined communities and this collective imagination might be held in place through the exercise of discipline and authority (Anderson 1983). This is echoed by Tarrazo (2011: 225) who states that "imaginaries are constructed discursively and emerge from the intersection of knowledge and power, often serving specific interests or ideologies." Further, postcolonial and feminist writings tell us that prejudiced imaginaries of "the Other" are a source of racism and the domination of certain collective imaginaries to exclude others. The same applies to certain areas of the city that can become stigmatized when ethnicity and social class intersect. As Tarrazo (2011: 226) highlights:

> In middle-class neighbourhoods, multiculturalism is perceived as something to be consumed, safe, and manageable; in working-class or lower-income areas, however, diversity acquires a negative connotation, as ethnic minorities are cast as Others and perceived as an anomaly or even a threat to peaceful multicultural coexistence.

This idea is echoed by Çinar and Bender (2007: xiv) who note that collective narratives:

> tell the story of the city, produce its history, set its many boundaries, define its culture, or hierarchically situate its dwellers around the categories of class, race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity, and map these onto certain city spaces and remove them from others.

For Bloomfield (2006), urban imaginaries are the symbolic sphere in which space and places are contested; yet Bélanger (2005) reminds us that the urban imaginary is not static and is itself contested and in constant evolution. Thus, the urban imaginary can denote a collective project and using urban imaginaries in the plural underlines the multiple and pluralistic perspectives that constitute a city's imaginative projections (Bloomfield 2006). He argues that "urban imaginaries focus on sensory and emotional experience and practices, on the imprint of collective memory on imagining how the city could be, on the different, often conflicting, social constructions of the city's future (Bloomfield 2006: 46)." Appadurai (1996) explains that collective imagination can become the fuel for action. He notes that "it is the imagination, in its collective forms, that creates ideas of neighbourhood and nationhood, or moral economies and unjust rule, of higher wages and foreign labour prospects. The imagination is today a staging ground for action, and not only for escape (Appadurai 1996: 7)."

This idea of the urban imaginary is closely related to Donald's (1999) idea of the city as an "imagined environment", and to the notion of "urban mindscape". According to Donald (1999: 18), "we do not just read the city, we negotiate the reality of cities by imagining "the city"...It is imagination which produces reality as it exists." According to him, the central role of the imaginary in forming our experience of the urban dimension is due to the fact that the city is:

> an environment shaped by the interaction of practices, events and relationships so complex that they cannot easily be visualized. That may be why it is an environment imagined in metaphors (the diseased city, the city as machine), animated by myth, and peopled by symbols such as the flâneur, the prostitute, the migrant, the mugger (Donald 1992: 457).

For Bianchini (2006), the notion of urban mindscape is related to the urban imaginary and refers to a person's or community's structure of thinking about a city. It indicates something which exists between the physical landscape of a city and people's visual and cultural perceptions of it. A city's mindscape can be represented as an urban image bank – local and external images of the city, which are manifested in forms including the following: media coverage, conventional wisdom, representations of the city in music, literature, film, visual arts, myths and legends, tourist guidebooks, city marketing and tourism promotion literature, views of residents, city users, and outsiders. Thus, examining urban imaginaries implies the recognition of how non-material, symbolic and psychological dimensions contribute to the constitution of cities. Yet it is

important to note that the focus on cognitive processes alone, such as in Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City* (1960), does not take into account the affective aspects of the urban experience. The images and representations of the city that people construct are not merely the product of rational and cognitive process. Rather, they have a lot to do with an individual's emotional relationship with various spaces and places within the city. This idea is illustrated by Mercier et al. (1999: 209):

> ...la raison d'être de la ville déborderait l'usage direct que l'on en fait. Le sens de la ville résiderait aussi et peut-être surtout dans l'émotion qu'elle provoque, dans ce qu'elle nous fait croire, dans ce qu'elle nous fait craindre et espérer, dans l'optimisme ou le pessimisme qu'elle inspire…La ville se connecte donc, supposent-ils, directement à l'imaginaire, c'est-à-dire l'instance où, en deçà des événements, de la culture matérielle, des idéologies et des institutions, se forge le sens des gestes, des mots et des choses.

Boudreault and Parazelli (2004) view the concept of urban imaginary as an analytical tool in order to understand how people attribute meaning to their socio-spatial relationships in the city. For these authors, the imaginary constitutes a source of interpretation of changing realities that allow us to capture the meaning that individuals construct in a creative manner through the representations that they make of their social place in urban life. Boudreault and Parazelli (2004) explain that meaning is the product of social spatialization and that it is through the spatialization of their imaginary that individuals participate in the urban experience defined as "the invention of the subject in the invention of the city (Boudreault 2004: 72)." Boudreault (2004) further suggests that these experiences can be observed by looking at daily practices, which translate an individual's desire for identity formation. However, the relationship that has been established between the urban imaginary and everyday life can be attributed to Bourdieu (1979). As Bloomfield (2006: 46) explains, Bourdieu showed that "social reality is always mediated through a mental world of cognitive processes which organise and categorise perceived reality and that this *habitus* is itself an internalisation of social place within a hierarchical order." The concept of habitus incorporates both social and physical place, as in habits and habitat, and it is constituted by and constitutes actors' positions and possibilities of movement in physical and social space (Bloomfield 2006). Thus, as Boudreault (2004: 73) notes, it is possible to make the link between urban imaginaries and daily practices by looking at mobility, in both its literal and figurative sense:

> l'imaginaire est donc une élaboration en même temps qu'un passeur d'un lieu à un autre, d'un temps à un autre. Par l'imaginaire, l'individu donne un sens aux réalités et aux pratiques hétéroclites qui l'entourent. De plus, il franchit un passage; on peut alors présumer qu'il est pour cela soumis à des épreuves, celles de l'intégration ou non des valeurs et des normes collectives qui lui sont extérieures.

Daily mobility refers to movement throughout the city. As Kaufmann (2008) notes, mobility is increasingly becoming one of the conditions of social and urban integration as it allows for the mixing of people and the encounter of the different Other. Mobility also manifests itself under different forms that overlap, each one referring to specific social temporalities, such as the day and the week for the succession of activities and roles. Kaufmann (2008) explains that as an analytical concept, mobility is comprised of three dimensions – possibilities, aptitudes (motility), and movements – which also involve inequalities given that not everyone has the same opportunities to move around as they wish. In terms of the possibilities, inequalities are related to availability of infrastructure and public transit. Other factors include family policies, the labour market, recreation facilities, which are all spatially contrasted (local, national, continental). Kaufmann (2008) defines motility as the personal disposition to move around and this depends on three factors: access (economic and temporal conditions), the capacity to organize one's mobility, and the possibility to be able to move around as a result of external forces (of domination, for example). Finally, with regards to movement, there are great disparities between age and social categories in the use of different means of transportation. However, Kaufmann (2008) notes that movement is not only linked to external circumstances, but it also influenced by one's knowledge of the city, the way in which one uses transportation, and one's location. This has been described as "learning by doing", which refers to: « une familiarité avec des espaces, des lieux, des situations, des interactions sociales et des réseaux, qui fait naître l'expérience requise pour réaliser ses déplacements (Kaufmann 2008 : 60). »

Elements of "Official" and Everyday Urban Imaginaries

A thematic analysis of the interview data yielded the following elements that are constitutive of the way in which newcomers imagine Toronto: ethno-cultural mix, socio-economic diversity, opportunities and inequalities, ethnic segmentation, and mobility in the city. This section will discuss each of these elements and contrast them with what emerged from the interviews with local officials.

Ethno-cultural Mix

The participants in this research had little or no prior knowledge of Toronto before arriving in Canada. Some had friends and family members living there already who provided them with information on the settlement process, but the vast majority came without really knowing what to expect. Despite Toronto's efforts to promote itself as a multicultural city, migrants do not seem particularly aware of this reputation. For example, as Nadira explains:

> I landed in 2002, but I did visit once in 1999. And then I realized that there are a lot of Chinese people because I speak Chinese. It's my first language. So I was very happy that there are a lot of Chinese people. And then I started to notice that there are actually a lot of immigrants.
>
> I: How did you start to notice that?
>
> You know when we came we tried to rent a car and when we went to a private car rental company and it wasn't quite run by typical white people. And then we rented a temporary place during our visit for two weeks from a Chinese landlord so there weren't white people as well. And I then noticed that I didn't have any direct contact with Westerners. So I started to notice that there are many other races as well.
>
> I: What did you think about that?
>
> As an immigrant myself I feel quite comfortable because I thought I was going to see a lot of people different from myself but instead I actually saw a lot of similarities, which is good for me. Sense of identity maybe (Interview N10, November 2010).

Therefore, while Toronto's ethnoculturally diverse population was not what specifically attracted newcomers to the city, this certainly turned out to be a positive element in their settlement process. Similar sentiments were expressed by Teresa who recently came to Toronto from Bolivia with her husband and two children:

> Well the first thing I noticed about Toronto is that this is a very multicultural place. This city is not like in your country where you have the population and that's it. Here you can find different people like to live in the world but just in a place because you can share for example with Indian people and you can share with Pakistani, with a Chinese, with a Korean. It's amazing! And I noticed that everybody is the same, we don't have discrimination. They don't see what you are wearing or what you are. They just see your education, but that's it (Interview N23, January 2011).

In terms of the local officials, Toronto is a unique multicultural city because it boasts a population from all over the world, as opposed to other global cities where there are one or two dominant ethnocultural groups. According to Ratna Omidvar, president of the Maytree Foundation, a prominent civic institution on issues of immigration, as a result of urbanization and migration occurring at a global scale "Toronto is a truly diverse and multicultural place." She states that "Toronto may be a financial hub, but people come to Toronto to build a life. Toronto really is the most multicultural city in the world – whichever way you choose to define multiculturalism – there are many definitions (Interview T7, August 2010)."

"Official" discourses on multiculturalism tend to focus more on "ethnic" neighbourhoods, such as Greek Town on the Danforth, India Bazaar on Gerrard Street and festivals, including Caribana and Salsa on St. Clair. It is interesting to note the emphasis placed on areas in the central city, as opposed to the numerous neighbourhoods in the inner suburbs that are important reference points for many of Toronto's immigrants, such as the Iranian social and

commercial activities located on a strip of Yonge Street north of Sheppard Avenue that is informally known as “Tehranto” or the Middle Eastern and Afghan businesses located along Lawrence Avenue East in Scarborough. In addition, the idea of an “ethnic” neighbourhood itself is up for debate. As one City of Toronto civil servant asks:

> What is an ethnic neighbourhood? Take Greek Town, for example. There are quite a few Greeks, but a lot of other people live there too. It’s not designated an ethnic neighbourhood. You have that impression because of the restaurants or the flair. People get settled in and then move to other areas of the city (Interview T15, December 2011).

For the newcomers, while the initial impressions of Toronto were generally positive, as time went by and their knowledge of the city increased, they were able to become more critical of their new home. For Victoria who is from Mexico City, initially Toronto felt like a big town, particularly because she was living in North York, far from the downtown core. She compared the bustling and crowded streets of Mexico City with the quiet, lonely neighbourhoods of the inner suburbs (Interview N17, December 2010). However, her impressions changed somewhat after she moved to an area just east of downtown and she has now adopted Toronto as her own.

> Now I have the feeling that, how can I explain this? I have a certain love for the city now. I’m seeing the city more like my city. It’s like a second city now and it’s nice. I have more positive feelings about the city now sometimes. But at the same time I’m more critical about the city because at first it was lonely, but I had the feeling that everything was nice. And I had the feeling that the loneliness was part of my fault because I have no idea about how to understand the cultural issues here, like saying hi just with the hand the first time, no hugs and kisses like in Mexico. So I was thinking that everything was like cold, but nicer than in Mexico City. Well the people in the city. They were not yelling at you like in Mexico or touching or looking at you. For me Toronto was not a nice physical place, but it was like a nice environment. I can say that. And now, I have the feeling that there are more places that I like, such as this neighbourhood or the (gay) village, but sometimes I feel that people are not as nice as I was thinking (Interview N17, December 2010).

On the other hand, some participants preferred living in the outer suburbs as opposed to downtown areas because of the relaxed lifestyle it offers. As Yacine who prefers living in Richmond Hill notes:

> Um, I like it. Especially from the place where I am, in the North. If I was maybe downtown, I wouldn’t be feeling the same maybe. But living in the North where life is more relaxed, next to work. Maybe it’s all related, all factors are gathered to make an opinion. If you like it or not, but where you are living, how you are living, those stuff can contribute to your opinion about if you like it or not. So you may like because of other things so I cannot be precise about why I am liking it, but it’s a package. I like it because I am close to work, I am living in a big city, where I am living North, where there is not a lot of city things, big buildings and stuff and the rhythm of life is a little slower. You go to the farm, you see people (Interview N9, October 2010).

Many of the participants described Toronto's ethnocultural mix as very visible – in the subway, street car, stores, shopping malls, and tourist attractions. The representatives of local institutions generally agree with this vision of Toronto and as one individual explains, "just by exposure people have become a little bit more accepting and open (Interview T6, August 2010)." She compares Toronto with other places in the Greater Toronto Area like Hamilton where the presence of immigrants is a newer phenomenon and so people may be more uncomfortable and not know how to react. However, for one North York city councillor, Toronto could do more to showcase multiculturalism, particularly when it comes to street food. He could not understand "why in the most multicultural city in the world all you can find in the street is hot dogs and sausages (Interview T3, July 2010)." This observation was the impetus behind the now defunct Toronto a la Cart program launched in 2009, which sought to bring a variety of "ethnic" foods (Korean, Thai, Middle Eastern, Greek, and Indian) to the streets of Toronto[1]. Not only was the program a clear example of the marketing and commodification of ethnicized food, it presented a "squeaky clean" image of ethnocultural diversity by imposing uniformity among all the carts and overly strict health and safety regulations leaving vendors with only a few food options to offer. For example, the fact that the food had to be pre-cooked in a kitchen inspected by the City, rather than directly on the cart, greatly diminished the street vending experience that can be found in other countries and cities. However, while food can be a starting point for bringing people together and learning about new cultures, according to one City of Toronto civil servant "diversity is not just about eating ethnic food. We have to do something on the ground to educate people and bring people together. This includes working with youth to break down the barriers of racism and discrimination (Interview T14, December 2011).

Socio-Economic Diversity

For François who is from Cameroun, Toronto is not necessarily a beautiful city in terms of architecture and the built environment, but its population and mixed uses make it charming and liveable. This aspect makes Toronto feel small, even though it is a bustling metropolis. He notes that the socio-economic disparities from one neighbourhood to another, often located within close proximity:

[1] For a more detailed analysis see the following : http://www.labovespa.ca/fr/espace-multimedia/banque-de-photos/archives/article/mange-ta-ville-toronto-a-la-cart

> Une chose m'a marqué quand j'habitais à Yonge et Eglinton c'est que derrière il y a Forest Hill et quand tu rentres dans Forest Hill en moins de cinq minutes c'est complètement white caucasian. C'est impressionant. C'est des familles anciennes qui sont installées depuis des générations et puis qui au centre de la ville détiennent des propriétés aussi. Donc il y a un Toronto qui est visuel, qui change tous les jours. Mais il y a aussi un Toronto qui est peut-être de génération et dont le visuel ne change pas beaucoup. Donc c'est des poches à Toronto (Interview N4, June 2010).

For one of Toronto's veteran city councillors, the City of Toronto still has a lot of work to do in ensuring a more just society. According to him "the proof of a great degree of equity will be when you look at housing. If you are African, Latin American, South Asian, Chinese, South East Asian that there is no difference in housing patterns (Interview T1, June 2010)." He attributes part of the problem to the aging housing stock, particularly in areas such as Jane and Finch, Lawrence Heights, Regent Park, and Alexandra Park. This councillor supports the idea of social mix and densification where affordable housing will be adjacent to higher income housing options. He cites areas located in midtown Toronto where there is a mix of income groups and housing options, as well as the availability of a vast network of social services. He explains that the ward he represents is "not segregated like the suburbs" thanks to accessible public transit and the presence of community institutions and public spaces that help foster links between people. The suburban areas he mentions include Jane and Finch, Rexdale, and Scarborough which he sees as inhabited by new immigrants originating from a only few countries, including Somalia, the Caribbean, and Latin America. For him, "these areas are not integrated into the creative city because they don't have public transit or community institutions and they haven't built up social infrastructure (Ibid)." Since the 1990s, the inner suburbs (the former cities of Etobicoke, York, North York, Scarborough, and East York) have attracted a large proportion of new immigrants because housing in the central city has become extremely unaffordable (Ghosh 2014). The high-rise apartment buildings also offer larger units suitable for families and easy access to work and ethnic institutions such as retail businesses and places worship (Ibid). As a City of Toronto civil servant points out, many neighbourhoods in the inner suburbs are located in designated Priority Neighbourhoods[2] through the Neighbourhood Action Plan developed in the aftermath of a summer of gun violence in 2005. She refers to this "as management and containment of undesired populations" because rather than dealing with issues such as violence and poverty by seeing Toronto as a whole, they have created a divide between priority neighbourhoods and other areas of the city (Interview T5, July 2010).

[2] For more information see Cowen, D. and Parlette, V. (2011). *Inner Suburbs at Stake: Investing in Social Infrastructure in Scarborough*. Toronto: University of Toronto Cities Centre.

Opportunities and Inequalities

What appears to have attracted many newcomers to Toronto is the prospect of opportunities to ensure a better future for their families. However, the harsh realities of daily life quickly became apparent. In particular, a number of participants brought up the high cost of living in terms of rent and transportation, which makes for a "hard life" as Asma who came from Egypt with her husband and three children states:

> Toronto is a beautiful city, but the life is hard. Not easy. The life here is hard. Everything is expensive. Rent is very expensive. The transportation is very expensive. And if you have a car too, the insurance is very expensive. If you want to come here you have to get more money before you start here. It's not easy. You have to work hard in this country or in Toronto. You have to work hard to get money to get a good life for you and for your kids (Interview N26, May 2011).

For Michael, a native of Cameroun, his choice of residential location was mainly a question of finances and it is interesting to note that he would have preferred to live in the outer suburbs of the Greater Toronto Area, as opposed to a lower income area of North York where he currently resides with his family.

> Of course, I would have preferred probably going to Brampton and living in those mansions. If I had money I would have gone to Mississauga in one of those new housing developments and get myself a mansion there and live there, but unfortunately I couldn't do that (Interview N7, July 2010).

With knowledge of the city, also comes the awareness that Toronto is divided based on socio-economic conditions, which ultimately has an impact on the opportunities that newcomers are able to access. Even though Teresa from Bolivia has only been in Toronto for a short time, she affirms that "Toronto is divided in the east and the west" and that her neighbourhood is considered dangerous because of higher crime rates. This realization occurred when she wanted to acquire car insurance and she was quoted higher rates based on her address given higher crime rates. Upon arrival, she and her family settled in Toronto's west end because they had friends who were already living there. After a short time she also learned that the schools in her area were not ranked among the best in the city. This was a very important point for her because one of the main reasons for coming to Toronto was to offer the best opportunities to her children.

> At the beginning we didn't know about the neighbourhood because it is our first time here, but now I have more research about it. First of all, in Toronto I know that we have different kinds of neighbourhoods. I know that because of the schools. When you look for the schools you know that every school has a range and they have like a ranking. All the educational system is evaluated in this range and for example the schools near my neighbourhoods they have an evaluation like four to six out of ten. Then I met a friend and she told me that she is going to put her kid in another school and I did the research and that school has a record of nine out of ten. So I then started realizing that we have different kinds of neighbourhoods and also the average income of the neighbourhood is important for the schools and also for the programs of the schools. And then I started to notice that I live in a neighbourhood which has a median average (Interview N23, January 2011).

As a result, Teresa plans to move to another area of the city where there are schools with a better ranking and educational outcomes. She considers that more affluent neighbourhoods around midtown will be better for her children because of a wider availability of extra-curricular activities and access to broader social networks that will contribute to their success.

Only a few of the local officials spoke about the high poverty rates among recent immigrants and the social and spatial inequalities that they experience. The reasons provided include difficulties accessing good jobs, affordable housing, and public transit. As Ratna Omidvar notes, "immigrants don't need special services in as much as they need the services that are absent, like transportation and affordable housing, which are the two biggest issues in the city and they impact immigrants directly (Interview T7, August 2010)." This civic leader argues that employment is linked with transportation and affordable housing because immigrants often live in one end of the city and travel to the other end every day to go to work: "immigrants will live in Thorncliffe Park and work in Mississauga so they need adequate transportation." This idea is shared by a City of Toronto civil servant who observes that "diversity is moving out of Toronto because the city is too expensive and people can't afford to live there (Interview T14, December 2011)." Another civic leader describes Toronto "as a world class city from outside looking in. Although we have this wonderful city, not everyone is experiencing this fantastic city depending on where they live (Interview T9, October 2010). He goes on to state that:

> There has been intense immigration to Canada, particularly Toronto. This is a city of immigrants, it was built by immigrants. It was made by immigrants, so all of our world standing; the contribution of newcomers has helped make this a world class city. Over 35 years from 1970 to 2005 we have had unbelievable economic growth and prosperity in this city, but over that time we have had the emergence of three different cities within the city (Ibid).

The three cities he is referring to are described in Hulchanski's (2010) research on income inequality in Toronto which shows that there are pockets of poverty, particularly in areas with a high proportion of racialized groups. The third city, which encompasses the inner suburbs, include low or very low income neighbourhoods that are in dire need of better access to public transit.

Ethnic Segmentation

The newcomer participants saw Toronto not only in terms of the differences in socio-economic conditions from one area to another, but they also noticed that divisions based on ethnocultural background are transposed onto the urban landscape. Their imaginary of Toronto seems to be separated into compartments, consisting of neighbourhoods where there is a strong presence of groups who originate from the same countries. As Francisco notes:

> In Toronto immigrants are creating mini-worlds. In these mini-worlds everything is separated by neighbourhood (Interview N13, December 2010).

Or as Fatia explains, this is evident in the businesses and signage denoting a particular ethnocultural group.

> As you enter each area you see a different landscape of people and sometimes in commercial areas you can distinguish the difference that exists in terms of concentrations of people. The businesses and the signage tell you where these people are related to. So as you go to Scarborough you will see a lot of Pakistani, Afghani. You go to North York you see a lot of Irani, further up there are a lot of Chinese so you can distinguish that to some extent. Towards the west there a lot of blacks (Interview N18, December 2010).

Thinking about the city in this way perhaps makes the sprawling city more manageable and easier to grasp. For example, when Francisco discusses the neighbourhoods that he knows, multiculturalism in Toronto is summed up in the following way:

> In the area where I live, Dupont, Symington, Bloor, Davenport, there are a lot of Portuguese people. At St. Clair and Dufferin there are Italians. All of Dufferin Street is full of Mexicans. In Brampton there are Muslims. They wear turbans on their heads. I know Spadina, it's Chinese. College Street is also Italian. I don't know more than that (Interview N13, December 2010).

This statement paints a broad picture of Toronto's different areas, but does not account for the diversity within them nor is it completely accurate. For example, Brampton is known for being home to a large Sikh population, even though Francisco confuses them with Muslims.

Some participants are able to pick out what they call "newcomer communities", which can be likened to immigrant reception areas. For Mohamed, who briefly lived in one of these neighbourhoods, "Toronto is a gateway city and these are neighbourhoods where newcomers

get used to life in Toronto", but then eventually move out either to other areas of the city or other provinces in search of better employment, such as in Alberta (Interview N16, December 2010). He goes on to describe "newcomer communities" as those where there is a strong presence of people from South Asia, the Philippines, or the Middle East, which can be found mainly in Toronto's East End (Ibid). While Mohamed moved to another area after a short time, Noor who recently arrived from India saw many advantages to living in such a neighbourhood:

> So one of my husband's friends was here so we landed at his place then another friend came the next day and he brought us to this neighbourhood. And then we thought, like my husband really liked this place and we thought as a newcomer I think this is a good place to start because 90% are South Asians and everything was accessible. The school is near, library is near, halal grocery store, so for us that was important, mosque was near. We thought like this is a really good place to take a start and everything was within a walkable distance and you know when you're a newcomer you know how the things move right? You just have to take some time to buy a car. Everything is within walkable distance so that helps (Interview N14, December 2010).

Other participants described Toronto as a patchwork of various ethnic enclaves born out of the desire to live amongst those who share a similar background, such as Ali:

> Most of the people, those who are coming from different countries, they prefer to live in their own neighbourhoods. Okay, I just want to give you one example. If you go to Thorncliffe most of the people you will find there are from India or Pakistan. Especially Pakistan is a dominant culture. If you come across anybody in Pakistan, if you want to meet your friend, they will tell you why don't you go to Thorncliffe in Toronto? If you want to meet a Tibetan, almost 90% of them are living in the Parkdale area. So they have their community. If you want to meet a Tamil then you can go to Scarborough. Scarborough is dominated by Tamil and Chinese people. This is a multicultural city, but even then it doesn't have mixing with each other (Interview N1, May 2010).

This idea of communities living side by side without mixing also came out in an interview with Omar, who lived in the US prior to coming to Toronto:

> My knowledge of the city is limited, but if I go to Mississauga I see the large Indian population and if I go to Brampton I see all the Sikh population and then you go to certain neighbourhoods and you only see white. There is a perception that it looks like an integrated city, but I'm not sure how (Interview N2, May 2010).

Many newcomer participants had similar views about the fact that Toronto's residential landscape is segmented by such identifiers as ethnicity, race, and religion and some of them were uneasy about the presence of ethnic enclaves, particularly when it comes to raising a family in these areas. For Nadira, "it's good to get people practicing their own culture in a certain community, but I think it also has to be accessible to other cultures. It has to be a kind of an exchange (Interview N10, November 2010)." Her main concern is that living in a neighbourhood where there is one dominant ethnocultural group will hinder her children's opportunity to mix with people from various backgrounds. Zahid who came from Pakistan with his family explained

ethnic residential segregation as a process that occurs when immigrants settle in a neighbourhood and "the local Canadians start leaving the place because they don't feel very comfortable in that neighbourhood (Interview N19, January 2011)." In addition to a lack of opportunities for mixing with others from different backgrounds, participants noted that this type of segmentation can create or reinforce stereotypes. For example, François observes that "if you live in Thornhill people will say that you are Jewish; if you live in Jane and Finch people will say that it's dangerous, there are Jamaicans there, they are violent (Interview N4, June 2010)." At the same time, those who actually live in neighbourhoods that are considered to be ethnic enclaves have a different vision from the inside. For example, people see Thorncliffe Park as being populated mainly by South Asians, but as Noor explains, "even Thorncliffe is multicultural and diverse (Interview N14, January 2011)." She notes that there is great diversity within the South Asian population itself, particularly in terms of language and religion, and she knows that other immigrant groups live there such people from the Philippines and Latin America.

The civic leaders also brought up the idea of ethnic segmentation operating in Toronto, particularly in the context of the creative city. For one city councillor, while some areas are mixed in terms of the people who live there, others are not and are dominated by one ethnocultural group. He mentions areas such as Jane and Finch, Rexdale, and Scarborough which he sees as being excluded from the creative city because they do not have a high level of diversity, they lack public transit, and have not built up their social infrastructure. (Interview T1, June 2010). However, for Ratna Omidvar, "newcomer communities" like Throncliffe Park are "vibrant areas that hum with opportunity (Interview T7, August 2010)." In terms of ethnic enclaves, she also notes that they are "hubs of social capital and economic activity" and that "local institutions need to be as connected as possible to provide for interaction and mingling among people" (Ibid). Further, she, along with two other civic leaders, see Toronto as being segregated more by class than by ethnocultural group, while highlighting that racialized groups are disproportionately affected by such trends due to barriers in accessing employment and opportunities.

Mobility in the City

Toronto is a sprawling city and newcomers are often faced with the challenge of travelling long distances for employment or housing, which plays an important role in familiarizing oneself with the surroundings. Many of the participants did not have access to a car and so they relied on public transit to get around. As Amel notes:

> Déjà la recherche de logement ça m'a permis de connaître la ville. Parce qu'on a changé après. Maintenant on est à Etobicoke. Et donc chercher le logement à travers la ville ça m'a permis de connaître tous les quartiers et tout ça. Et puis la recherche de boulot aussi. À chaque fois il fallait se rendre dans un coin de la ville pour un entretien même si ça ne marche pas je commence à connaître un peu après mes déplacements (Interview N11, December 2010).

Francisco takes public transit to go to work from his home just west of the downtown area to Mississauga and Brampton, which can take up to two hours to get there. He works in a warehouse and along his route he travels with other workers:

> When I started travelling by TTC I used to really look at the people who entered the bus and I used to try to differentiate between them, like Chinese, Filipinos. I realized that the world is small because I used to meet the same people at the same time. I'm a dreamer and I observe them and sometimes I notice they are sad. During working hours I often find myself in the bus with the same people. I notice that some are sad, others are happy and I imagine a lot of things. It makes the time go by (Interview N13, December 2010).

As daily commutes in Toronto often occur over long distances, they provide moments of multiple exchanges and encounters, which bring about cultural intermingling and discovery of the Other (Boudreau 2010). In addition, moving around the city is a way for newcomers to get to know different areas and the people who inhabit these spaces. This idea is echoed by Ali:

> I walk a lot. I have a TTC pass because I don't have a car. So I roam around the city whenever I can. I like it, exploring different areas, different people. So I am quite familiar with downtown or the east end, Scarborough, Finch Area. I cannot say about Mississauga. If you ask me about Toronto I would say that I am quite familiar. I would say that I am quite comfortable in different locations. There are different communities and they have certain areas where they live. They have their own neighbourhoods and they don't want someone from outside. That's because I roam around the city. I saw that, the different cultures (Interview N1, May 2010).

At the same time, the inner suburbs, where the majority of the participants reside, are plagued by a lack of adequate public transit. This can hinder their ability to explore the city beyond its boundaries. As Nadira states:

> I: Moving around the city with public transit, do you feel that helps you to learn about the city?
>
> Yes definitely, but with a car I explore more because I can go further places and see how other places look like. Just within the TTC it's a separate area, it's kind of a little different but not that much because if I do not go out from Toronto. If you go to Mississauga you see a little different neighbourhood maybe. I went North and I found that there is less population, maybe recently a lot of houses are built. Like Thornhill, Markham (Interview N10, November 2010).

When asked if there are places that she doesn't particularly like, Victoria emphatically states that she "really hates to go where TTC is really complicated. It's far from a subway station and you have to take several buses to get there (Interview N17, December 2010)."

Civic leaders also underscored the importance of public transit for recent immigrants as the primary way to provide access to employment and services. They attributed the lack of adequate transportation in the inner suburbs, which are serviced by buses and no subway lines, as one of the major challenges experienced by newcomers. Many referred to the differences between the experiences of immigrants who have arrived within the last decade and previous waves of immigrants who were able to settle in the central city where there was a concentration of jobs, affordable housing, and public transit. It is interesting to note that only one individual spoke of personal experiences with using public transit in Toronto. She recounted her recent experience of moving to Scarborough and taking the bus along Finch Avenue feeling like she was "somewhere else" for the first few weeks because looking around at the other passengers she realized that she was actually the minority amongst those who are labelled as "visible minorities (Interview T6, August 2010)."

Conclusion

This paper has outlined the different elements of urban imaginaries of Toronto by comparing and contrasting the views of newcomers with those of civic leaders. The narratives revealed the following elements: ethno-cultural mix, socio-economic diversity, ethnic segmentation, opportunities and inequalities, and mobility in the city. The following table summarizes the similarities and differences between the everyday and "official" imaginaries discussed in the previous section.

Elements of the Urban Imaginary	Newcomers	Civic Leaders
Ethno-cultural mix	Multiculturalism Belonging Acceptance Suburbs Ubiquitous Diversity	Global City Diversity Downtown “Ethnic” Neighbourhoods Food and Festivals
Socio-economic diversity	Mixed Uses/Variety Pockets of Wealth scattered around the city	Social Mix Creative City Downtown or Midtown vs Priority Neighbourhoods
Ethnic segmentation	Mini Worlds Mono-Ethnic Neighbourhoods Newcomer Communities Convenience Stereotypes, No Mixing amongst different groups	Ghettos Newcomer Communities Importance of Community Institutions Segmentation by Class
Opportunities and Inequalities	High Cost of Living Hard Life/Work Divided City Better Future for Family Education	Racialized Poverty Transportation and Affordable Housing Expensive Central City Three Cities in Toronto
Mobility in the City	Accessibility Noticing Difference (people and landscapes) Familiarity Search for Jobs and Housing	Link between Transit, Jobs, Services, and Housing Noticing Difference (people and landscapes).

The construction of urban imaginaries suggests an evolution in time of how newcomers get to know the city through their everyday experiences and moving around the city. In this non-linear evolution, what strikes them first about Toronto is the fact that there are so many immigrants from many different countries, which makes them feel a certain degree of comfort because when they look around they see that they are not so different from others. As they continue their settlement process and their search for employment and housing, they realize that Toronto is also characterized by socio-economic inequalities. They become aware of these inequalities in the different neighbourhoods when they notice that there are pockets of wealthy areas, sometimes located next to lower-income neighbourhoods. These inequalities also impact their lives as they feel that the only way to succeed in Toronto is through hard work and that they will require a lot of money in order to ensure a good future for their families. Eventually they see Toronto as a mosaic composed of the areas where there are concentrations of ethnocultural groups. This is a source of comfort for some who find it convenient to live in such

areas, while others choose to live in other areas because they believe that in a multicultural city people from different ethnocultural groups should be intermingling with one another.

In terms of the civic leaders, their urban imaginaries appear to stem from their work and knowledge of Toronto's past and present, particularly through reports and statistics. They emphasize multiculturalism as a social reality and while being aware of the inequalities experienced by racialized groups, they do not personally experience these issues. For some, the solution to diminishing inequalities is to integrate low-income areas into the "creative city" through social mix and densification projects, community development, and improving accessibility to public transit. They are focused on downtown areas and "ethnic" neighbourhoods, such as Greek Town and India Bazaar, as well as festivals like Caribana and Salsa on St. Clair. This is in line with competitive city discourses that seek to market ethnocultural diversity and promote Toronto as a liveable city with a high quality of life. Thus, there does appear to be a gap between the "official" and everyday imaginaries, but it is perhaps not as pronounced as originally envisioned in the research. For example, newcomers and civic leaders also discuss Toronto as both a place of opportunities and stark inequalities. However, the difference here is that for newcomers this knowledge comes about as a result of their daily experiences as they work to build a life in Toronto, whereas for civic leaders their relationship to this reality is more abstract.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION-SYNTHESIS

Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to revisit the main theoretical and empirical contributions of this dissertation, which include: 1) a theoretical examination of municipal multiculturalism in Toronto within the context of amalgamation and how a shift in policy discourse engendered new governance arrangements that reflect a new entrepreneurial approach towards managing difference, and 2) an empirical investigation of the daily realities of newcomers in post-amalgamated Toronto that challenges its tolerant and diversity-friendly image. In the first part of this chapter I will contextualize diversity policies in post-amalgamated Toronto by linking the development of diversity discourse to the political climate throughout each of the three mayoral administrations in power since 1998. The second part of this chapter raises new questions about spatial and social justice in light of newcomers' everyday inequalities, which this research highlights through an examination of specific daily practices: mobility, consumption, and social relations.

PART 1

This section provides a brief historical overview of Toronto's metropolitan expansion beginning in the late 19th century and its transformation into a megacity after its imposed amalgamation from a conservative provincial government at the end of 20th century. This section will also trace the changing governance structure and the particular arrangements that facilitated its transition from the megacity of the Lastman years to its current megaregion status under Mayor Rob Ford. This overview provides the necessary political and institutional background for the discussion on the evolution of municipal multiculturalism in Toronto and the problematic shift in popular and policy discourse from equity to diversity; the former I argue is more closely aligned with priorities of fairness and the latter is more aligned with priorities of economic competitiveness.

Toronto Becomes a Megacity

As explained earlier in this dissertation, the amalgamation of Toronto came into effect on January 1, 1998. However, various waves of municipal reform had taken place since the incorporation of Toronto in 1834 (Isin and Wolfson 1999). As the city's spatial boundaries and population grew, a series of suburban annexations were carried out until 1914. After this point

new municipalities were created as a result of the fiscal constraints involved in providing services to all of the suburbs (ibid). By the post-war period, changes in Canada's immigration policies, an increase in birth rates, and a burgeoning economy resulted in a population boom, which lead to a housing shortage and insufficient infrastructure to service the urban region. As a solution to this problem, the Ontario government created the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto in 1954, an upper tier metropolitan council, to deal with regional issues such as transit and road expansion, and left the responsibility for local services, such as waste and water, with the existing 13 municipalities (Isin and Wolfson 1999; Spicer 2014). As Boudreau, Keil, and Young (2009: 49) note, "the idea was to have the rich core of the City of Toronto share in the cost of infrastructure and other development in the booming but tax-poor suburbs." In 1967, further restructuring took place and the municipalities were shrunk down to six (Toronto, North York, Scarborough, Etobicoke, York, and East York) and some services were transferred to the Metro level, including waste disposal, police, and social assistance (Côté 2009). This two-tier government structure whereby power was shared across the urban region garnered Toronto the reputation of being "the city that works" (Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009).

By the 1990s, it became evident that the Metro model was no longer working. As Spicer (2014: 2) notes, "after decades of rapid growth in the suburban municipalities surrounding Toronto, the 'metropolitan' structure no longer covered the entire metropolitan region." This development in the outer areas raised questions about the relevance of Metro given that they had become more diverse than the city's core, particularly in terms of employment and population. This system was also criticized for being inefficient because even though the outer areas had grown big enough to have a strong tax base, the centre was still paying for suburban development (Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009). The mid-1990s also marked a change in provincial politics with the defeat of Bob Rae's NDP government (1990-1995) by the Progressive Conservative party led by Mike Harris in 1995. Mike Harris campaigned on a neoliberal agenda called the "Common Sense Revolution" which promised leaner government, reduced spending, and tax cuts (Keil 2002). The amalgamation of Toronto was proposed within this context, but, as Isin and Wolfson (1999) explain, it originates in a broader project to reduce municipal delivery of social services and the will to make the city function like a corporation. Other arguments advanced by proponents of amalgamation, such as the downtown business community and some local residents, included achieving greater coherence, global competitiveness, and producing efficiencies by reducing staffing and service duplication (Côté 2009).

The amalgamation of Metro and the six municipalities into a single-tier City of Toronto was part of the City of Toronto Act (Bill 103) adopted by the Harris government in 1997, which also included property tax reform and the downloading of social services from the provincial to the municipal level (Côté 2009). As Good (2007) explains, this included services for the integration of immigrants, which was achieved indirectly through policy withdrawal by disbanding the Ontario Anti-Racism Secretariat, repealing the provincial Employment Equity Act (1993), and reducing funding for the provincial immigrant settlement program. The Harris government introduced a number of other policies that destroyed long established local social welfare institutions, including welfare cuts, a workfare program, the elimination of public housing programs and downloading of responsibilities to the local level, and dismantling and cutting funds to the education system (Keil 2002; Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009). As Boudreau, Keil, and Young (2009: 66) observe, the provincial government became "a workfarist, revanchist regime" based on "neoliberal governance models and market-driven development schemes." Further, as Kipfer and Saberi (2014: 132) note:

> downloading the cost of public services, pursuing selective municipal amalgamation, and blocking effective regional planning resulted in a contradictory mix of policies that enshrined intermunicipal competition and undermined the selective redistributive initiatives in the old municipalities of Toronto and Metropolitan Toronto.

The Harris government's decision to create a megacity was highly unpopular and fiercely contested by politicians, civil society groups, and the public, particularly because it was seen as a threat to local democracy given the lack of public consultation and the downloading of services would result in tax increases. Middle class citizens mobilized against the forced merger and coalesced in the movement called Citizens for Local Democracy. The main organizer of this movement was John Sewell, a former mayor of Toronto (1978-1980) and included urban-minded, left leaning professionals, educators, religious leaders, government service workers, and artists (Viswanathan 2007). As Boudreau (2000: 47) explains, Citizens for Local Democracy called for the "preservation of a progressive urban regime based on democratic principles and a certain conception of urbanity emphasizing quality of life." The anti-megacity movement was described as largely representing "white, British stock Toronto" (Siemiatycki et al. 2003: 437) up until the formation of a coalition representing immigrants and other marginalized groups in the city called New Voices of the New City under the leadership of the Council of Agencies Serving South Agencies. This group assembled 63 immigrant-serving organizations and brought the issues facing immigrants to the fore and promoted continued commitment to access, equity, and anti-racism work in the new city (Ibid). The main concerns included the possibility that municipal restructuring would result in public sector job losses for designated groups without guarantees

of employment equity as well as the funding cuts to immigrant settlement services as a result of downloading the costs of social services (Viswanathan 2007).

Both Citizens for Local Democracy and New Voices of the New City were very active during the election campaign for Toronto's first megacity mayor organizing candidates' debates and compiling a preferred list of those running for city council and the position of mayor. The two primary candidates were Barbara Hall, who was mayor of the former Toronto from 1994 to 1997, and Mel Lastman, who had been the mayor of North York for 25 years. Barbara Hall garnered the majority of votes in the former Toronto, York and East York. However, it was not enough to beat Mel Lastman whose populist political stance attracted voters in the former municipalities of North York, Etobicoke, and Scarborough. Lastman's agenda resonated with the policies espoused by the Harris government, such as lower taxes and increased urban development and growth, which was particularly appealing to suburbanites. This election changed considerably the municipal political landscape, resulting in a greater number of right-leaning councillors representing suburban areas as opposed to those from the central city. As Boudreau, Keil, and Young (2009: 56) note, "the Lastman election signaled the suburban re-regulation of an urban regime." Thus, it brought an end to a politics in Toronto that promoted economic growth, while also providing funding for social services and the environment (Ibid). Rather, the 1990s have been referred to as the anti-statist neoliberal period dominated by pro-growth, neoliberal, and suburban interests (Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009: 204).

Governing the Megacity

There have been three mayors at the head of Canada's largest city since amalgamation and each one has shaped the social and political climate of the city in a unique way. The first megacity mayor was Mel Lastman (1998-2003) a businessman who had previously been the mayor of North York from from 1972 to 1997. He represented the taxpayers in the inner suburbs as well as the business community in his pledge to freeze taxes and acquire more power for municipal government. He has been described as a "populist mayor with a strong personality" and found himself at the helm of a public service of 50,000 employees and 44 councillors (Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009: 78). The early post-amalgamation years were wrought with a number of challenges, including a budget crisis and fiscal austerity due to increased responsibilities and loss of provincial grants (Ibid). This period was also marked by mobilization among many urban actors to renegotiate relations with the federal and provincial governments in order to acquire greater political, legislative, and fiscal autonomy for the Toronto region. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss in detail the urban autonomy movement (for an in-

depth analysis see Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009; Allahwala 2011; Good 2009), but it is important to note that a number of state, business, and civic groups promoted the idea of a city charter that would be granted by the province and that these debates spurred the development of the New Deal for Cities announced by Prime Minister Paul Martin in 2003. Civic leaders in Toronto spoke of the province's neglect of issues affecting urban areas, such as immigration, and sought to build local capacity in areas of particular concern to the urban region that would incorporate upper levels of government (Good 2007). This explains the creation of the Toronto City Summit Alliance (now Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance) and its offspring the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council discussed in Chapter 1. At the end of 2005, a new legislation called the Stronger City of Toronto for a Stronger Ontario (Bill 53) was released by the provincial government, which delegated new taxation and fiscal authority to the city. Particularly important for the issue of immigration is the fact that the City of Toronto could now negotiate agreements with the federal government regarding immigrant settlement policy. For example, the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (2005) increased federal funding of immigrant settlement services in Ontario from about $800 per immigrant to about $3400 per immigrant (Good 2007). The partnership with the City of Toronto, officially known as the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on Immigration and Settlement (2006), is a milestone because it is the first of its kind in Canada. The MOU establishes a framework for the federal, provincial, and municipal governments to work together on policy, programs, and service delivery for immigrants in Toronto. Given that international talent is increasingly mobile, Canada must compete with other nations in order to attract skilled immigrants and since the majority of immigrants settle in Toronto it must offer favourable conditions for them to succeed.

The next municipal elections in 2003 saw a return of the reformism from the 1970s to city hall with the victory of David Miller, a lawyer and former city councillor and New Democratic Party candidate, who was supported by a coalition of public sector unions, labour councils, and progressive urban social movements (Fanelli 2014). As Fanelli (2014: 9) highlights:

> The progressivism of Miller's alliance, as opposed to the previous right-wing agenda of Mayor Lastman and council, had initially attempted to forge an alternative developmental project distinct from the singular business driven model of development at all costs.

Miller's vision was slow-growth and focused more on "quality of life as a competitive asset for city-regional economic development (Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009: 204)." Miller pledged to transform Toronto into a green, clean, creative, diverse, and liveable city "as a means to bolster competitiveness, enhance entrepreneurial opportunities and promote Toronto as a "global city (Fanelli 2014: 17)." In 2006 Miller brought together representatives from the private, labour, non-

profit, and public sectors to form the Mayor's Economic Competitiveness Advisory Committee in order to develop Toronto's Agenda for Prosperity. The Agenda for Prosperity (2008) outlines how Toronto can succeed in the global economy by promoting its attributes (economic, social, and environmental) to attract mobile talent and capital. According to this document, the assets that make up the "Toronto advantage" include quality of life, diversity and social cohesion, economic diversity, employment and labour force, infrastructure, environmental sustainability, as well as creativity, culture, and entertainment. Miller was also in favour of funding green initiatives, cycling infrastructure, social programs, and the arts.

However, some of Miller's seemingly progressive and appealing policies and vision of the city actually adhere to a neoliberal ideology. As Boudreau, Keil, and Young (2009: 205) argue:

> A city with a viable, festive, multicultural urban centre is greatly appreciated by economic developers as much as by reformists. This vision, however, excludes many sectors of civil society, who remain voiceless, powerless, or simply too radical.

Perhaps one of the most high profile projects that demonstrates this neoliberal and revanchist urbanism cloaked in progressivism is the redevelopment and privatization of Regent Park, a neighbourhood located just east of the downtown core composed of social housing units built during the post-war period. As Kipfer and Petrunia (2009) point out, the redevelopment of Regent Park was seen as a vehicle for facilitating the privatization of public housing lands and changing the composition of this neighbourhood by relocating some of the city's poorest households and replacing them with middle class residents.

Miller, who was re-elected in 2006, will likely be most remembered for his Transit City plan and the way in which he dealt with the transit workers strike in 2008 and the strike of unionized municipal employees in 2009. The goal of Transit City was to support economic development and promote accessibility across the city, particularly in the inner suburbs, through the construction of seven new light rail lines as well as other improvements to the existing transit system. In terms of the 2008 budget crisis ($575 million) Miller dealt with it by implementing new revenue tools, made possible by the City of Toronto Act (2006) discussed earlier. These included the Municipal Land Transfer Tax and the Personal Vehicle Ownership Tax, which were highly unpopular despite the fact that they became an important source of income for the city (Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009; Fanelli 2014). Further, as Fanelli (2014) explains, in the midst of the recession, City Council sought to cut wages and benefits from its unionized workforce, which caused 24,000 workers to go on strike for 39 days in the summer of 2009. With garbage piling up on city streets and in parks, Miller was criticized by those from both sides of the

political spectrum and it became clear that his popularity was waning. These events were a precursor to the results of the 2010 municipal election, in which Miller did not run.

Rob Ford, a right-wing councillor from Etobicoke, won the 2010 municipal elections with tremendous support from suburban residents. Ford's ideas about city building were the exact opposite of those promoted by Miller and he "vehemently opposed community grants, green initiatives, and funding anything cultural (Doolittle 2014a: 12)." Ford's main pledge was to stop the "Gravy Train" and put an end to wasteful spending at City Hall. There are several factors that can explain his victory, including Toronto's slow recovery from the economic recession meaning that residents were even more concerned about how their hard earned tax dollars were being spent, as well as the 2009 municipal strike, which caused a great deal of anger and frustration for residents. As Fanelli (2014: 14) states:

> Dubbing his supporters "Ford Nation", he contended that Toronto had become a fiefdom for powerful, monopolistic and uncompetitive unions and pledged that he would stand up to Toronto's unions, privatize assets, contract-out services and reduce taxes.

For Ford himself, his imagined "Ford Nation" is composed of "car-driving, home owning suburban family men, proper 'taxpayers' like himself (Kipfer and Saberi 2014: 134)." Ford's rants are usually directed toward a host of enemy others, including "City workers, downtowners, cyclists, transit users, refugees, gays and lesbians, protesters, and "thugs" (gang members) (Ibid)."

Early on in his mandate, Ford cancelled Transit City and pushed subway development rather than Light Rail Transit, abolished the vehicle registration tax, reduced the annual budgets of city councillors, contracted out garbage services, reduced the number of Toronto public service employees, and introduced new user fees for rentals, recreation, and arts programs (Fanelli 2014). As a city councillor and Mayor, Ford consistently displayed his disdain for community grants by voting against them during council meetings, but he was usually out-voted by the other councillors. Ford has claimed to have saved the City $1 billion during his four years as mayor, but it has now been proven that this is not the case (Moloney and Pagliaro 2014). According to the latest numbers, Ford can claim that he reduced spending more than Miller (who also reduced spending), but whether this has resulted in any real savings for taxpayers is questionable given that property taxes have still continued to increase since he was elected (Ibid). In the wake of the "Crackgate" scandal and other inappropriate behaviour displayed by Mayor Ford, his credibility has been seriously undermined and even his closest allies on Council no longer support him. In May 2013, Ford was caught on video smoking crack cocaine and a police investigation later revealed his ties with drug dealers. Subsequently, in November 2013

City Council voted to transfer the mayor's budget and significant powers to Deputy Mayor Norm Kelly.

Municipal Multiculturalism: From Equity to Diversity

The City of Toronto's official motto was adopted with amalgamation, but the tradition of diversity policies goes back to the late 1970s and various task forces have since examined issues of ethno-cultural diversity. For example, in 1977, the city's first employment equity policy was implemented and in 1978 the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto adopted an official multicultural policy (Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009). These actions were inextricably linked to the official status given to multiculturalism by Prime Minister Trudeau in 1971. As Ramkhalawansingh (2012: 77) explains, "in Toronto, 'official multiculturalism' became the policy hook upon which institutions, notably the Toronto school board, began to address the barriers face by 'new' Canadians as they sought to achieve success and become integrated into Canadian society." At the municipal level, the former City of Toronto was also very progressive on issues of access and equity, equal opportunity, and diversity and it dedicated a large number of staff and funding to ensure outcomes in the areas of employment equity, human rights, and public policies. Beginning in 1981, the City of Toronto undertook a major survey of the presence of visible minorities in the municipal public service and found that they represented only 6.7% of the workforce, meanwhile they made up between 15% and 20% of the population at the time (Ramkhalawansingh 2012). As a result, Toronto City Council pledged to implement a series of actions, including monitoring of employment practices, reviewing programs and policies to ensure that they responded to the needs of ethnocultural communities, assisting staff in becoming more responsive to changing population dynamics through development and awareness programs, creating community liaison activities, collaborating with the private sector to encourage English in the Workplace programs, and increasing employment opportunities, as well as apprenticeship and internship programs (ibid). As Ramkhalawansingh (2012: 81) notes:

> By the 1980s, the term 'multiculturalism' was not used widely in municipal programs and instead from the mid 1980s the terminology of equity, equality and human rights came into wider use and by the end of the 1990s diversity was introduced.

For Ramkhalawansingh (2012) municipal programs and policies dealing with multiculturalism in Toronto have evolved from respecting and valuing difference to social and economic integration for designated groups, including racial minorities, women, people with disabilities, and Aboriginal people. As she explains, the Task Force on Contract Compliance established in 1984 found three areas where the city's work on equity issues could be more far reaching: recipients of municipal grants were required to adopt City Council's anti-discrimination policy in order to

obtain funding and it became mandatory for civic agencies and suppliers of goods and services to the city to adopt this policy as well. Metro Toronto Council had also established a committee called the Council Action Committee to Combat Racism and was later named the Anti-Racism, Access and Equity Committee (Viswanathan 2007). As explained by a City of Toronto employee, during the 1990s the city's approach evolved to address intersectionality in order to look at issues in a more integrated way while considering people's multiple identities (Interview T12). From service delivery, policies and programmes became more geared towards encouraging civic engagement and participation as a way to foster immigrants' sense of belonging (ibid). As Ramkhalawansingh (2012: 82) states:

> perhaps the most important lesson is that the achievement of the goal of equality or social equity requires positive steps and recognition that the experience of discrimination affects disadvantaged groups differently. In other words, treating everyone the same will not achieve equity.

This idea is echoed by a City of Toronto staff member who argues that because Toronto is so diverse, some staff members think that "people are all the same and they get along. But things are more complicated than that. You can't just leave things on their own. You need to work on it to deal with systemic issues (Interview T15, December 2011)."

With amalgamation, the former City of Toronto became part of the megacity and the motto "Diversity Our Strength" was adopted after consultations with the public. This motto was meant to symbolize the merging of seven municipalities into a single city and the harmonization of the diversity policy and programmes that had been developed by the former City of Toronto and Metro (Ramkhalawansingh 2012). The Diversity Management and Community Engagement Office was placed in the City Manager's Office in order to centralize its role in coordination, policy development and monitoring and each city division was provided with support in developing access and equity goals and objectives and integrating them in practice (Interviews T14, T15 December 2011). The implementation of an equity lens was a very important first step given that some of the municipalities were not as progressive on diversity issues (Ibid). As discussed earlier in this dissertation, the diversity policy framework implemented post-amalgamation includes the formation of the Task Force on Community Access and Equity in 1998 and the adoption of all of the recommendations and the creation of five Community Advisory Committees (Aboriginal Affairs, Disability Issues, Status of Women, Race and Ethnic Relations, and LGBT Issues) in 1999. Further, in 2000 the city's first Diversity Advocate was nominated, a role that was later taken on by the Chair of the Roundtable on Access, Equity, and Human Rights from 2004 to 2006. The Roundtable developed an equity lens to be used by all

members of the Toronto Public Service and City Council to identify and remove barriers as they prepare reports and review programs and services. Community consultations undertaken by the Roundtable revealed that the major priorities should be ensuring access to affordable housing, transportation, childcare, employment, responsive policing, health care, and education in order to reduce poverty and eliminate barriers (Ramkhalawansingh 2012). According to Ramkhalawansingh (2012), the City of Toronto's approach evolved to focus on social and economic integration, which is exemplified in the Plan of Action for the Elimination of Racism and Discrimination (2003). This Plan emphasized political leadership, advocacy, economic participation, public education and awareness, service delivery, building strong communities, accountability and civic engagement (Ibid). Of particular interest is the Access and Diversity Unit that was created in the Parks and Recreation Division to address issues of access to recreation programs and leisure activities for equity-seeking groups. As one city staff member explains, in the former City of Toronto, recreation was used as a tool to increase access given that recreation services were widely accessible and equitably distributed (Interview T14, December 2011). The idea that municipal recreation programs can affect integration is confirmed by Biles et al. (2011) in relation to accessibility, fees, availability of equipment, and cost of transportation (see also Poirier 2005; Poirier, Germain, and Billette 2006). After amalgamation, user fees, which were previously in effect in the former suburban municipalities, became city-wide. In terms of the Access and Diversity Unit, interviews with city staff reveal that the Unit was not given sufficient resources to fulfill its mandate. As a result, according to one staff member, this Unit did not engage in the necessary policy work or staff knowledge training and development, which means that there are still long-time employees that don't understand diversity issues (Interview T14, December 2011) or there are those who believe there is no need to work on diversity (Interview T15, December 2011). At the time of these interviews, the Access and Diversity Unit had recently been dismantled and it was still unclear how the staff would go about continuing the work they had been doing. In addition, the number of youth outreach workers, described as the City's most diverse employees, was significantly decreased (Interviews T14, T15, December 2011).

Despite the city's commitment to removing barriers to access for equity-seeking groups, the emphasis on diversity management and the use of diversity as a corporate logo is interpreted differently by municipal staff and other organizations working with immigrants. As Viswanathan (2007: 143) outlines, diversity management is a "means for the city to regulate collective activity and at the same time promote a certain type of collective activity", mainly through allocating funding for civic engagement projects. Her research reveals the role played

by the use of diversity language rather than access and equity. While representatives of the city see this as a positive way to attract the attention of employers to the issues facing new immigrants, others contend that it obfuscates the main problem which is systemic racism (Viswanathan 2007). This contradiction is further explained by Viswanathan (2009: 165):

> The use of diversity terminology, especially in public policy and planning discourses can negate differences and categorizations (i.e., along the lines of gender, race, class, sexuality, and ability just to name a few). On the one hand diversity discourses sustain the status quo (Bannerji 2000) and on the other hand, attempt to incorporate new ways of understanding ethno-racial differences from the standpoint of those communities (Fincher and Iveson 2008; Wallace and Milroy 1998).

Criticisms were expressed by some of the City of Toronto staff that I interviewed. For one in particular, the implementation of the diversity lens since amalgamation was not successful because the workforce of the City Toronto, especially management, as well as City Council remains predominantly white (Interview T14, December 2011). Further, this participant argues that a major problem is that the City is mainly reactive so it is not doing forecasting or addressing the gaps to ensure outcomes (Ibid). However, current initiatives of the Equity, Diversity and Human Rights Division are heading in a positive direction In late 2012 the Working Group on City Funding Support for Toronto's Community-Based Anti-Discrimination Infrastructure was established to provide support in equity work in four main areas: participation of Aboriginal people; increasing community engagement; developing an Equity, Diversity and Human Rights Framework and a Youth Outcomes Framework; and funding strategies to support access, equity, and anti-discrimination initiatives. Ultimately, questions of equity and social justice play out in the daily lives of immigrants in the city, which will be discussed in the following section.

PART 2

This section provides an empirical illustration of the newcomers' daily practices, namely mobility, consumption, and social relations. The discussion of each aspect highlights questions of social and spatial justice, which is understood here in terms of the inequalities experienced by the participants that structure their daily practices, including where they live, work, and shop, as well as how they get around and where they go.

Mobility

One of the aspects of daily life discussed in the interviews was daily mobility in the sense of movement through space (as opposed to other types of mobility such as virtual, cognitive or social) as the main postulate of this research is that it is an important factor in the

formation of everyday urban imaginaries. Jouffe (2011: 125) defines daily mobility as follows: « l'ensemble des pratiques spatiales réalisées dans le cadre de la vie quotidienne, structuré par le retour quotidien à un lieu permanent de résidence. » Jouffe's (2011) research on the daily mobility of temporary workers in two Paris suburbs found that despite their precarious economic conditions and a lack of skills, they were highly mobile. He calls this "flexible mobility", which is characterized by its scope, diversity, and complexity (Ibid). In addition, Daems (2005: 101) points out that the choices of mobility are not the same for everyone:

> Ce choix est sous-tendu par une morphologie de l'espace, des habitudes, des représentations, des avancées techniques ainsi que par un ensemble d'inégalités, qu'elles soient spatiales (et liées aux questions de desserte, de localisation des équipements – les gares notamment – d'accessibilité géographique…) ou sociales (relatives, alors, à l'effet ségrégatif du coût des transports et aux compétences de mobilité,…).

The ability to move around depends on a number of factors, including age, gender, family situation, physical ability, employment, and socio-economic conditions. Mobility is also influenced by other inter-related factors, such as material resources (such as car ownership), the availability of infrastructure and public transit, as well as structural forces such as the labour and housing markets. It also entails the development of skills, such as the ability to orient oneself, read a map, and plan one's trip using different means of transportation. As Daems (2005: 103) notes, the capacity to move around has become a socially valorized skill, but the capacities, aptitudes, and practices of one's mobility are socially discriminatory.

> De ce fait, les pratiques de déplacement deviennent socialement discriminantes, notamment en ce qu'elles conditionnent l'accès au marché de l'emploi. Si elle révèle des distinctions sociales de classes, la mobilité constitue aussi, de multiples manières (entrave ou injonction), un opérateur de hiérarchie sociale.

It can be argued that mobility plays an important role in the lives of immigrants given that they have chosen to leave their home country for various reasons, including social, economic, and political. Further, in the case of this research, half of the participants have carried out multiple migrations having lived in other countries, cities, and provinces before settling in Toronto. It is interesting to note that Toronto seems to be their final destination as none of them mentioned any plans to move elsewhere. A major skill for newcomers in Toronto is knowledge of English, which is essential when it comes to finding one's way around and feeling comfortable enough to venture out and about. This is best exemplified by Samantha:

> So when I started to learn English and to go out and I learned different things about here, so I feel safe. Because in my country, you know I come from Mexico City and some parts are so dangerous. Here I can go out at night I can take my cell phone and Ipod and it's okay (Interview N5, July 2010).

Material resources, such as access to a car are important, as well as skills such as the ability to read a map and access transit information because they increase the possibilities of mobility and facilitate one's movements. This is illustrated by the following statement by Amir:

> Maybe my case is unique because about two weeks after arrival my brother gave me a car. Nobody has that with an international driver's licence. So I started going around with a map and looking everywhere, for shopping. Even though I got lost many times, but I had that privilege. When I was alone I had a map and because I had internet I had that privilege. Even though at that time it was not that popular, I could find everything on the internet. There was no high speed internet but I bought a dial-up and from the first week that I came I bought a computer and had access to the internet. It helped me a lot. Anything that I was hearing about, I went to the internet to find out the address and then check on the map. You know, going in advance. Having some knowledge about the organization that I was going to, having the address. And many times checking with my brother. Ok I want to go there, so what should I do? You have to take the Bloor Subway station and go to Union Station and then go to that one and that one. In some cases I called the TTC to ask about the proper routes or the bus number or street car that I have to get. Many times my brother and his wife gave us advice of how to get to places. For the driving I had the Perly's map to get around and I had the phone that I could use to call him if I was lost. Even sometimes with the map, I couldn't navigate the map. Even looking up in the map, that's something that you have to learn. It's not from the very first day that you can use that book because you have to know the numbers, something like that. The numbers and everything is different (Interview N3, May 2010).

Indeed, someone who has arrived only recently may not be able to purchase a car right away and so they would have to rely on other means of transportation, which impacts their possibilities to get around as well as their choice of residence. This was the case for most of the participants who had been in Toronto for less than a year or two at the time of the interview. For example, when Noor first arrived from India with her family, one of her husband's friends brought them to visit Thorncliffe Park and they decided to rent an apartment there given that many amenities are located within walking distance, including grocery stores, shopping, a school, a library, and prayer facilities:

> So one of my husband's friends was here so we landed at his place then the other friend I was talking about who had left his family here, so he came the next day and he brought us to this neighbourhood. And then we thought, like my husband really liked this place and we thought as a newcomer I think this is a good place to start because 90% are South Asians and everything was accessible, school is near, library is near, halal grocery store, so for us that was important. The mosque was also near. We thought like this is a really good place to take a start and everything was within a walkable distance and you know when you're a newcomer you know how the things move right? You just have to take some time to buy a car. Everything is at a walkable distance so that helps (Interview N14, December 2010).

Another example is Aliya who arrived from India in 2010 and first settled in Brampton at a family friend's home. However, she and her husband only stayed there for two months because they realized that without a car it was very difficult to travel around the city, which hindered their possibilities of seeking and securing employment. As she stated:

> The first few months were very difficult. We thought that we would never find a job if we kept living in Brampton. We didn't have a car so after ten days my husband bought a bike. He was going around handing out resumés travelling by bike. We didn't know Brampton and we didn't know where to go to find a job. We started to get depressed because there was no money coming in. We were using the money we brought. It was like we were just eating and sleeping (Interview N25, May 2011).

In terms of the characteristics of the participants' daily mobility, their movements are dispersed across the city and mainly structured by where they work and live. Half of the participants were employed full-time outside of the home so their routine consists primarily of getting to and from work, either by car, public transit or bike, to various parts of the city. Only a few work in the downtown area and some are required to travel large distances for their jobs, such as Francisco who lives near the Junction and works in Brampton or Asma's husband who lives in Scarborough and works in Etobicoke. The mobility practices of the other half, who do not have full-time jobs, can be qualified as what Jouffe (2011) refers to as "flexible" as it is ever changing depending on what constitutes their primary activity at a given time. This cohort engages in a host of activities, such as contract work, attending job search workshops and training, and volunteering.

It is interesting to note the relationship to the neighbourhood for those residing in areas that offer many local activities, such as Thorncliffe Park, Dorset Park, and Flemingdon Park. The availability of a number of amenities, including schools, daycare, library, shopping, grocery stores, religious institutions, and community based organizations means that residents are not required to travel very far to access many services. The participants interviewed from these areas take part in many activities, such as English classes and conversation circles, employment counselling, and children's programs. As Nadira explained:

> Here because you see a lot of buildings and the service is very accessible easily. You can walk to the library. There is a lot of programs for children, for women. So I actually think that this place is actually very good for a newcomer. So when I moved here my younger one was two and he went every place. I took him to drop-in programs and then I had my own program and he has child-minding services provided for him (Interview N10, November 2010).

These neighbourhoods stand out in comparison to other areas that severely lack services. Nadira experienced this when she lived in Scarborough before moving to her current neighbourhood:

> I wish I landed here because I did not know LINC class, I did not attend any services like my older daughter she did not attend any children's programs. But when I was in downtown and in Scarborough, I kind of lived by myself, I would say. Just I knew two neighbours and other than that I just tried to figure out everything by myself and I guess it's one of the reasons why I did not know about any of the services that were provided. And it's quite far. I remember when I was in Scarborough I tried, I checked the internet and I found one drop-in program for children but it was very far (Interview N10, November 2010).

The availability of public transit strongly influences one's possibility to move around and access services. As the quote above illustrates, some areas lack public transit which hinders one's mobility, especially for mothers with young children. However, for others who live close to public transit, they mentioned how easy it is to travel around the city. For example Amel and Mustafa who both live in the west end of the city:

> A : Moi j'ai vécu à Mississauga et après à Etobicoke à Kipling Station. À Kipling Station j'aime bien, c'est pas loin de la ville. Ça nous prend 30 minutes pour arriver à parce qu'on est vraiment sur la bouche du métro et donc 30 minutes c'est un trajet normal. C'est pas excessif (Interview N12, December 2010).
>
> M : Même si on est à l'autre bout de la ville, c'est que 30 minutes. A Paris, je faisais une heure pour aller au travail alors que j'étais limite à côté. Le transport est très difficile là-bas (Interview N11, December 2010).

Or Isabelle who stated:

> C'est les transports en commun et les taxis. C'est tout. J'utilise beaucoup les transports en commun, que ce soit le métro, le GO bus, que ce soit le train ou c'est le train quand je n'ai pas le choix. Jusqu'à présent c'est peut-être pour ça que je prends du temps à passer mon permis parce que j'habite au centre-ville, tout est à côté (Interview N8, September 2010).

However, residing in proximity to a subway station is not the case for all of the participants, as half of them live in the post-war suburbs where they need to rely on bus service to travel. This means taking a long bus ride to the nearest subway station or taking multiple buses in order to arrive at one's destination. In addition, the cost of public transit in Toronto is quite high, which also plays a role in the decision to use this service.

In terms of place of residence, the interviews revealed that moving from an area to another can change how one experiences the city. For example, Aliya who moved from Brampton to Scarborough said that she enjoys her new neighbourhood, an area of high rise apartment complexes located at Kennedy and the 401, and described it as peaceful, safe, and convenient because everything is nearby, such as a school for her son, grocery stores, and a park (Interview N25, May 2011). Victoria had a similar experience moving from an area in North York, which she did not like because it was isolated and far from everything, to a neighbourhood just east of downtown, which is easily accessible by public transit.

> I like this area. I like it because the first thing, maybe this sounds silly, but the view of Toronto that you have from the valley is amazing. The public library is in this corner so when I moved here I saw that and I said ok this is nice. And it's really close to downtown but the best thing is the streetcar, 24 hours. This is Gerrard Street and Broadview, so I have the streetcar. I have two options for the streetcar 24 hours. I'm not spending the nights like really late but it is nice to know that you can get home because the streetcar is really near (Interview N17, December 2010).

Asma mentioned that she had thought about moving from her current neighbourhood in Scarborough to another area to facilitate employment, mainly because her husband works in Etobicoke, which makes for a very long commute by car. However, they decided against it because they did not want to disrupt the routine already established for her children.

> At first we thought about going to another place to get a good job because here in this area it's hard to get a job. It was hard to find work for me or my husband. We thought about going to another place but because my kids like it here so we didn't want to change their life. That's why my husband takes one hour every day to go to his work.
>
> I: So in which area does your husband work in?
>
> Now in Etobicoke. We have a car. Without a car it takes two hours to get there. If we didn't have a car he would not go to the job. We spent a long time without having a job. Maybe more than eight or nine months (Interview N26, May 2011).

In their movements around the city, many of the participants explained their preferences and dislikes as they explored different areas. As Francisco stated:

> Before I used to live close to St. Clair. I used to go to the gym at St. Clair and Dufferin. And I used to walk around and I got used to going into some stores because I like the style of the things they were selling. I never saw that in another place. If you go walking down Bloor Street, all of Bloor Street from Kipling to downtown you can see different things that you won't find in other parts of Toronto. I like this (Interview N13, December 2010).

For Ali who lives near Victoria Park Avenue in Scarborough, going to visit friends in Mississauga has enabled him to compare this area, which he sees as clean and beautiful, to his neighbourhood, which he considers in need of repair.

> Toronto's population is increasing and problems are also increasing every day. If you see this Victoria Park road. I was talking with my brother in Pakistan and I was telling him that the road where I'm living here is the same road like in Pakistan. There it's a broken road and it's also a broken road here.
>
> I: I noticed it's under construction.
>
> Now they are fixing it I think. So I have friends. The day before yesterday I visited my friend in Mississauga. When I saw Mississauga it's amazing. It's a beautiful city.
>
> I: How did you go there?
>
> My friend took me there. He has a car so he came. We had a meeting over there with friends. It was very spacious, very wide roads, clean city. And Toronto has become a dirty city because it is congested (Interview N1, May 2010).

Some of the participants mentioned how visiting different areas constitutes a leisure family activity. As Teresa, who has two children, stated:

> With the library for example we have a card and we can visit different kinds of places for free if you have this coupon. That's why I know different kinds of places.
>
> I: What are some of those places?
>
> For example the Science Museum, or the ROM or the zoo. Every time we went to a place we stayed around there and we started looking at the neighbourhood, the zones. We look around, just to know how Toronto is. It's really big and clean (Interview N23, January 2011).

The participants who have been in Toronto for longer explained that they mainly visited the city's attractions when they first came, which is something they do not do as much now. For example, François:

> Disons en général quand je suis arrivé rapidement j'ai fait la plupart des endroits. Très vite, en moins de trois mois. La plupart des endroits dans la ville. À travers les groupes avec lesquels je mettais sur internet c'est des groupes différents avec différents intérêts. Il y a des autres qui aimaient visiter la ville et il y avait d'autres qui visitaient hors de la ville. Il y avait le groupe de salsa, on faisait des restaurants ensemble aussi. Parfois on allait dans des discothèques de salsa. Et puis ils aimaient qu'on aille faire des restaurants. Donc j'ai visité la plupart des lieux, Little India, Chinatown, les bons restaurants chinois, les différences entre eux. La ville plus ou moins j'ai fait du vélo autour du Harbourfront, les îles de Toronto. Je connais La Distillery District. Il faut dire qu'il n'y a pas une tonne d'endroits à Toronto. On fait le tour très rapidement. On n'est pas en Italie (Interview N4, June 2010).

The places mentioned in this quote are located in the downtown area, which highlights the relathionship between mobility and centrality. Ramadier's (2002) research on the mobility practices of residents in a suburban area in Québec City revealed four types of urban centrality, whereby the centre is a symbolic, functional, geographic, and identity based place. For the participants who do not live close to the downtown area, it seems to constitute a symbolic place, in the sense of a tourist attraction they would visit occasionally, but not as part of their daily

routine. Two participants mentioned that they went there to see what it's like, but decided they didn't like it because it is too busy and crowded. One of them was Yacine:

> I don't like downtown Toronto. I don't like lots of. You feel like your heart is squeezed when you go downtown, lots of big buildings. Toronto, I have been here for a year now and I have been there two or three times. I took my wife because she wanted to see downtown. I didn't want to see it. Lots of people there and you see lots of poor people sleeping on the street. You have the good sides, like when you go to Dundas and Yonge, you find this beautiful stuff, but it's good for one time, two times, but after than well maybe shopping (Interview N9, October 2010).

In terms of its geographic characteristics, these participants defined "downtown" as Yonge and Dundas and the Eaton Centre. Other participants spoke of visiting Harbourfront or the PATH underground shopping mall, such as Ali:

> Before coming here my wife told me that the largest underground shopping mall is in Canada and that's in Toronto. So I said, wow that's amazing. I'm going to the city that has the largest underground shopping mall. But I couldn't find where that shopping mall is. And just two days ago I was googling it and I said that now it's good weather and we should go and see. Because she has friends in Pakistan and whenever they are calling they ask, did you see that underground shopping mall? And so when I googled it, I found out that it was the line barrier from Yonge and Bay going straight towards Union (Interview N1, May 2010).

However, Victoria who lives just east of the downtown area brought up places that she goes to on a regular basis for various activities. She mentions Kensington Market, where she does her grocery shopping and visits stores where she can speak Spanish, and the Village at Church and Wellesley where she goes to visit friends. This denotes a functional centrality characterized by commercial activity and depends mainly on one's life style, but it is also identity based given the presence of one's social networks (Ramadier 2002). Patricia, who lives in the downtown core, discussed the convenience of having easy access to the TTC as well as the availability of a good school for her daughter.

> It's convenient and especially if you don't have a car and you use the TTC for me it's easier. My husband, he hates it and for me I love it because you don't have to depend on a car. Having a car is so expensive. My daughter goes to school in downtown and I find there are more options at least up to a certain level. There are more options for French Immersion. If I move somewhere farther probably there is only one school for French Immersion in the whole area. So I cannot move around. For me it's important my daughter's education (Interview N15, December 2010).

In this case the central city as a geographic entity is described by Ramadier (2002: 128) as follows:

> D'une part c'est le lieu qui structure la mobilité quotidienne en s'appuyant sur le critère d'accessibilité à l'ensemble des ressources urbaines. D'autre part, elle n'a pas de fonction identitaire d'un point de vue psychosociologique. C'est généralement le case du quarter de résidence ou du lieu de travail.

In terms of other areas in the city, some participants mentioned places that they would avoid because they were warned that they are dangerous, particularly Jane and Finch and Regent Park. As Fatia explained, "There was a class that I was going to take at Finch and Jane at night but I was warned don't go to the area, so I didn't take the class" (Interview N18, December 2010).

Michael shared similar thoughts:

> I would avoid Jane Street because it is not a secure place because there is a lot of violence. If you live there, if you stay there and you see what is going on you will understand that it's not a good place to be. I used to have a friend that lived there. I don't recall of any day I went there without meeting guys smoking weed in the staircases. I have never see that here where I live. Again, being a violent place, just passing there is a high risk to a person because you can get caught in the cross fire. So if there is a place that I will stay away from, it would definitely be Jane and Finch (Interview N7, July 2010).

This contrasts with Isabelle, who also heard about Jane and Finch being a dangerous place, but she went there and didn't feel unsafe:

> Bon, on m'a dit de faire attention de ne pas aller à Jane and Finch et de faire attention à Regent Park. Quand on ne vit pas dans un endroit, juste passer dans un endroit une fois ça ne suffit pas vraiment, et de ne pas parler aux gens qui vivent là pour avoir une bonne idée de ce que c'est. Moi Jane and Finch, je n'ai pas eu peur quand j'étais là-bas, j'ai été plusieurs fois d'ailleurs. A Regent Park c'est bizarre, dans ce coin là j'ai eu un peu plus peur parce que c'était plus flagrant la pauvreté dans laquelle les gens vivaient. Donc c'était peut-être pas de la peur, mais un inconfort (Interview N8, September 2010).

Thus, not everyone has the same attitude towards fear, but they insist on the fact that it is necessary to live somewhere to really know what it is like.

The interview excerpts presented above enable us to understand the role played by mobility in the lives of newcomers. Access to a mode of transportation (car, transit, bike or walking) plays a role in how they organize their lives. For example, for someone who does not own a car, having amenities within walking distance may influence in which neighbourhood they decide to live. For others owning a car was crucial to securing employment in a location far from one's residence. In some cases, residential mobility was influenced by labour-market conditions as well as socio-economic constraints. Moving from one area to another can change the way in which one experiences the city and can improve access to employment and educational opportunities or result in different lifestyle choices (such as leisure activities or shopping).

Ramadier (2002) argues that one's lifestyle plays an important role in understanding daily mobility more than issues of class. However, the daily mobility of the participants of the research discussed here appears to be influenced by socioeconomic characteristics, particularly because their precarious economic conditions largely dictate where they live and work, which in turn makes a difference on where they go and their mode of transportation.

Consumption

According to Parker (2004), consumption is one of what he calls the "Four C's of the urban experience", namely culture, consumption, conflict, and community. As he explains, "consumption refers not just to the consumption of goods and services, but also to the nature of the exchange and the means by which such goods and services (private and public) are produced (Parker 2004: 4)." For de Certeau (1984) consumption practices are considered as one of the central aspects of urban life, which plays a complex role in contemporary society (Surrenti 2009). The research presented here focused on consumption practices, particularly shopping as an everyday activity. As Surrenti (2009) notes, consumers make their choices according to their own personality and sense of identity, thereby generating a cultural meaning to an everyday activity. For example, Victoria, grocery shopping, finding fresh food items, and being able to speak Spanish with merchants is an important part of her routine:

> The old Chinatown is at the corner so I can buy some fruit and I like to buy the fruit there for example. I think it's better than in the supermarket for some reason. I have the feeling that it is fresh. So this is nice that I have the Chinatown here. In a typical week I'm going to Kensington Market because I need to buy my groceries. That's an important part of my week. I like the meat there. There is a Chilean butcher so I like to buy the meat there. I like Kensington Market because I can find my food and everything there and I can speak in Spanish when I'm buying my stuff so I really like that area. I can hear people speaking in Spanish, that's why I like that area too (Interview N17, December 2010).

For Nadira, going to get groceries is inextricably linked with her identity as a person of Chinese background with ties to the South Asian community as well:

> We go to three places actually. First we go to Danforth and Victoria Park where there is Little Bangladesh. Because my husband is from Bangladesh, so we get South Asian supplies from Bangladeshi stores typically. And then I'll go to the Chinese Food market to get my own supplies.
>
> I: In Chinatown?
>
> No, there is a lot around. Actually one just opened last week in this neighbourhood. Before that we just see which is nearer to our destination. And then we need to go to the local grocery store like No Frills to get milk, you those Western products, cereal, cheese.
>
> I: When you came, was that helpful for you?

> Yes very helpful. Even now. Because I don't miss. I love cooking and because I can find all ingredients here so I can basically make whatever I want to eat here. So it's not something like, I want to eat this thing but I can't find it. I don't have this problem. Not at all (Interview N10, November 2010).

The fact that specific food products from "back home" are readily available in Toronto was considered as an advantage of living in a big city compared to smaller cities. Indeed, immigrants often transform the city's built environment, such as retail businesses, "creating places that signify their presence and testify to their rights to occupy public space (Preston and Lo, 2009: 72)." Yacine noted the following:

> They have all our products like middle eastern stuff that you don't find elsewhere. I mean even in other cities. Like in Kelowna for example you don't find it like here. If you look for anything from back home you will find it, which gives you the feeling of nostalgia, like you are at home. Like you are eating the same food like back home (Interview N9, October 2010).

Mohamed explains why Toronto stands out in this regard, particularly the fact that there are many festivals centered around food. Such events have been criticized by many as promoting a "food and festivals" (Goonewardena and Kipfer 2005) or "sari and samosa" type of multiculturalism (Viswanathan 2007), but for Mohamed it is a way to bring people together and create familiarity:

> It's just that the people are used to all types and this is a very strong and powerful thing. You need Egyptian food or Arabic food you'll find Middle Eastern food, you'll find Middle Eastern groceries, South Asian, Arabic, Muslim, Halal, everything you will find and this is a point of power. It is not easy to find this everywhere. It is a point of power. It will make you feel familiar, at least when there are feasts or something local for everybody all nations they have their day or whatever feast and you see people are gathering there and this is so nice (Interview N16, December 2010).

In terms of the abundance of choice, Ali expressed: "well, whatever I want to buy is easily available. If I want meat, so we are Muslim and we eat halal meat, so it's not that difficult to find here. Everywhere you can find it (Interview N1, May 2010)." For those participants who are practicing Muslims, finding halal meat was very important. For example, Khadija from Afghanistan explains that when she was in the US she couldn't find any, which caused a great deal of distress for her.

> I: So when you came were you able to find food?
>
> Here yes. In Scarborough there is a huge bazaar, Afghani bazaar. They call it Kabul Bazaar. We used to do shopping there, grocery shopping. But in the US I wasn't eating meat and I was really stressed out, crying. I was really upset at that time. But still I had a good time. It was a different experience from back home. But still I was missing back home (Interview N24, January 2011).

However, for some participants the halal meat shops are not always located close to where they live and if they are, the prices tend to be higher. For this reason, sometimes people choose to travel a little farther to find better prices. As Asma explains:

> We have to go far away sometimes to get halal meat. But we have it here it in this area. We have a halal store, sometimes we get it from them. But the price is maybe more than the other place. Sometimes we go far away to get it because the price is better there. If we don't have time we buy it from here.
>
> I: When you say far away, where is it?
>
> In Mississauga (Interview N26, May 2011).

In addition, Fatia stated that she only goes to Iranian stores in the area known as Teheranto out of necessity to buy halal meat, otherwise she would not go there because it is quite far from her home.

> With regards to the higher prices, Michael explained it as follows:
>
> But they do have some stores that are ethnic specific. Although the prices are outrageous but if you have money you can pretty much get what you want.
>
> I: They sell for more in those stores?
>
> Yeah they sell them for more and everything you like is available there but the prices. I would say that the reason being is that they don't have their customer base for those products so it doesn't justify them bringing down the price to sell, to do volume. I understand why they jack the prices up. That's to make a profit out of it. That's the main purpose behind them doing business right? So I would saw in general everything I want is pretty much available it's just for how much (Interview N7, July 2010).

It is not always necessary to go to retail businesses established by community members in order to find specific products. Many large grocery stores now have "ethnic" food aisles offering a selection of products depending on the population residing in that area. As Francisco explained:

> I used to go to No Frills on Dufferin or No Frills on Dundas because they sell Mexican food. They have canned food from Mexico. Beans, chili peppers. Different kinds of Mexican food. Tortillas, spicy stuff. That's why I go there to buy my food (Interview N13, December 2010).

It is interesting to note that spaces of "ethnic" food consumption can bring people from diverse ethnocultural backgrounds in contact (Preston and Lo 2009; Radice 2009). For example, many of the participants from African countries visit Asian stores that carry the products they use. As Guillaume told me:

I : Et des produits de chez vous, est-ce que vous les trouvez ici ?

Oui, je me suis renseigné et on m'a montré où on peut trouver des produits d'Afrique.

I : Ça se trouve dans quel coin ?

J'ai visité un marché au nord-ouest non loin de Finch. Un marché ou on trouve des vivres tropicaux. Peut-être ne venant pas de l'Afrique mais c'est des vivres tropicaux, le manioc, le macabou et bien d'autres produits tropicaux. Ça ne vient pas d'Afrique mais c'est des produits que nous connaissons. Ça n'a pas exactement la même saveur mais ce n'est pas très éloigné (Interview N6, July 2010).

In a similar vein, Michael stated:

> There is a store at Jane and Lawrence called India Africa. They pretty much sell specific products from Africa, from India. Like they have all those spices that you normally wouldn't see at Wal-Mart. And they have those specific types of food that any other store wouldn't carry (Interview N7, July 2010).

Surrenti (2009: 212) brings attention to the symbolic aspect of food and its role in social traditions as outlined by Bourdieu (1979) who argued that "food is a social demarcator, distinguishing status, marginalizing certain groups and defining social boundaries." Many of the participants highlighted the fact that some stores are more expensive than others depending on the neighbourhood they are located in, acting as a social filter. For example, as Isabelle explains:

> Ce que j'ai quand même trouvé intéressant ici vraiment trop drôle, c'est absolument le même produit, si tu l'achètes à Food Basics ça coute $1.25, tu l'achètes à Sobeys ou Loblaws ça coute $2.00, mais c'est exactement les mêmes produits. Et puis dans certains quartiers carrément je ne sais pas si c'est pour ne pas inviter certaines personnes, couches de la population, tu ne vas pas trouver Sobeys. Les magasins qu'on retrouve, surtout les supermarchés sont adaptés aux quartiers (Interview N8, September 2010).

The difference in price from one store to another was brought up by a number of the participants, including Ali who stated "I don't go to Metro because Metro is only for rich people, so I usually go to No Frills or Food Basics here at Lawrence (Interview N1, May 2010)." According to Patricia, living in Toronto offers an abundance of choices:

> There is a variety. That's what I love about Toronto too. If you have money you can go and spend your money at Whole Foods and if you are watching your budget go to No Frills. So I go to No Frills or Price Chopper (Interview N15, December 2010).

Amel also mentioned the availability of fresh produce at a lower price in Chinatown:

> À un certain temps je faisais toujours mes courses, tout ce qui est légumes, fruits au quartier chinois, Spadina parce que c'est moins cher, c'est frais, il y a beaucoup de choix. Et donc c'est là-bas ou je faisais mes courses. Il y a de bonnes affaires (Interview N12, December 2010).

Another topic discussed by many of the participants was the variety of restaurants in Toronto which offer the opportunity to discover foods from many countries. Going out to eat was presented as an activity that family members share. As Ali explains,

> I: Do you ever eat out in restaurants?
>
> Oh yes, I am fond of that. Me and my wife, two times a month we go out for dinner. We go with family. It's my old habit. So old habits never die. So that habit comes from Pakistan. Especially I dine with my family, but that would be halal food. I don't go to the same restaurants. I usually ask people if they know of any restaurants that I have never tried. So usually whenever I meet with friends I ask them if they have something new for me. And I tell my wife, I have a new restaurant. Now here close by there is one restaurant that is from India. It's just a 10 minutes walk from my home. Somebody told me about it so maybe next time, next week Saturday or Sunday I will go with my wife to taste that food. I go to new restaurants and try new food. If I don't have anything then I go to Popeye chicken (Interview N1, May 2010).

Asma also told me about the new foods she and family have tried, as well as the preferences of her children.

> We tried Chinese food and other Arabic food not from my country. And Sri Lankan samusas. I like it and my kids too. And the Pakistani food too. We like it very much. My kids, when we go out, when they want to eat outside they go to Pakistani food places (Interview N26, May 2011).

Other participants spoke about learning about cultures through going to restaurants, particularly in neighbourhoods such as Little Italy or Greektown, which becomes a regular activity among friends, which is the case for Amel and Mustafa (Interviews N11 and N12, December 2010):

> M: On a essayé des restos Portuguais, Italiens, des choses comme ça.
>
> A: A chaque fois on change.
>
> M: On découvre la culture. Thai, chinois.
>
> A: Coréen, Japonais. Des sushis, on n'a pas du sushi en Algérie. Des fois les amis ils invitent.
>
> M: C'est vrai qu'on connait un peu la culture à travers les restaurants. Ça met quand même dans une certaine ambiance. Si on veut manger un bon plat italien on va aller au quartier italien, si on veut manger grec on va aller au quartier grec.

However, some questioned the authenticity of the food offered in restaurants. For example, Francisco explained that he likes the fact that Toronto is multicultural because "travelling one minute you can eat Italian food, but maybe it is not the real Italian food (Interview N13, December 2010)." Victoria had similar thoughts regarding food from her own country, Mexico:

> For example Mexico and Mexican food. I hate Mexican food in Toronto because it's not Mexican. So that's why I used the word fake. So I have the feeling that sometimes when I'm learning about other cultures I'm receiving something that is fake (Interview N17, December 2010).

However, she feels that sharing food in her friends' homes is more authentic:

> Once she invited me for Nigerian food and I had the feeling that it was real Nigerian food. And it was delicious by the way. But I'm pretty sure that if I go to a Nigerian restaurant I would receive something different, processed, just like the nicest parts of the culture (Interview N17, December 2010).

For Nadira, trying new foods may not necessarily lead to learning about another culture, but it can open the door to social contact:

> I think it's good to introduce food to people but I don't think it's necessarily the people who eat the food will learn the culture. But people might get familiar with the food the people use, the ingredients and then they get. I think in a way it's good because it does get people closer, I think. Because when. For example yesterday I ate Indian food and today I meet an Indian person, I can say oh yesterday I had Indian food, it was great. And the Indian person will feel good, so you kind of start to have some communication. But that doesn't necessarily link to acceptance of a culture (Interview N10, November 2010).

This section has illustrated how consumption practices, particularly grocery shopping, are an important part of one's daily routine and mobility. For most of the participants, finding the products they need is relatively easy and there is an abundance of variety available, which contributes to a feeling of being "back home". It has also discussed the role played by socioeconomic conditions insofar as many of the participants mentioned going to stores where the prices are more affordable. Those who spoke about going to restaurants and trying new foods can be likened to what Radice (2010: 15) calls "personal cosmopolitanism" whereby one "is disposed to be open to and interested in, although not necessarily expert in, elements from cultures that his or her own." The material collected here supports Radice's (2010: 269) argument that this "willingness to engage with the Other" (in this case through food) is not "the preserve of the jet-setting global elite." It is also interesting to note how some participants highlighted authenticity, which for Victoria can be found in one's home and not in restaurants, and questioned whether this type of cultural exchange can be more deep and lead to "acceptance of a culture" as stated in the quote by Nadira above.

Social Relations

Social ties, both local and transnational, have been identified as playing a fundamental role in the migration and settlement processes of immigrants. Interpersonal ties that link kin, friends, and community members in their countries of origin and their destination countries can

have an impact on their ability to migrate to a particular place, find housing and employment, start a business, and access services (Poros 2011). As Poros (2011) notes, many immigrants seek to minimize their risks and so they choose their destination based on where they know other individuals or organizations that can provide assistance upon arrival. “Strong ties” with family and close friends and “weak ties” with acquaintances and institutions can be a channel of information as well as a source of material and social support throughout the integration process, particularly for those who lack language skills or knowledge of institutions (Giuletti, Schluter, and Wahba 2013: 657). Contemporary settlement patterns of immigrants have changed the nature of their social networks given that they generally live in multiethnic neighbourhoods and their family and friends may be dispersed across the city rather than living close by (Rose et al. 2002). Thus, these networks extend beyond the limits of the neighbourhood and certain places, such as places of worship and ethnic businesses, attract people from various parts of the city (Dansereau and Germain 2002). Further, the increased availability of technology means that people are able to access information even before arriving in their new country and communicate easily and more frequently with their transnational social networks (Ibid). As a result, while the neighbourhood remains an important site for the development of social ties among immigrants, it is no longer a homogeneous space of reproduction but rather a platform for accessing other parts of the city (Dansereau and Germain 2002). As Dansereau and Germain (2002: 23) argue :

> le quarter fonctionne alors davantage comme une ouverture sur d'autres fragments cosmopolites de la ville que comme un espace clos autosuffisant ou un espace de construction d'une identité communautaire.

In what follows, we will see how newcomers (re)constitute their social networks as well as the challenges involved, particularly when it comes to creating ties with the Canadian-born population. The section will conclude with some reflections raised in the interviews about social relations in a multicultural city.

The research presented here reveals some interesting points regarding the role played by social ties in the daily lives of newcomers. From the outset, all of the participants mentioned that they had at least one contact in Toronto, such as family, friends or acquaintances, which, in some cases, directly influenced their decision to settle there as opposed to another city in Canada. For example, as Ali stated, the fact that he has many friends in Toronto was instrumental in his choice of destination:

> Most of my friends are already living in Toronto. That's the reason why I came here. If I had friends in Vancouver, in any place, even in Saskatoon or any place and that friend said to me you want to come here, we have a job offer for you, I would have gone there (Interview N1, May 2010).

He goes on to say that his friends told him that "if you want to come to Canada, Toronto should be the first choice because there are more opportunities, there are more people here that speak our language, and it's a multicultural city. You have more opportunities to flourish yourself (Ibid)." Thus, his social network acted as a channel of information, particularly regarding job opportunities, which was his main priority. Asma also shared her reasons for choosing Toronto:

> We have one friend here, my husband has one friend here and that's why we chose it.
>
> I: Before you came to Toronto, did you know anything about this city?
>
> Not too much. Just some information, but not too much yeah. Maybe because my husband has a friend here we came and he explained everything to us. We lived about 2 weeks in my friend's house and after 2 weeks we rented another apartment in the same building (Interview N26, May 2011).

Another participant, Michael, explained that he probably would have decided to go to Montreal because he speaks French, but ended up in Toronto because there was someone there willing to assist him upon arrival:

> No, there was nothing about Toronto that I liked. It was where I had to go. I had a friend that had a family relation in Toronto and I had to go somewhere when I arrived here so I arrived here with my friend and we went to his family member and I spent about a month there just to settle down, see how the city is and get to be on my own. That's the only reason as to why I am in Toronto today. It wasn't a choice. I wasn't given 10,000 options to choose from. If my friend's family relation was in Vancouver, I would probably be in Vancouver today. So, I didn't choose Toronto over other cities because something stood out of Toronto that was not available somewhere else. Of course, to a French-speaking immigrant the easiest place to go would have been Montreal. If I had a choice just because of language, but unfortunately I had nobody in Montreal that would have welcomed me in the country and get it easy, so that's why I'm here today (Interview N7, July 2010).

François also underscored the importance of having someone to count on as soon he arrived in Toronto.

> J'ai eu de la chance car quelqu'un est venu me chercher à l'aéroport. Un ami que j'avais connu à travers une amie.
>
> I: Donc t'avais déjà un petit réseau social ici?
>
> Oui, j'avais un pied à terre, comme on dit. Il y avait une Canadienne d'origine camerounaise qui s'installait en Suisse quand moi je quittais que j'ai aidé avec de l'information et elle à son tour m'a donné pas mal de conseils et des contacts dont celui qui est venu me chercher à l'aéroport qui est devenu un ami à moi que je n'oublierai pas parce que en plein Toronto, appeler un taxi (Interview N4, June 2010).

Social networks also played a role in residential location, particularly during the initial settlement period. As Amir said:

> I settled in Toronto and why? Because my brother was here and I was thinking about the support that I needed. I ended up living just next to him in the house. The reason was because my brother lived there so he chose a place for me there. And it was something I needed because the first day that I came I didn't have a job and I didn't know what to do. Even though I had the knowledge of English but I didn't know how to navigate the system, many things. So he had to help a lot. I needed that support (Interview N3, May 2010).

Teresa, also appreciated the assistance provided by her friends in terms of finding an apartment for them.

> Our friends live in that building and they recommended us that to start living there. So it was easy because when we came we just started living in our apartment. It was so nice because we didn't need to look around and do the research (Interview N23, January 2011).

Those who did not have family or friends in Toronto searched for contacts on the internet in order to obtain information on where to rent an apartment. This was the case for Isabelle who explained how she ended up in the neighbourhood that she still lives in (Midtown).

> Je connaissais une dame que j'avais rencontrée par internet trois jours avant de venir, c'est tout. Donc je ne connaissais pas vraiment le coin. Je suis arrivée là par hasard et j'aime bien parce que c'est très sécuritaire et c'est très jeune, c'est très important pour moi (Interview N8, September 2010).

The importance of the internet and cheap means of communication was mentioned by some of the participants as preparation for immigration. Amir provided a detailed explanation of how this facilitates the settlement process:

> But my experience may be different from those who have come today. And really you have to think about that. I'm talking about people who are coming. They live here before coming because they go to the internet. It was not the case at that time in my country and many countries because the infrastructure for the internet was not as high as now. And now everybody wants to come, especially those who are skilled workers.
>
> I: They are informed.
>
> Exactly. They are informed. I guess many of them, maybe they are going through the map and the city and the area that they live. In my case that was not available. If I wanted it was not. And so many more people have come. I had only my brother. My brother didn't have those challenges. He came 20 years ago and he doesn't remember. He just kept telling me go and you will find it, or go and get lost. In my Farsi language it doesn't mean something bad. Now people come with a plan. The internet has helped and the government has done so many better things, settlement.org or even CIC has initiated some things that people can do before coming. They can even evaluate someone's credentials before coming. And even working with a regulated body they can do that before coming (Interview N3, May 2010).

Ali explained that he didn't have time to do much internet research before coming so he counted on his friends as channels of information:

> I did not search anything about it. I did not go on the Internet because I didn't have time. And also, if you are calling from Pakistan to here, it's like a local call, it's very cheap.
>
> I: Ok, so you can call your friends all the time.
>
> Exactly. You don't need to go through the internet because you have your mobile phone and you have friends in Toronto or anywhere in Canada and you can talk with them every time. So I did not browse or search the Internet. My friends used to give me feedback, quality feedback all the time (Interview N1, May 2010).

Indeed, having information beforehand can save immigrants a great deal of time and facilitate the job search. Amir is aware of this and shares information with other future immigrants:

> For example I know so many bridging programs that are available that people can apply for before coming. I have a friend who is coming, she is a nutritionist there, so I know that before coming she can apply to Ryerson to the bridging program with a nutritionist and the best things that she can do. For many of my friends who came, they found out about the bridging program after two or three years (Ibid).

However, as Ali mentioned, despite the fact that his friends provided him with information there are barriers that still exist, which makes accessing opportunities difficult.

> There are merits and disadvantages everywhere. My friends used to give me a rosy picture that Canada is one of the most developed countries in the world. It is, but you know you have problems there.
>
> I: Like what kind of problems?
>
> Finding jobs. One of the hardest problems is finding a job. And the assessment of your credentials. Credentials evaluation is the second problem. So finding a job, acceptance of your previous experience, credential evaluation is also very difficult here (Ibid).

The research participants also explained how they began to form their social network once they settled in Toronto. Many of them mentioned that they began to make friends with fellow classmates in ESL classes that they enrolled in soon after arriving with various organizations (such as COSTI, Thorncliffe Neighbourhood Office). Michael provided a detailed explanation of how he began to meet friends:

> It's quite easy to meet people in Toronto because there are social networking organizations. I'm not really sure which one I went last because when I initially arrived here COSTI does offer a gathering opportunity to any immigrant that arrives here. If you feel comfortable enough, still following your learning because the ESL program offers you the opportunity to gather with any other person that is doing the same class on Saturday and Sunday, just for discussion and again, you can still use that as a channel to make friends, which to me was very nice because my first friend here was a guy from Iran. He was called Tony. We never met before, but he was a very good guy. We're still friends, we still get in touch and that was like four years ago (Interview N7, July 2010).

Michael highlighted the importance of these connections not only for improving his English skills but also for overcoming loneliness:

> I would say the connection would have been that we could barely speak English. But we could speak to one another. We had our difficulties but we understood that we could still get along. Whereas if I was speaking to someone that was a lot faster, maybe a Canadian, they wouldn't stand having someone that's not able to properly articulate or to say things the way they would like. I believe being in the same situation not being able to speak English we were able to get away to speak to one another not in English but when you can't say it, you could just point it and the person understands what you want. So there was another way to communicate and we were able to get along. We were quite happy. That's what I would see as a plus for newcomers. Otherwise if I wasn't in that situation it would be pretty lonely if you're not in the situation where you get together with those who can mingle in terms of being able to express yourself and be able to have some laughter. It would be quite tough for a new immigrant (Interview N7, July 2010).

Other participants mentioned meeting people through places such as work, places of worship, through neighbourhood organizations, and on the internet. In terms of work, Yacine explains that he has met people there, but he does not qualify them as "strong" connections because other than work they don't have much else in common:

> You need to connect with people, you need something common. We do at work sometimes we go out for lunch, a group lunch. Yeah, but that's it. But otherwise you don't see them much outside of work. If, for example, I was not married and I used to do something else like study, anything else or. Especially at university I think you will find more common culture. That's the only place that has the highest level of knowing more people (Interview N9, October 2020).

These commonalities are evident in the following statement by Ali who met many friends at Ryerson University.

> Because I have done a 1-year certificate course in social work from Ryerson University, so I met these people at Ryerson, they were in my class so we have a strong affiliation with each other. Although we are done that course, but even now we are meeting at least once a month (Interview N1, May 2010).

He goes on to provide the specific details of these friendships and the bonds that connect them:

> I have friends. You know I am from Pakistan, but I have friends from Pakistan and Sri Lanka, also from India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. They are from different cultures. It is a different religion, you know? So we are quite mixed with each other. We have families, so our families are visiting each other. They come to my home sometimes and I go to their home with my family. So there is no requirement that the person should be from my own region, my own community, we are very open to each other, even though they don't speak my language and I don't speak their language, although they are not from my religion, we don't care (Interview N1, May 2010).

Places of worship also bring people together, as Omar explained:

> Basically my circle of friends revolves around the mosque that I go to. And so it's mainly Guyanese and other Muslim communities. So very few from my part of the world attend that mosque. Only three families are from Kenya and Somalia. Most of them are from Afghanistan, Pakistan, some Arabs.
>
> I: Where is it located?
>
> It's at Weston and Sheppard in North York. That's where I am most of the time if I'm not home. It's a place of worship and opportunity to interact with people who come from different backgrounds (Interview N2, May 2010).

For others, the internet was a means of meeting people and a source of information about the city, including François who explained how using the site "meetup.com" enabled him to get in contact with people who had similar interests. Social media sites like Facebook were also useful in connecting with others from her country of origin, as highlighted by Amel:

> Je suis passée par une période, parce que je ne connais pas beaucoup d'algériens je sentais que j'étais un peu isolée avec mon rythme études, travail tout ça. On n'arrive pas à faire beaucoup d'amis. Les seuls gens qu'on rencontre c'est dans les cours d'anglais ou si on fait une autre activité. Et donc j'ai commencé à chercher des algériens sur Facebook. Et puis après j'étais sur ce groupe. J'ai rencontré pas mal d'algériens quoi. Là on connait deux couples, peut-être cinq ou six algériens. On s'est rencontré, on a pris un café, on a même vu le match de foot ensemble durant la coupe du monde en ville. Et voilà, c'est des gens biens et c'est vrai que ça nous a aidé à connaitre des algériens ici. On se voit de temps en temps, c'est pas tous les jours ou tous les weekends, mais quand même ça fait plaisir de parler comme ça entre algériens, faire des blagues tout ça (Interview N12, December 2010).

However, some participants pointed out difficulties they experienced making friends. Yacine sees this as an issue specific to big cities, where are contacts are more impersonal compared to when he lived in a smaller city in British Columbia before coming to Toronto.

> I: In terms of your social network, have you created links with your co-workers or other people?
>
> That's a problem here. You touched the point where there are some things that make me not like this place. Well I like it from those points of view, but there is a point of view why I don't like it much. People think when you move from a smaller town to a bigger town, smaller town you have less people. You go to more people and the logic would say that you have more friends. But it's the opposite. Bigger cities, no friends at all. People are, maybe I'm working in electronics, their clock is high. There frequency is high. They are working maybe two jobs and they have their family. The rhythm of life is a little bit fast. Let me give you an example: in a smaller city, someone who steps on you will tell you sorry and you turn to him and you say "it's ok". In a bigger city you tell him sorry and he looks at you without saying anything; he just leaves. And that's an insult in our country back home. If I tell you sorry and you turn your back and don't answer me it's like you have insulted me (Interview N9, October 2010).

This situation can be even more challenging for women. For example, Yacine explained that his wife was very isolated when she first arrived and had difficulties meeting people.

> Even in the mosque people are too busy, are afraid of knowing others. That's the word. They're afraid. My wife during Ramadan we used to go and pray night prayers. She spent like seven or eight months without talking to anybody here, just her family back home. Every weekend they call on the phone. Her family didn't have internet yet. You know back home to ask for internet takes months. Anyway, so after all that time she didn't meet anybody I used to take her with me to pray at night so she would feel more relaxed. The first time she heard someone talking in Arabic and she was Algerian actually, she was so happy. It was like she found her mom or something! But people are afraid to know the others here. She was shocked. In bigger cities, I don't know people are becoming like this, they are afraid (Interview N9, October 2010).

This situation is exacerbated by the fact that Yacine and his wife live in a neighbourhood in the outer suburbs in comparison to other women participants who lived in denser neighbourhood with amenities such as parks and community organizations that facilitate interactions. For example, as Asma said that she likes her neighbourhood in Scarborough for the following reasons:

> I think it is good. Everybody knows everybody. More friends, have friendship. Sometimes I went, I met some people from my country who live in another area they don't have friends at all, they don't have some activities, they don't have some events. But here I think it's an active area you know. I have some friends who live in North York and another friend. They don't have anything to do in their community. But here I think we have a lot of things. That's why we like here. And we have a park, Glamorgan Park. All the women in the afternoon they meet together and the children play together (Interview N26, May 2011).

Aliya also mentioned the importance of the park for her:

> If you are feeling lonely you can go to the park with your child and spend some time there. I also like that the 401 Highway is close. It is noisy at night and so I don't feel lonely at home at night because my husband works the night shift (Interview N26, May 2011).

Such neighbourhood ties were evident in the narratives of women who lived in particular areas, including Thorncliffe Park, Dorset Park, and Flemingdon Park. They participate actively in local organizations, through volunteer work and attending workshops. For example, Nadira volunteers at her children's school, takes part in programs at the community centre, and attends workshops on various topics such as education, finance, and social services. However, it is interesting to note that while she takes part in many social activities in the neighbourhood, she does not describe her social ties as being very strong:

> I: So speaking about social networks how would you describe that for yourself?
>
> Um, not very strong. Maybe part of it because I do not belong to any of them, but I am kind of getting connected with them.
>
> I: So would you say you have a lot of connections but with different groups?
>
> Yes, different groups but not very deep, not in-depth connection I would say (Interview N10, November 2010).

She attributes this to the fact that she has multiple identities and she is quite happy to be able to be accepted by a group without being close enough to be potentially involved in conflicts:

> Once there was a time when I tried to figure out why, but then I gave up doing that. I think this is who I am. I once tried to fit myself into a certain neighbourhood but I decided this is who I am. I'm quite popular whenever I go to many places, but I do not attach to them like they attach to themselves among them. You know when there is a community with all Chinese or all South Asians they have conflicts among them. But I usually can see those as an outsider (Ibid).

Involvement at the neighbourhood level through volunteering can sometimes lead to permanent employment, which was the case for one of the participants, but others realize that they need to create social ties that are professional in nature with a view to accessing employment opportunities. This was expressed by Nadira:

> That's when I started looking for a job, I realized that I should build some networks just in a very professional way. You know just, there is no private life involved. You talk about your career goals maybe your contribution to the society from a bigger picture. I think that's what I'm trying to do from now. To get to know people, to get to know this face, my face. You don't need to have a deep connection with them, but at least they know who you are (Ibid).

Other participants also expressed the desire to expand their social networks, not specifically for employment but for socializing and meeting new people. For example, in the case of Amir although he has good relations with his neighbours and attends event such as birthday parties and other occasions he longs for more regular contact with people as he had with his friends and family in Iran:

> Many Saturdays and Sundays we ended up going to the Eaton Centre because if there are no parties we don't have such a strong networking. Almost every Saturday and Sunday we go dining out. With the other networking we feel that something is missing here. We go there but the problem is that we don't have that much. It's not every week or every month. Like tomorrow I have a party for my son's birthday and you'll have 20 or 25 people who are coming and you go to their parties but it's not on an ongoing basis. It's like once in a while. But here my feeling is that still we don't have that much friends or networking. Because we don't live in the community, we are far from them. Geographically they live in Richmond Hill. Even though in the neighbourhood we do have good relationships it's not that much because it's limited to the occasions, birthdays, Thanksgiving, some major events. Still it's something that I'm not feeling good about (Interview N3, May 2010).

Amir did not have difficulties establishing social ties with the Canadian born population, but when he attends these gatherings he feels like the connection is superficial and does not lead to meaningful relationships:

> You go there, you're laughing, you're talking, it's leisure time but you feel not attached to that, it's not yours. To me it's sometimes kind of role playing. Because it's not your culture. So many things you want to say, but it's meaningless for them. They are not from your background. Many things that you can say with people from your community, political things, some things they have ideas about, even the jokes. It is socializing but it is not that deep. And that lack of depth is visible. And really after that, you don't have that much refreshment as you would with people from your culture. So it's not that difficult to have networking with the Canadian born, but it's not that meaningful and satisfying for me. You go there, it's a BBQ party. Physically, it's exactly as if you're born here. You have been invited, you go there, you take something with you, you bring a present and you stay there and you communicate and you talk about everything, but your own feeling is that no, it was not something that I needed. I spent time, it was good, I was not at home, but I was not really involved (Interview N3, May 2010).

Ali has attempted to make friends with those who are born in Canada by inviting people from his work placement to his home. However, he feels like it is not possible to establish close relationships:

> So I have some reservations about those who are Canadian born. Well we try to mix with them but they have their own circle, they have their own limitation, they have their own people. So I don't have any hesitation with mixing but I don't know about them. Even if you want to be friends with them, it's for a while, just one or two times or three times. Then they have their own limitations. They don't want to go beyond a certain limit (Interview N1, May 2010).

Teresa also explained why she wanted to expand her social networks beyond people from the same background as her:

> I know that I am Hispanic, I know but I try not to. Because well I'm new and my husband and I we are very curious we tried at the beginning not to be with our Hispanic community because we are in a new country so maybe let's try to know different people, like Canadian people. And you know in my first eight months I just met seven Canadian people. Because the people that I met are from different countries. It's amazing. Once I went to the French community and there I met four but in the other part just three you know because there are not so many Canadians in Toronto (Interview N23, January 2011).

It is interesting to note how a "Canadian" is defined. Yacine provided an example with regards to his work environment:

> And we have lots of people from everywhere in our group. We are all immigrants actually. There is only one Canadian maybe. When I say this they always tell me you are Canadian, but anyway every immigrant they think they are not Canadian, I don't know why. Maybe it takes time.
>
> I: What would you consider to be Canadian?
>
> Well a Canadian is someone from like 200 hundred years whose parents are here. Maybe that's Canadian.
>
> I: So who is born here?
>
> Yes and also parents are born here. For example, an Indian guy looking Indian or Chinese guy he goes to my town in Africa and he says he is Canadian they won't believe him. A Chinese comes to Sicily or whatever Italy and says I'm Italian. Hey, how come you're Italian? You're Chinese? Do you see what I mean? Whatever your papers are showing, but your face somehow is your passport (Interview N9, October 2010).

In terms of the visibility of "race", Michael shared a story that points to experiences of racism that occur in Toronto, despite its status as a beacon of tolerance and harmony:

> I'm just going to tell you a story. When I arrived here I was on the bus, the bus was jam packed full, but I was tired, I was coming back from work. I wanted to sit. There was a white lady to my left because I was just behind the bus driver. She was sitting but next to her was her bag occupying another seat. So I politely told her to get her bag off so that I could sit there because I was tired. I didn't know that would be a problem for her, but obviously it was because she told me "you're black, you can't sit next to me". I was so shocked. They have always told me about it but I never really experienced it until that day and I'm going to tell you, I will die with it. It's not something that I will ever forget. Never. For some reason I told the bus driver that this lady doesn't allow me to sit, she has her bag on the seat. The bus driver just looked at me and that was one of the best silent answers that I ever got. The way she looked at me was like, "so you don't understand"? She never said anything but the look. That experience was really touching (Interview N7, July 2010).

He along with some of the other participants who discussed racism and discrimination directly, feel that such experiences are rare in Toronto, but while the diversity rhetoric would have us believe that all differences are the same, experiences such as Michael's are proof that in everyday social interactions "race" does matter.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the forces that led to the amalgamation of the City of Toronto and how this has impacted the evolution of diversity policies and issues of immigration. The amalgamation of Toronto brought together six municipalities, each one with its own way of functioning, under one administrative structure. For this reason, the motto "diversity our strength" refers not only to the city's diverse population, but also to the differences that each municipality brought with it. This chapter has discussed how the policy focus shifted from equity, which was more oriented towards fairness and social justice, to diversity, which has become a

selling point in the race to attract highly skilled mobile talent as well as capital and investments. Throughout the Miller years, diversity became a central aspect of the "Toronto advantage" as outlined in the Agenda for Prosperity (2008). However, the empirical section of this chapter highlights the inequalities experienced by newcomers in their daily lives. Toronto is witnessing an intensification of spatialized inequality and difference which is producing particular social and territorial divisions, as is the case in the post-war suburbs where immigrants, people of colour, and single-mothers are disproportionately concentrated. These tensions point to the socio-economic contradictions of the megaregion and the competitive city where the inner core is increasingly white and middle class, while the in-between cities are disadvantaged by poor housing conditions, a lack of adequate transit, which ultimately impedes their access to opportunities – the opportunities that immigrants hope for when they decide to leave their countries.

This chapter also highlights a number of points that merit further investigation. First, given the significant role played by mobility in the lives of the participants, it would be interesting to delve into the relationship between mobility and identity. As Depeau and Ramadier (2011: 9) note « se déplacer dans l'espace géographique, c'est exprimer son rapport aux autres par le trajet et le lieu de destination, par le mode utilise, par son rapport au temps et à ceux que l'on croise lors du déplacement, etc. » The link with identity emerged in some of the interviews, particularly with regards to consumption practices. For example, one participant chooses to shop at stores where she can speak Spanish so this influences her socio-spatial practices in ways that need to be better understood. Another theme that could be developed is place attachment and the role of the neighbourhood in social relations. For some of the participants a walkable neighbourhood was important for their everyday practices and for women in particular local spaces such as the park, community centre or library can be places to foster ties and counter isolation. Finally, given that some of the participants touched on experiences of racism, it would be necessary to further investigate the role played by "race" and processes of racialization in everyday experiences.

CONCLUSION

As I embarked on this research, I set out to understand the reasons behind the promotion of ethnocultural diversity in Toronto. This research is situated in what Berg and Sigona (2013) call the "diversity turn" in academic and policy circles in reference to the use of the concept of diversity as an analytical lens to understand the complexity of multiculturalism as a social fact at the urban level. However, the approach adopted here is a critical one, which does not take public discourses of diversity at face value in an attempt to determine what lies behind the use of the term "diversity" as a catch-all term to describe social differences. Here, diversity is conceptualized as a term that tends to flatten differences and, as such, is part and parcel of neoliberal ideologies and competitive city strategies. I chose to study the experiences of newcomers from racialized groups as they make up Toronto's recent immigration and constitute the focus of competitive city discourses to position Toronto as a welcoming place for newcomers and a liveable city with a vibrant urban economy. The concept of urban imaginary was used as a way to create a link between the ways in which racialized newcomers and representatives of local institutions imagine the city, which enabled me to compare and contrast their views and, ultimately, determine whether there is a discord between the two. The research findings reveal that there are differences and similarities between both imaginaries as discussed in the previous chapters.

The qualitative approach used in this doctoral research enabled me to get somewhat closer to the reality of those who have immigrated recently to Toronto. This was accomplished by encouraging them to speak freely about their experiences, by meeting with them in their neighbourhood (when possible), and by truly attempting to understand their feelings, hopes, and aspirations. At the same time, this research presents some limitations. The main one is that is not entirely representative of Toronto's most recent immigrants for two main reasons: I relied on census data from 2006 when constituting the sample and I was not able to recruit people from China or the Philippines who are the top immigrants to Toronto at the present time. Another limitation is the way in which data was collected to obtain information on daily mobility practices. For example, I could have asked the participants to keep a mobility journal in which they would log all of their movements in the city during one week. Such a method would have given me a better idea of how their mobility practices are structured, including where they went, how they got there, with whom they travelled, and any other relevant information.

Given that many of the newcomer respondents felt that one of the main prerequisites of a multicultural city was intermingling with others from different ethnocultural backgrounds it would be interesting to carry out more ethnographic research at the neighbourhood scale. Such research would allow for a finer grained examination of the social relations that occur between different groups on the ground by carrying out observations in public places such as parks and libraries. In addition, it would enable one to gain a more in-depth understanding of the feelings of comfort and sense of belonging expressed by the participants of this study. This type of research would also address one of the limits of the study presented here. As discussed in the methodology section in Appendix 1, it was not possible to carry out participant observations with the newcomers as planned. The original research design called for voluntary observations with some of the newcomer participants in order to accompany them during their daily activities and gain first- hand understanding of their mobility in the city and their perceptions of the people, spaces, and places they encounter along the way. However, given that none of the research participants accepted to have me tag along (mainly for logistical purposes) it was necessary to devise another solution which consisted of indirect observations. It would also be interesting to test this study in other Canadian cities with high immigrant populations, such as Montreal or Vancouver, to see whether it would yield similar results. While the local social, political, cultural, and economic contexts would be influential factors and likely lead to different results, research in Montréal (Germain et al. 1995; Germain 2013; Radice 2010) has shown that multiethnic spaces constitute important sites for public sociability among various social and ethnic groups and fostering a sense of belonging.

There are two main conclusions that emerge from this dissertation. First, while on the surface the language of diversity appears to be inclusive (who could be against diversity? Just as who could be against the creativity credo?), it actually does not address the underlying problems of systemic racism and structural inequalities that operate in society. In order for this to be the case, it is necessary for municipalities and civic leaders to adopt a truly anti-racist approach. As Kobayashi and Fuji Johnson (2007: 4) note, “racism remains deeply embedded in our interconnected systems of society and government.” However, race is rarely named as such by employers and policy makers as if adopting a colour-blind approach will simply erase racism from society (in many ways this comes close to the French republican approach to diversity). In order for this to happen, it is also necessary to effectively challenge the notion of white privilege whereby whiteness is valued as a normative standard (see for example Kobayashi and Fuji Johnson 2007; Razack 2004). As we have seen through the analysis of policy documents and through interviews with civic and city workers and elected officials, white privilege is rarely

directly challenged. The emphasis instead is put on underlining the positive benefits of "diversity" without challenging, criticizing, or adopting what could be termed a more nuanced view that would highlight real problems of racism. This occurs because those looking at diversity through a lens of whiteness see diversity as being all the same without taking into consideration the multiple differences that can make up an individual's identity.

Second, the debates surrounding ethnocultural diversity in Toronto and, in particular, initiatives to improve the labour-market outcomes of immigrants, such as the DiverseCity project, point to a neoliberal form of stakeholder-based governance. As Allahwala (2011) has shown in his research, the Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance acts as an urban governance coalition, and is a clear example of the way in which discourses are used strategically. The data presented in this dissertation shows that there is a general consensus in Toronto that diversity makes good business sense and that it should be leveraged as a way to increase competitiveness and prosperity. It is necessary to ask is whether such initiatives really force institutions to change their ways or if they simply aim to integrate diversity into their functioning without questioning ways of operating. Thus, it can be argued that diversity discourses are part of the neoliberal governmentality. Swyngedouw (2009: 604) notes that it is characterized by consensus, agreement, and counting mechanisms which has replaced debate and disagreement. Thus, it is necessary to bring back the political in order to give a voice to those who are silenced in debates. Rather than focusing primarily on the removal of barriers to employment, these debates should entail a discussion of issues surrounding equity and equal access in order to address class, gender, and race inequalities.

Finally, what can we learn from Toronto as a "multicultural" city? Some would argue that multiculturalism is working just fine in the city because diversity has become a simple fact of life. However, it is because of this fact that it is necessary to avoid slipping into complacency and to develop measures to alleviate the deepening socio-economic polarization in order to ensure that Toronto is an inclusive place for future generations.

APPENDIX I: METHODOLOGY

Research Design and Strategy

In order to carry out this research, I employed qualitative research methods for the data collection with a case study as an overall research design. The particular strength of the case study is its ability to grapple with complex social phenomena and to integrate a variety of evidence, including documents, artefacts, interviews, and observations (Yin, 2003: 8). Using multiple methods assists in verifying and clarifying the observations, interpretations, and meanings established in the construction of the case study (Stake, 2005). It is also a means for reducing the likelihood of misinterpreting the data that is collected in the case study. The main data collection tools used included the following: documentary research, semi-structured interviews, and informal observations. The data collection period lasted from May 2010 to December 2011.

Documentary Research

Documentary analysis took place throughout the research process. During the early phases of the research it was necessary to consult Census Data (from 2006 as at the time data from the 2011 Census was not available) in order to get a better understanding of immigration trends in Toronto and the settlement patterns of newcomers across the city. In order to obtain this information I consulted the websites of Statistics Canada, the City of Toronto, and the Cities Centre at the University of Toronto. I also looked at information on the socio-economic conditions of newcomers through the Toronto Immigrant Employment Data Initiative (TIEDI) which offers a wealth of documentation. The next phase of documentary analysis focused on the City of Toronto's diversity policy framework that has been developed since amalgamation and any other policy documents that link diversity with economic development, all of which were easily accessible on the City of Toronto website. I was also given information that was not available on the website from the Diversity Management Unit. In addition, I used reports on the issue of immigrant integration from local civic organizations (Maytree Foundation, Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance, Toronto Community Foundation, Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council) and those in the non-profit sector. I also kept abreast of local media reports from the major English newspapers (*Toronto Star*, *Globe and Mail*, and *National Post*) that focus on immigrant integration, multiculturalism, and ethno-cultural diversity in Toronto, particularly during the 2010 mayoral election campaign. Finally, the use of scholarly literature

(books, articles, dissertations) was crucial to understanding how these issues relate to broader academic debates.

Semi-structured Interviews

The empirical material was collected through semi-structured interviews, which took the form of an open exchange between the researcher and participant (Esterberg 2002). As Esterberg (2002: 87) notes, "[a]lthough the researcher typically begins with some basic ideas about what the interview will cover, the interviewee's responses shape the order and structure of the interview." I developed an interview guide to cover the main themes, but I also probed for more information as the participants responded and brought up topics not included in the interview guide. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with twenty-six individuals who are from groups considered to be "visible minorities" according to the definition of Statistics Canada outlined earlier in this dissertation, as well as fifteen representatives from local institutions (a total of forty one interviews). In terms of the newcomer participants, I met with eleven men and fifteen women from thirteen different countries, including: Algeria, Malaysia, Egypt, Iran, Haiti, Cameroun, Afghanistan, Mexico, Bolivia, India, Pakistan, Kenya, and Saudi Arabia. There are some ethnocultural groups that are present in high numbers in Toronto, such as those from China and the Philippines, are missing from this sample. This was completely unintentional as efforts were made to contact these groups but it did not lead to recruitment of any participants. The participants reside in different neighbourhoods across the city's former municipalities: Etobicoke, East York, North York, and Scarborough, as well as close to the Downtown area. The interviews were carried out in the location chosen by the participant, ranging from their homes, to public places such as coffee shops and libraries. With regards to the sample selection, the primary criteria used were the following: country of origin, year of arrival in Toronto, age, and knowledge of English or French. This last point may have limited my access to a wider group due to language barriers, but since there was no budget for interpretation services it was necessary to select informants who are comfortable with expressing themselves in English or French. However, in two cases during interviews with participants from Mexico, a friend was present to translate parts of the interview when the participants felt more at ease speaking in Spanish. According to Statistics Canada, the term newcomer refers to landed immigrants who arrived in Canada up to five years prior to a census year. Therefore, the research participants fit into this time frame, having arrived no earlier than 2001. They were also adults between the ages of 18 and 65, which excludes the elderly because they are considered to have limited mobility options. Also, I did not focus on one particular ethno-cultural group, but

all of the participants were “visible minorities” as defined by Statistics Canada. Further, I did not focus on one neighbourhood in particular because my goal was to obtain a city-wide portrait of the way in which newcomers construct their personal imaginaries of Toronto. It should be noted that this task was not always easy given the size of the City of Toronto, which is comprised of 140 different neighbourhoods, spanning a land area of 630 square kilometres, much of which is covered by the inner suburbs consisting of the amalgamated municipalities where a large proportion of newcomers reside (Hulchanski, 2007). I consulted Neighbourhood Ward Profiles available on the City of Toronto website in order to get a sense of the ethnocultural diversity present in each area.

A number of recruitment strategies were employed throughout the research. My initial point of entry came from my work experience during the summer of 2009 as an interviewer for the United Way of Greater Toronto Housing Research Project discussed in the introduction. Many of my colleagues were newcomers themselves and some of them accepted to participate in my research. In order to gain a better understanding of the workings of the City of Toronto as a government, I participated in a workshop series called Toronto Civics 101 organized by the Civic Engagement Unit and held from September to December 2009. The sessions focused on local planning, city council decision-making, the budget process, elections, and the city’s approach to civic engagement. I participated in discussions with other participants from across the city on a variety of issues affecting their communities, such as racism and discrimination and priority neighbourhoods. I also volunteered with two non-profit organizations where I met newcomers who accepted to participate in the research. One was Pathways to Education located in the Lawrence Heights neighbourhood which provides after school tutoring services for low-income high school students and the other was EcoAmbassadeurs du Monde which was founded in 2006 and enabled me to establish contacts with French speaking newcomers. I also contacted many community organizations (such as those offering services for newcomers) who were able to refer me to potential participants. The organizations that were of vital assistance included the following: Centre Francophone de Toronto, Jane Alliance Neighbourhood Services, and Thorncliffe Neighbourhood Office. I also participated in Jane’s Walk in May 2011 in Dorset Park, a neighbourhood located in Scarborough, where I met a resident who put me into contact with women enrolled in English classes for newcomers. Other participants were recruited through my personal contacts in various networks, including CERIS-The Ontario Metropolis Center, York University, and friends. At the end of each interview I always asked participants if they knew of any people who might be interested in taking part in the research and this sometimes led to more interviews. I stopped doing interviews when the point of saturation was

reached, whereby I began to notice that no new information was being generated by the interviews.

The themes covered during the interviews included the following: socio-demographic information, the pre-migration context and their reasons for coming to Toronto, their general impressions of diversity in Toronto, mobility in the city, social networks, daily practices, and multiculturalism. The interview guide can be found in Appendix 2. The interviews generally lasted approximately forty five minutes to one hour (sometimes up to two hours) and were recorded after receiving consent from the participants. Some interviews were not recorded as the participant refused. In these cases I took detailed notes during the interview. After each interview I wrote notes regarding important information revealed by the participant, as well as how and where the interview took place. I personally transcribed each interview and coded them in NVivo.

The second set of interviews was carried out during 2010-2011 with fifteen representatives of local institutions in Toronto, including the following: City of Toronto, Maytree Foundation, Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance, Toronto Community Foundation, Tourism Toronto, Centre Francophone, Access Alliance, Jane Alliance Neighbourhood Services, and Social Planning Toronto. Other key organizations, such as the Toronto Region Immigrant Council (TRIEC) and the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI) were contacted on several occasions, but my requests did not solicit any response. The themes covered in these interviews focused on general information about the interviewee's position and the political changes in Toronto since amalgamation, the organizational characteristics, diversity management policies and programmes, issues of immigrant integration, as well as their views on multiculturalism and the "multicultural" city. The interview guide can be found in Appendix 3. The interviews ranged in length from thirty minutes to one and a half hours. I took notes during the interviews and recorded them, except for two because they were telephone interviews. I personally transcribed them and coded the data in NVivo.

Observations

I had intended to use the technique of participant observation with the newcomer participants after an interview with them in order to get a sense of their daily practices and discover how they describe the places they go and the people they see. I had envisioned this experience as spending a typical day with each willing participant, during the times when he/she takes care of daily activities, such as going to work, taking children to school, going grocery shopping, etc. However, it was not possible to carry out this part of the research as none of the

research participants accepted my proposition because it just wasn't practical for me to tag along with them. This was totally understandable as one has to get to know someone quite well and feel comfortable with them in order for such an incursion in one's life to occur. It was also not feasible from a logistical point of view because of the distance between my home and theirs and the fact that it would require a great deal of planning on their part to include me in their activities. My solution to this dilemma was to ask the participants detailed questions about their daily practices during the interview. Afterwards, I made a list of all the places mentioned by the participants and I went there myself to carry out informal observations (which included walking around, visiting shops, libraries, and other public places) in order to get a sense of the places. I also took pictures and notes and created a picture file for each participant. I opted not to do formal, systematic observation sessions for each location not only because it was not feasible in terms of time (as there too many locations to visit for each participant), but it would not have provided me the information that I had originally wanted to collect, which was the participants' impressions and relationships with the spaces and places they visit. While I did not code this data in NVivo as with the interview data, it helped me to contextualize the participants' narratives and understand their experiences more accurately, as well as familiarize myself with places in Toronto that I never been to before.

When doing fieldwork I learned about the pilot street food project that had been launched by the City of Toronto in 2009 called "Toronto a la Cart". As this program was a clear example of how the promotion of ethno-cultural diversity conceived by the City I decided to delve more into the program. During the months of June and July 2010 I regularly visited all of the Street Food Cart locations and carried out observations (and ate food) at various times of the day (in the morning during setup, at lunchtime, and in the afternoon) spending anywhere from thirty minutes to one hour at each site. I observed how the vendors set up their cart, the type of clientele that bought food there and any interactions that took place, as well as the close up. I also did short interviews with the vendors where they spoke to me about why they decided to participate in the program, what they think of the promotion of ethno-cultural through food, and their experiences with the program (sought benefits and challenges encountered). While the data collected does not appear in any of the articles included in this thesis, I wrote a paper that I presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers in Washington D.C. in April 2010. A shorter version of this paper was also published on the website of the Villes et Espaces Politiques (VESPA) Laboratory (see Appendix 8).

Data Analysis

The main data analysis technique employed was thematic content analysis. As mentioned earlier, all of the interviews were transcribed and coded using the NVivo software. The data coding categories in NVivo were derived from a thematic analysis grid derived from information obtained through the various data collection techniques employed. The interviews with newcomers were coded first followed by the interviews with representatives of local institutions. Each data set was at first analyzed individually, constituting the subject matter of the first two articles. Then I proceeded to compare and contrast both data sets in order to write the third article. The analysis grid can be found in Appendix 7.

Positionality of the Researcher

I have reflected a great deal on my position as a researcher, particularly as a white university student carrying out doctoral research on the experiences of recent immigrants from racialized groups. Being aware of one's own privilege is extremely important in the context of the relationship between the researcher and participant so as not to reproduce dominant power relations. In terms of my views on the production of knowledge for academic purposes, I firmly believe that this knowledge can only be useful if multiple voices and experiences are taken into consideration. Moreover, my approach to research is that the participant is the expert, not the researcher. In order for me to be able to claim that my research could have some transformative potential, it would have been mandatory to carry out a truly collaborative project whereby the group being researched is present from the outset, developing the research topic, questions, hypotheses, and methods, as well as participating in the analysis. This was not the case given that I prepared my research proposal alone and defended it in front of a committee before being authorized to begin fieldwork. However, as described in the introduction of this dissertation, the impetus for this research stemmed directly from my experience (albeit brief) working on the United Way of Greater Toronto Housing Research Project and my thinking on the topic is informed by the conversations I had with my fellow co-workers and the research participants regarding their experiences and the challenges they face on a daily basis. Throughout the fieldwork I was willing to make changes based on suggestions made by research participants and I discussed my early analyses with them in order to receive feedback.

Ethics Considerations

This research project posed some ethical dilemmas to the extent that I needed to be sensitive to the fact that some of the interviewees were potentially in precarious situations. For example, I did not ask any questions about immigration status and only obtained this

information if the participant voluntarily revealed it to me. In addition, in some cases during the interview the participants wished to discuss themes off the record and so I made it clear to all the participants that they could ask me to stop the recording at any time. At the beginning of each interview I insisted on the fact that the participants have the right to refuse to answer any question that they do not wish to speak about. All participants were explained what purpose the research would serve and the necessary precautions were taken to ensure their anonymity. They read and signed the consent form out of their own free will. Some of the participants were not completely at ease with English or French so I was always careful to make sure they understood my questions and I would ask them to repeat or elaborate on something that was unclear, so as to record the exact information and not misconstrue what they said. In two cases a mutual friend was present to provide translation when necessary.

Overall, the risks associated with this research are minimal and none of the participants are identifiable. Only the names of those representatives from local institutions who gave me permission to do so are cited in this dissertation.

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE (NEWCOMERS)

Interview Number: _____

Date/Time: _____

Location: _____

Socio-demographic Information

1. Country of origin?
2. Age?
3. Level of education? Profession?
4. Family situation?
5. Current employment situation?

Migration Information

1. When did you immigrate to Canada? From which country? From rural area or urban?
2. Did they come to Toronto first or did they live in other cities on their way to Toronto?
3. What made you choose Toronto as a destination?
4. What neighbourhoods have you lived in Toronto since their arrival? Where do you live now?

General Impressions of Toronto

1. What did you know/hear about Toronto before arrival? From what sources?
2. What do you think about Toronto now, after having lived here for some time?
3. Has their impression changed over time?
4. How would you describe Toronto? Which aspects of the city do they feel they know?
5. Can you name a place they like and don't like? Why?
6. What do you think about where you live? Would they like to live somewhere else and why?
7. Can they tell me an anecdote about places they have visited?

Mobility

1. How would you describe you daily life in Toronto? Where they live, work, do shopping, places they go, activities they participate in, etc.
2. What means of transportation do you use? (walking, car, bike, public transit).
3. What are the areas of the city you have visited?
4. What are the areas of the city you would not like to visit and why?
5. Are there areas they have heard about, but never gone?
6. Are there places you would like to visit?

7. Do you travel accompanied or alone? Do they meet or talk to people during their daily itineraries?

Social Networks

1. How would you describe your social network? (family, friends, acquaintances/local, regional, national, transnational).
2. What is the frequency of your contacts with other people? (face-to-face, telephone, virtual/brief, long)
3. Do you often travel across the city to see people? Which places do they visit with which people?
4. How did you get to know new people when they settled in Toronto?
5. How has your social network changed over time?
6. How do you feel people perceive them? Do you feel that people see them as different in some way?
7. Can you tell me anecdotes about their interactions – in your daily lives and with institutional representatives (TTC, municipal government, police, child care, employer, schools, etc).
8. Can you speak to any experiences of racism and/or discrimination?

Consumption Practices

1. Where do you do your grocery shopping? (specific stores, neighbourhood) How did you find out about these places?
2. Are you able to find everything you need in Toronto?
3. Do you ever go to stores that sell goods that you would consider as different from what you are used to? What products do you buy? Why?
4. Do you ever eat at restaurants? If so, which ones?

Multiculturalism

1. How would you describe Toronto's population?
2. How would you describe the population that they see as they move around the city (in the street, subway, bus, street car)?
3. How would you define a multicultural city? What does multiculturalism mean to you?

Any questions? Suggestions? Themes the participant would like to add that has not been addressed?

APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW GUIDE (LOCAL INSTITUTIONS)

General Information

1. Can you explain your background: level of education, professional career, why they work for the organization now?
2. Can you briefly explain their position with the Toronto Public Service or local institution? (i.e. how long you have worked there, main duties, etc.)
3. Can you describe the political changes in Toronto since amalgamation? Can you provide a comparative perspective of before and after amalgamation, the David Miller years, and the current electoral debates.

Specific organizational characteristics

1. Can you describe your organization? (i.e. history, purpose, mission, mandate, programmes, objectives, structure, budget)
2. Can you describe the socio-political context within which the organization works? (i.e. the main issues they address)
3. Can you describe the local context within which they work? (i.e. relations with public sector, para-public sector, private sector, non-profit sector) What is your specific role and position?

Specific diversity policies information

1. Can you describe the organization's policies and programmes dealing with ethno-cultural diversity? (i.e. purpose, target clientele)
2. Can you describe the implementation of their programmes dealing with ethno-cultural diversity? (i.e. how it works, barriers/difficulties, and enabling factors)
3. What are the desired outcomes of these programmes? Have they been achieved?
4. Do you have any suggestions for improvement of these programmes and future directions?

Multiculturalism

1. How would you describe Toronto in general? How would you describe Toronto's population?
2. What is the image that the City of Toronto projects at home and abroad? How do you personally talk about Toronto to others?
3. How would you describe the population that you see as you move around the city (in the street, subway, bus, street car)?
4. How would you define a multicultural city? What does multiculturalism mean to you?

APPENDIX IV: INFORMATION DOCUMENT AND CONSENT FORM

Information Letter

RE: Solicitation of your participation for an interview for the following research project:

“Exploring Everyday Urban Imaginaries in the "Multicultural" Competitive City: A Case Study of "Visible Minority" Newcomers in Toronto”.

I am a PhD student in Urban Studies at the National Institute of Scientific Research – Centre for Urbanization, Culture and Society in Montréal. I am currently in the process of conducting fieldwork for my doctoral research about multiculturalism in Toronto. My research aims to explore the construction of Toronto’s civic image as Canada’s foremost multicultural city, as well as the way in which newcomers perceive this image and experience encounters with ethnocultural diversity in the city.

I am looking to meet with newcomers who have been in Toronto for less than 5 years or recent immigrants who have been in Toronto for less than 10 years to hear about their ideas on multiculturalism and ethnocultural diversity in Toronto. This meeting would take the form of an individual interview that can take place at the time and location of your choice and could range from 30 to 60 minutes.

My research has been approved by the Research Ethnics Committee at my university and I am committed to the ethical principles of research: voluntary participation, respect for the personal life of respondents, protection of confidential information and respect for the right to anonymity of all participants who do not want their identity to be known to those who read publications stemming from the research.

If you have further questions, please do not hesitate to communicate with me.

I sincerely hope that you accept to participate and wish to extend my thanks in advance.

Marilena Liguori

This research has been approved by the INRS Research Ethics Committee on March 11, 2010 (CER-10-2010). For all questions regarding your rights as a participant in this research, please contact:

Professor Nicole Gallant
President of the Ethics Committee for Research with Human Subjects
Institut national de la recherche scientifique
490, rue de la Couronne
Québec (Québec) G1K 9A9
Email: xxxx

Research Consent Form

"Exploring Everyday Urban Imaginaries in the "Multicultural" Competitive City: A Case Study of "Visible Minority" Newcomers in Toronto"

I am a PhD student in Urban Studies at the National Institute for Scientific Research – Centre for Urbanization, Culture and Society located in Montreal. My research explores multiculturalism in Toronto from the point of view of "visible minority" newcomers. I am particularly interested in how they perceive the way in which Toronto promotes itself as Canada's foremost multicultural city, as well as their daily experiences of ethnocultural diversity.

To know more, I would like to do an interview with you. This interview will last approximately from 30 to 60 minutes and, with your permission, will be recorded. Information discussed will be strictly confidential and will be kept in a secure location. When I present the results of the research (written or orally), I will respect your anonymity and not present anything that permits personally identifying you or other people you have spoken about.

If you like, I can send you a report of the results of my research when I have completed the project (probably by the end of 2011). Please do not hesitate to ask me for further information on my research project. You can also contact one of the resource persons listed below.

My sincere thanks.

Marilena Liguori

- I accept to participate in a university study that has the goal of better understanding multiculturalism in Toronto, and I agree to an interview with the researcher to share my views on how Toronto promotes ethnocultural diversity.

- I understand that the information collected through this interview will be used in a Doctoral thesis and potentially in other reports or publications, and I am in agreement with the use of this information on the condition that my identity be kept completely confidential.

- I am aware that I have the right to refuse to answer any question, as well as the right to end the interview at any time.

- The signature below indicates that I received the information on the research project, that I have understood it, that the researcher has answered my questions in a satisfactory manner, and that I volunteer to participate.

Signature

Name Initial(s)

Date

Principal Researcher: Marilena Liguori

Tél: xxxxx

INRS - Urbanisation, Culture and Society, 385 Sherbrooke East, Montréal (QC) H2X 1E3

Under the direction of Professor Julie-Anne Boudreau

Tél: xxxxx

INRS - Urbanisation, Culture and Society, 385 Sherbrooke East, Montréal (QC) H2X 1E3

External Resource Person for the project:

Nicole Gallant

President of the Ethics Committee with Human Subjects

Institut national de la recherche scientifique

490, rue de la Couronne

Québec (Québec) G1K 9A9

Email:xxxx

Approved by the INRS Ethics Committee for Research with Human Subjects on: March 11, 2010 (CER-10-2010).

APPENDIX V: RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS (LOCAL INSTITUTIONS)

Participant	Organization	Interview Date
City Councillor (T1)	City of Toronto	June 2010
Ceta Ramkhalawansingh (T2)	City of Toronto	June 2010
City Councillor (T3)	City of Toronto	July 2010
Julia Deans (T4)	Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance	July 2010
Uzma Shakir (T5)	City of Toronto	July 2010
Coordinator (T6)	Centre Francophone de Toronto	August 2010
Ratna Omidvar (T7)	Maytree Foundation	August 2010
Anonymous (T8)	Tourism Toronto	August 2010
Anonymous (T9)	Toronto Community Foundation	October 2010
Settlement Counsellor (T10)	Access Alliance	December 2010
Abdi Hashised (T11)	Jane Alliance Neighbourhood Services	December 2010
Coordinator (T12)	City of Toronto	February 2011
John Campey (T13)	Social Planning Toronto	December 2011
Anonymous (T14)	City of Toronto	December 2011
Supervisor (T15)	City of Toronto	December 2011

APPENDIX VI: RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS (NEWCOMERS)

Partici -pant	Country of Origin	Gender	Year of Arrival	Neighbourhood of Residence	Employment Status	Family Status	Education Level	Interview Date
N1	Pakistan	Male	2007	Scarborough	Unemployed	Married, 1 child	University	May 2010
N2	Kenya	Male	2007	North York	Employed	Married, 2 children	University (PhD)	May 2010
N3	Iran	Male	2005	East York	Unemployed	Married, 2 children	University (PhD)	May 2010
N4	Cameroun	Male	2005	North York	Employed	Single	University (Masters)	June 2010
N5	Mexico	Female	2008	Downtown	Employed	Single	College	July 2010
N6	Cameroun	Male	2010	The Junction	Unemployed	Married, 3 children	University	July 2010
N7	Cameroun	Male	2004	North York	Employed	Married, 1 child	University	July 2010
N8	Haiti	Female	2005	Yonge/Davisville	Employed	Single	University	September 2010
N9	Algeria	Male	2004	Richmond Hill	Employed	Married, 0 children	University (Masters)	October 2010
N10	Malaysia	Female	2002	Flemingdon Park	Unemployed	Married, 2 children	University (Masters)	November 2010
N11	Algeria	Male	2009	Etobicoke	Employed	Single	University	December 2010
N12	Algeria	Female	2008	Etobicoke	Student	Single	University (Masters)	December 2010

N13	Mexico	Male	2006	The Junction	Employed	Single	N/A	December 2010
N14	India	Female	2008	Thorncliffe Park	Employed	Married, 2 children	University	December 2010
N15	Mexico	Female	2003	Downtown	Employed	Married, 1 child	University	December 2010
N16	Egypt	Male	2008	East York	Employed	Married, 0 children	University	December 2010
N17	Mexico	Female	2008	East Downtown	Student	Single	University	December 2010
N18	Iran	Female	2009	Downtown	Unemployed	Married, 2 children	University	December 2010
N19	Pakistan	Male	2000	Pickering	Employed	Married, 3 children	University	January 2011
N20	Pakistan	Female	2010	Thorncliffe Park	Unemployed	Married, 1 child	N/A	January 2011
N21	Saudi Arabia	Female	2010	Thorncliffe Park	Unemployed	Married, 2 children	University	January 2011
N22	Egypt	Female	2002	Thorncliffe Park	Unemployed	Married, 0 children	N/A	January 2011
N23	Bolivia	Female	2010	North York	Unemployed	Married, 2 children	University	January 2011
N24	Afghanistan	Female	2008	Downtown	Employed	Single	High School	January 2011
N25	India	Female	2010	Scarborough	Unemployed	Married, 1 child	University	May 2011
N26	Egypt	Female	2008	Scarborough	Unemployed	Married, 3 children	University	May 2011

APPENDIX VII: ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK

1. Biographical Information	**Indicators and Targeted Data**
Pre-migration context	Reasons for migrating Reasons for choosing Toronto Knowledge about Toronto prior to arrival – what they expected to find
Post-migration context	Impressions about Toronto – before and after arrival (differences from expectations) Trajectory in the city – reasons for settling in a specific neighbourhood Challenges faced by newcomers
2. Experiences in Toronto	**Indicators or Targeted Data**
Descriptions	Determine whether participants describe Toronto as multicultural Sense of belonging Role of multicultural city in settlement process
3. Mobility	**Indicators or Targeted Data**
Itineraries	Relationship between daily practices and imaginaries Socio-spatial perceptions
4. Multiculturalism	**Indicators or Targeted Data**
Facts	Diversity policies Discourses on diversity (language used, framing of issues)
Personal Views	Definition of multiculturalism/multicultural city

APPENDIX VIII: TORONTO A LA CART: PROMOTING CULTURAL DIVERSITY THROUGH FOOD

Accessible at: http://www.labovespa.ca/en/multimedia-space/photo-bank-55/a-thousand-words-for-an-image/promoting-cultural-diversity

February 2011

The City of Toronto prides itself on being "one of the most multicultural cities in the world". From a demographic perspective, this seems to be the case given that half of its population is born outside of Canada and over 140 languages and dialects are spoken there[1]. But does the presence of immigrants alone make a city "multicultural"? And what does it mean for Toronto to define itself as "multicultural"?

Cultural diversity has become a central component in the way in which Toronto defines itself and constitutes its image. This "celebration of difference" has been used to promote Toronto as a global city to foster economic development and growth by conveying a favourable climate to attract tourists and investment. This is often achieved by marketing "ethnic" neighbourhoods (Chinatown, Little Italy, Greektown, Little India, etc.), festivals (Caribana, Taste of Danforth, etc.), and restaurants.

The marketing and commodification of ethno-cultural diversity in Toronto is exemplified by various branding strategies that present multiculturalism as a product for spectacle and consumption. One such initiative is 'Toronto a la Cart', a three-year pilot program to bring "ethnic" food to the streets of Toronto that was launched in May 2009. The program's motto is "think globally, eat locally" and has four main goals: 1) Promoting healthier fast food choices ; 2) Providing convenient opportunities to try new, ethno cultural food items and promoting local cuisine ; 3) Strengthening Toronto's image by branding the City as a place where residents and visitors can enjoy a vast array of diverse cuisine ; 4) Contributing to the recognition of Toronto as a desirable destination within the growing culinary tourism industry.

The 'Toronto a la Cart' program is not only an entrepreneurial strategy for the city, but it was also conceived as a way to provide immigrants with a business investment alternative. However, participants received no assistance from the City and were expected to come up with $30,000 to $40,000 in order to cover associated costs including purchase of the food cart, location fees and various municipal permits and licenses that need to be renewed each year. Not only did these stringent requirements exclude a large number of possible participants, those vendors who were selected for the program have seen their investment turn into a financial

burden. After the first year of the program, the majority of the eight vendors who were selected for the program (after passing a difficult selection process) have accumulated a significant amount of debt mainly because of disappointing sales and the tight regulations that were imposed upon them, including location, rents, and health and safety inspections.

As the second season of the program began in the spring 2010, only five vendors could be found throughout the city since the others decided that it was simply not worth it to continue the business. I was in Toronto during this time carrying out fieldwork for my doctoral research and had the opportunity to visit the carts on many occasions. I sat near the carts and observed the comings and goings of customers, chatted with the vendors and, of course, tasted the food, which consisted of Korean, Thai, Middle Eastern, Caribbean Fusion, and Indian dishes. The vendors were eager to tell their stories and express their dissatisfaction with the program in the hopes that some change would occur and that somehow they could recuperate from the financial blow.

The 'Toronto a la Cart' program can be considered as part of one of the components in the consolidation of the competitive city, namely the city of difference (Boudreau et al., 2009). As Kipfer and Keil (2002 : 236) note, "the city of difference denotes those municipal policies and discourses that support the integration of "culture" and an aesthetic of diversity into urban development and strategies of economic competitiveness". In addition, such branding exercises tend to reify notions of difference given that they are based on a superficial conception of ethno-cultural diversity, which is used as a marketing tool to promote what Goonewardena and Kipfer (2005: 672) call a "'food-and-festivals' brand of aestheticized difference - premised largely on the exotic pleasures of 'visible' and 'edible' ethnicity". In the case of 'Toronto a la Cart', this is exemplified by the fact that participants cannot change their menu and must stick to serving food that was approved by city officials and a panel of "food experts". Further, the vendors are required to prepare their food in a kitchen that has been inspected by Toronto Public Health and cannot cook at the cart itself. Not only did this create logistical problems in terms of transporting food (as well as the cart itself), but it also conflicted with the some of the participants' notion of street food vending who would prefer to cook right on the cart and have seating space available for customers.

The 'Toronto a la Cart' program also illustrates some practices that are characteristic of neoliberal urbanism, such as the regulated access to public space and the creation of standardized spaces. This relates to what Parazelli (2009) refers to as the "eco-sanitary imaginary". This term is used to describe a mode of governance or management of streets in

the context of processes of globalization. The City of Toronto selected what they considered prime locations with high visibility and high traffic. However, the chosen locations are found mainly in areas with concentrations of office towers, so mainly geared towards the lunch-time business crowd. It is also interesting to note the numerous locations that are missing, such as those near tourist attractions and busy downtown shopping neighbourhoods. Further, as mentioned earlier, not only did municipal bureaucrats choose which food was to be sold, but the food matched with each location did not reflect the composition of the neighbourhood, which some vendors believe would have sparked more interest and ultimately improve sales

Next year, the 'Toronto a la Cart' program will be in its last year and the future of these vendors remains to be seen, particularly since the City has sought to distance itself from the program and the new mayor Rob Ford has pledged to streamline municipal government through budget cuts.

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[1] http://www.toronto.ca/toronto_facts...

APPENDIX IX: RÉSUMÉ LONG EN FRANÇAIS

La quête du sens dans la diverse-cité : La ville compétitive et l'immigration à Toronto

Cette thèse doctorale porte sur le multiculturalisme tel qu'il est vécu et perçu dans la vie quotidienne des nouveaux arrivants faisant partie de groupes racisés à Toronto, une ville qui se vante d'être « une des villes les plus multiculturelles dans le monde ». D'un point de vue démographique, ceci semble être vrai car environ la moitié de sa population (qui s'élève à 2,6 millions) est née à l'étranger et plus de 140 langues et dialectes y sont parlés. En effet, avec les changements de tendances migratoires depuis les années soixante-dix, les immigrants récents sont principalement originaires d'Asie, d'Amérique latine et d'Afrique. Ainsi, le nombre de personnes considérées comme appartenant au groupe des « minorités visibles » (selon la définition de Statistiques Canada) a augmenté. Selon des prévisions démographiques, d'ici 2031 ces groupes formeront 63% de la population torontoise.

Au cours de la dernière décennie, la présence d'une grande diversité ethnoculturelle est devenue un élément central dans la façon dont la ville de Toronto se définit et crée son imaginaire civique, surtout après l'adoption du slogan « Diversity our Strength » suite aux fusions municipales. Par contre, malgré cette ouverture envers la diversité les inégalités socio-économiques font de Toronto une ville fragmentée et les immigrants issus de groupes racisés sont particulièrement touchés par le chômage et la pauvreté ainsi que le manque d'accès aux logements abordables (et convenables), aux transports et autres services. Cette thèse soutient donc l'idée que la « célébration de la différence » fait partie d'une stratégie utilisée afin de promouvoir Toronto comme une « ville mondiale », pour favoriser le développement économique et la croissance en créant un climat favorable pour les investisseurs et les touristes. Ma recherche doctorale interroge cet imaginaire civique centré sur la diversité culturelle comme étant un instrument d'action publique de la ville compétitive (Boudreau, Keil et Young 2009). La ville compétitive comprend trois aspects, soit le passage à des formes de gouvernance entrepreneuriale (Hall et Hubbard 1996, 1998), la gestion de la diversité et l'urbanisme revanchiste (Smith 1996). Ces trois éléments représentent les aspects économique, social et pénal de la manifestation du néolibéralisme à l'échelle urbaine (Dikeç 2007; Kipfer et Keil 2002). Selon Cronin et Hetherington (2008), les images produites par les villes sont mobilisées dans la concurrence globale inter-urbaine et ces images sont le fruit de

constructions sociales qui reflètent les relations de pouvoir existantes (Croucher 1997). Tel qu'expliqué par Tarrazo (2011), alors que les discours dits « officiels » proviennent des institutions qui ont le pouvoir de construire et renforcer un récit dominant de la ville, il ne faut pas ignorer les discours ordinaires qui émanent des habitants et leur façon de percevoir, représenter et imaginer les espaces urbains dans leur vie quotidienne. Ainsi, cette recherche met en évidence la façon dont les nouveaux arrivants issus de groupes racisés construisent leurs propres imaginaires de la ville « multiculturelle » à travers leurs pratiques quotidiennes en mettant ces derniers en relation avec le discours « officiel » véhiculé par les institutions locales à Toronto.

Cette thèse explore donc les questions suivantes :

1. Comment la diversité ethnoculturelle est-elle devenue un élément central des stratégies promotionnelles mises de l'avant par les acteurs municipaux depuis les fusions municipales?
    a. Quels sont les enjeux liés à l'évolution du discours municipal de l'équité vers la diversité?
    b. Comment la diversité ethnoculturelle est-elle mobilisée par les acteurs locaux?
2. Comment les nouveaux arrivants issus de groupes racisés perçoivent-ils la ville « multiculturelle »?
    a. Quels sont les éléments de leur imaginaire social et spatial de la ville?
    b. Quel est le rôle des pratiques quotidiennes dans la construction de leurs imaginaires urbains?

Dans un premier temps il était nécessaire d'examiner les origines de l'imaginaire civique de la diverse-cité par le biais des politiques et des programmes de la Ville de Toronto mis en place après les fusions municipales (en 1998) ainsi par que des entretiens avec des acteurs locaux. Les résultats de la recherche indiquent que les acteurs locaux font souvent référence à la diversité comme un vecteur de la prospérité, ce qui constituerait un avantage compétitif pour la ville. Dans un deuxième temps des entretiens semi-dirigés avec des nouveaux arrivants m'ont permis de comprendre comment ils construisent leurs propres imaginaires de la ville multiculturelle en examinant de plus près leurs pratiques quotidiennes (mobilité, consommation et sociabilité). L'argument principal que cette thèse soutient est que l'imaginaire civique de Toronto ne reflète pas l'expérience vécue par les nouveaux arrivants car il présente une vision

superficielle de la diversité qui ne rend pas compte des complexités et des contradictions qu'ils rencontrent dans leurs vies quotidiennes.

Méthodologie

Cette recherche a été menée suivant une méthodologie qualitative et j'ai privilégié trois techniques de collecte de données: la recherche documentaire, les entretiens semi-dirigés et l'observation informelle. La période de collecte de données s'est échelonnée sur dix-huit mois, soit de mai 2010 à décembre 2011.

La recherche documentaire a pris la forme d'une cueillette de données statistiques afin de dresser un portrait de l'immigration à Toronto en consultant plusieurs sources notamment Statistiques Canada, la Ville de Toronto, et la Toronto Immigrant Employment Data Initiative (TIEDI). De plus j'ai étudié des documents disponibles sur le site internet de la Ville de Toronto sur les politiques en matière de gestion de la diversité depuis ainsi que des rapports produits par des organismes civiques tels que la Fondation Maytree, la Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance et la Toronto Community Foundation.

Les entretiens semi-dirigés ont été conçus comme des échanges ouverts entre le chercheur et les participants (Esterberg 2002). J'ai effectué des entretiens avec 26 nouveaux arrivants issus de groupes racisés et avec 15 acteurs locaux œuvrant dans le domaine de l'immigration (un total de 41 entretiens). J'ai fait une transcription de chaque entretien qui a été ensuite codée en utilisant le logiciel NVivo. L'échantillon des nouveaux arrivants était composé de 15 femmes et 11 hommes (adultes) provenant de l'Algérie, de la Malaisie, de l'Egypte, de l'Iran, d'Haiti, du Cameroun, de l'Afghanistan, du Mexique, de la Bolivie, de l'Inde, du Pakistan, du Kenya et de l'Arabie Saoudite. J'ai utilisé plusieurs stratégies de recrutement notamment à travers les réseaux sociaux et la participation dans diverses activités organisées par Centraide du Grand Toronto, la Ville de Toronto, Jane's Walk et des organismes communautaires. Les thématiques abordées lors des entretiens portaient sur le contexte pré-migratoire et les raisons d'avoir choisi de s'établir à Toronto, les perceptions de la diversité ethnoculturelle et les pratiques de mobilité, de consommation et de sociabilité. En ce qui concerne les entretiens avec les acteurs locaux, j'ai privilégié les organismes suivants : la Ville de Toronto, la Fondation Maytree, Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance, Toronto Community Foundation, Tourism Toronto, Centre Francophone de Toronto, Access Alliance, Jane Alliance Neighbourhood Services et Social Planning Toronto. Les thématiques abordées lors de ces entretiens portaient sur les changements politiques survenus depuis les fusions municipales, les politiques en

matière de gestion de la diversité, les enjeux de l'intégration des immigrants, leurs perceptions de la ville multiculturelle.

Comme indiqué dans la section de méthodologie à l'annexe 1, il n'a pas été possible d'effectuer les observations prévues avec les nouveaux arrivants. En effet, le plan de recherche initial prévoyait de faire de l'observation participante en accompagnant certains participants volontaires dans leurs activités quotidiennes et d'avoir ainsi des données de première main pour comprendre leur mobilité dans la ville et leurs perceptions des personnes, des espaces, et des lieux qu'ils rencontrent. Toutefois, il s'est avéré impossible de poursuivre cette démarche car aucun des participant(e)s n'a accepté, pour des raisons qui sont tout à fait compréhensibles. Il était donc nécessaire de concevoir une autre solution : des observations indirectes. Pendant l'entretien j'ai demandé à chacun(e) de me dresser une liste des endroits fréquentés régulièrement et je m'y suis rendue afin de me familiariser avec ces lieux. J'ai effectué des observations informelles en notant les faits saillants des environs et en prenant des photos.

Plan de la thèse

Cette thèse par articles comprend cinq chapitres. Le chapitre 1 est une présentation générale du contexte social, géographique et politique de la ville de Toronto. Il nous permet de comprendre les changements démographiques en matière d'immigration survenus depuis la période d'après-guerre et la localisation des récents immigrants à travers la ville. On y présente également les politiques de gestion de la diversité mises en place depuis les fusions municipales en 1998 et les acteurs dits civiques œuvrant dans le domaine de l'intégration des immigrants. Les chapitres 2, 3 et 4 sont des articles qui ont été soumis dans des revues scientifiques. Un de ces articles a été publié et un autre est en cours de révision afin d'être soumis à nouveau après une première évaluation. Le chapitre 2 présente les récits des nouveaux arrivants sur Toronto comme « ville multiculturelle ». Le chapitre 3 porte sur la valorisation de la diversité ethnoculturelle dans les discours des représentants d'institutions locales à Toronto. Le chapitre 4 a pour but de comparer et de mettre en perspective les récits des nouveaux arrivants avec ceux des représentants d'institutions locales afin de cerner les éléments qui constituent leurs imaginaires urbains. Le chapitre 5 présente l'évolution des politiques en matière de diversité de la Ville de Toronto ainsi que des données sur les pratiques quotidiennes des nouveaux arrivants notamment la mobilité, la consommation et la sociabilité. En conclusion nous offrons une réflexion sur la contribution de la thèse au champ des études urbaines et nous proposons des pistes de recherche pour l'avenir.

Chapitre 1

Tel que souligné par Germain (2013), de nos jours l'immigration est un phénomène métropolitain et la plupart des immigrants qui arrivent au Canada se dirigent vers les grandes villes : Toronto, Vancouver, Montréal, Ottawa-Gatineau et Calgary. Durant la période de 2001 à 2010, presque 1 million de résidents permanents se sont établis à Toronto (CIC 2010). Selon l'Enquête nationale auprès des ménages (2011), 51% de la population torontoise est née à l'étranger et 15% des immigrants sont arrivés entre 2006 et 2011. Ces immigrants sont principalement originaires de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, du Moyen-Orient, des Caraïbes et de l'Amérique Latine, ce qui a pour effet une augmentation de la population des « minorités visibles » qui représentent désormais presque la moitié de la population torontoise.

Les politiques canadiennes en matière d'immigration sont basées sur la notion "d'attraction du talent" dans un contexte de concurrence internationale (Germain 2013; Pellerin 2003). Ainsi, de nos jours les immigrants possèdent un niveau d'éducation plus élevé que les immigrants qui sont arrivés durant la période d'après-guerre et ils dépassent également la population née au Canada. Par contre, malgré un haut niveau d'éducation, bien souvent les qualifications des nouveaux arrivants ne sont pas reconnues et ils ont des difficultés à décrocher un emploi dans leur domaine.

À l'instar de l'intensification et de la métropolisation de la migration internationale, le rôle de l'État dans la gestion de la diversité ethnoculturelle est redéfini et les municipalités sont de plus en plus impliquées dans l'intégration des immigrants (Good 2009). Selon Poirier (2009), la gestion de la diversité ethnoculturelle au niveau municipal s'articule autour de trois éléments : les structures politiques et administratives; les programmes et les services destinés aux communautés ethnoculturelles; et les discours véhiculés par les acteurs locaux. Les recherches de Paré, Frohn et Laurin (2004) et de Poirier (2005) démontrent que la présence d'un grand nombre d'immigrants dans une ville se traduit par l'adaptation des services municipaux, notamment les programmes de sports et de loisirs ainsi que l'octroi de subventions aux groupes communautaires afin de les soutenir dans leurs projets. Stasiulis, Hughes et Amery (2011) expliquent que l'approche torontoise est basée sur une définition large de la diversité sociale qui comprend les autochtones, les personnes handicapées, les femmes, la communauté LGBT et les groupes ethnoculturels. À Toronto, depuis les années 2000 des organismes dits civiques se sont mobilisés afin de mettre en place des initiatives qui favorisent l'intégration des immigrants hautement qualifiés dans le marché de l'emploi. Deux de ces organismes, la Fondation Maytree et la Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance ont fondé la Toronto Region Immigrant Employment

Council (TRIEC) qui regroupe plusieurs acteurs afin d'encourager les employeurs à recruter des immigrants et aider ces derniers à développer leurs réseaux professionnels.

Chapitre 2

Ce chapitre présente l'article intitulé « Global Roots : Reflections on Multiculturalism in Toronto » qui a été publié dans la revue *Spaces and Flows : An International Journal of Urban and ExtraUrban Studies.* Cet article se penche sur Toronto en tant que « ville multiculturelle » et il explore le rôle de cette réalité multiculturelle dans la vie des nouveaux arrivants. L'article décrit les changements démographiques survenus à Toronto en matière d'immigration depuis les quarante dernières années et offre un portrait de cette métropole fragmentée, surtout en termes d'inégalités socio-économiques. L'analyse est ancrée dans un cadre théorique qui établit une relation entre le multiculturalisme et la vie quotidienne car c'est à l'échelle urbaine qu'a lieu la médiation des cultures, savoirs et pouvoirs entre les immigrants et les groupes dominants (Wood et Gilbert 2005). Le « multiculturalisme quotidien » (Wise et Velayutham 2009) se concentre sur les pratiques quotidiennes et la façon dont la rencontre avec la différence se vit dans des espaces de tous les jours.

L'article fait ressortir trois aspects des récits des nouveaux arrivants, soit un sentiment de confort grâce à la présence d'un grand nombre d'immigrants, les défis liés à l'intégration au marché de l'emploi, ainsi que leurs perspectives critiques sur la ville dite « multiculturelle ». En ce qui concerne le « confort culturel » (McNicoll 1993; Radice 2000), le nombre important d'immigrants à Toronto fait en sorte que les nouveaux arrivants ne se sentent pas étrangers et leur donne l'impression que la ville est plus ouverte envers la diversité et accepte les immigrants plus facilement. Par contre, cette acceptation perçue ne facilite pas nécessairement la recherche d'emploi car la plupart des participants ont évoqué des difficultés à trouver un emploi dans leur domaine de formation et d'expérience. Malgré une attitude positive face à la diversité ethnoculturelle et son omniprésence, des participants remettent en question la « ville multiculturelle ». En effet, certains trouvent que les gens ne se mélangent pas les uns avec les autres et que les relations sociales entre différents groupes ethnoculturels ne dépassent pas un niveau superficiel.

Chapitre 3

Ce chapitre présente l'article intitulé « Competing on Diversity, Accelerating Prosperity : Understanding the Valorization of Ethnocultural Diversity in Toronto » qui a été soumis à la revue *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. L'article se concentre sur les raisons pour lesquelles la diversité

est valorisée comme un principe de base dans le processus décisionnel, les investissements publics et la légitimité de l'action publique. L'article présente les discours et les pratiques des principaux acteurs œuvrant dans le domaine de l'immigration à Toronto, notamment les autorités municipales, des institutions civiques et des organismes communautaires. Il s'agit d'élaborer le concept de la diversité et son importance grandissante pour les villes comme un vecteur de prospérité économique. La diversité est décrite comme la présence d'une variété de qualités humaines et des caractéristiques qui constituent des points de différence, soit le lieu de naissance, la culture, l'éducation, les capacités physiques, la classe sociale, la religion, la langue, le lieu de résidence, le statut de citoyenneté, l'idéologie politique, l'ethnicité, la « race », l'âge, le genre, l'orientation sexuelle et des attributs du style personnel. Malgré cette vaste définition, dans le contexte canadien la diversité se réfère plus souvent aux différences ethnoculturelles résultant de l'immigration (Abu-Laban et Gabriel 2002). Abu-Laban et Gabriel (2002) proposent une conceptualisation de la diversité qui reflète l'intersection des différences en lien avec le genre, la « race »/l'ethnicité et la classe sociale. Selon ces auteurs, tout au long de l'histoire du Canada, cette construction des différences a joué un rôle dans la distribution non équitable du pouvoir et des ressources pour divers groupes de personnes.

Dans un contexte de concurrence entre les villes à l'échelle mondiale, les acteurs locaux ont réalisé que le succès économique constitue un avantage compétitif pour les villes. Ainsi, ils ont mis en place des initiatives afin de remédier au problème du chômage vécu par grand nombre de nouveaux arrivants, surtout ceux qui sont hautement qualifiés. Selon Allahwala (2011) ces initiatives sont basées sur une politique de « multiculturalisme compétitif » qui se focalise sur les bienfaits économiques d'attirer et d'utiliser les compétences des immigrants. L'article se penche sur une telle initiative notamment *DiverseCity : The Greater Toronto Leadership Project* mise en place par deux organismes civiques afin d'améliorer l'accès aux postes de leadership pour les immigrants qualifiés tant dans le secteur privé que public. Les résultats de recherche mettent en relief la valeur construite de la diversité comme un idéal social et comme un avantage économique. Bien que les acteurs locaux soient conscients des inégalités sociales et de la discrimination dont les nouveaux arrivants sont victimes, les solutions proposées tentent plutôt d'enlever des barrières à l'emploi plutôt que de changer les structures en place.

Chapitre 4

Ce chapitre présente l'article intitulé « Urban Imaginaries of (the) Diverse-City » qui a été soumis à la revue *Mobilities*. Le point de départ de cet article est qu'il existe un écart entre la façon dont la diversité ethnoculturelle est représentée dans l'imaginaire « officiel » et comment les nouveaux arrivants construisent leurs propres imaginaires de la ville. Afin d'examiner cet écart et de découvrir des significations alternatives accordées à la ville « multiculturelle », cet article utilise le concept d'imaginaire urbain qui fait référence aux différentes façons dont la ville est imaginée par ses habitants. De plus, l'article tente d'établir une relation entre l'imaginaire urbain et la vie quotidienne en avançant l'idée que les habitants construisent leurs propres imaginaires en se déplaçant dans la ville. L'objectif principal est de mettre en relation leurs imaginaires sociaux et spatiaux en mettant l'accent sur l'environnement bâti, les différents quartiers et leur composition socio-économique.

À travers les récits des nouveaux arrivants nous avons pu dégager cinq éléments qui composent leurs imaginaires, soit: la mixité ethnoculturelle, la diversité socio-économique, les opportunités et les inégalités, la ségrégation ethnique et la mobilité. Le tableau suivant présente les similarités et les contrastes entre ce qui caractérise les imaginaires des nouveaux arrivants et les acteurs locaux.

Les éléments constitutifs de l'imaginaire urbain

Éléments de l'imaginaire urbain	Nouveaux arrivants	Acteurs locaux
La mixité ethnoculturelle	Le multiculturalisme Le sentiment d'appartenance L'acceptation La banlieue La diversité omniprésente	La ville globale La diversité Les quartiers ethniques La nourriture et les festivals
La diversité socio-économique	La mixité des usages/variété des commerces La proximité des quartiers aisés avec des quartiers moins riches	La mixité sociale La ville créative Les quartiers centraux versus les quartiers désignés prioritaires
La ségrégation ethnique	Des « mini-mondes » Les quartiers mono-ethniques Les stéréotypes Les groupes ne se mélangent pas	Les ghettos Les quartiers de nouveaux arrivants L'importance des institutions communautaires La segmentation basée sur les classes sociales
Les opportunités et les inégalités	Le coût de la vie très élevé La vie difficile/on travaille fort Une ville fragmentée Une meilleure vie pour la famille	La pauvreté racisée Le transport collectif et les logements abordables La gentrification des quartiers centraux Les trois villes de Hulchanski
La mobilité	L'accessibilité Remarquer les différences (entre les lieux et les personnes) La familiarité La recherché du travail et du logement	Liens entre l'emploi, les services et le logement Remarquer les différences (entre les lieux et les personnes)

La construction des imaginaires urbains des nouveaux arrivants suggère une évolution dans le temps de la façon dont ils apprennent à connaître la ville à travers leurs expériences quotidiennes et leurs pratiques de mobilité. Tout d'abord ils remarquent la présence d'un grand nombre d'immigrants, ce qui devient une source de confort car ils n'ont pas le sentiment d'être un étranger. Dans leur recherche d'un logement et de travail, ils prennent conscience des inégalités socio-économiques qui existent entre différents groupes et quartiers et cette dure

réalité semble changer leur vision de la ville. En ce qui concerne les acteurs locaux, leurs imaginaires urbains semblent être plutôt construits à partir du savoir acquis par le biais de leur travail ainsi que par les rapports et les statistiques. Bien qu'ils soient conscients des inégalités socio-économiques dont sont victimes les nouveaux arrivants, pour certains la solution se trouve dans les stratégies de revitalisation urbaine qui privilégient la mixité sociale et la « ville créative ».

Chapitre 5

L'objectif de ce chapitre est de revisiter les principales contributions théoriques et empiriques de cette thèse. Ce développement comprend : 1) un examen théorique du multiculturalisme municipal à Toronto dans le contexte des fusions municipales et la façon dont un changement dans le discours politique a engendré de nouvelles modalités de gouvernance qui reflètent une nouvelle approche entrepreneuriale de la gestion de la différence, et 2) une étude empirique des réalités quotidiennes des nouveaux immigrants dans le Toronto de l'après-fusion qui défient son image tolérante et favorable à la diversité. La première partie du chapitre présente une mise en contexte des politiques de diversité dans le Toronto post-fusion en mettant en lien le discours sur la diversité avec le climat politique au cours des trois administrations municipales au pouvoir depuis 1998. La deuxième partie de ce chapitre soulève de nouvelles questions sur la justice sociale et spatiale à la lumière des inégalités de tous les jours que subissent les immigrants récents, que cette recherche met en lumière grâce à un examen de pratiques quotidiennes spécifiques : mobilité, consommation et sociabilité.

Partie 1

Cette section propose un bref survol historique de l'expansion métropolitaine de Toronto de ses débuts à la fin du 19ème siècle jusqu'à sa transformation en une megacité à la fin du 20ème siècle. Cette section tracera aussi le changement de structure de la gouvernance et les arrangements particuliers qui facilitent sa transition de la megacité des années Lastman à la megarégion du maire Rob Ford. Ce survol fournit les bases politiques et institutionnelles nécessaires à la discussion sur l'évolution du multiculturalisme et ses problématiques et son glissement dans les discours politique et populaire de l'équité à la diversité. J'argumente que les premiers sont alignés sur des priorités de justice alors que les derniers le sont plus avec des priorités de compétitivité économique.

Avec la fusion, l'ancienne ville de Toronto devint une partie de la mégacité et la devise « Diversity Our Strength » a été adoptée après des consultations publiques. Cette devise devait

symboliser la fusion de sept municipalités en une seule ville ainsi que l'harmonisation des programmes et de la politique de la diversité développés par l'ancienne ville de Toronto et l'instance régionale Metro Toronto (Ramkhalawansingh 2012).

Malgré l'engagement de la ville à éliminer les obstacles à l'accès pour les groupes en quête d'équité, l'accent sur la gestion de la diversité et l'utilisation de la diversité comme un logo d'entreprise est interprétée différemment par le personnel municipal et les autres organisations qui travaillent avec les immigrants. Comme le souligne Viswanathan (2007: 143), la gestion de la diversité est un « moyen pour la ville de réglementer l'activité collective et en même temps de promouvoir un certain type d'activité collective », principalement à travers l'affectation de fonds pour des projets d'engagement civique. Sa recherche révèle le rôle joué par l'utilisation du langage de la diversité plutôt que celui de l'accès et de l'équité. Bien que les représentants de la ville voient cela comme une manière positive d'attirer l'attention des employeurs sur les problèmes auxquels font face les nouveaux immigrants, d'autres soutiennent qu'il détourne du problème principal qui est le racisme systémique (Viswanathan 2007).

Partie 2

Cette section propose une illustration empirique des pratiques quotidiennes des nouveaux arrivants, à savoir la mobilité, la consommation, et la sociabilité. La discussion de chaque aspect met en exergue les questions de justice sociale et spatiale, qui sont comprises ici en termes d'inégalités vécues par les participants et qui structurent leurs pratiques quotidiennes, y compris là où ils vivent, travaillent, font leurs achats, ainsi que la façon dont ils se déplacent et où ils vont.

L'un des aspects de la vie quotidienne discuté lors des entretiens fut la mobilité quotidienne, entendue comme mouvement à travers l'espace (par opposition à d'autres types de mobilité tels que les mobilités virtuelle, cognitive ou sociale), dont le postulat principal de cette recherche est qu'elle est un important facteur dans la formation des imaginaires urbains quotidiens. Jouffe (2011 : 125) définit la mobilité journalière comme « l'ensemble des pratiques spatiales réalisées dans le cadre de la vie quotidienne, structuré par le retour quotidien à un lieu permanent de résidence ». Dans sa recherche sur la mobilité quotidienne des travailleurs temporaires dans deux banlieues de Paris, Jouffe (2011) a constaté que malgré des conditions économiques précaires et un manque de compétences, ils sont très mobiles. Il appelle cela « la mobilité flexible », qui se caractérise par son ampleur, sa diversité et sa complexité (Ibid).

La capacité de se déplacer dépend d'un certain nombre de facteurs, notamment l'âge, le genre, la situation familiale, la capacité physique, l'emploi et les conditions socio-économiques. La mobilité est aussi influencée par d'autres facteurs interdépendants, tels que les ressources matérielles (comme la propriété de la voiture), la disponibilité des infrastructures et du transport en commun, ainsi que les forces structurelles telles que les marchés du travail et du logement. La mobilité implique également le développement de compétences, telles que la capacité à s'orienter, à lire une carte et à planifier son voyage en utilisant différents moyens de transport. Comme Daems (2005 : 103) le note, « les pratiques de déplacement deviennent socialement discriminantes, notamment en ce qu'elles conditionnent l'accès au marché de l'emploi. Si elle révèle des distinctions sociales de classes, la mobilité constitue aussi, de multiples manières (entrave ou injonction), un opérateur de hiérarchie sociale ».

Les récits des participants nous permettent de comprendre le rôle joué par la mobilité dans la vie des nouveaux arrivants. L'accès à un mode de transport (voiture, transports en commun, vélo ou marche) joue un rôle dans la façon dont ils organisent leur vie. Par exemple, pour quelqu'un qui ne possède pas de voiture, être à distance de marche des services peut influencer le choix du quartier de résidence. Pour d'autres avoir une voiture était un élément crucial pour obtenir un emploi éloigné du domicile. Dans certains cas, la mobilité résidentielle a été influencée par les conditions du marché du travail ainsi que par les contraintes socio-économiques. Se déplacer d'une zone à une autre peut changer l'expérience de la ville et peut améliorer l'accès à l'emploi et à l'éducation ou produire des choix de vie différents (tels que les activités de loisirs ou pratiques d'achats).Ramadier (2002) soutient que le mode de vie joue un rôle plus important que les questions de classe dans la compréhension de la mobilité quotidienne. Cependant, la mobilité quotidienne des participants de la recherche présentée ici semble être influencée par des caractéristiques socio-économiques, en particulier parce que leurs conditions économiques précaires dictent en grande partie où ils vivent et travaillent, ce qui en retour fait une différence sur les endroits qu'ils fréquentent et sur leurs modes de déplacement.

Pour Parker (2004), la consommation est l'un de ce qu'il appelle les « Quatre C de l'expérience urbaine », à savoir la culture, la consommation, les conflits et la communauté. Comme il l'explique, « la consommation ne se réfère pas seulement à la consommation de biens et services, mais aussi à la nature de l'échange et aux moyens par lesquels ces biens et services (privés et publics) sont produits (Parker 2004 : 4) ». De Certeau (1984) envisage quant à lui les pratiques de consommation comme l'un des aspects centraux de la vie urbaine, qui

jouent un rôle complexe dans la société contemporaine (Surrenti 2009). La recherche présentée ici met l'accent sur les pratiques de consommation, en particulier les achats comme activité quotidienne. Comme l'évoque Surrenti (2009), les consommateurs font leurs choix en fonction de leur propre personnalité et de leur sens de l'identité, générant ainsi une signification culturelle à une activité quotidienne.

Nous avons vu comment les pratiques de consommation, notamment l'épicerie, sont une partie importante de la routine et de la mobilité quotidiennes. Pour la plupart des participants, trouver les produits dont ils ont besoin est relativement facile et il y a une abondance de variété disponible, ce qui contribue à un sentiment d'être « chez soi ». Il a également été discuté du rôle joué par les conditions socio-économiques dans la mesure où bon nombre des participants ont mentionné aller dans les magasins où les prix sont plus abordables. Ceux qui ont parlé d'aller dans des restaurants et d'essayer de nouveaux aliments évoquent ce que Radice (2010: 15) appelle le « cosmopolitisme personnel » selon lequel un individu « est disposé à s'ouvrir et s'intéresser, sans nécessairement être expert, à des éléments de cultures autres que la sienne ». Le matériel recueilli ici soutient (2010: 269) l'argument de Radice que cette « volonté de s'engager avec l'autre (dans ce cas par la nourriture) n'est pas l'apanage de l'élite mondiale jet-setteuse ». Il est également intéressant de noter comment certains participants ont souligné l'authenticité, qui, selon eux, se trouverait dans la maison de quelqu'un et pas dans les restaurants, et se demandent si ce type d'échange culturel peut être plus profond et conduire à « l'acceptation d'une culture ».

Les liens sociaux, à la fois locaux et transnationaux, ont été identifiés comme jouant un rôle fondamental dans les processus de migration et d'établissement des immigrants. Les liens interpersonnels comme ceux de parenté, les amis et membres de la communauté dans le pays d'origine et le pays de destination peuvent avoir un impact sur la capacité à migrer vers un endroit particulier, trouver un logement et de l'emploi, démarrer une entreprise, et d'accéder aux services (Poros 2011). Comme Poros (2011) le note, de nombreux immigrants cherchent à minimiser leurs risques et choisissent donc leur destination en fonction de l'endroit où ils connaissent d'autres individus ou organisations qui peuvent leur fournir une assistance à l'arrivée. « Liens forts » avec la famille et les amis proches et « liens faibles » avec des connaissances et des institutions peuvent être un canal d'information ainsi qu'une source de soutien matériel et social dans le processus d'intégration, en particulier pour ceux qui manquent de compétences linguistiques ou de connaissances des institutions locales (Giulietti, Schluter et Wahba 2013: 657).

Les schémas contemporains d'installation des immigrants ont changé la nature de leurs réseaux sociaux puisqu'ils vivent généralement dans des quartiers multiethniques et que leur famille et les amis peuvent être dispersés à travers la ville plutôt que de vivre à proximité (Rose et al. 2002). Ainsi, ces réseaux s'étendent au-delà des limites du quartier et certains endroits, comme les lieux de culte et les entreprises ethniques, attirent des gens de différentes parties de la ville (Dansereau et Germain 2002). En outre, la disponibilité accrue de la technologie signifie que les gens sont en mesure d'accéder à des informations avant même d'arriver dans leur nouveau pays et de communiquer facilement et plus fréquemment avec leurs réseaux sociaux transnationaux (ibid). En conséquence, alors que le quartier reste un lieu important pour le développement des liens sociaux chez les immigrants, il n'est plus un espace homogène de reproduction, mais plutôt une plate-forme pour accéder à d'autres parties de la ville (Dansereau et Germain 2002). Comme Dansereau et Germain (2002: 23) l'affirment : « le quartier fonctionne alors davantage comme une ouverture sur d'autres fragments cosmopolites de la ville que comme un espace clos autosuffisant ou un espace de construction d'une identité communautaire ».

Ce chapitre s'est penché sur les forces qui ont conduit à la fusion de la Ville de Toronto et comment cela a affecté l'évolution des politiques de diversité et des questions d'immigration. La fusion de Toronto a réuni six municipalités, chacune avec son propre mode de fonctionnement, sous une seule structure administrative. Pour cette raison, le slogan « Diversity our Strength » se réfère non seulement à la population diversifiée de la ville, mais aussi aux différences que chaque municipalité a apporté avec elle. Ce chapitre a expliqué comment l'orientation de la politique passée de l'équité, qui était plus orientée vers la justice sociale, à la diversité, qui est devenu un point vendeur dans la course pour attirer les talents mobiles hautement qualifiés ainsi que le capital et les investissements.

Tout au long des années du maire Miller, la diversité est devenue un aspect central de ce qui est appelé « l'avantage Toronto » comme indiqué dans l'Agenda pour la prospérité (2008). Cependant, la partie empirique de ce chapitre met en évidence les inégalités subies par les nouveaux arrivants dans leur vie quotidienne. Toronto connaît une intensification de l'inégalité et la différence spatialisées qui produit notamment des divisions sociales et territoriales, comme c'est le cas dans les banlieues d'après-guerre où les immigrants, les personnes de couleur, et les mères seules sont concentrées de manière disproportionnée. Ces tensions soulignent les contradictions socio-économiques de la mégarégion et de la ville compétitive où le noyau interne est de plus en plus blanc et de classe moyenne, alors que les

« entre-villes » sont désavantagés par de mauvaises conditions de logement, le manque de transport adéquat, qui empêche finalement, leur accès aux opportunités - les opportunités que les immigrants espèrent atteindre quand ils décident de quitter leur pays.

Ce chapitre met également en lumière un certain nombre de points qui méritent une enquête plus approfondie. Premièrement, étant donné le rôle important joué par la mobilité dans la vie des participants, il serait intéressant de se plonger dans la relation entre la mobilité et l'identité. Comme Depeau et Ramadier (2011: 9) le précisent « se déplacer dans l'espace géographique, c'est exprimer son rapport aux autres par le trajet et le lieu de destination, par le mode utilise, par son rapport au temps et à ceux que l'on croise lors du déplacement, etc. ». Le lien avec l'identité a émergé dans certains des entretiens, en particulier en ce qui concerne les pratiques de consommation. Par exemple, un participant choisit de faire des emplettes dans les magasins où elle peut parler espagnol ce qui influence ses pratiques socio-spatiales d'une manière qui doit être mieux comprise. Un autre thème qui pourrait être développé est l'attachement au lieu et le rôle du voisinage dans les relations sociales. Pour certains des participants être dans un quartier marchable était un élément important pour leurs pratiques quotidiennes. Pour les femmes, les espaces locaux tels que le parc, un centre communautaire ou une bibliothèque peuvent être des lieux favorisant les liens et la lutte contre l'isolement. Enfin, étant donné que certains des participants étaient touchés par des expériences de racisme, il serait nécessaire d'étudier davantage le rôle joué par la « race » et les processus de racialisation dans les expériences quotidiennes.

Conclusion

J'ai entrepris cette recherche afin de comprendre les raisons derrière la promotion de la diversité ethnoculturelle à Toronto. Cette recherche est située dans ce que Berg et Sigona (2013) appellent le « tournant de la diversité » dans les cercles universitaires et politiques, en référence à l'utilisation de la notion de diversité comme une lentille analytique pour comprendre la complexité du multiculturalisme comme un fait social à l'échelle urbaine. Cependant, l'approche adoptée ici est une approche critique, qui ne tient pas les discours publics de la diversité à leur valeur nominale pour tenter de déterminer ce qui se trouve derrière l'utilisation du terme « diversité » comme un terme fourre-tout pour décrire les différences sociales. Ainsi, dans ces critiques la diversité est conceptualisée comme un terme qui tend à aplatir les différences et, à ce titre, fait partie intégrante des idéologies néolibérales et des stratégies de la ville compétitive. J'ai choisi d'étudier les expériences des nouveaux arrivants racisés car ils représentent l'immigration récente à Toronto et constituent l'objet du discours de la ville

compétitive pour positionner Toronto comme un endroit accueillant pour les nouveaux arrivants et une ville vivable avec une économie urbaine dynamique. Le concept de l'imaginaire urbain a été utilisé comme un moyen de créer un lien entre la façon dont les nouveaux arrivants racisés et les représentants des institutions locales imaginent la ville, dans le but de confronter leurs points de vue et, finalement, de déterminer s'il y a un désaccord entre les deux. Les résultats de la recherche révèlent qu'il existe des différences et des similitudes entre les deux imaginaires comme on l'a vu dans les chapitres précédents.

L'approche qualitative utilisée dans cette recherche doctorale m'a permis d'aller un peu plus près de la réalité des nouveaux arrivants racisés à Toronto. Cela a été possible en les encourageant à parler librement de leurs expériences, en les rencontrant dans leur quartier (quand cela a été possible), et en essayant de comprendre vraiment leurs sentiments, leurs espoirs et leurs aspirations. Dans le même temps, cette recherche présente certaines limites. La principale est que ces résultats ne sont pas tout à fait représentatifs des plus récents immigrants de Toronto pour deux raisons principales: je me suis appuyée sur les données de recensement de 2006 lors de la constitution de l'échantillon et je n'étais pas en mesure de recruter des gens en provenance de Chine ou aux Philippines qui sont actuellement les immigrants les plus importants de Toronto. Une autre limite tient à la façon dont les données ont été recueillies pour obtenir des informations sur les pratiques de mobilité quotidienne. Par exemple, j'aurais pu demander aux participants de tenir un journal de mobilité dans lequel ils auraient consigné tous leurs mouvements dans la ville durant une semaine. Une telle méthode m'aurait donné une meilleure idée de la façon dont leurs pratiques de mobilité sont structurées, y compris où ils allaient, comment, avec qui ils ont voyagé, et toute autre information pertinente.

Grand nombre des nouveaux arrivants qui ont participé à la recherche estiment que l'une des principales conditions d'une ville multiculturelle est le brassage entre différentes origines ethno-culturelles. Il serait alors intéressant de mener des recherches plus ethnographiques à l'échelle du quartier. De telles recherches permettraient une analyse plus fine des relations sociales qui se produisent entre les différents groupes par des observations dans des lieux publics tels que les parcs et les bibliothèques. En outre, cela permettrait d'acquérir une compréhension plus approfondie des sentiments de confort et d'appartenance exprimés par les participants de cette étude. Il serait également intéressant de tester cette étude dans d'autres villes canadiennes avec des populations immigrées élevées, comme Montréal ou Vancouver, pour voir si elle donnerait des résultats similaires. Bien que les contextes sociaux, politiques, culturels et économiques locaux soient des facteurs influents

susceptibles d'entraîner des résultats différents, des recherches menées à Montréal (Germain et al., 1995; Germain 2013; Radice 2010) ont montré que les espaces multiethniques constituent des sites importants pour la sociabilité publique entre divers groupes sociaux et ethniques et favorisent un sentiment d'appartenance.

Il y a deux principales conclusions qui se dégagent de cette thèse. Premièrement, alors qu'en surface le langage de la diversité semble être inclusif (qui pourrait être contre la diversité? Tout comme qui pourrait être contre le credo de la créativité?), il n'aborde pas les problèmes sous-jacents de racisme systémique et d'inégalités structurelles qui opèrent dans la société. Pour que ce soit le cas, il faudrait que les municipalités et les dirigeants municipaux adoptent une approche véritablement anti-raciste. Comme Kobayashi et Fuji Johnson (2007: 4) le soulignent, « le racisme reste profondément ancré dans nos systèmes interconnectés de société et de gouvernement ». Cependant, la « race » est rarement mentionnée comme tel par les employeurs et les décideurs politiques comme si l'adoption d'une approche sans couleur allait simplement effacer le racisme de la société (à bien des égards ceci est proche de l'approche républicaine française de la diversité). Pour ce faire, il est également nécessaire de contester efficacement la notion de privilège blanc et que le fait d'être blanc soit évalué comme la norme de référence (Kobayashi et Fuji Johnson 2007). Comme nous l'avons vu à travers l'analyse des documents politiques et par des entretiens avec les travailleurs de la ville et les élus, le privilège des blancs est rarement contesté directement. L'accent est mis sur la place de la « diversité » en soulignant les retombées positives, sans contester, critiquer, ou adopter ce qu'on pourrait appeler une vision plus nuancée qui mettrait en évidence les problèmes réels de racisme. Cela se produit parce que ceux qui observent la diversité à travers une lentille de blancheur voit la diversité comme quelque chose de monolithique sans prendre en considération les multiples différences qui peuvent constituer l'identité d'un individu.

Deuxièmement, les débats autour de la diversité ethnoculturelle à Toronto et, en particulier, les initiatives visant à améliorer les résultats sur le marché du travail des immigrants, comme le projet *DiverseCity*, pointe une forme néolibérale de la gouvernance axée sur les intervenants. Comme Allahwala (2011) l'a montré dans ses recherches, la Greater Toronto CivicAction Alliance agit comme une coalition de la gouvernance urbaine, et illustre clairement la façon dont les discours sont utilisés de manière stratégique. Les données présentées dans cette thèse montre qu'il y a un consensus général à Toronto pour dire que la diversité fait bon ménage avec les affaires et qu'elle devrait être mise à profit comme un moyen d'accroître la compétitivité et la prospérité. Il est nécessaire de se demander si ces initiatives forcent vraiment

les institutions à changer leurs habitudes ou si elles visent tout simplement à intégrer la diversité dans leur fonctionnement sans remettre en cause des modes de fonctionnement. Ainsi, on peut affirmer que les discours de la diversité font partie de la gouvernementalité néolibérale qui se caractérise par des mécanismes de consensus, d'accord et de comptage qui ont remplacé le débat et le désaccord (Swyngedouw 2009 : 604). Ainsi, il est nécessaire de ramener le politique afin de donner une voix à ceux qui sont réduits au silence dans les débats. Plutôt que de se concentrer principalement sur l'élimination des obstacles à l'emploi, ces débats devraient entraîner une discussion sur les questions d'équité et l'égalité d'accès afin de remédier aux inégalités de classe, de genre et de « race ».

Enfin, que pouvons-nous apprendre de Toronto comme une ville dite multiculturelle ? Certains diront que le multiculturalisme fonctionne très bien dans la ville parce que la diversité est devenue une simple façon de vivre. Cependant, c'est en raison de cette façon qu'il est nécessaire de ne pas glisser dans la complaisance et de développer des mesures pour atténuer la polarisation socio-économique qui s'aggrave, et s'assurer ainsi que Toronto soit un endroit inclusif pour les générations futures.

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