

# OFFICE COPY CURRENTS

Volume 5 No. 2

READINGS IN RACE RELATIONS

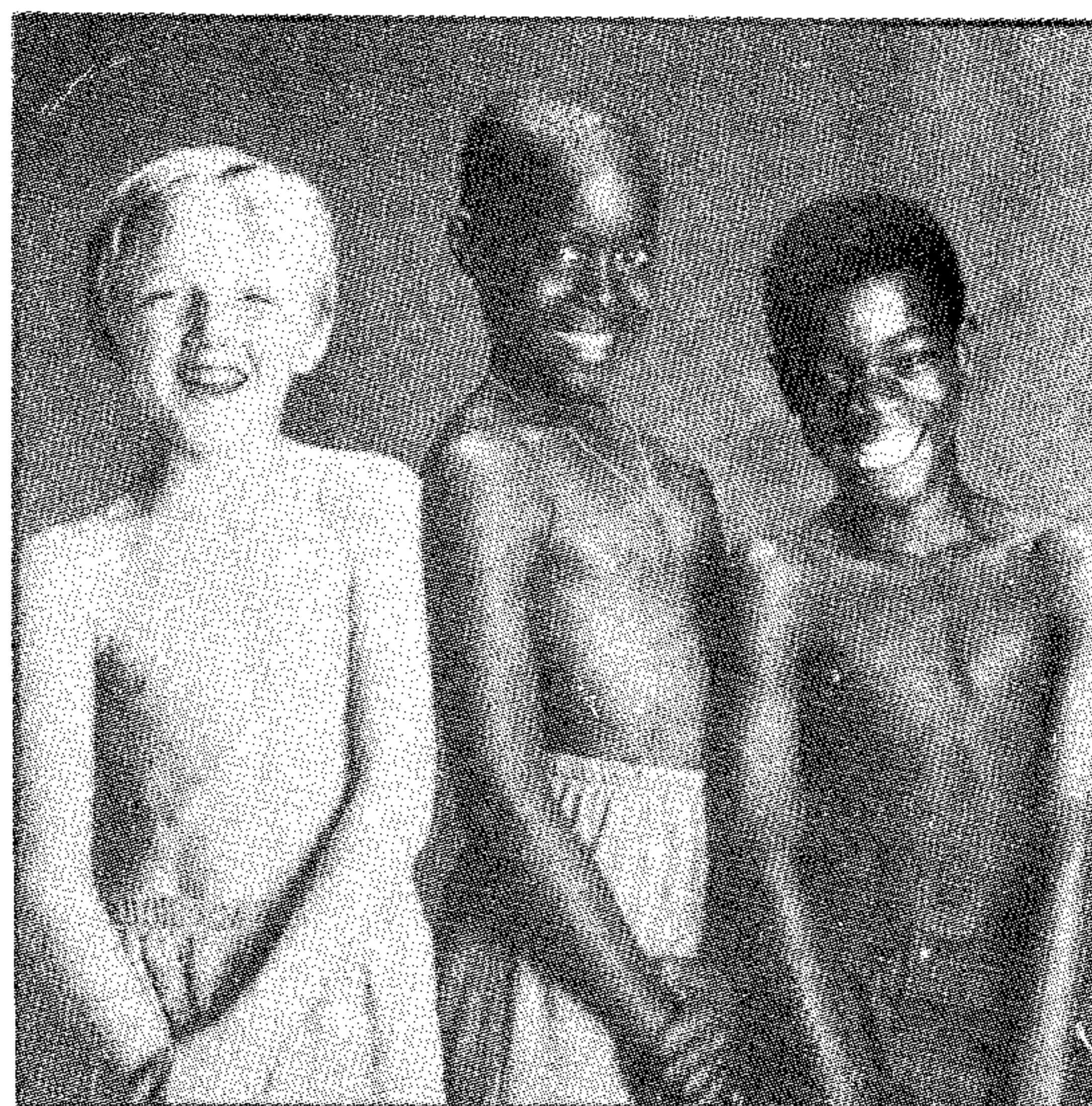
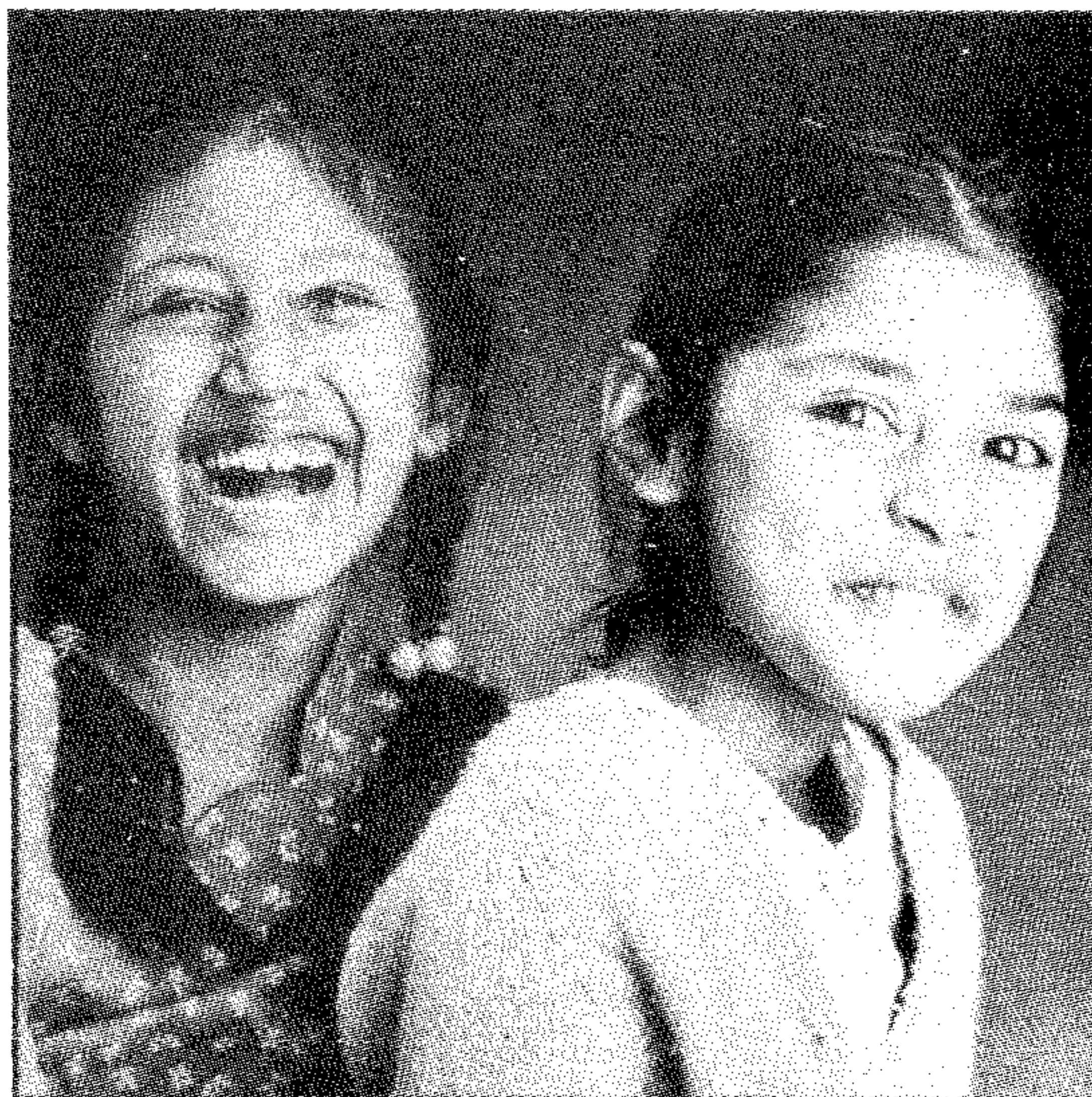
April 1989

## INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

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Also

Immigration and Visible Minorities  
Canada's Employment Discriminators  
Access and Equity in  
Canada and Australia



Price \$6.00

Published by THE URBAN ALLIANCE ON RACE RELATIONS



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The Urban Alliance on Race Relations ,formed in July 1975 'to promote a stable and healthy multiracial environment in the community,' is a non-profit organization made up of volunteers from all sectors of the community.

The Urban Alliance on Race Relations is an educational agency and an advocate and intermediary for the visible minorities. It works toward encouraging better race relations, increased understanding and awareness among our multicultural, multiracial population through programmes of education directed at both the private and public sectors of the community. It is also focusing its efforts on the institutions of our society including educational systems, employment, government, media, legislation, police, social service agencies, and human services, in order to reduce patterns of discrimination and inequality of opportunity which may exist within these institutions.

The work of the organization is carries out through committees such as:  
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## INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

This special issue of *Currents* commemorates March 21 as International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Yes indeed, if only the magic wand could be waved and racial discrimination was eliminated from the world!

As a day proclaimed by the U.N. General Assembly, it marks the date March 21, 1960 when over seventy peaceful demonstrators against Apartheid were killed and over 180 wounded in Sharpeville, South Africa.

Thirty years on, can we say that those demonstrators did not die in vain? In South Africa and in many other countries around the world interracial and interreligious violence appears to be flourishing unimpeded. And as the articles in this issue of *Currents* demonstrate, racial discrimination continues to blatantly manifest itself in many areas of Canadian life.

International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination would appear to be a time to commemorate and remember the horrific consequences of racial discrimination. Sadly the cures are not in evidence. When will International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination be an occasion for celebration? How long will it be before we can mark the occasion with significant events and achievements that actually do help to eliminate racial discrimination from within our midst?

Commemorating International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination should be an occasion to rid ourselves of the obfuscation and muddleheaded thinking about how to eliminate racial discrimination. The existing evidence speaks volumes of the feebleness and irrelevance of present efforts. It is a time for clarity of purpose, commitment and action.

### Cultural Solutions to Racial Problems

There are many indications that uncertainty, misunderstanding and suspicion underpin many of the mundane relationships between the public sector and minorities.

Government - at all three levels - has generally interpreted the difficulties in these relationships as a cultural and linguistic problem. Cultural differences still tend to be the basic foundation of race relations and

multicultural public policy. As a consequence the translation of this policy into practice has become largely a process of bridging the cultural gap.

For the minority communities, defining the problem in cultural terms appears to be perceived to mean that they are inadequately informed and educated about the services provided by the public sector. More multilingual publicity has therefore been identified as the major remedy.

For government it is a problem of improving communication with minority communities. Therefore, for government to be more responsive, the bureaucracy - and in particular "front-line" workers - need to be more sensitive and understanding of the different cultures of "immigrant peoples". Governments - and particularly the Ontario Government at the moment - are thus spending literally millions of dollars on "sensitization" training programs for their staff.

Understanding the cultural backgrounds of the major ethnic groups, or even just the new, small groups from places such as Iran, Afghanistan or Sudan, is somewhat of an overwhelming and neverending task. In attempting to understand the specificities of all the problems and needs within all the minority communities, it is little wonder that public officials endure these "sensitization" workshops with little enthusiasm.

The assumption of such training is that there is a definable body of information which can be transmitted and which will help public officials understand and "deal" more effectively with minority communities.

But it is not simply a matter of improving perceptions and attitudes. Public officials are increasingly operating in ambiguous, uncertain and unsupportive environments. They have been trained and equipped to perform a job, to provide a service. But their roles are no longer the same. They lack the knowledge and skills necessary to address many of the problems they are confronting in serving a racially diverse clientele.

In most public sector agencies, it seems apparent that little effort is being made by decision-makers, including directors, managers and supervisors, to assess how cultural and racial diversity might impact the delivery of their services. There is little evidence to suggest the requirements to change policies, programmes or the allocation of resources. If any action is deemed necessary it seems as though the burden is largely being placed upon the shoulders of front-line workers, while the system itself remains unaffected and unchanged.

While the political solution in the 1960's perhaps was to throw money at the community to deal with the problem, one wonders whether the 1980's strategy of mass "sensitization" is not equally misdirected. One suspects that such an approach is going to be found severely wanting in its inability to provide the skills and knowledge by which public servants can unravel and solve the puzzle of delivering services to a culturally and racially diverse society.

### Specialization

In fact, its failure is already becoming apparent by the fact that an increasing number of public agencies are being forced to create an alternative strategy. The politically seductive nature of this particular mechanism is that it manages to both address and avoid the issue at one and the same time. Specialization is taking root as the strategy of the 1990's.

In the new age of austerity, institutions are now hiring one person to assume all responsibility for multiculturalism and race relations. These "specialists" have been hired to work in specialist units.

At the institutional level the policy of specialization creates a situation where problems of ethnic and race relations are understood as the province of particular "specialists" who possess particular skills to deal with them. Such an approach presumes that such specialists - "cultural interpreters" - with vaguely defined skill requirements and job functions as a newly minted profession are in plentiful supply. Secondly the strategy of separate provision



## VISIBLE MINORITIES AND IMMIGRATION

by John Samuel

may be perceived by many to be simply an extension of historical, colonized status. Thirdly, such an approach still concentrates upon the specificities of "exotic problems". It avoids any attention upon the sensitivity of general service provision. It avoids placing the problems within a consideration of the broader structural, institutional systems.

Racial disadvantage and discrimination cannot be addressed by marginalizing "special needs" to "special provisions" supplied through specialist units. Such a strategy refuses to recognize that most differences in service treatment and provision are based, not on culture, but by the exclusion of minorities from the full rights and benefits of citizenship in our society. Race relations is not a discrete feature of Canadian society. It is woven into structural relationships and it is that which should form the framework for policy development and implementation.

Within that framework it would be refreshing to not only find the answers to the right questions but actually implement the solutions.

Let us not be fooled by the political illusion - through the appointment of race relations specialists and the establishment of advisory committees - of meaningful change. Let us not be hypnotized by vapid political exhortations. And let us not excuse poorly conceived and controlled expenditure initiatives.

Tim Rees

Canada has welcomed more than ten million immigrants since the beginning of the century. The nation has always opened its doors to economic immigrants with attractive characteristics.

In the 1940s Prime Minister Mackenzie King believed in the positive economic benefits of immigration. In the late 1950s Prime Minister John Diefenbaker proposed massive increases in population via immigration in his National Development Policy. In the 1960s, the White Paper on Canadian immigration policy seemed to be suggesting "bigger is better" as far as the population is concerned. In the 1970s, the Green Paper advocated the "small is beautiful" concept. In the 1980s, Canada is again doing some soul-searching in the area of immigration.

No one can miss the changes in the composition of immigration that has occurred in recent years. During the decade 1951-60, 90 percent of our immigrants came from Europe or U.S.A. In 1981-86 only 36 percent came from those sources. The others came mainly from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

### The Myths of Immigration

A Québec author, Henry Bourassa, wrote in the 1950s: "The purpose of immigration was to drown the French minority in a sea of drunkards, paupers, loafers and jail birds from England." This quotation consists of a number of myths - immigrants are alcoholics, poor, good-for-nothing criminals. Since the 1950s, have the myths around immigration changed? Maybe to a certain extent. But there are many prevailing myths.

**Myth No. 1:** Immigrants take jobs away from residents

The most powerful argument politically against immigration is that it increases unemployment. There are a number of studies on this from different countries. Let us look at other Countries first.

Looking at recent evidence in the U.S.A., Prof. J. Simon of University of Maryland concludes: "Research does not show across-the-board unemployment caused by immigrants, either in the U.S. as a whole or in particular areas of relatively high immigration." The study says that immigrants have considerable awareness of labour market conditions in the U.S.A. and tend not to come if there is little demand for

their skills.

Extensive econometric studies in Australia quoted by Norman and Meikle in 1985 showed that immigrants to Australia do not intensify unemployment in that country. The other positive economic effects of immigration have also been stressed in this study.

Here in Canada at home, numerous studies proclaim the same, loudly and clearly. For example, Professor Tony Richmond of York University reviewed numerous studies related to immigrants and the Canadian economy for the sixties and seventies. He came to the conclusion that there is no evidence that immigrants add to unemployment. For the period 1983-85, Samuel and Conyers looked at how many jobs are created by immigrants directly - by starting a business, for example -- and indirectly, when they consume goods and services. Then the study looked at how many of them are destined to the labour force. The study provided a balance sheet of how many jobs are created by or through immigrants and how many jobs they occupy.

The study concluded immigrants make more jobs than they take.

**Myth No. 2:** Immigrants displace residents from jobs

There are numerous American and Australian studies that emphatically dispel this particular myth. For sake of brevity, I will not refer to them.

There are however two major Canadian studies I would like to quote. One of them by Dr. Roy won an international award for the accuracy of its methodology and comprehensiveness of approach. Such events are rare among economists who do such studies. He concluded that immigrants do not displace Canadian residents from jobs.

Another two-year study by Prof. De Voretz of Simon Fraser University used the national Census and found that immigrants do not take jobs away from residents. Very often immigrants take jobs which residents do not want. For instance, recently I heard at a Queen's University forum on immigration that some 200 sewing machine operators were needed in Winnipeg some time ago. The employment centres there phoned everyone on the U.I. list. Only two people came forward to accept these jobs. Then the employer was given the okay to get workers from the Philippines. This does not happen only in Winnipeg. This does not happen only to sewing machine operators. Some of you may



say I know a friend in Scarborough who used to work in a high-tech industry and someone from Asia replaced him. True. This could have happened. That was visible. But what is invisible is the number of jobs created by the person in this instance, from Asia. He/she might have brought a few thousand dollars for initial expenses. When that money is used to consume goods and services, who gets work? When the newcomer buys clothes, house, appliances, etc., who gets work? A resident, of course.

**Myth No. 3:** Immigrants live on welfare. They exploit the Canadian people and try to have a good life at someone else's expense. Listen to this poem which was circulated in the Toronto area rather widely at one time.

It is entitled, "Bless Ontario - I Say"  
*I come for visit -- am treated regal  
 So I stay...who cares I legal?  
 I come to Ontario, poor and broke  
 Get on bus, see Manpower bloke  
 Kind man treat me swell there  
 Send down to Welfare  
 Welfare say "come down no more"  
 We send cash out to your door  
 Six months on dole -- get plenty of money  
 Thanks to working man, the dummy  
 Write to friends in Pakistan  
 Tell them to come fast as can...  
 Two years later, big bank roll  
 Still go to Manpower, still with dole  
 Kids need dentist? Wife needs pills?  
 We get free, We got no bills  
 White man good, he pay all year...etc.*

I don't want to deny the anonymous author any brownie points for his poetic ability. But what are the facts? Immigrants have historically contributed a lot more than they take out. According to a study by De Voretz and Akbari, "There is no period after 1971 in which immigrants did not pay more in taxes than they used in services". And the difference is so large that you can't say, "Well, you made a mistake and forgot to include the tax on parsley or some such thing". The range of the surplus (i.e., immigrant contribution to the public treasury minus what they take out) is between \$200 and \$2,000 per family, depending upon the year of entry.

Though there may be a higher rate of unemployment for immigrants in the early days of their settlement in Canada, part of these costs are met by the funds they bring with them or are paid by their relatives. Many immigrants are ashamed to receive social assistance. I am

reminded of the story of a Uganda Asian who, upon arrival, received assistance from the Immigration Department. After he found a job, a cheque to the Immigration Department arrived from the Uganda Asian repaying the assistance received. The department had not even an account to receive such payments at that time. It was quite unheard of.

**Myth No. 4:** Immigrants stay in poverty and reduce per capita income of residents

Dead wrong. Immigrants, unless they are prosperous business immigrants, do not start out as rich. Many of them, if they were born with a silver spoon in their mouths, would not have been here. But they are strongly motivated to succeed, and they work hard to get that silver spoon in their children's mouths! And, in a few years, they do very well. According to 1981 Census data, the average income of a native-born person was \$12,800, and that of an immigrant \$14,100. That is not poverty. Nor do they reduce the per capita income of residents. According to studies at Wilfrid Laurier University, though the immigrant earns less than a native-born person in the initial years, the newcomer's arrival helps residents to earn more. The immigrant is not bothered by earning less than the resident initially, since he is earning a lot more than in his former country anyway.

Apart from income, statistics also show that immigrants do better than native born in wealth accumulation. They are 20 percent richer!

**Myth No. 5:** Immigrants commit more crimes than others

There is a general feeling that criminality of immigrants is higher. An August, 1987, issue of *Maclean's* magazine describes the laundering of "billions of dollars" in Canada businesses by "Mafia-style" Chinese drug gangs. When a Canadian of Sikh origin is accused of a murder the news headline reads, "Sikh murders girlfriend" or whatever. Thanks to the media, the impression remains that the criminality rate is higher among immigrants.

What are the facts? In the 1950s, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration conducted a study which discovered that immigrants have only half the criminality rate of the rest of the population. In the 1960's, the Ministry of the Solicitor General in Ottawa found out that the foreign-born crime rate is much lower. In the 1980's, another study said that while immigrants from the U.S.A. and Europe had a criminality rate of 79/10,000, immi-

grants from non-traditional source countries had a rate of 23/10,000. This is less than a third. There are a number of reasons why the criminality rate is lower for immigrants. Before arrival their background is checked and anyone with a criminal record is not allowed to come. Second, their average age is at a level where criminality is not much of a problem. Third, they have higher levels of education and eventually higher levels on income. Fourth, they have strong family ties and are hard workers. These characteristics are not conducive to higher rates of crime.

### Do We Need Immigration?

This is a question often heard in Canada. There are only two ways in which the population of a country can be maintained -- through natural increase (births minus deaths) and through net international migration (immigration minus emigration). If you look at immigration in the post-war period graphically, you get the feeling of a rollercoaster ride: up, down, up again and drastically down afterwards. This has been the result of a tap-off, tap-on policy of immigration in response to economic conditions. This plays havoc on planning and administering the program.

Lately two factors have emerged. Many economists believe that immigrants don't take jobs, but make them. Second, our fertility rate is going down and down and down. Much water has flowed under the bridge since the first French Canadian woman who stepped on Canadian soil produced 27 children. In the 1950s the fertility rate (the number of children born per woman) was close to 4. Now it is 1.65. To replace the existing population, an average of 2.1 children per woman will be required -- one to replace the mother, one to replace the father and 0.1 to replace all those who cannot, or do not want to, have children. At the current rate of fertility our population will start declining early in the next century without immigration. Eventually our population may reach the level of 11 million. Maybe, as the French chanson by Gilles Vigneault says, "mon pays, c'est pas mon pays, c'est la neige" -- my country is not my country, it is the snow. We may have to surrender the country to snow.

But maybe there are others who may want to live here. Look at the tremendous population pressures all over the world. There are five billion people in this shrinking global village



of ours. Another billion will be added by the end of the century. Many of them will be young, dynamic, unemployed or underemployed, ready and willing to go anywhere for a better living, and better opportunities.

In the next few decades some cities like Mexico City will grow as large as the entire population of Canada if we have not international immigration. We will not be alone in this predicament. In West Germany and Denmark deaths already exceed births. Their population sizes are dwindling.

How should we react? One way, of course, is to build higher and higher walls in the hope that that will keep them out -- the "fortress Canada" attitude. How tall and strong should the walls be? Be they as strong as the Great Wall or as high as the Berlin Wall, for many it will become a Wailing Wall. Can we do anything about it? We need to think about this collectively.

For a long time several of our political leaders have expressed the wish, if only we had more people here. Prime Ministers Laurier and Diefenbaker thought 100 million would be a nice population size for Canada.

Immigration ministers Lang and Mackasey thought 50 million would be okay. Recently, a McGill University sociologist, Prof. Morton Weinfeld, pointed out that even if only 10 percent of Canada's land is habitable, at the rate of Holland's density of population, we could in theory have 400 million people. The questions are asked: "Is Canada chronically underpopulated?" "Are we not sitting on the second largest chunk of real estate in the world?"

The aging of the population is another factor we need to think about -- shall I say worry about. I am not thinking of this in a personal sense, but in a national sense. I realize most of us will reach that stage in life when people don't say you are good looking, but just looking good. Aging is an unavoidable by-product of a decline in fertility. The dependency ratio (the 65+ as a ratio of the work force) of the population is expected to rise markedly. Most worrisome, however, is the composition of the dependent population, i.e., the under 18 and the 65 and over. In 1981, the ratio between these groups (under 18 and 65 and over) was 3:1. By 2011, the ratio could be 1:1. This is significant, since the cost to the taxpayer of supporting 1,000 elderly individuals is 2 to 3 times the cost of supporting 1,000 young people. We are going to become a society in which care for the

aged will become big business -- more dentures, geriatric care, and the like will be needed. Society itself could become quite conservative. As a French demographer said, we may become a society in which old men and women sit in old houses ruminating about old ideas.

We may need immigration not only to carry the burden of the aged, but also to maintain a vigorously growing economy. An economy that has resources, capital, and technical know-how can grow faster, according to several studies, if population grows at a faster pace.

Another benefit of immigration is the importation of human and monetary capital. An immigrant who arrives often arrives as a grown-up. He/she does not have to be brought up, educated, trained. All these were done in the former country. As a result Canada is getting billions of dollars worth of human resources. On top of it, they bring monetary capital with them, be they business immigrants or not. Here again, the annual gain to Canada is in the vicinity of two billion dollars annually.

Enterprise is something found abundantly among our immigrants. Hard work and enterprise together can work like magic. I am certain you know scores of such immigrants. Just think of it. Have a look at The Canadian Who's Who. (Not the one where you give money to be included). The real one. The University of Toronto publishes one. How many of the notable men and women are foreign-born? At last count it was a quarter of them, when their proportion of the total population was only one sixth. A Statistics Canada study released a few weeks ago says that a higher proportion of self-employed immigrants are employers compared to the native born.

Canada also needs immigrants in a multicultural context. Multiculturalism is an area in which Canada is emerging as a world leader. When our neighbours to the South adopted a melting-pot approach which did not melt, we opted for multiculturalism. It was something that evolved historically. The British and the French had to respect each other's cultures, to get along with each other. Hence, we had biculturalism. Soon, it was asked: how about the others, including the original settlers of this land? Multiculturalism was the answer. There have been arguments for and against multiculturalism. Multiracialism has been added as an element of the discussion. An eminent Canadian demographer, Nathan Keyfitz, put it this way: If human beings "are imperfect and their

cultures are imperfect, then the last thing one wants is that they should all be the same. The most one can hope for is that in the competition of culture traits, there will be a natural selection of good features". The enhanced cultural richness that multiculturalism brings was expressed in a letter to the editor of the Toronto Star. A Hungarian refugee wrote about Toronto: "Is there anywhere else a city in the world where an Indonesian, two Japanese, two Hindus, a Ukrainian, an Irishman, two Englishmen, a Pole and a Hungarian could get together in an Egyptian restaurant and discuss the merits of Mogen David wine?"

### Visible Minorities

Despite all these benefits of immigration, why are a majority of Canadians, according to public opinion polls, not too positive about immigration? Any guesses? I will make a few. Most of them are not aware of the benefits that immigration confers on them. They are oblivious of these advantages I have recited. Polls also indicate that there is a certain proportion of our population which does not like what it sees -- all the people of colour who enter the country. A recent quotation from Ontario's Race Relations Commissioner, Dan McIntyre, is relevant here. He said that some people see racism as "a problem in Britain, in France, in the Southern U.S., in South Africa -- but not in our own back yard. It's a lot like sex in the Victorian era -- everyone is doing it but no one wants to talk about it". There are many who quote all kinds of irrelevant economic arguments against immigration when the real reason is something else. There are some whose thinking echoes the comment of a character in a Margaret Lawrence novel. He says: "There are only two mortal things in this life I can't stand. Just two mortal things -- one is racial prejudice, and the other is Indians".

Visible Minorities (non-White and non-Caucasian) consisted of six percent of Canada's total population in 1986. If by some chance they were all living in one area their number would have been larger than the population of Manitoba or the populations of Newfoundland, P.E.I. and New Brunswick put together. I am not saying it would be a good idea, but just wondering what the political impact would have been.

Let us look at the future using a crystal ball known as projection. What is going to be the



## IMMIGRATION AND THE MEECH LAKE ACCORD

composition of Canada's population by the year 2000? This is a question many would like to get an answer to, but are afraid to ask. I dared to do the first Canadian projection on this, and it shows if immigration rises to 185,000 by 1990 and stabilizes there, the Visible Minority proportion will be close to 10 percent nationally. Ontario may have reached that level already. The 1986 Census reveals that about one in six persons in Toronto is a Visible Minority. By comparison, by the year 2000, the U.S.A. would have 26 percent of its population non-White, and California 43 percent.

Needless to say, several reports -- Equality Now!, the Abella Commission Report, No Discrimination Here -- show that Visible Minorities are discriminated against in Canada. Not the blatant and open type but the more subtle, systemic forms of discrimination. By this kind of discrimination, especially in the job market -- in hiring and promotions -- we are a society wasting our most valuable resource. In this kind of discrimination, one has to remember Martin Luther King's words: "Legislation cannot change hearts, it can restrain the heartless". Equality of opportunity ought not be subject to ethnic ownership by the so-called founding races any more than water, sun, or air.

Canada needs immigrants as much as immigrants need Canada. The sooner we realize this, the better for all of us.

*Dr. T.J. Samuel is Acting Director, Race Relations, Multiculturalism Canada, and is also Adjunct Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University.*

*The City of Toronto's Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations, where feasible, works to strengthen federal and provincial human rights legislation in all areas relating to the corporation of the City of Toronto. Because Toronto is the final destination in Canada of close to 33% of all immigrants and refugees, it is particularly concerned with legislation affecting immigration. As a consequence, a number of briefs have been proposed and submitted by the Mayor's Committee to various federal bodies. The following concerns regarding the Constitutional Accord have been drawn from these submissions.*

While we wholeheartedly welcome the signing by Quebec of the constitutional accord and are willing to make many concessions in recognition of Quebec's status in Canada, we are concerned from an immigration point of view that the Meech Lake Accord could have a negative effect on Canada's immigration policies.

We refer specifically to Section 2B of the Accord, which guarantees to Quebec "a proportionate number of immigrants, including refugees, according to its population plus 5%" -- based on present demographics, this would amount to 25% to 30% of all immigrants to Canada. We must assume, therefore, that if for some reason Quebec does not avail itself of the guaranteed level of 25%, Canada would then curtail its immigration flow accordingly.

We note that up to the present time Quebec has been receiving approximately 16% of Canadian immigrants. Should this level continue Canada will have to substantially reduce its stated immigration goals. In essence, Quebec has been given a de facto veto on Canadian immigration levels.

We are further concerned that this provision in the Accord may inadvertently stunt the future growth of smaller provinces which, in fact, may be the greatest beneficiaries of population growth.

It is therefore our recommendation that the Accord be amended to read as follows: "to facilitate Quebec's desire to

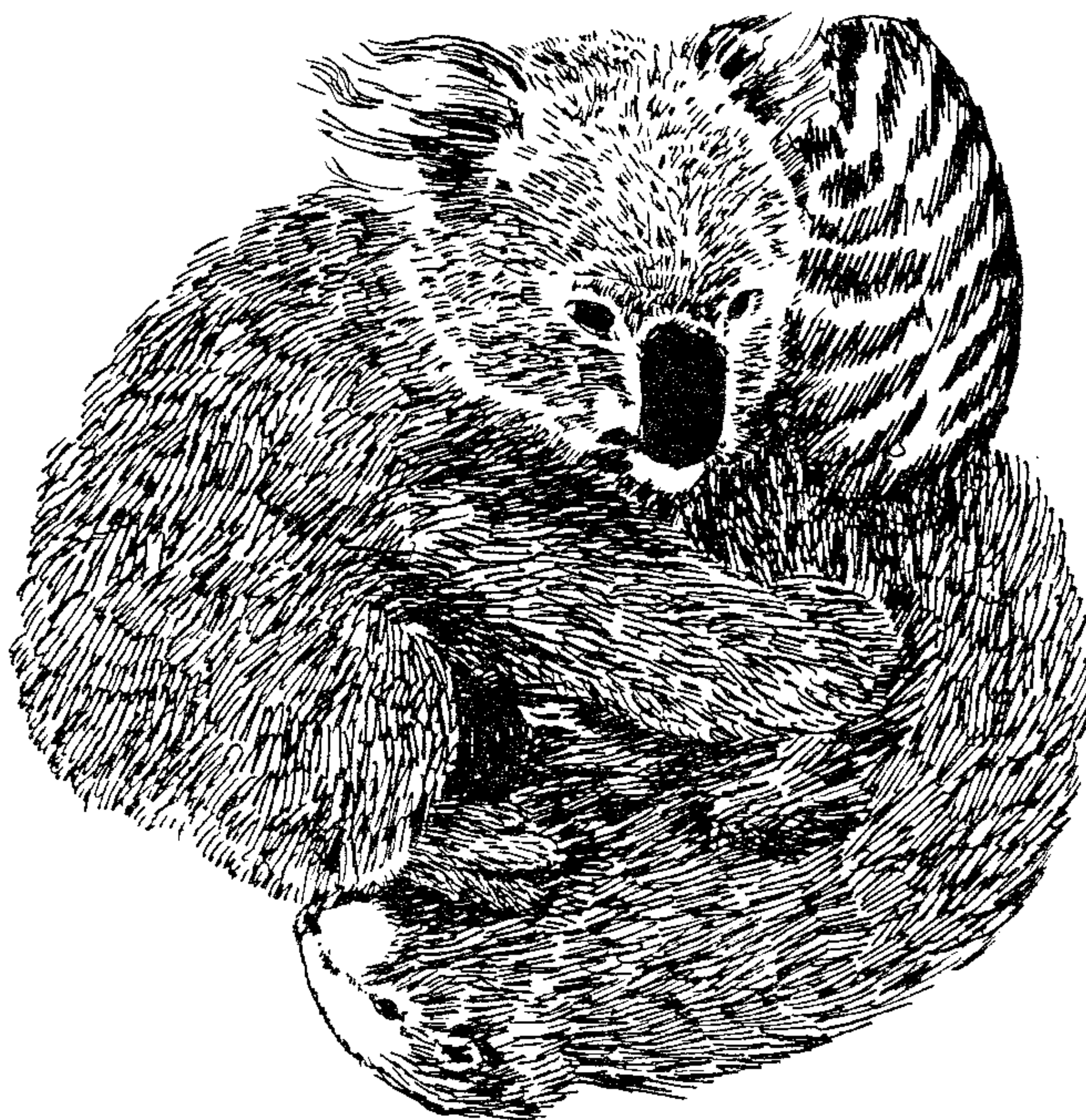
receive a number of immigrants, including refugees, within the annual total established by the federal Government for all Canada, proportionate to its share of the population of Canada, with the right to exceed that figure by 5% for demographic reasons."

We are concerned that Sections 95A and 95B, as presently written, erode the powers of Parliament with regard to immigration. We further note that these constitutional amendments allow for confidential arrangements between federal and provincial ministers, thereby excluding public discussion or input. By succumbing to a variety of demands by individual provinces, which can be at times contradictory, we may once again revert to the quota system, which was discarded less than ten years ago. In addition, the agreed-to concept of designating immigrants to specific provinces negates the established precedent of freedom of mobility and may adversely affect the family reunification category of immigrants wishing to locate in Toronto. We, therefore, recommend that all such federal/provincial agreements be made public and subject to citizen scrutiny.



# ACCESS AND EQUITY IN CANADA: REFLECTIONS FROM AN AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCE

Robert Doyle



This article has been stimulated by my attendance accompanied by a colleague Livy A. Visano at a first Australian national conference to develop recommendations on "multicultural health" to be part of the National Agenda on Multiculturalism. As authors of a major Canadian report on Access to Health and Social Services for Members of Diverse Cultural and Racial Groups (published by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto) we were invited to give a keynote address to the National Ethnic Health Policy Conference, held in Adelaide, South Australia in April 1988. We were also fortunate to be able to attend the 2nd International Conference on Health Promotion, Health Public Policy, in Adelaide held just prior to the National Ethnic Health Policy Conference. The Health Promotion Conference was attended by delegates from around the world and was planned to give further impetus to the agenda developed at the 1st International Conference held in Ottawa in 1986. At that first International Conference the Canadian Minister of Health and Welfare announced Achieving Health for All: A Framework for Health Promotion as a model for how Canada would develop and implement its own health promotion policy. This document has been an impetus for health promotion initiatives in Canada and throughout the world. For example, several

Canadian provinces have taken steps to improve planning and delivery in health care; in 1987 the Ontario Health Review Panel released a report on the health care system, Toward a Shared Direction for Health in Ontario (Evans Report.). This report provides some guidelines for the Ontario government to pursue in developing the health system, although it does not yet represent a statement of government intent.

I will, firstly, comment on some of the similarities and difference between Australia and Canada, including our political structures, in order to frame our comments about multiculturalism in our two countries. Our observations from the Australian experience are directed to a reexamination of the concept and practice of multiculturalism in Canada.

## CANADA AND AUSTRALIA

Canada and Australia have a common history as British colonies and as members of the Commonwealth; and these similar roots are apparent in our legal, social and political structures. Both countries have an indigenous population which remains, for the most part, disenfranchised, in a social and economic sense, from the rest of the population. The treatment in Canada of native people has been similarly question-

able to that of the Australian Aboriginals. We have many similar aspects to our approach to multiculturalism and immigration. Indeed, the words used in government documents in both countries suggest that each of us has borrowed from the other; an Australian Senator even contends that he first used the word, "multiculturalism" and it was subsequently borrowed by the Canadians. Both countries have multicultural policy statements at the national, and at the respective state or provincial, levels. We have both taken some strides to promote a more equitable society for our diverse cultural and racial groups; but we have a long way to go to ensure justice, equity and access for all our citizens.

Canada, like Australia, is a confederation of the federal government and ten provinces and two territories. In 1867 when the British North America Act separated the powers of the federal government and the provinces, health and welfare were seen as a provincial responsibility. With the repatriation of the Canadian Constitution in 1982 this division of powers was confirmed. While the federal government has no jurisdiction in these areas it does have enormous spending powers and has in the past used these to introduce national standards and programs. The provinces, however, along with the Supreme



Court, are the main arenas where many service issues are being played out. In both countries cooperative and concerted action is required of both levels of government to improve the human services.

Despite our similarities there are also important differences in our respective pursuit of a multicultural society. Canada has enshrined multiculturalism into law, while Australia is developing a National Agenda on the basis of research, public opinion surveys and policy forums (such as the National Ethnic Health Policy Conference). Australia has also more decidedly used ethnocultural groups to advise governments by developing a state and federal network of Ethnic Communities Councils; Canada has developed Multicultural Advisory Councils with membership from a broader base of the citizenry. Despite our respective adoption of policies and programs, Australia seems to have developed more "on the ground" programs and measures for immigrants (although they seem as uncoordinated as those in Canada).

## AUSTRALIAN MULTICULTURALISM

### Marginalization of Aborigines

Building on this base developed at the Ottawa conference was the platform for Australian health planners and advocates. However, reality soon intruded in the pristine discussions of the Australian and international health planners as they spoke somewhat wistfully of "eco-systems", "healthy cities" and "healthy public policy". A few minutes after the Commonwealth of Australia Health Minister, Dr. Bluett, spoke to the Conference a group of Aboriginal women charged up to occupy the stage with the Minister. They seized the opportunity to speak to the delegates about the plight of aboriginal people, about their desperate situation of poverty, hopelessness, ill health, discrimination, and neglect by Australian governments; and they wanted to get the support of the delegates for their proposals to the Commonwealth Government for funding to open up a natural birthing centre, Alukra, in the aborigines' traditional area of Alice Springs. Suddenly, the delegates who had been discussing a lot of

esoteric concepts were brought face-to-face with a real problem of some real people. The moment was an exhilarating one, giving delegates the opportunity to give substance to their considerable rhetoric; and to their credit, they did so by supporting the demands of the aboriginal women for some measure of simple justice from the national government.

The demonstration of the aboriginal women, who had to resort to capturing the stage at an international conference to get a full hearing and response to their demands, showed the fragile nature of the Australian consensus of multiculturalism. As in Canada, the Australian government speaks of the rich diversity of the Australian population, about the need to retain cultural diversity and for all Australians to have an equal right to participate in all aspects of the nation's life (Prime Minister Bob Hawke, 19 July 1988). Or as the Premier of New South Wales states:

*'multiculturalism really reflects two very basic Australian values. The value of a fair go and the value of tolerance for other people. Now what multiculturalism really does is to apply those two values...to the reality of the cultural diversity of Australia.'* (Premier Nick Greiner, 10 August 1988).

The demonstration of the aboriginal women served to show that there were marginalized people in Australia, and that the aborigines were the most neglected and victimized of the disadvantaged. It became clear that although the concept of "multiculturalism" was to espouse everyone, that the aborigines were not part of this mosaic. Likewise, Australian aborigines, as their counterparts in Canada, did not see themselves as part of the multicultural quilt; as original settlers they saw themselves as being apart from discussions on multiculturalism. However, when we asked the aboriginal women whether they were attending the first National Conference on Ethnic Health Policy, they were offended that they had not been invited to those discussions. In the ensuing discussions, Australian conference planners stated that they had approached some aboriginal leaders

to participate but they chose not to attend. On the other hand, the planners emphasized the impossibility of finding representatives of the Aborigines who could speak for their people.

### National Ethnic Health Policy Conference

The National Ethnic Health Policy Conference brought together a diverse constituency in multicultural health: Commonwealth and State government officials, and representatives from community agencies, ethnocultural groups, unions and the university community. While the conference gave considerable emphasis to specific programs and the elements that need to be recommended for the National Agenda on multiculturalism, there was little discussion on what constitutes real multiculturalism. There appeared to be an assumption that everyone understood "multiculturalism" in the same way (a dangerous assumption as it later turned out since the Commonwealth officials did not seem to share the definition of multiculturalism).

Also, it soon became apparent to us that the words "ethnic", "migrant" and "multicultural" were being used by participants with some imprecision; and even when the words themselves were defined and understood, they were being used interchangeably. Somehow, words were not seen to be important in the field of multiculturalism; which may account for the perception that multiculturalism=ethnic, leading to an overemphasis on ethnicity and difference rather than equality and similarity.

The marginalization of aborigines that we referred to above was reinforced by their absence from discussions at the National Ethnic Health Policy Conference. However, it also appeared that there was little spillover at this conference from the International Conference on Health Promotion, with no reference to its discussions on resolutions even though held in the same city. On reflection, the conference was perceived by some as simply a forum to air "ethnic" concerns rather than the concerns of the mainstream (sic Australian) population.



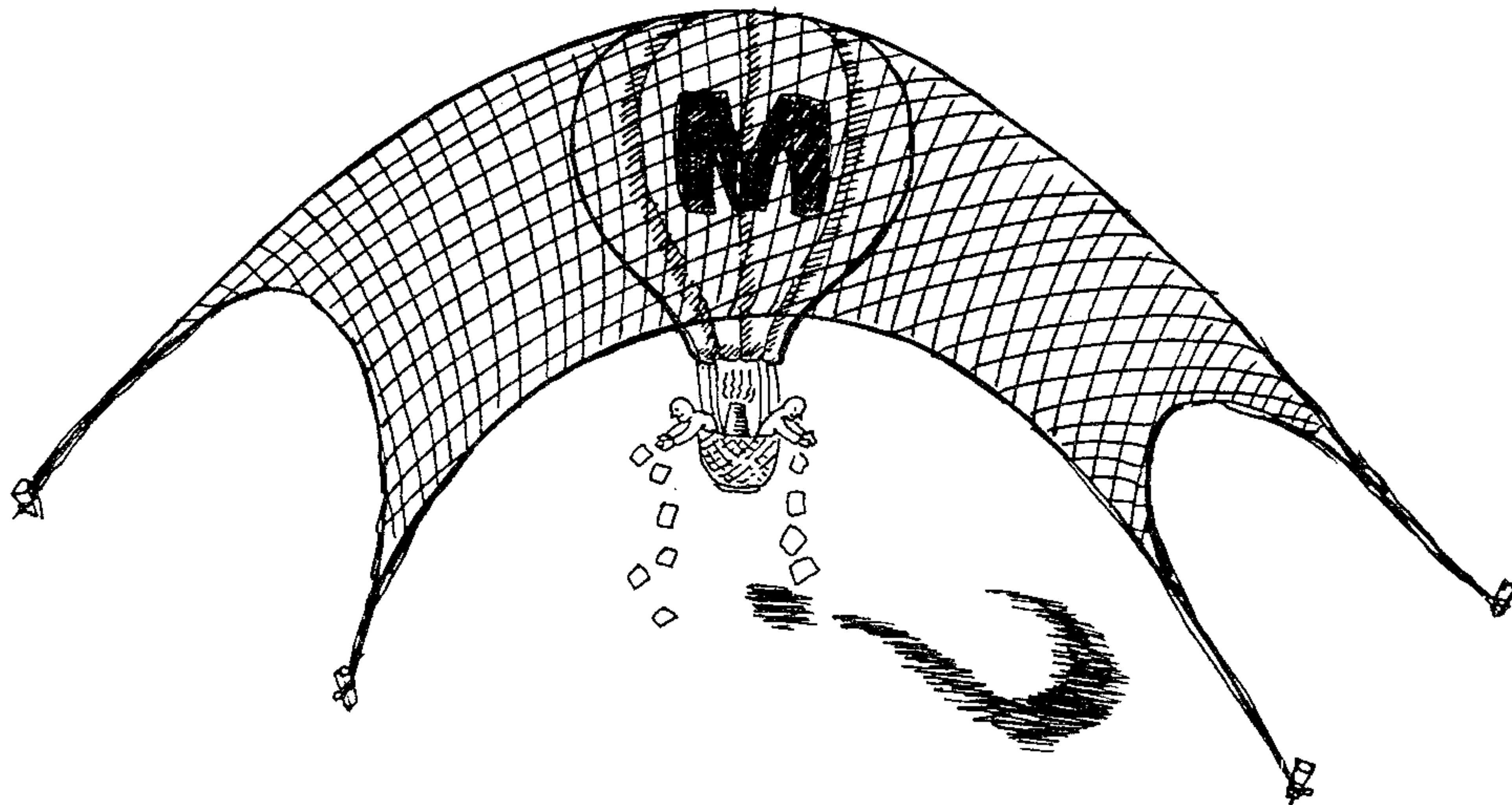
### Fragile Nature of Multiculturalism

The goals of Australian multiculturalism had been conceived in government documents and reiterated by politicians as having to do with both diversity and integration. In Australia, ethnics are expected to integrate into the society more than they are to celebrate their cultural heritage. The explicit expectation is that the (im)migrant should adapt to Australia rather than the Australians adapting in any way to the migrant. In such a climate it can be anticipated that any acceptance of ethnicity may be perceived as having a deleterious effect on social cohesion (sic integration into the mainstream).

Our brief visit, albeit three weeks, in Australia gave us some cause for alarm about the state of multiculturalism in that country. Despite the rhetoric that multiculturalism is for everyone, our surveys of ordinary Australians, daily press reports and statements by political leaders, and conference experience reinforced for us that the Australian view is that multiculturalism is only for ethnics, and not for the Australian-speaking population. One person likened this to a form of "ethnic separatism".

This view was reinforced by a widespread negative response to the release of a recent report, known as the Fitzgerald Report, on Australian immigration. It warns that community acceptance of the idea that immigration is a policy for everyone is a "measure of the potential for deep and destructive community division which lies within immigration debate". The Fitzgerald Report also states that:

*...opposition to multiculturalism, widespread across all sectors of society, is undermining public support for the entire immigration program...The fact that multiculturalism is so linked in the public mind with immigration and that it is also perceived negatively, as sectional and divisive, cannot be ignored in the framing of immigration policies...It would seem desirable that the voice of opposition to multiculturalism be taken seriously, not dismissed as simply the voice of extremism or racism. ("Multiculturalism opponents 'should be taken seriously'" The Weekend Australian, June 4 & 5, 1988).*



### CANADIAN PURSUIT OF EQUALITY

#### Canadian Multicultural Policy

Following the report of a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1962 which recommended retaining bilingualism (French and English) and a national goal while recognizing that the society was becoming more multicultural, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced in 1971 a policy that made "multiculturalism" an acceptable goal to be achieved "within a bilingual framework". This policy was neither the result of any extensive consultation nor widespread participation by ethnocultural groups in the community. The policy included: (a) the elimination of discrimination against ethnic communities allowing them to better integrate into Canadian society, and (b) assistance for cultural groups to develop a capacity to develop and contribute to Canada.

Over the past twenty years, additional legislation, policies, strategies and structures have been introduced in Canada: Human Rights Acts and Commissions; the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms; changes to the Immigration Act; a new Federal Department of Multiculturalism; Equality Rights reports; employment equity legislation; and in Ontario, a Multicultural Strategy.

And politicians are increasingly making reference to the visibility of diverse races and cultures in Canada. For example, the Prime Minister was quoted that members of ethnic communities must be able to reach for positions of power and influence in the society: "Multiculturalism means...the involvement of members of our ethnic communities at the very centre of the political decision-making process in Canada" (Toronto Star: Sunday, April 16, 1986). On the other hand, the Federal Government recently passed controversial legislation to restrict entrance into Canada of illegals seeking refugee status; the most controversial clause permits government to prosecute church groups and refugee aid groups that assisted refugee claimants to enter Canada without proper identification. There is much community concern that the legislation is excessive and overly restrictive, and not in keeping with the generous and humane attitudes of most Canadians toward immigrants and refugees. Some critics charge that such an initiative is contradictory and suggests an ambivalent attitude toward multiculturalism. At the same time, the Prime Minister's announcement of a separate Department of Multiculturalism indicates both the strength of the multiculturalism thrust and the significance of the ethnic vote in Canada.



### Ontario Multicultural Strategy

And in 1987 the Government of Ontario announced a Multicultural Strategy, involving a government-wide commitment to eliminate barriers in the public service. Speaking at a gathering to celebrate the province's rich cultural diversity, Premier David Peterson stated: "multiculturalism is more than a government policy, it is an economic and social reality". This new strategy encourages all Provincial Ministers to implement multicultural initiatives, and does not simply view the government's responsibility for multiculturalism to be that of the Minister of Citizenship. The explicit goal of the strategy is to bring multiculturalism into the mainstream of Ontario life rather than confine it to the issues of ethnocultural groups (ethnics) and visible minorities. However, as we will argue, to be effective the government's strategy needs to be implemented consciously as a comprehensive and directed strategy, rather than a series of unconnected initiatives.

As in Australia, Canadians are tired of yet more government enquiries into multiculturalism and equality rights. Community advocates are pushing for the implementation of recommendations from the many government reports that are now sitting on the shelves. And they are tired of the insufferable self-congratulation that accompanies many of the government announcements of yet another (uncoordinated) initiative in multiculturalism. People in the community do not simply fall for strategies unless they are explicit, have clear and measurable goals, and are open to objective monitoring and evaluation. On these counts, the Ontario Strategy is found wanting. In the face of the plethora of multicultural reports and announcements without substance or appeal, we are inclined to recall T.S. Eliot's description, "a pair of ragged claws scuttling across the floors of silent seas" (J.Alfred Prufrock).

### LESSONS FOR CANADIAN MULTICULTURALISM

Despite our legal framework (Charter of Rights and Freedoms; Human Rights laws and Commissions), our institutional responses (Multicultural Ministries

and strategies), Parliamentary Committee and Task Force reports (on equality and the participation of visible minorities in Canadian society), and our record of interracial and intercultural harmony and tolerance, Canada is not yet a nirvana of equality. The view of Australian multiculturalism does not provide a stark contrast to the state of development of multiculturalism in Canada. For example, the view of multiculturalism as simply a kind of ethnic separatism was first applied to Canada by Tony Ferraro; this was recently echoed at a meeting in Toronto with the contention that Canadian multiculturalism can be likened to a kind of "cultural apartheid" (address by Barry Thomas, to the Access Action Committee, Toronto October 1988). Despite the pronouncements of official policy, strategy and programs at the government level, community agencies serving ethnocultural populations are denied adequate resources to deal with barriers to equity and access for members of diverse cultural and racial groups. However, at times of elections, political parties still pander to the appetites of ethnocultural groups with promises of recognition and dollars. Equality becomes a commodity to be purchased only to serve partisan political interests.

We need to guard against the tendency to treat multiculturalism as having to do only with ethnicity and that it affects only ethnic/ethnocultural groups. Unless multiculturalism is for everybody it is a process of marginalizing "ethnics", keeping certain ethnic groups at the bottom of the hierarchy, maintaining the Canadian vertical mosaic.

Equality for all is surely the issue. Unless people from all cultures and races are able to participate in the society on the basis of full equality, there is not equality. As we keep our lens on community services we need to maintain this focus on equality. The issues in the provision of community services are access and equity.

### CONCLUSIONS

My comments will be directed at three areas of concern: (1) government

action, (2) community action, and (3) social justice.

### (1) GOVERNMENT ACTION Political Commitment to an Effective Strategy

Canada does not lack general statements of government's intentions to move toward a multicultural society. We noted above that we have a Multicultural Act and, in Ontario, a Multicultural Strategy. However, there needs to be a stronger commitment to multiculturalism, providing real strategy, adequate resources and sanctions, and a meaningful evaluation of the achievement of the lofty goals that have been stated. According to the Ontario Multicultural Strategy, all provincial Ministries are expected to take part in this amorphous multicultural "program" by announcing new or reinvented initiatives; but it seems that those Ministries that are reluctant to move toward genuine equity and access for cultural and racial minorities only have to participate in the strategy or program by taking token measures. Over a hundred and fifty initiatives have been announced by the various Ministries in the last two years, but many of these appear to be ad-hoc, uncoordinated and ill-conceived. If there is any monitoring or evaluation of the strategy (the Minister of Citizenship has responsibility for the strategy), it is not apparent to the community. We have no idea what the results are or what the outcomes are of the initiatives or the strategy itself. What impact has the strategy had on improving access and equity for cultural and racial minorities? Governments must be committed not just to rhetoric and tokenism but to real and effective action.

### Meaning of Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is already a policy of Canadian governments, emphasizing the ideal of give and take among ethnocultural groups in the society. Underlying this concept are important questions of values and direction. Multiculturalism can mean a measure of integration of immigrants and refugees into our host society without unduly disturbing the stability and operation of that dominant society and its institutions, and cultural and racial minorities maintain that multiculturalism can segregate, colonize



and patronize them. We noted above that multiculturalism is often taken as emphasizing differences among people rather than equality. Government needs to reconceptualize the meaning of "multiculturalism" as the 80's draw to a close.

### Ministries Commitment

Multicultural policies or standing plans that would guide decisions and actions, need to be developed by every Ministry of government. Such policies ensure that all other policies and programs are reviewed on a regular basis to make sure that they are culturally sensitive and accessible. Ministries' often bombastic statements can be measured by reference to policy and actual programs that can constitute a blueprint or strategy. Without this frame of reference, the announcement of multicultural initiatives can simply be perceived as another cynical exercise of government, attempting to hide the fact that "the emperor has no clothes".

We must acknowledge the lead assumed by the Minister of Health to establish an Advisory Committee on Multiculturalism. This Committee is charged with giving policy advice from the community to the Minister of how the Ministry's programs can be made responsible to cultural and racial groups. This initiative is welcomed by the community; and while it will need to be evaluated like all other initiatives, the Ministry of Health should not be the sole Ministry to establish an Advisory Committee. For example, we call for the Ministry of Community and Social Services to establish an Advisory Committee on Multiculturalism to give some substance to its declared interest in multiculturalism.

### Dialogue with the Community

Multiculturalism in Canada appears to be perceived by some as emanating from government, representing and advancing only its interests and requiring conformity to its pronouncements. Confronting such perceptions requires government to proceed in a most open and consultative way. Change to a multicultural society means that multiculturalism, to be more than a slogan, has to be owned by the vast

majority of Canadians. Effective multicultural change results from ongoing dialogue with groups who have been traditionally silent and unrepresented. And it requires that marginalized groups such as cultural and racial minorities as well as native people need to be included at the same table in dialogue with all other Canadians. Government Ministries, politicians and their officials, need to see that government does not "own" multiculturalism.

### Government Organization

Canada, as we all know, is a federal system that requires cooperative and concerted action by the Federal and Provincial governments to achieve optimum human services. In such systems there is issue of jurisdiction and responsibility. There is a need for political leadership that must negotiate an agreement not on the basis of an individual self interest but according to a standard that ensures a uniformly high level of community services for all Canadians, regardless of race, ethnicity or geographic location. Equality for all ethnocultural groups is not a commodity to be bought and sold on a discount basis by bargaining among governments.

### Accountability

Government action must be both responsive and accountable to the community. As governments assume responsibility for creating multicultural change, they must listen to the community and account to the community. This accountability demands structures and processes that invite interest, vigilance and participation by people in their communities. Accountability is not just a one way street that demands accounting by communities to government but includes accounting of government to communities. It is more than public officials responding to questions from the media or the opposition in legislatures; more than press releases or speeches at conferences; more than a simple reporting by government of what passes as "new" multicultural initiatives; or release of reports by government committees. Genuine accountability demands that governments encourage and support the development of community action, assuring that we have community watchdogs around that occasion-

ally need to snarl and bite.

### (2) COMMUNITY ACTION Community-Directed Multiculturalism

We have all heard that multiculturalism requires the attention and participation of both the community sector and government. However, we may not have yet listened to the admonition that communities must direct the process of multicultural change. Without strong and effective community action, multiculturalism will be seen as a contrivance of government, a device to give and withhold benefits contingent on good behaviour. Multiculturalism is not a concession of government; it is to be achieved within a process of community and government action.

### Organized Community Action

Effective community action does not just happen. Like most other things in life, it has to be seeded, watered and nurtured to be effective. Community action requires leadership, funding and other resources. Accountable governments should invest in community organizations that are designed to educate, monitor, advocate and agitate. These safeguards will benefit government in the development and implementation of policies and programs. Community action is needed to tackle unpopular race relations issues and to influence the public debate on discrimination, racism and multiculturalism.

### (3) SOCIAL JUSTICE

Canada is an affluent country characterized by gender, class and race/ethnic inequalities. One cannot ignore the plight of those groups such as natives, refugees and some recent immigrants who carry a disproportionate burden of poverty and other problems. We have not yet solved the problem of access to community services for all Canadians. Barriers still exist on a number of levels, ranging from obstacles in the service delivery system to the dominant cultural values that deny equality for all.

### Promoting Diversity

There appears to be a certain degree of tolerance in Canadian society for refugees and immigrants. However, the



move to a multicultural society requires that Canada goes beyond a simple tolerance to a more fundamental respect, acceptance and promotion of diversity. No single entity, government or community, has the right to regard itself as the sole promoter and preserver of diversity. Communities cannot rely on the benevolence of government alone but have a responsibility themselves to take action on their own behalf and in their own interest.

#### Promoting Equality of Condition

There appears to be an overriding emphasis on creating only equality of opportunity, without giving equal attention to recognizing and attending to inequalities of condition for our multicultural population. We cannot rest with reducing barriers for minorities; rather, we need to give increasing attention to actual achievement of equality in the living conditions of minorities, their health, education, welfare and housing. To do other than to substantially improve the health and living conditions of the disadvantaged population means that multiculturalism is hollow. Improving these conditions must direct attention to structural change in addition to individual improvements.

#### Equality For All

Equality for all, in Canada or Australia, requires a healthy dose of community action to be taken with government initiative. And achieving equality for all requires, as the Australian Aborigines say:

wankantja wiya palyala....Action not just words!

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## ETHNIC AND RACE RELATIONS IN TORONTO IN THE 1990'S

Yury Boshyk



The City has come a long way since the prewar days of bigotry and intolerance, so well documented in the recent book "The Riot at Christie Pits" by Cyril Levitt and William Shaffir. But I would like not to look back, partly because it pains me to recall the discrimination I personally experienced in Toronto while growing up, and because the Toronto of that time was very different from what it is today.

In terms of ethnocultural makeup, our city used to be overwhelmingly British; now only about 28% are of that particular background.(1) What we have then, since 1945, is an enormous growth in ethnocultural and racial diversity; in fact, the United Nations has recently declared Toronto to be one of the most ethnoculturally and racially diverse cities in the world.

We have become a city of minorities, but the facts are that some of these minorities are more privileged than others. Our so-called mainstream organizations, the civil and civic service, academic and business institutions are not representative of the population. We still have what the late John Porter referred to as the "vertical mosaic". The question and the challenge for us all for the future is whether we can manage this diversity equitably; or whether Toronto will follow the regrettable pattern established by other large North American cities, and fall victim to ethnocultural and racial animosity, and even violence.

In this brief article I will concentrate on some of the trends and issues that I think are emerging among this city's so-called "white ethnocultural" groups -- that is, the non-British groups, and now sometimes referred to as Euro-ethnic groups -- and then suggest some ways in which we can better plan to cope with these developments.

I would like to add that I believe race relations is the most crucial challenge facing us: both because it has moral and economic aspects to it, and because it is a harbinger for all community relations.

I would also like to apologize for the generalizations I am about to make, and especially about treating ethnocultural communities as if they are monolithic entities, but this seems inevitable in such a wide-ranging task as we have before us today.

There are a number of assumptions that we should keep in mind. First, *we are no longer dealing with immigrants* in the overwhelming case of the white ethnocultural groups, and by the year 2,000 most will be third and fourth generation Canadians. The implications of this range from a high English-language fluency (including multilingual skills among these groups) to a better integrated, and, therefore, more demanding citizenry.

Furthermore, the labour force is, and will continue to be, racially and

ethnically diverse. Will we give these people an equal chance to assume leading positions or will we continue to indulge in what some feel is tokenism?

A recent article in the *New York Times* was headlined: "Women and Minorities: Is Industry Ready?" - but we can well ask, "Is Government Ready?". In this article, the *Times* pointed out that some leading corporations in the United States were already looking ahead and creating managerial openings for the new labour force: because of the 25 million people expected to join the labour force there in the next 12 years, 85% will be women, minorities, and immigrants. Rather than just sensitizing the present managers and directors of industry to this diversity, the new approach involved placing minorities in key positions to better reflect the labour force and the market.(2)

Toronto's labour pool and society will be just as diverse. Are we also looking ahead? Is it no wonder then, that some minorities are looking forward to free trade as a way out of our vertical mosaic?

Second, *there is no evidence to suggest that the ethnocultural community organizations will decline in influence or in numbers*. The multicultural nature of Toronto will, I believe, reinforce ethnic identity, especially in areas where groups live in close proximity or in well defined areas of the city. At the same time, because of racism and prejudice, and the less than commendable effort made by mainstream organizations to integrate minorities (with a few notable exceptions), these community bonds will in fact become stronger.

While turning within the group, I am sure, as in other groups, there will be individuals who will strongly encourage ethnospecific and perhaps even ethnocentric behaviour, and will perhaps, make ethnocultural allegiance and group solidarity a point of political organization and social mobilization. The implications of this trend are obvious in the political arena (about which more will be said) but there are also important consequences in such areas as social and recreational services for the



elderly and others within these communities, and for other services as well. In the jargon of the time, we are going to have to deal with an increase in ethnospecific organizations that serve what is referred to as "long-term" immigrants or in the laymen's language, specific groups will be interested increasingly in ensuring that both their specific cultural values are maintained and that mainstream organizations and institutions integrate their needs whether the constituency is Canadian-born or not. In the present situation, it is a balance that has not yet been achieved.

Third, for some "more established" ethnocultural groups there is and will be an *ever increasing fear of displacement* from their present perceived position of dominance or place in Toronto society, as compared to more recent immigrants and Canadians. They are in a peculiar dilemma. Seen by the "less privileged" and emerging groups as "part of the establishment" while in fact not part of this exalted group, the more established ethnocultural groups harbour and will continue to harbour a resentment at not being assisted in integrating into mainstream society. This so-called backlash, witnessed in the United States recently over the school busing issue and resistance to "affirmative action" programs is, and is going to be, a part of Toronto life. (Ironically, those very same groups have forgotten about their own immigrant and or refugee experiences and echo in large part commonly held prejudicial attitudes against recent immigrants and refugees.)

Fourth, most ethnocultural groups will become much *more involved in city politics*. Having spent many years involved with the federal process on such issues as the entrenchment of multiculturalism in the federal constitution, and for a higher profile for the multiculturalism policy in general, these groups have now found that some of the real and vital issues are either within provincial or city jurisdiction. Also, having gained experience politically at that level, many of these groups will approach city and provincial agencies and politics with a greater sophistication than seen before.

With a better developed infrastruc-

ture and staff, and with a clearer understanding of government mandates and responsibilities, we will no doubt see well-heeled ethnic-based lobby groups in city politics.

The implications of this will involve a greater role for those individuals and groups, and *city officials*, who best understand the needs of these groups and how to interpret demands in an objective light. These officials will be called upon to provide advice to those less familiar with other cultures and the real representative nature of ethnocultural organizations, because the consequences for misunderstanding these demands will be so much greater politically and socially. Besides the specialized staff, a greater emphasis on *training* of government and civic personnel in general is also required at this stage before the misunderstandings arise: those involved in crisis management know only too well that they have failed in their jobs if matters come to open conflict and recriminations.

An additional perspective is useful here. As Toronto becomes more recognized internationally and as its multicultural population becomes more prominent, it should be assumed that foreign governments and business interests will take greater notice of the multicultural communities in our midst. In most cases this will be a positive attitude -- they will want to utilize the talents that a multicultural and multilingual society has to offer -- but we should be aware that international interests will see opportunities, either financial or political, to influence these groups for their own ends. I am not speaking here of the nefarious and ugly accusation of "dual loyalties" but rather of the need for trained and educated people with specialized knowledge to be aware of these potential influences on city developments and city affairs. It is no longer good enough to claim ignorance of foreign cultures and foreign affairs in a place like Toronto. If we can eat what some believe to be exotic foods, so too we can make the leap to understanding other aspects of other non-British and non-European cultures and behaviour.

But more than training or greater knowledge and expertise are involved here.

It is important that we recognize the multicultural and multiracial, as well as the equal opportunity components in all stages of planning, organization and delivery of city services. These issues and cultural perspectives pervade every aspect of city life today. And it is about time we acknowledged this, rather than seeing race relations and equal opportunity as a special category or area of conflict resolution. Once again we see a large gap between our lip service to multiculturalism and what is done in practice, and once again it is not Toronto or Ontario that leads the way but other cities. Take for example housing. In a recent study in London, England, the author called for a greater "gender awareness" in housing policy. He showed that:

*Women's special needs in different cultures are ignored -- in Islamic societies (or communities), for example, women's needs for private open space within the house (or in housing project) is rarely considered in house designs, while their need for relatively sheltered pathways to get to shops and clinics is not acknowledged in site layouts.* (3)

Finally, I have to assume as perhaps most of you have, that we are dealing with a prosperous Toronto. Let us, however, be a little more pessimistic and *assume a more difficult economic climate*. Funds for worthwhile social projects and services will inevitably be more difficult to attain, and racism and prejudice will find a traditional and ugly nurturing ground for their development -- to paraphrase the words of a popular artist, Sting, "aggression will become the offspring of scarcity." We have only to remember that even now the unemployment rate among Black youths in the Jane-Finch area is almost twice that of what Brixton's was at the time of the civil disturbances in London a few years ago. Competition for better positions will also increase, as will allegations of racism and bias.

We would all like to avoid this dreadful scenario, but I think it wise to prepare for increasing tensions and problems. These can, however, be avoided if proper measures are taken to deal with



concrete social and economic problems, and by nurturing a new generation of leaders within the less established ethnocultural and racial groups.

Generational continuity in community leadership is vital if the City's positive efforts to develop equal opportunity for all is to succeed. Leadership courses in such institutions as have shown a progressive multicultural and multiracial out-reach program (such as George Brown College) may become essential to help communities develop a leadership and even "professional civil service" who act as the mediators and interpreters of community interests and demands. Too often in less sophisticated communities or in ones whose institutions are in a state of flux, do we see the more radical and demagogic elements speaking for the community and pushing responsible leaders into extreme and often self-damaging positions to their own community's interests. One often sees the use of simplistic formulas in such confrontations: "numbers of oppressed group times extent of oppression equals merit." In the end, a legitimate complaint may turn into a self-defeating caricature.

I should mention that I was recently encouraged by the creation of a special foundation in the United States to train ethnocultural leaders and community civil servants. Even one of the most sophisticated of ethnocultural communities there realizes the need for professional community training.

It is in the best interests of everyone concerned that a new leadership is not only aware of services, and its human rights, but is also able to stay the course in bureaucratic and administrative dealings and changes. As we are all well aware, the *details* of implementation of policy are as crucial as the formulation of policy and objectives. Too often ethnocultural leaders stop short of achieving their goals because they are too easily discouraged by bureaucratic indifference and infighting, not realizing that endurance is as much the mother of invention and change, as is creative suggestion.

This leads me to another point for your consideration. It is, I believe, necessary for the civic service to actively *reach out* to ethnocultural and racial communities for advice, delivery of services, and recruitment, in order to continue its efforts in providing a better service to city residents. Satellite offices in areas where very few have little to do with City Hall administrators and politicians is a step that can be taken to bring City Hall to the disadvantaged and even the indifferent, not to speak of those who feel intimidated in even coming downtown.

In conclusion, I would like to stress how vital are the several components of an equal opportunity strategy and implementation. These include:

- *multicultural and race relations training;*
- *equal access and placement of managerial and executive-level positions to better reflect the labour force and Toronto's society;*
- *the institutionalization or mandated inclusion of the multicultural, race relations and equal opportunity components in planning, and delivery of services, that is, in all phases of implementation of services and decision-making;*
- *an out-reach program to minority communities;*
- *and, a greater commitment to increasing the number of specialized staff knowledgeable about the equal opportunity program, and intimately familiar with minority groups and their concerns.*

Our strategy in providing better service must also be flexible, it must be adaptive to specific community values, but always keeping in mind that we are involved here in an enterprise which has as its long-term goal the changing of negative attitudes, but in the short run, the changing of unacceptable behaviour. We are not suggesting that people love their neighbours, but we can at least make it difficult to hate, and to act in ways which are discriminatory and contrary to what we would like to see this city become -- a model for good race and community relations.

*Dr. Yury Boshyk is a consultant on international and national public policy and social trends, and a member of the City of Toronto Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations.*

This article was first delivered to a Panel on Equal Opportunity, City of Toronto City Hall, November 1, 1988.

#### Notes

1. Ministry of Citizenship, Ethnocultural Data Base, "Population by Selected Ethnic Origin", Toronto, 1986.

2. New York Times, 16 October, 1988, p. F25.

3. Cited in Our Common Future: The World Commission on Environment and Development (Oxford, 1988), p. 257.



# SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AND THE MULTIRACIAL COMMUNITIES

Benjamin Radford

The Multicultural Advisory Group was formed by the Social Assistance Review Committee in February 1987. The Advisory Group brought together representatives of 14 organizations which are primarily involved in the provision of social and community services to immigrants and racial minority communities. The members of this group were encouraged by the formation of such a group but did not want the consultation processes to be tokenistic in nature but a real attempt by the committee to listen to the diversity of experiences in the province.

In addressing the topic of multiculturalism and social assistance, the Advisory committee felt it had to examine the barriers which stand in the way of the realization of a multicultural Ontario. Among these barriers were:

**Racism and ethnic discrimination:** pervasive prejudice and discrimination against immigrants, visible minorities and other minority communities.

**Sexism:** the continued economic and social discrimination faced by women. For many immigrant and visible minority women, this means being ghettoized in low wage sectors of the economy, and lacking access to needed social support and community services.

**The widening class division between rich and poor in Ontario:** is evident through an upward redistribution of income, escalating housing costs and a decline in purchasing power for social assistance recipients and the working poor.

Initiatives which break down these barriers to equality are essential to the achievement of a truly Multicultural Ontario.

The Multicultural Advisory Group reviewed the many briefs submitted to SARC from multicultural organizations. They found a consensus among groups from across the province on four crucial points.

1. The social assistance system is *not meeting basic needs* for food, shelter, health care, clothing, and transportation.
2. The social assistance system *lacks*

*sensitivity and compassion.* Discrimination is pervasive and systematic.

3. The social assistance system *lacks consistency* between and even within municipalities. The benefit delivery system is *unable to communicate* effectively with recipients or community organizations.
4. The failure of system is exacerbated for specific groups which face *discrimination* on the basis of their immigration status: sponsored immigrants, domestic workers and refugee claimants.

Based on this assessment, the Multicultural Advisory Group presented to SARC a set of principles which were seen as an essential component to a new Social Assistance system:

1. We recognize the right of all Ontario residents to participate in the social, political, and economic life of the province.
2. We recognize that all residents of Ontario have the right to equal access to the social services system.
3. We recognize the rights of immigrant, refugee, and minority groups to special services in order to achieve equality.

The Advisory Group felt that Ontario needs a social assistance system which meets basic needs, which is compassionate and sensitive in its approach, which is consistent and comprehensible in its application, and which addresses the barriers to equality, especially where immigrants and racial minority communities are concerned.

The following is a list of selected recommendations from "Transitions" which are seen as crucial by the Multicultural Advisory Group:

## PRINCIPLES

The Report calls for action to promote multiculturalism -- "An educational system that pays special attention to the needs of minority and immigrant children, health services that cross language barriers, rigorous enforcement of laws that prohibit exploitation and discrimination in the labour force, policies that promote employment equity and address systemic and explicit discrimination: all of these are important

methods of ensuring equal opportunity and membership in the broader community."

## RESPECT FOR DIVERSITY

Social assistance must respect the diversity of cultures and religions in Ontario and must recognize the unique identity of Native communities.

## EMPLOYMENT EQUITY

"Transitions" recognizes the existence of explicit as well as systemic discrimination. The report supports more affirmative action programs to promote employment equity.

## REFUGEE CLAIMANTS

4. Refugee claimants in need should be considered eligible for social assistance without regard to their immigration status.
5. The federal government should be urged to issue work permits to refugee claimants while the validity of their claims is being established.
6. With the new procedures envisioned by Bill C-55 in place, claimants should be eligible for social assistance on the basis of need, pending the first level of adjudication. If the matter then moves on to the second level of adjudication, eligibility should continue until a final determination has been made.

## CULTURALLY IMPORTANT ASSETS

34. With the help of multicultural and Native communities, a set of guidelines and procedures should be developed for dealing with culturally important assets.

## SPONSORED IMMIGRANTS

"Transitions" states that "some of the current rules can have a devastating impact. Sponsored immigrants are left with no support in the midst of a family crisis". And further the Review Committee states, "it is simply wrong to decide that people's need is less because of the existence of support obligations that they have no means of enforcing". (However, the Report's recommendation that sponsors pursue support through family law is one which the Multicultural Work Group does not support.)



41. Clear policy should be established as to when resources are deemed available to a recipient.

42. Steps should be taken by the federal government either to enforce sponsorship agreements, or to ensure that they are enforced by the province, or to make them enforceable by sponsored individuals.

43. Sponsorship agreements should be reduced in length, preferably to five years or up to the date of citizenship, whichever is earlier.

44. Social assistance should be available to sponsored immigrants, on the basis of need.

45. Sponsored immigrants receiving social assistance should be asked to seek support to which they are entitled under family law. If a sponsored immigrant does not wish to do so personally, the government should exercise its right to seek support. (This recommendation is not supported by the Multicultural Work Group.)

#### OPPORTUNITY PLANNING FOR TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT

The Report recommends that "opportunity planning" be available for all social assistance recipients. "Transitions" recognizes that "members of multicultural communities often have unique problems and needs. Clearly the lack of necessary language skills can and does pose serious barriers to improving self-reliance." For multicultural communities, the Report states that a specialized approach to opportunity planning may prove beneficial and suggests that organizations, such as OCASI member agencies, deliver opportunity planning programs to "help ensure that recipients from various cultural groups get access to the range of resources they need and that the service and help they receive is culturally appropriate and relevant." (The Work Group feels that successful implementation of this recommendation will require careful negotiation with the provincial government in order to protect agency autonomy and the rights of clients.)

74. Consideration should be given to using existing multi-service or other community-based groups as "opportunity centres" to deliver the opportunity planning program.

75. Existing programs with specialized

experience in helping recipients with specific needs should, where feasible, be given the option of serving as delivery agents for opportunity planning.

#### ADVOCACY

128. Clients should be made aware of the availability of external advocates and encouraged to make use of them if desired, from the time of first contact with the system.

129. The system of community legal clinics should be expanded to ensure that legal advocacy services are available to applicants and recipients.

131. Financial support and encouragement should be provided to community-based self-help groups providing and seeking to provide effective non-legal advocacy services.

#### ACCESS TO SERVICES

"Transitions" states that "the way services are offered displays a general lack of cultural sensitivity." (The recommendation regarding retaining multicultural organizations to provide various services would represent an important advance in delivery of community and social services. As with the recommendations regarding opportunity planning, consultation with community organizations would be required to ensure successful implementation.)

140. Ethno-cultural representation should be increased on boards and committees within the social assistance system. Additional staff should be recruited from multicultural communities for all levels of the system; front-line staff should be recruited from various ethnic communities to work with non-English speaking applicants where numbers warrant.

141. Resources should be made available to permit access to trained interpreters as required. More information about the social assistance system should be provided in the languages of clients.

142. Training programs should be established for staff that include a focus on race relations and cross-cultural studies.

143. Multicultural organizations should be retained to provide information, advocacy, referral services, community education,

consultation on specific cases, assessments, and counselling.

144. Present methods of assessment should be reviewed to ensure that they are culturally appropriate.

166. The board should have interpreters available as required for speakers of languages other than French and English.

As stated by the Advisory Group on the report, "Passing the buck is too easy, we expect the Province of Ontario to take a lead role, and to act decisively". The Advisory Group is working in conjunction with the other advisory groups, concerned groups, and individuals to bring the recommendations of the report to flotation.

*Ben Radford is the Coordinator, Urban Alliance on Race Relations.*



## CANADA'S EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATORS

The barriers faced by visible minorities in gaining equal access to employment in Canada have been addressed over the years with varying degrees of success. Immigrant adjustment and settlement programs, language training and employment equity legislation are just some of the strategies that have been put in place to overcome some of these employment barriers.

However, the disproportionately higher unemployment rates suffered by the visible minority groups has not diminished, and the inequitable participation of visible minority men and women in the labour force continues to be as intractable and as severe as ever!

The empirical evidence on the experience of visible minorities in the labour market in Canada is as familiar as it is clear. The arguments do not need rehearsal here; suffice it to say, that notwithstanding the operation of various non-discriminatory legislation, there is clear evidence that labour market inequalities continue to be sustained by the operation of direct and indirect racially discriminatory practices.

Who carries out these discriminatory practices? Who are the people responsible for recruitment and selection, and what do they say about practising discrimination?

The Canadian Recruiters Guild undertook a survey of 672 corporate recruiters, hiring managers and agency recruiters across Canada. These positions are representative of all the hiring and placing of human resources in this country. Those surveyed, two-thirds of whom were women, also represent a diverse and highly credible national cross-section of public and private sector business environments.

### FINDINGS

Survey participants indicated the amount of time actually devoted to recruitment and selection. Table 1 indicates the percentage of corporate recruiters, hiring managers and agency recruiter participants and the percentage of their time normally spent in recruitment and selection.

TABLE 1

% of time spent	Corporate Recruiters	Hiring Managers	Agency Recruiters
0% to 25%	14%	100%	0%
26% to 50%	42%	0%	0%
51% to 75%	31%	0%	0%
76% to 100%	13%	0%	100%

The survey identified the participants' knowledge of the impact and application of the laws governing employer/employee relationships during their day to day recruitment and selection practices. Table 2 represents the percentage of corporate recruiters, hiring managers and agency recruiter participants who understood the impact and application. The laws are listed below.

Survey participants were also job seekers at one time or another. In light of the current grounds of discrimination, they identified the source of discriminatory interview questions asked of them.

TABLE 2

	Corporate Recruiters	Hiring Managers	Agency Recruiters
Human Rights	83%	46%	88%
Labour Relations	13%	9%	0%
Employment Standards/C.L.C.	16%	4%	0%
Health and Safety	9%	2%	0%
Workers Compensation	9%	0%	0%

The academic backgrounds of the participants were identified in the survey. Table 3 shows the percentage of corporate recruiters, hiring managers and agency recruiters attaining specific levels of formal education.

TABLE 3

	Corporate Recruiters	Hiring Managers	Agency Recruiters
Secondary or less	39%	12%	62%
Post secondary	42%	55%	28%
Undergraduates	19%	33%	10%

Survey participants were asked what formal interview training they possessed. Table 4 identifies the relevant training source.

TABLE 4

	Corporate Recruiters	Hiring Managers	Agency Recruiters
None	68%	84%	93%
Peers	12%	10%	7%
Course (3 hrs. or less)	12%	6%	0%
Course (6 hrs. or less)	8%	0%	0%



Survey participants revealed the extent to which direct discriminatory requests were received and carried out.

Table 5 indicates the percentage of corporate recruiter participants who have received direct discriminatory requests from within their organization and the percentage who have carried out these requests due to fear of reprisal or similar bias.

In addition Table 5 indicates the percentage of agency recruiter participants who have received direct discriminatory requests from corporate recruiters and hiring managers and the percentage who have carried out these requests due to fear of reprisal, loss of business or similar bias.

**TABLE 5**

	Corporate Recruiters	Agency Recruiters
Received direct discriminatory requests	87%	100%
Complied with discriminatory requests	73%	94%

Survey participants also identified key areas where direct discriminatory requests originated. The key categories are listed in Table 6.

**TABLE 6**

Origin of request	Corporate Recruiters	Agency Recruiters
Corporate policies	0%	0%
First level management	77%	32%
Second level management	10%	20%
Corporate recruiter	n/a	46%
Agency policies	n/a	2%

Survey participants were also job seekers at one time or another. In light of current grounds of discrimination, they identified the source of discriminatory interview questions asked of them.

**TABLE 7**

Source of Discriminatory questions	Corporate Recruiters	Hiring Managers	Agency Recruiters
Corporate recruiter	35%	38%	39%
Hiring manager	44%	36%	27%
Agency recruiter	87%	82%	92%

The above Table shows, for example, that 44% of corporate recruiter participants identified hiring managers as the source of discriminatory questions during their interviews. Total column

percentages do not add up to 100% as participants

Survey participants revealed the methods used to reject candidates in order to avoid revealing discriminatory intent. The most frequent methods are listed below.

**TABLE 8**

Methods used	Corporate Recruiters	Hiring Managers	Agency Recruiters
'Found some more suitable'	63%	72%	12%
'We/they filled position internally'	37%	8%	38%
'You're overqualified for the job'	68%	56%	23%
'position was cancelled'	22%	18%	66%
'No opening for your skills'	12%	2%	86%
'Filled through another agency'	n/a	n/a	38%
'Never received your resume'	21%	31%	49%
Ignored the applicant-did not return call	36%	42%	72%
Used agencies and gave specific instructions	31%	38%	n/a

Survey participants revealed the general mix of their last ten new hires or placements in supervisory roles. The following statistics represent the number of hires or placements by target group.

**TABLE 9**

	Corporate Recruiters	Hiring Managers	Agency Recruiters
Women (supervisory role)	2	0	1
Natives (supervisory role)	0	0	0

The above statistics indicate a grand total of 4 target group hires/placements out of 6,720 available positions (672 times 10).

Very few survey participants would reveal how many had faced formal legal challenges to their selection decisions. However, all participants revealed their concern for their existing recruitment, interview and selection documentation practices in light of current human rights legislation.



The following Table shows the percentage of corporate recruiters, hiring managers, and agency recruiter participants who could or could not defend themselves or their organization if faced with legal challenges to their selection decisions.

**TABLE 10**

	Corporate Recruiters	Hiring Managers	Agency Recruiters
Could defend their selection decisions	8%	4%	1%
Could not defend their selections	92%	96%	99%

All survey participants agreed that the lack of formal position descriptions of the jobs to be filled was the major reason for the inability to defend themselves against legal challenges. Many participants did not want to recruit from formal position descriptions as it was felt that their hands would be "tied" and flexibility drastically reduced when assessing candidates.

The next Table shows the percentage of corporate recruiters, hiring managers and agency recruiter participants who indicated their current use of formal job descriptions.

**TABLE 11**

	Corporate Recruiters	Hiring Managers	Agency Recruiters
Used formal job descriptions	22%	32%	15%
Used outdated job descriptions	24%	44%	n/a
Used/received no formal job descriptions	54%	24%	85%

All participants were surveyed on their current use of clear organizational guidelines for recruitment and selection standards and practices. The following results represent the percentage of corporate recruiters, hiring managers and agency recruiter participants who followed standards and practices.

**TABLE 12**

	Corporate Recruiters	Hiring Managers	Agency Recruiters
Followed standards	13%	0%	0%
No Standards	87%	100%	100%

### CONCLUSIONS

The Canadian Recruiters Guild conclude from the survey that there are gross deficiencies in existing recruitment and selection practices in Canada. The survey reveals that the moral, legal and economic impact of recruitment and selection practices is either not understood, or is simply being ignored by the men and women presently performing this function.

Employment discrimination is only one symptom of these deficiencies. In spite of the fear of actual or perceived reprisals and in spite of the lengthy settlement periods, job seekers are filing official complaints at the human rights commissions. In their annual reports from 1982 to 1986, all federal and provincial human rights jurisdictions have experienced a steep increase in acceptable employment discrimination complaints.

As an example, the Canadian Human Rights Commission experienced a 73% increase in discrimination complaints and the Ontario Human Rights Commission a 63% increase during this same time frame. The number of official complaints filed in all jurisdictions, however, do not reflect the depth and scope of the problem.

Of all survey participants, agency recruiters had the lowest academic backgrounds. In addition, they had the least relevant training in interviewing methods and employment legislation. The survey results also indicate that they spent 100% of their time in this function, could not defend their preference of one candidate over another and had received and carried out a vast majority of discriminatory requests. Rules for practice or a code of ethics was unknown to this particular group.

Although corporate recruiters and hiring managers shared heavily in discriminatory practices, a majority of their employers had already recognized the problems. They were willing to provide and have provided subsidized training, time off for instruction and demonstrated an increasing general acceptance of the pitfalls of recruitment and selection in the 80's. In addition, corporate recruiters and hiring managers did not and do not receive commissions or bonuses for the numbers hired by them. Their base salaries bore no relationship to their limited recruiting activities.

The first major conclusion drawn by the Canadian Recruiters Guild from the survey results was the need for a profound re-assessment of traditional philosophies. Organizations did not discriminate. Individuals did.

The second major conclusion was that the overall extent of employment discrimination identified in this survey was due to several major underlying deficiencies which were negatively affecting Canadian job seekers, industry leaders and the status of employment recruiters. The major deficiencies identified were:

1. A lack of relevant educational programs
2. A lack of acceptable standards and rules for practice
3. A lack of proactive legislation.

#### Footnote

(1) See, for example, Who Gets the Work? F. Henry and E. Ginzberg. Urban Alliance on Race Relations. Toronto. 1985; No Discrimination Here. Toronto Employers and the Multiracial Workforce B. Billingsly and L. Muszynski. Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto, 1985



## ACCESS TO THE LABOUR MARKET

Distinct from the issue of gaining equality in employment is the prior stage of gaining equal access to the labour market itself. What are the systems existing in the public, private and voluntary sectors that provide access to the job market? How well are they developed, and how do racial minorities use them, and how are they treated?

Conventional wisdom has it that employers select from the job applicant pool those workers with the best training or experience for the job. The reality is very different. Minorities do not have equitable access to the job applicant pool. While the evidence shows minorities are discriminated against in the jobs they do seek, it is suggested that the labour market within which they are able to compete is smaller than is available to the larger society.

### "Hidden" Job Markets

In Toronto, it is estimated that only 15 percent of all available jobs are advertised in the classified sections of newspapers.

In a survey of 199 major employers ("No Discrimination Here? Toronto Employers and the MultiRacial Workforce", 1985), Billingsley and Muszynski found the large majority have no policies to promote employment equity, and their human resource policies and practices were very informal.

This finding confirms an earlier study done in Massachusetts that found that most firms based the majority of their hiring decisions, including those for low skill, low wage jobs, on networks.

Before gaining employment one needs to know where the jobs are. What are the networks, the communications systems, the employment bridging agencies that connect the prospective visible minority employee with the jobs?

In seeking the jobs what are the effective vehicles and what are not?

### Training

If training is the route to successful employment, data from the United Kingdom

is not particularly comforting. In 1980-81, for example, the proportion of white adults in employment three months after the completion of their Manpower training course was 69 percent compared to 48 percent for non-whites. The cause was not some vague 'disadvantage' that could be remedied by some form of 'non-occupational', 'employability' training, but discrimination by employers (Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, Warwick University, January 1987).

The route from training to jobs is far from smooth. As was noted by the Abella Royal Commission on Employment Equity:

"The communications systems to connect potential trainees with programs and graduate trainees with jobs are underdeveloped at best. It is particularly difficult for people who live in geographic or personal isolation to learn easily what training programs are available or, having completed training, what job possibilities exist."

### Public Sector Agencies

How extensively do minorities utilize public sector resources such as Canada Employment Centres in their job search process? Again, the U.K. evidence is not reassuring. The Commission for Racial Equality (London 1987), found that the distinctive needs of visible minority members are not properly understood by the White staff in the official employment and training agencies. It was found that visible minorities are substantially less likely to benefit from the public employment agencies than others.

### Private Employment Agencies

What about private employment agencies? Thus far, no legislation or monitoring system has been introduced to act as a watchdog over these agencies who play an important role in securing employment particularly for managerial, technical and executive jobs. This is of major concern because for some years there has been evidence that employment agencies in Ontario discriminate against members of

minority groups by accepting instructions from employers not to refer members of such groups for job interviews.

The Canadian Civil Liberties Association conducted a brief survey in 1975 in which 15 employment agencies in Metro Toronto were phoned with discriminatory requests. Eleven of the agencies accepted these conditions. In 1976, another 15 agencies were phoned in Ottawa, Hamilton and London. Again, eleven accepted discriminatory requests. Finally, in 1980, 10 agencies were contacted. Seven accepted a 'whites only' request.

In the survey undertaken by the Canadian Recruiters' Guild (see separate article), those responsible for hiring and recruiting showed themselves to be remarkably candid and unconcerned about their flagrant discriminatory behaviour and disobedience of the law.

### Community

The other avenues open to minorities are:

- \* Friends, family and associates
- \* Community networks
- \* Ethnic organizations

These groups function with severely limited human and financial resources. If the public and private mainstream organizations and systems providing access to the job market are not serving minorities adequately, can these voluntary groups be expected to replace them?

While the prognosis is not good, the present level of data and knowledge in Canada does not permit many of the questions raised by this article to be definitively answered. A firmer base of knowledge is required in order that solutions be implemented that will have a direct and positive impact upon the employment opportunities for minorities.



## ACCESS TO TRADES AND PROFESSIONS IN ONTARIO

Innumerable groups over many years have identified the serious difficulties many persons living in Ontario who have received training in other countries have had in obtaining the right to practice their profession or trade in this province.

The Government of Ontario has initiated a two phased approach to respond to the issue. The first phase consisted of a preliminary analysis of the impact on minorities of the various entry requirements for professions and trades. This analysis was completed by the consulting firm, Abt Associates in May 1987.

### Findings

The Abt study undertook a series of interviews with immigrant groups across Ontario. They identified a number of entry requirements for the trades and professions which appear as barriers for those trained outside of Canada and which have a disproportionately negative impact on members of minority groups. There were five identified major barriers:

**English proficiency.** Most immigrants reported that the requirement for English proficiency was "a tremendous barrier", largely because of the lack of programs and support to assist immigrants in reaching the required level of proficiency.

**Evaluation of academic credentials.** This presents an entry barrier for a number of reasons including the requirements for original documents (a particularly difficult problem for refugees), and a perception that foreign credentials are "sharply devalued".

**Credit for experience abroad.** Granting limited or no credit for experience abroad, requires immigrants to complete in-service programs in some professions.

**Retraining and examination requirements.** Requirements appear to be more stringent in some professions than others. Immigrants cited the length of the required retraining period as a particular barrier given they had no means of support for themselves or their family. To qualify more quickly, many wanted to try exams without completing a retraining program. In some professions the number of exams required, the cost of examination, and the lack of feedback from the examination

process represent barriers. Immigrants also cited translation difficulties with trade exams.

**Perceived discrimination.** Discrimination was, to many respondents, the major barrier for immigrants. The general perception of immigrants is that there are "101 ways to keep you out." While this may be a general reaction to a series of requirements established by the trades and professions, some specifics were cited to support the view that "all readily granted equivalencies are from white-dominated countries -- Australia, England, the United States."

In reviewing the entry processes of twenty-five professional organizations, the Abt study makes the following observations:

**Few professions offer an impartial assessment of academic qualifications.** Most review credentials on a case-by-case basis, relying on the subjective assessments of a review panel. A few professions use objective evaluating examinations that allow a candidate to demonstrate academic equivalency to Canadian programs.

**Most professions give little credit for work experience.** Where internship or clinical experience is required, professions are inconsistent in the exemption allowed for experience in another country.

**Language proficiency required for examinations may not match that required for practice.** Many professional organizations rely on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) to assess English proficiency. The test may under-emphasize technical vocabulary and over-emphasize fine points of grammar.

**Retraining opportunities may be limited.** Most professions rely on academic institutions. Some professional schools admit only a small fraction of applicants.

**Accessibility of internships is difficult to assess.** In some cases, notably medicine, internships are difficult to secure. In other professions, they seem readily available.

The study results did little more than reconfirm the fact that there exist a number of entry requirements which have an adverse impact on minorities. The study, however, provided further justification for

the Ontario Government to proceed with a detailed review of the process by which one becomes entitled to practice a profession or trade in Ontario. Last Fall, the Government established a Task Force on Access to Professions and Trade in Ontario.

The Chairperson of the Task Force is Peter Cumming, a professor of law at Osgoode Hall Law School at York University. The two other commissioners are Enid Lee, a member of the North York Board of Education, and Dimitrios Oreopoulos, a practicing physician. The Project Director is Patricia Bregman.

The Task Force is employing two methodologies to examine the issues raised. On the one hand, it is doing a profession by profession analysis of the particular procedures used by each professional body to evaluate the credentials of applicants with foreign certification or training who wish to enter the profession. At the same time, broader consideration is being given to the more general problems that immigrants encounter as they attempt to move toward employment in their field. Some of these relate to language testing and training, evaluation of foreign academic credentials, assessment of prior experience, testing as a means of evaluating ability, retraining or upgrading, financial support during training and availability of information and counselling. In order to have access to the fullest possible information and to ensure that those interested in the issues under consideration by the Task Force are heard, the commissioners and staff have contacted, received briefs from, interviewed and met with individuals, community groups and representatives of the professional bodies.

The resolution of this issue is long overdue. We certainly look forward to the report on the results of the research and recommendations of the Task Force.



## RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND HOUSING

Tim Rees

Racial discrimination in housing is perceived by many to be occurring in a massive way. Unfortunately in Canada there is limited quantitative data to equivocally demonstrate the nature and extent of the problem.

Racial discrimination occurs in the area of housing sales, in the rental of accommodation, in the provision of information, and in obtaining financing and mortgages. Limited Canadian research has been done in any of these areas.

### What is the Evidence?

One significant study, while it does not test for discrimination, but merely relies on the reports of victims, was done in Montreal for the *Movement pour Combattre La Racisme* in 1980-1981. Black and other visible minority immigrants living in two sections of the city were sampled by means of census tracks and questioned with respect to their experience with racial discrimination in housing. 22% of the respondents had personal experience with racial discrimination and many more had heard of other experiences. More than three quarters had had the experience of being told an apartment was 'just rented'. The author concludes that racial discrimination in housing is severe in Montreal. He also states that it is not merely a temporary problem which will go away once groups get to know each other better. Housing segregation is on the increase in Montreal and this is largely the result of the inability of visible minority people to exercise free choice in their living arrangements. (Teitlebaum and Berube, 1983.)

The methodology of field testing, where matched applicants apply for work or accommodations was successfully used to test employment discrimination in Toronto in 1986 ('Who Gets the Work?' Henry & Ginsberg). Utilizing the same methodology, a pilot project was undertaken in 1986 in Toronto, testing for housing discrimination (Urban Alliance on Race Relations, 1987). The purpose of this study was to test the incidence of racial discrimination against single professional females, attempting to

seek an apartment in Toronto. The two researchers represented themselves as being from the same income level, same age, and the same appearance, the only exception was their race. The researchers sought apartments that were in the range of \$450-\$650 per month.

Of the 73 cases tested, 31 showed blatant discrimination. This was defined when the Black researcher was told there was no vacancy and immediately afterward, the White researcher was told differently. Blatant discrimination was also defined as occurring when different prices were quoted for the same rental accommodation. Another characteristic of blatant discrimination was when a different availability date was given to the Black researcher in comparison to the White researcher.

Ten of the seventy-three cases were classified as questionable. That is, there was a vagueness in the responses in either the availability date or in a vacancy coming up. It was also questionable when there was a slight difference in the treatment received and courtesy (i.e. offering of business card, etc.).

Only in 32 of the 73 cases was there no difference in treatment or information offered to the researchers.

These preliminary results clearly indicate that there is a very significant amount of housing discrimination.

Significantly, the methodology also reveals that for the most part, non-White applicants would never suspect that they had been the victims of racial discrimination. When landlords or rental agents act pleasantly and courteously but say that they have no vacancies, an applicant will readily accept that explanation. It is only when a white applicant speaks to the same contact person and is told that a vacancy will come up in a month's time, or is given an application form to fill in, is told to phone again next week, or is quoted a lower rental rate for the same apartment that the non-White realizes that different and unequal treatment has taken place.

### Few Complaints

The Ontario Human Rights Commission has received complaints of racial discrimination in housing on a consistent basis for a number of years. However, the actual numbers are relatively small. The Commission has categorized the complaints according to housing denial (the highest incidence), housing eviction, housing occupancy, harassment, and those dealing with commercial units.

As noted, the vast majority of victims do not realize that they had been discriminated against. This is particularly true where the only contact with the landlord has been over the phone. Only if the landlord's behaviour was suspect, or if the apartment was subsequently re-advertised, will the person know he/she has been discriminated against. Even then, victims are usually very reluctant to file complaints with the Human Rights Commission (Dorothy Quann 'Racial Discrimination in Housing', Canadian Council on Social Development, 1979).

A number of reasons have been put forward as to why victims do not complain to the commission. Many are unfamiliar with human rights legislation, and many do not know of the existence of a provincial Human Rights Commission. Most people do not know what action to take if they are discriminated against. For those that do, a prevalent attitude seems to be that the procedures are too complicated and time consuming, and even if a decision were found in their favour it would not change the situation.

Another contributing factor to the reluctance by victims to make a formal complaint is that many are immigrants with perhaps a limited knowledge of English, they may come from a country where human rights legislation and complaint procedures are mostly unknown, and perhaps they are afraid of jeopardizing his/her immigrant status (York University, 1986).

Dorothy Quann, using data from the Human Rights Commission, notes that



two types of prejudice on the part of landlords leads to housing discrimination. In the first instance, landlords may hold negative stereotypes about certain groups and believe that such people will make bad tenants. In another type of prejudice landlords will restrict occupancy on other grounds that existing tenants have biases and would threaten to move out if members of particular minority group were allowed to move in.

These two types of attitudes are intertwined and self-reinforcing. As indicated from the preliminary findings of the pilot project in Toronto, various methods are used by rental agencies or landlords to prevent minority groups from renting or acquiring property. Discrimination may first arise either as an immediate response to the applicant's manner of speaking over the telephone or to the visual appearance at the door. Because many minorities have accents, they may encounter immediate discrimination on the phone.

Other people, whose minority status cannot be detected over the phone, might encounter discrimination when they

arrive to see the place. As mentioned, the most common form this takes is to tell the person that the place has just been taken. Superintendents will sometimes exaggerate the rental price, or insist that this apartment cannot be shown because it is not clean, still occupied, or needs painting. Owners of large apartment complexes usually have a number of other subtle but systematic approaches to screening unwanted applicants. For example, applications may be given out to anyone who wants to rent but only the "desirable" ones will receive accommodations.

Discrimination appears to be more common in certain kinds of rental accommodation than in others. "Owners of rooming houses seem to discriminate the most frequently. Private dwellings, such as duplexes where the landlord resides in the building, also exhibit a high rate of discrimination. Most of the cases heard by provincial Human Rights Commissions concern these types of residential accommodations." (Quann)

### A Public Responsibility

There is a history in Canada of the public sector approaches toward racial discrimination functioning within a reactive framework. That is, the public sector tends to impose the responsibility upon the victims of racial discrimination to identify the problem. In a situation where no body of knowledge exists, the public sector too frequently refers the responsibility to the victims and to the minority communities themselves to diagnose the issues and determine priorities.

When the laws of this country are broken with such impunity this is simply not good enough. It is particularly inappropriate in a situation like housing when discriminatory behaviour can so easily be hidden from the victim. The doctor does not ask the patient to diagnose the symptoms, and the doctor certainly does not ask the patient to recommend a remedy. Similarly, the victims of racial discrimination should not be placed in such an untenable position. Not only does the public sector have a responsibility to act in this area, but there is already in place a legislative and policy mandate to justify supporting action.

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## PORTRAYAL OF VISIBLE MINORITIES BY MANITOBA TELEVISION: A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

by Gary Granzberg

A sample of 213 Manitoba originated television programs were monitored for this study. These programs containing a total of 139 visible minorities and 1485 non-visible minorities. It was found that the portrayal of visible minorities in Manitoba originated programming tends to provide a picture of visible minority life which contains more acculturation and equality than is really the case.

In addition, in comparison with Canadian originated programming which is nationally televised as well as American originated programming, it was found that the equality achieved by visible minority characters in Manitoba local programming is greater than that which occurs with Canadian produced programs at the national level but that the accuracy of Manitoba programming is not as effective.

For example, none of the 40 Native characters

are engaged in traditional hunting, trapping, or fishing activity. Yet this is still practiced among 18% of Native people.

Only about 25% of Native people live in urban areas, but Manitoba television showed 63% of Native characters living in urban areas.

Very few of the Asian and Native characters were shown speaking their own heritage language whereas, in reality, the practice is quite prevalent.

Very few of the characters show traditional ethnocultural characteristics such as gesture, religion, clothing and arts.

Finally, the population of visible minority characters on T.V. is higher than in real life.

The accuracy data, in general, showed a tendency to overemphasize urbanism and acculturation and de-emphasize the importance of traditions.

On the other hand, the equality data showed a positive attempt to compensate for the stereotyped imagery and unequal participation in positive role models which have characterized visible minority portrayals at the national level. For example, the proportion of visible minorities who appeared as major characters was equal to that for non-visible minorities and the proportion who appeared as hero figures actually exceed the non-visible minority ratio.

The overall impact of these portrayals may be to cause some viewers to underestimate the problems that visible minorities face in obtaining equal participation in Canadian life and to undervalue the role that traditions play in visible minority life.

*Professor Gary Granzberg is with the University of Manitoba.*

### REVIEWS

## POLICE-MINORITY RELATIONS

### **Guidelines For Police/Minority Community Relations and Liaison**

**By The Greater Toronto Regional Working Group on Policing the Multicultural, Multiracial Urban Communities October, 1988**

This Report is a result of the work of a "Working Group" formed by the Chiefs of Police from six regional communities in and around Metropolitan Toronto. It was designed to provide useful information for both police and members of the general communities in which they operate. The Working Group was formed in late 1984 following a major conference on the topic held in Vancouver in the same year. It is composed of a total of thirty four (34) members of which one half are police officers the other half representing a wide cross section of community and social agency members.

The general purpose of the Guidelines, as indicated in the Overview of the Report, is "to be of assistance to police forces, social service agencies, community organizations and their members in the development of positive relationships and effective liaison with each other".

The intent of the Guidelines is to indicate activities that may be developed and followed by the target groups. The guidelines are intended to provide information and program ideas which are deemed to meet the above objectives.

The Report begins with a rationale for police/minority relations. It then briefly outlines materials on the changing nature of the population including the fact that the sources of new immigrants are primarily from the "Third World" rather than from the traditional European areas. The need for understanding between police and community is stressed. Although developed by a project sub-group, the final Report was examined and approved by the Greater Toronto Regional Working Group on Policing in Multicultural, Multiracial Urban Communities.

The Report reflects the hallmarks of a Committee Report. It does present a considerable number of suggestions for improving these relationships. None of the ideas and suggestions are new. Most have been a part of the general experience of police/minority group thinking and even a few have been utilized, although

with less than satisfactory results. Unfortunately many suggestions have been made with little attention to the present reality of police/community relations. The reader would never guess, from this Report, that the present relationship between police forces and the multiracial communities, especially those in Metropolitan Toronto and its surrounding areas, are characterized by increasing anger and suspicion. The recent police shooting and killing of two black men has only added increased hostility to an already tense situation. The approach of this Report offers little assistance indeed in the solution to this situation.

From the outset it appears obvious that suggestions written following Committee discussion and consensus in the Working Groups are activities which would not result in any disagreement between the participants, police officers and community and agency representatives. This must have been a difficult task since there are many areas of disagreement in the perceptions of police officers and members of those who are "served and protected". Touchy items, such as the police killing of a



## MUNICIPAL RACE RELATIONS

black man in Toronto in August, 1988, was apparently not a part of the agenda. In fact, based on a reading of this Report, it would be difficult to believe that considerable anger and tension are major factors in the relationships between police forces and members of the multiracial communities of this area.

In other words, the usefulness of the Report could have been substantially increased by a more critical analysis of the precise reasons for the existing relationship between police and minority groups. This of course would have required a clear look at the basic reasons as to why the hostility and suspicion. Apparently neither side, the police or community members, were ready to tackle this difficult problem --- problems which would have required a high degree of candour and willingness to accept criticism.

When this state of candour and openness is not achieved, little of real value can be expected. The fact that the groups did meet, discuss, and prepare a Report, however may have been of some value. At least members of both groups had the opportunity to face each other with the tacit understanding that something was wrong and in need of correction.

Aside from a considerable amount of redundancy, the Report is well written, easy to read and to digest. It avoids much of the psychological and sociological jargon which mars many other works in the field of minority relations in Canadian Society. It also must be kept in mind that it was written for a wide spectrum of individuals, police officers and community members who may or may not be acquainted with the increasing relevant thinking and literature in this field. For the beginner, it may provide some new ideas for appropriate activities. The problem of who is to initiate the varied activities suggested in the Report particularly in local communities remains unconsidered. Will police or social agencies take the first step and make available the funds and personnel necessary to initiate and pursue the implementation of the guidelines? Thus far, there has been little evidence that most communities are ready to take on this task.

*Wilson Head*

The first Race Relations Conference for Municipalities was held in Toronto on December 2 and 3, 1988. Sponsored by the Race Relations Directorate, Ministry of Citizenship, participants represented the 17 municipal race relations committees now functioning throughout Ontario together with a cross section of elected representatives and administrators from municipalities throughout the province.

The conference reflects the Provincial Government's growing interest in supporting municipally based race relations initiatives. However, a major theme throughout the discussions was that the appropriate body within the Provincial Government to reflect this interest should be the Ministry of Municipal Affairs. It was the clear consensus of the conference participants that it should be this Ministry that should assume the leadership position and play a proactive role in providing direction and support for race relations initiatives at the municipal level.

One of the highlights of the conference was a presentation and analysis of municipal initiatives in the United States. Propelled by the famous Supreme Court Decision *Brown vs. Board of Education* in 1954, the establishment of new Federal agencies such as the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1957), the enactment of new Civil Rights Laws and the public pressure arising from sit-ins and demonstrations, numerous municipalities throughout the U.S. established Human Relations or Human Rights Committees or Commissions during this period.

With a thirty year history of municipal involvement in race relations in the U.S., Martin Walsh, Regional Director of the Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice in Boston, identified for the conference what he considered to be the critical factors for success in municipal race relations. The focus of this analysis was upon the organizational vehicle -- the Race Relations Committee, or, as it is generally labelled in the U.S., the municipal Human Relations Commission.

## Critical Success Factors

**1) Mission** - The Human Relations Commission (HRC) is the instrumentality or mechanism to protect and safeguard civil rights and to promote harmonious race relations. For success of a Human Relations Commission, the municipality and its leadership must share this

concept or vision of the organisation so that the municipality keeps its "eyes on the prize," i.e., equality, justice, and access.

**2) Mission Statement** - The mission should be expressed in an ordinance or resolution outlining the policy, responsibility, powers and duties of the Committee or Commission. The ordinance provides the permanence or the institutionalization of support by the political structure. Such an ordinance must be specific to the extent of providing guidance to the HRC. A vague mission statement can be subject to misunderstanding and misinterpretation.

Sanctions must be included within the ordinance, spelling out the penalties, disciplinary as well as monetary, that might be invoked by the HRC for violations of the ordinance. Every agency at the local level has the authority to invoke sanctions. Every policy must have sanctions whether it be through contract compliance or any number of other mechanisms. Policy without sanctions is just paper and can only lead to distrust and manipulation.

**3) Problem Identification** - There must be ongoing outreach to the entire community, especially the minority community, to obtain feedback as to major problems and issues of discrimination. The community's perceptions of race relations provides the solid underpinning for the corrective programming efforts. It is also an appropriate defence against the "denial" syndrome, or the "everything is fine" mantra. The Community Relations Service (CRS) in the U.S. has developed a sophisticated problem identification process which is incorporated in the CRS Annual Assessment of Racial Tension (AART). The CRS has found this to be an effective way to plan a preventative program to deal with civil rights violations and racial problems.

**4) Mission Workplan** - The HRC workplan is the creative, functional process both to carry out the mission of the HRC in a task-oriented manner and also to be the process of accountability between the HRC and the community. In developing the workplan, the HRC is required to define itself in relationship to the entire community: its role, activities and manner of implementation. A proper functioning HRC should be the recognized authority on civil rights and race relations in the community.

**5) Selection/Composition of HRC Members** - There are three major criteria for success in selecting HRC Members:

a) Commitment to equality and thus the mis-



sion of the HRC;

b) Persons who can get things done, i.e., the "movers and shakers"; and

c) Persons who represent a cross-section of the community.

**6) Budget** - The HRC should have a budget that is adequate to accomplish its mission. The size of the municipality is the major variable in the size of the budget.

**7) Professionalism of Staff** - The professional skills of the staff, especially that of the executive director, are critical to the success of the HRC. The salaries of staff should be comparable to other municipal agencies. In-service training is important in order to maintain the professionalism of staff and their relevance to the issues and trends. A rule of thumb is that municipalities of 25,000 population or more should have a full-time staff for the HRC.

**8) Support From the Political Community** - To be effective, the HRC must continue to obtain the active support of the political leadership.

**9) Support From the Minority or Aggrieved Community** - The HRC must be seen as a resource and as a partner in addressing the civil rights problems of the minority community.

**10) Support From the Community at Large** - Various sectors of the community can be most helpful to the HRC in carrying out its mission, including: academic, civic, religious, business, labor, and philanthropic.

**11) Publicity** - The HRC should seek a high profile for race relations and its pro-active efforts. A number of vehicles should be utilized including annual reports to the community, newsletters, press releases, and public events such as seminars and workshops.

**12) Avoidance of Internal Disputes** - Too often internal contentiousness and strife destroy the effectiveness of HRCs and similar bodies. The Chairman of the Commission and the Executive Director can avoid this inward focus through a work agenda that look outward to the HRC mission and the accomplishment of the workplan. Accountability to the public through a well developed workplan can assist everyone maintain the proper and primary focus of the HRC.

**13) The Development of a Good Political-Community Base of Support** - The HRC is a political entity fighting for its issues and should conduct itself in this manner:

- a) The HRC must be a good politician;
- b) The HRC requires access to the mayor or other top elected/appointed officials;
- c) The HRC needs to develop a good working relationship with the municipality's chief executive;
- d) The HRC should not foist major surprises on the chief executive;
- e) The HRC should view itself as a complement to the chief executive, not as extraneous or as a diversion;
- f) The HRC requires great political and pro-

grammatic sophistication;

g) The HRC must be visible;

h) The HRC requires access to legal counsel; and

i) The HRC needs to be doing an effective job all along in order to be effective in a time of crisis.

### Conclusion

The U.S. experience clearly indicates that municipal committees or commissions need to be established. Such an organisational instrument needs to be established by municipalities in order to monitor and assure that the municipality's commitment to equal rights and its conformity with human rights legislation is being met. At the same time it should be the instrument through which the municipality can promote the goals of equality, justice, and harmony.

Thirty years later, Canada is only beginning to explore the critical role that municipal government can play in race relations. The above identified 13 critical success factors provide some useful guidelines by which municipalities can begin to assume their responsibilities with some semblance of organisation and forthrightness. And it would be good to see some meaningful commitment from the Provincial Ministry of Municipal Affairs to support and accelerate this process.

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## ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS RISE DRAMATICALLY IN 1988

Lorne Shipman

The League for Human Rights of B'nai B'rith Canada, a national agency dedicated to combatting racism and bigotry, has been formally recording data concerning the nature, type, time and place of anti-Semitic incidents since 1982.

While we continue to improve our monitoring techniques and abilities, we are hindered by the fact that most incidents are not reported nor properly categorised as racially motivated.

Our records indicate that for 1988, the number of incidents of Harassment and Vandalism were 112. The 1987 figure was 55. There has been an increase of over 100%. This is the highest total since 1984 when there were 126 incidents reported.

This year's increase follows three years of decline in the number of incidents. There were 52 incidents of vandalism representing an increase of 34 occurrences. The number of Harassment incidents were 60 up from 37 the previous year.

### Nature of incidents by year

Year	Harassment	Vandalism	Total
1982	44	19	63
1983	23	25	48
1984	66	60	126
1985	43	52	95
1986	32	23	55
1987	37	18	55
1988	60	52	112

Vandalism is defined as an act involving physical damage to property. Harassment refers to any incident of abuse or threat directed against an individual, group or institution. Hate propaganda is included in the Harassment section.

Our analysis of the incidents reveal that close to 50% or 54 incidents occurred in the first four months of the year. This can be attributed to four factors. The first is the negative images emanating from the media concerning the intifadah. The daily front page pictures and stories along with the thirty second newsclips translated into a general discomfort with the issue and the Jewish community in Canada.

At the same time the Zundel trial was taking place in a Toronto courtroom. While a media "circus" did not take place this time around a number of incidents can

be linked to his witnesses and supporters in an attempt to attract the media.

The third concurrent event was the John Demanjuk trial in Israel. A few incidents can be traced to the backlash after the verdict was filed. The last item was that Imre Finta, the first individual to be tried under Canada's war criminal legislation, was making news as well.

Four separate events all contributed to put the Jewish community in the news at virtually the same time. Those individuals who were prone to anti-Semitic tendencies saw a "window of opportunity" in which to manifest their racism. The images gave them a perverted opportunity to "respond". They felt their views and actions could be justified by public opinion.

Our research over the last seven years has shown us that there is a direct correlation between the location of incidents and the size and visibility of the Jewish community. Close to 80% of the incidents have occurred in Ontario and Quebec.

### Targets of incidents

	Vandalism	Violence	Harassment Threat	Propaganda
Jewish organization*	7	1	14	11
Non-Jewish organization	1	0	0	4
Jewish individual(s)**	7	1	10	6
Non-Jewish individual(s)	0	0	0	3
Jewish building***	8	0	2	0
Non-Jewish building	17****	0	0	0
Jewish Community*****	5	0	0	15

\* Jewish organizations include our offices, congress, Hillel buildings etc.

\*\* The vandalism under the Jewish Individuals section refers to their property.

\*\*\* Jewish buildings refer to offices or buildings in which the owners or the shop keepers are noticeably Jewish.

\*\*\*\* This figure includes graffiti on public buildings and may be added to the figure reserved for incidents directed at the general Jewish community.

\*\*\*\*\* The Jewish community section is reserved for incidents effecting the general community such as defacing a Jewish cemetery or pamphleteering or anti-Semitism in the media.

The two violent incidents both occurred in Montreal. One was shots from a BB gun shot into a Synagogue and the second was an individual who was harassed and their kippah was knocked from their head.

### Some significant incidents

One of the problems incurred in tabulating these incidents is that it is difficult to translate raw data into effect on the community. How does a phone call compare

### Geographic breakdown of incidents

	Harassment	Vandalism	Total
Ontario*	5	9	14
Toronto	30	16	46
Quebec**	0	1	1
Montreal	12	18	30
Atlantic	3	0	3
Manitoba	1	4	5
Alberta	9	3	12
B.C.	0	1	1

\* This figure is excluding Toronto incidents.

\*\*This figure is excluding Montreal incidents.

For the first time we have broken the data down in order to reflect the victims of anti-Semitic activity. Close to 30% (33) incidents were directed towards Jewish institutions which are the most visible targets in the community but are better equipped than individuals to deal with anti-Semitic acts.

with graffiti? Each incident is given a single notation but many are of a different nature. We have chosen two incidents as examples as well as a special section on anti-Semitism at a post-secondary institutions.



-Toronto, Ontario

On March 12, 1988 the Toronto Star printed and editorial supporting the statement made to the Canada-Israel-Committee by External Affairs Minister Joe Clark two days earlier in Ottawa. While many people and organizations took offense to Mr. Clark's statement it was not anti-Semitic in nature. However, the editorial went beyond Clark's position and stated "It was also a necessary reminder to members of the Jewish community in Canada that they are citizens of Canada, not Israel". This negative charge of dual loyalty implicit in the Star's statement has been a common thread of anti-Semitism throughout the years. B'nai Brith held a press conference which received national attention and held meetings with the Star's editorial staff in order to sensitize them to the inherent dangers of such an editorial.

-Calgary, Alberta on June 5 1988

The Calgary police uncovered a plot to bomb the local Jewish Community Centre and assassinate a prominent local Jewish businessman. While the police were well aware of the plot, it made us painfully aware that there were individuals who were willing to carry out violent acts directed at prominent Jews and Jewish institutions simply because they were Jewish. The two individuals who were apprehended had links with various right-wing, extremist groups including the KKK.

While these incidents are only 2 of 112 they are significant because they represent a greater potential threat or their effect is far reaching. Each incident we receive must be evaluated and our response is weighed against the severity of the act and its overall implications.

### Campus Incidents

Racist and anti-Semitic attacks take on a uniquely troubling character when they occur in a university environment dedicated to civilized dialogue and the pursuit of knowledge. The following is a list of anti-Semitic incidents that occurred on various campuses in 1988.

Feb. 20 1988 - Concordia University  
During the campus showing of "Shoah" a number of skinheads heckled and applauded the Nazi references.

March 16, 1988 - York University  
Posters distributed around campus comparing 1980's Israel with Nazi Germany.

March 1988 - Ryerson Polytechnical Institute  
A Jewish student's election posters were defaced with swastikas.

Feb-March 1988 - McMaster University  
Three separate incidents  
-swastika drawn on Hillel door.  
-'Hitler Rules' and a swastika drawn on poster outside Hillel office.  
-anti-Semitic message left on answering machine.

April 19, 1988 - University of Toronto  
Windows broken and graffiti equating Judaism with Communism occurred at the Hillel House the night after the verdict in Demjanjuk case.

April 29, 1988 - University of Toronto  
More windows and the front door damaged at the Hillel House.

September 1988 - University of Toronto  
The Christian Student movement received anonymous copies of Henry Ford's "The International Jew".

October 31, 1988 - McMaster University  
Hate Propaganda found in washroom promoting Jews as the anti-Christ and supporting genocide.

### Conclusion

While our study is not completely scientific it gives a fair indication of the severity and nature of the manifestations of anti-Semitism in Canada. Many incidents are not reported but each occurrence is examined carefully in order to properly classify and to react in a consistent manner. The result is that certain incidents are consequently dismissed as not being racially motivated and not appropriate for our study.

Examples may include an incident directed at an individual where harassment is involved but racial harassment is not evident. A particular example occurred in Montreal:

-Montreal, Que.

On September 6, 1988 there was a fire in the basement of the Poale Zedec Synagogue. However, this incident was not included in our survey because it was determined by the police that the crime was arson but was not racially motivated. The police established that the building was chosen because of its appearance of being abandoned rather than for religious connotations.

The significant rise in the number of incidents is deeply disturbing to our community as well as society at-large. Even though the rate of incidents declined in the last eight months of 1988 it was still higher than the previous three years.

While conditions are better than forty and fifty years ago this audit shows that the Jewish community is still vulnerable to racist attacks. As a responsible body in the community we have intensified our activities to fight all forms of anti-Semitism whether it be directed at individuals or institutions, whether it be initiated by the anonymous telephone caller or the editor of a major newspaper.

Through the offices of the League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada, with a primary role and vast experience directed to fighting anti-Semitism, we are working with police forces, race relations committees, providing ongoing consultations with community institutions on matters of security, and upgrading and intensifying our monitoring of known anti-Semitic groups and individuals. Our publication, Guidelines for Community Action; A Handbook for Responding to Anti-Semitism, has been widely distributed to allow members of the community an insight into what they can do if they are confronted with an anti-Semitic situation.

We will continue to do our job, but at this time it is very important that concerned members of the community also be willing to act. At the very least this means informing the League when you become aware of an incident of anti-Semitism. Even if you are not sure about the situation, always feel free to contact us.

The League's annual audit can be used by legislators in determining the need and type of law and resources needed to counter racially and religiously motivated crimes. The information is of use to police in determining where race relations educational programming is needed.

Combatting racism should not be confined to the aggrieved group or community. It should be the concern of each individual, level of government and community institution. Only through the combination of vigilance, moral outrage, education and legislation will the evils of racism be controlled and eliminated.

*Lorne Shipman is with the League of Human Rights of B'nai Brith, Toronto.*



## THE ONLY GOOD IMMIGRANT IS A WEALTHY IMMIGRANT

### The Economic Impact of the Entrepreneur Immigrant Program

Alan Nash

Studies in Social Policy, Ottawa, 1987

"...any overall increase in immigration levels should focus on those immigrants who can contribute to Canada's economic growth and create jobs" (Standing Committee of the House of Commons on Labour, Employment, and Immigration, 1985).

"...in increasing the immigration level, then the fundamental principle should be the active recruitment of people who are either self-supporting, or who can clearly contribute to the growth of the Canadian economy" (Employment and Immigration 1985d,15).

These two quotations betray two false assumptions about the thinking in Ottawa. First, they appear to accept the tired myth that immigrants by and large do not contribute to the economy. The wording of these quotes suggests that immigrants are a parasitic growth on the Canadian economy. The message is that we must look for a new type of immigrant if Canada is to continue to prosper.

Secondly, these quotations appear to be buying into a new myth: that the only good immigrants are wealthy ones. It explains why the federal government is so proud of the Entrepreneur Immigrant Program, and wants to enlarge it. Unfortunately the occasional print media story has been suggesting the program is being widely abused.

This report by Alan Nash for the Institute for Research on Public Policy points to a number of other more fundamental flaws in the implementation of this program.

According to their business proposals, over 28,000 jobs were promised by the 4,647 entrepreneur immigrants who received visas between 1984 and 1986. This represents an average of over six intended jobs per entrepreneur.

Entrepreneur immigrants have also stated intentions to transfer large amounts of capital to this country. Those entrepreneurs granted visas in 1986 proposed to transfer

over \$1.2 billion to Canada. This is a substantial figure. It is well in excess for example of the 1985/86 budget for all the regional industrial development programs of the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion. The difficulty is that nobody knows if in fact this capital has arrived in Canada.

Entrepreneur immigrants are not the only immigrants, however, to make an important contribution to the Canadian economy. For example, for the year 1983/84, immigrants other than those in the entrepreneur program brought with them funds amounting to over \$2 billion. With respect to job creation, the Longitudinal Study of the Economic and Social Adaptation of Immigrants (CEIC, 1981), indicated that a sample of self-employed immigrants landed in 1969 had, on average, created six jobs each within a period of three years.

These figures suggest the 'entrepreneur immigrant' is not the only immigrant with financial resources or business acumen and expertise. Many Family Class, Refugee and self-employed immigrants are clearly capable of considerable business success.

Innumerable studies have shown the positive impact of immigration on Canada's economic growth. Individuals admitted for purposes of family reunification or for humanitarian reasons can also make a valuable contribution to the economy.

As Alan Nash warns:

"These considerations must be recognized in setting future levels for individual classes and categories and in altering the priorities and other program preferences for which immigrants are eligible. Many of those capable of making a real contribution are being overlooked and are in danger of being unfairly denied access to Canada."

Before contemplating changing the numbers of each class of immigrant admitted to Canada, the Government must clearly first put in place a vigorous monitoring system of the Entrepreneur Immigrant Program. Secondly, despite being in operation since

1984 we really do not know if the program is working. A thorough evaluation needs to be undertaken with such fundamental questions as: Are the businesses promised in fact being established by entrepreneur immigrants? And, if so, what are the success rates, the job creation impacts, and so on.

Until we have the data to answer these questions it is difficult to refute the print media's perception of the program as merely serving as a 1999 insurance policy for a few Hong Kong tycoons. And it is difficult to overcome the impression that the Entrepreneur Immigrant Program is a queue-jumping, elitist boondoggle. Why is it necessary when it appears that the already existing other classes of immigrants can equally bring the same skills and resources? Why is a separate program necessary when all immigrants can and do contribute in a massive way to the growth of the Canadian economy?

Tim Rees

### MINORITY BUSINESSES

According to Statistics Canada, ethnic Canadians (that is, those whose origins are other than aboriginal, British or French) own and operate at least 50 per cent of Canada's small businesses. A 1986 study by Multiculturalism Canada indicates that their rate of self-employment is 84.5 persons per thousand compared to the Canadian average of 62.7.



## TRANSITIONS

### SOCIAL ASSISTANCE IN ONTARIO

The Social Assistance Review Committee was established in July 1986 by the Ontario government as an independent public review committee. Its task was to examine four questions:

- \* *What should be the guiding principles and objectives for social assistance and related programs?*
- \* *To what extent is the present system meeting these objectives?*
- \* *What overall strategies for change should the province adopt?*
- \* *What parameters should the province accept as it moves to change its legislation?*

Ontario's social assistance system, through which 500,000 people now receive income support, comprises two programs: Family Benefits, administered by the Province, and General Welfare Assistance, administered by municipalities. In 1988, it will spend more than \$2 billion of federal, provincial, and municipal funds. Social assistance is intended to be a residual program for those few who are unable to support themselves through employment and who do not have access to adequate incomes through universal or insurance-based programs.

In acknowledging the ongoing increases in expenditures and the concern that the system is in need of significant improvement, the Committee submitted its 624 page report in the Fall of 1988. It is a massive and important document.

With reference to the concerns of Ontario's multicultural, multiracial population, the Report notes:

*"Today, 40% of Ontarians are of other than British, French or Native origin; 25% of the Province's people were born outside Canada; and more than 10% speak languages other than English or French at home. All of the principles we endorse are of limited value to a significant number of Ontario residents if we do not provide sensitive support, services and opportunity to those of all cultures and religious beliefs.*

*Despite good intentions and strong declarations, we heard much to suggest that the present system falls short of this objective. Information is generally provided only in English or French. Staff are insufficiently trained to understand and respond to the needs of minority groups. Limited use is made of the multicultural communities themselves as resources to help recipients to identify and pursue opportunities. (Transitions: Report of the Social Assistance Review Committee. Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services. 1988. p.21)*

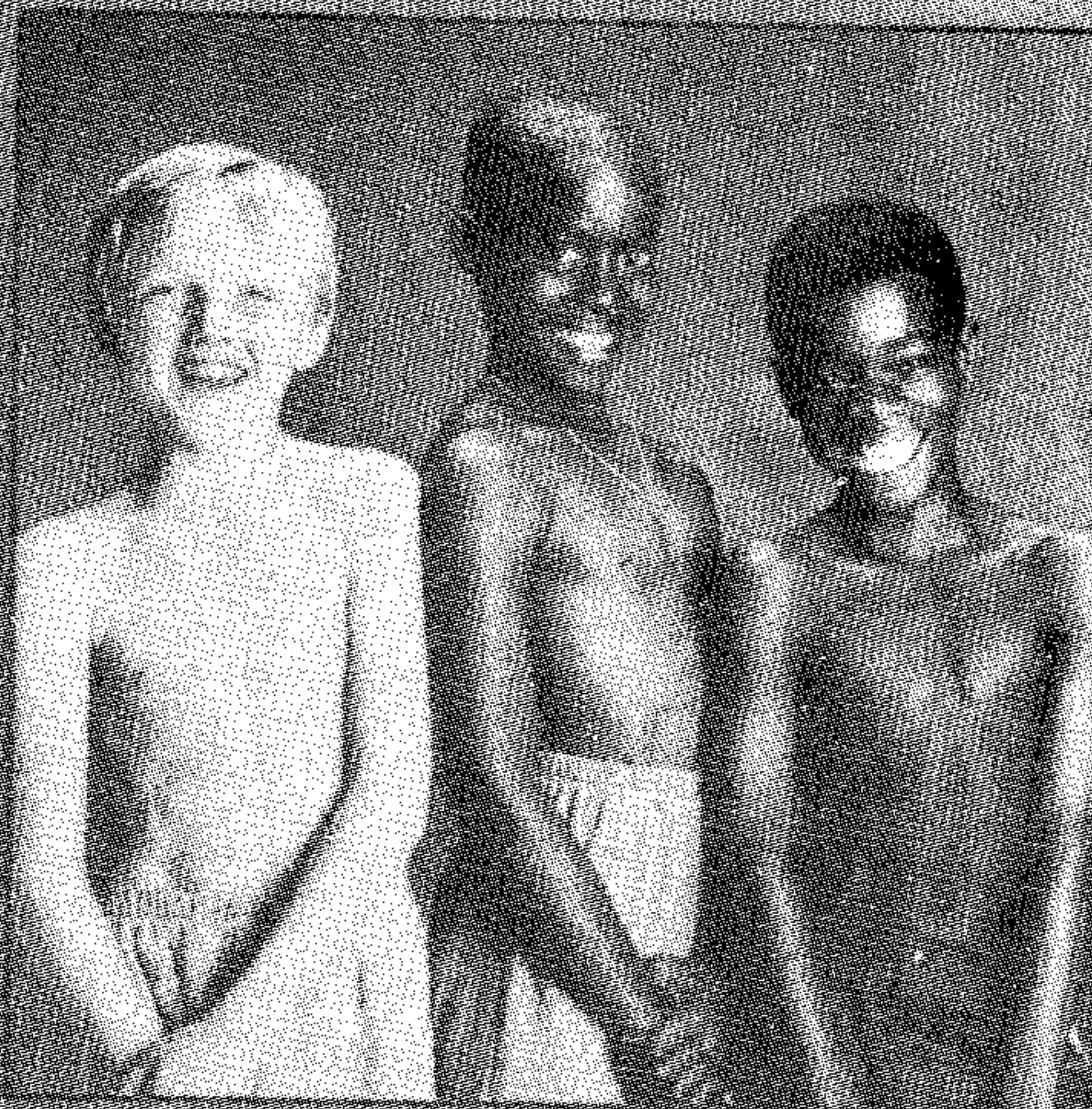
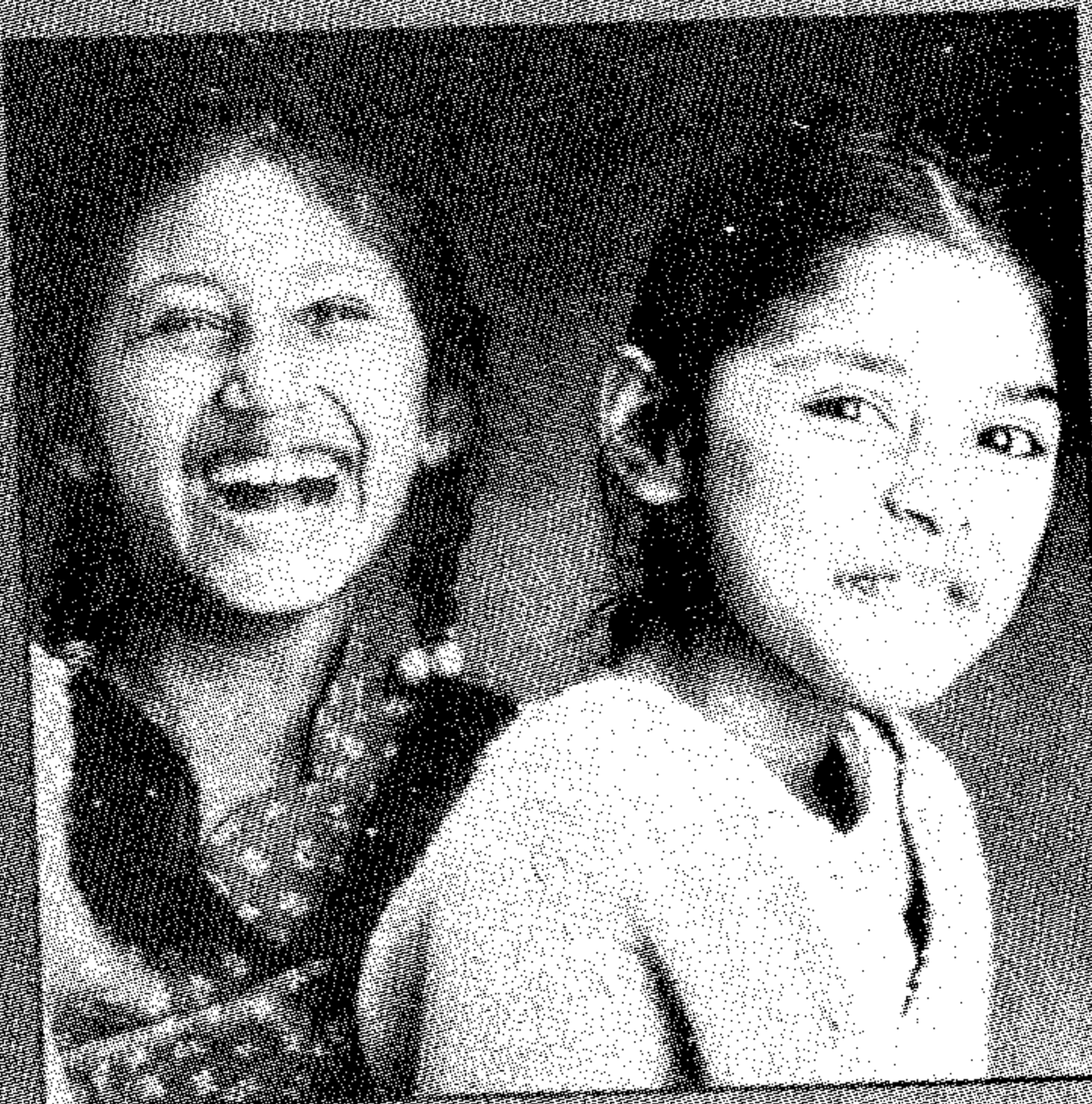
While little further direct reference is made to the needs and concerns of minorities in the body of the text, of particular interest are three background papers commissioned for the Committee. The first paper, "Immigrants and Social Assistance" (Mary L. Hogan), examines the practical problems faced by immigrants in

dealing with the Ontario social assistance system. It makes recommendations with respect to each of the following problem areas: residency, sponsorship, assets, refugees, demeanour of workers, and communications and consistency among all levels of government.

The other papers are "Access to the Social Assistance Service Delivery Systems by Various Ethno-Cultural Groups" (Ralph Agard), and the "Report on Multiculturalism and Social Assistance" by the Committees' Multicultural Advisory Group.



# TOGETHER WE ARE TORONTO



1989 CITY OF TORONTO YEAR FOR RACIAL HARMONY

TORONTO MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY AND RACE RELATIONS





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**In the next issue:**

**Race and Care**