CURRENTS

READINGS IN RACE RELATIONS

Volume 9, Number 2

Equity In The New City of Toronto

URBAN ALLIANCE ON RACE RELATIONS

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Equity In The New City of Toronto

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Editorial

Downloading, Downsizing and Downright Discrimination: How Does It Stop at the Municipal Level?

Now that a new Council for the City of Toronto has been elected, and has established a Task Force on Community Access and Equity, it is an appropriate time to reflect on how this new municipal government can respond to the issues of racism and equity. The Toronto Transition Team which was responsible for recommending a blueprint for change, has noted: "We must seize this opportunity to ensure Toronto will be an economically, socially, culturally and environmentally thriving city that works five years, a decade, a generation from now." The Transition Team also recognized "that racism and other forms of intolerance are a threat to the civic community."

How high should our expectations be for this new municipal government? First, we need to recognize that this new City of Toronto has been created against the wishes, it seems, of the majority of its residents--by a provincial government that holds to what might be described as a survivalist, populist, enterprise culture. This culture of neo-conservative realism uses language such as value for money, cost-effectiveness, rationalization, efficiencies, performance-related reviews, output measures, cost indicators and privatization as the basis for driving its agenda. This culture expects everyone to do more for themselves and to free themselves from the shackles of the local 'nanny' state.

In this world--and it is certainly not unique to the present Ontario government-- the ideology of government is to actually diminish and dismantle government. The holders of government power do not appear to believe in government. Notions of public service and the language of equity, anti-racism, disadvantage, discrimination, poverty and justice is shunned.

In this climate it will clearly be more difficult for the new City of Toronto to assume its primary responsibility which the Transition Team describes as "to promote and protect the public good, the common interest". With this enormous weight of fiscal and ideological downloading, the new City of Toronto will have very little maneuverability to seize any new vision. When the fundamental democratic responsibilities of civic governance are being questioned and undermined, are we merely grasping at straws of hope in imagining that the new City will be able to seriously commit itself to the notions of equity and inclusiveness?

When the political and fiscal amalgamating pressures clearly indicate a counter-direction to the principles of diversity and equity, are we left wallowing in the realms of elusive dreams and illusionary ideals?

Recapturing The Equity Agenda

How do we overcome the easy withdrawal into pessimism, and how do we work within and challenge the prevailing political and fiscal climate?

One of the first problems that needs to be

addressed is that of language and specificity. Concepts such as equity, racism, inclusiveness, access, citizenship and civic participation are full of ambiguity at the best of times--of language, of power, of uncertain realities, and of trying to fix them temporarily when in fact, they are in constant flux. And this ambiguity has permitted the easy appropriation of these same terms by the world of doublespeak. The concepts have become misused and suffered further obfuscation in the linguistic worlds of political rhetoric and bureaucratize.

Our first challenge is therefore, to address this burden of linguistic confusion and uncertainty. We need to reclaim the language by collectively adopting more specific ways of talking about these concepts and principles. We cannot persist in inhabiting a world that no longer exists where we could resort to lazy rhetorical flourishes and moralistic excesses and naively expect it to be enough of an impetus to create change.

Social change in many ways is a linguistically constituted activity. Changes in modes of thought provide the means of framing the issue, the better to address it. Thus the history of race relations in the past decade or so might best be read as a history of what people have learnt to say, rather than as a history of concrete accomplishment. It might be hoped for example, that the common experience regardless of their actual communal, religious or political affiliation, will break down. The glib implications of the term 'racial minority' may be increasingly challenged and evoke continuing unease as to its meaningfulness in a Toronto of the 21st century. The term 'racial minority also clearly fails to capture the dynamic and interactive process by which human identity is managed over time. As Antoni Sheltons' article warns, we should beware the trend towards racial nationalism. We should therefore, pay closer attention to our language and concepts as we struggle to find a mode of discourse that can do justice to our experience.

Secondly, as the Toronto Transition Team itself says, finely-worded principles and "a mission statement has meaning only if there is the necessary capacity within the organization to make it happen". These principles do not happen just because one says they should. In other words, we need to translate the language of organizational systems into results-oriented initiatives that will have a measurable impact on equity.

While this issue of Currents looks at how we can begin to reformat the issue of racism and equity into the context of municipal responsibilities in such areas as policing, human services, economic development, and urban planning, much of the analyses are equally applicable to the other levels of government and other institutional sectors.

Issues of racism and equity can no longer be dealt with on the margins of institutional life with constant pleadings for more of the same: tokenistic, add-on supports. This issue of Currents looks at how equity issues instead can be moved with confidence to the very centre of civic life and ingrained into the organizational culture of not only the new municipal government, but in every institutional sector. We must adopt the right language, the right systems and procedures, and also the right attitude that simply does not permit the marginalization and exclusion of large sections of the population from fully participating in the social, economic, cultural and political life of the City. ☯

Tim Rees

The Context

The Pursuit of Equity as a Municipal Task: The City of Toronto as a Model

The diversity of Toronto is exploding. This diversity includes not just characteristics such as age, education, gender, language, sexual orientation, mental and physical disability, religion, ethnicity and race but also an increasing diversity in lifestyles, values, power relations and life chances. Diversity is all the differences and dissimilarities among people. These differences and expectations are based on any characteristic that helps shape a persons attitude, behaviour and perspective. Diversity is inclusive and about everyone.

How we manage this explosion of diversity will have a direct impact on the future of our city. The City of Toronto is uniquely positioned to adopt and pursue this new proactive paradigm of diversity in innovative and creative ways. The new city must move beyond the old and limited paradigm of merely reacting to and addressing in inadequate fashion the present and residual effects of discrimination and inequalities. The utilization and enjoyment of the positive attributes of diversity requires the pro-active efforts of the municipal government to not merely recognize and tolerate this diversity, but to respect, value and nurture it.

If we are to have a more civil and equitable society, grounded on the richness of all our diversity, it will only be as a result of positive action, not simply the absence of discrimination. It has to move beyond finely worded policies, and the mere compliance with legislation. And as the Ombudsman of Ontario, Roberta Jamieson argues, rather than being a "cost", it is an investment. An inclusive and equitable approach to diversity releases human potential measurable on the bottom line. If we provide opportunities for everyone to engage in the many useful activities which need our attention, our economic health would demonstrably increase, and we would not find immigrants, people who are poor or People of Colour singled out as the culprits causing social and economic decline. Once we can get past the unstated fear that practicing equity cuts down the size of "our piece of the pie," we will find that when space is created so more people can get involved, the bigger the pie becomes.

"We cannot afford a tribalistic society segmented and segregated by ethnic, racial , social and economic status."

The consequences of abdicating responsibility for assuming a proactive role in pursuing a civil society that strengthens our diversity can all too clearly be seen in the history of racial strife in major urban centres throughout the United States. We cannot afford a tribalistic society segmented and segregated by ethnic, racial, social and economic status.

Inequities hurt. It hurts us as a society, socially, politically and economically. Toronto can no longer afford the economic and social waste that results from excluding whole groups of people from being able to fully participate in the social, cultural, political and economic life of the city. It creates victims out of those it targets. It traps all of us in a web of frustration, anger and pain. It kills motivation and productivity; it creates apathy and alienation; it breeds tension and unrest. These tensions can quickly erupt into conflict, violence and disorder. ☯

Challenging Urban Cultural Tribalism

This paper was presented at the Jane Jacob's Conference, Toronto, 1997

by Antoni A. Shelton

The common sense revolution and the amalgamation of Toronto are instances of social change happening across the planet: Dismantling of equity policies is also happening in tandem with the emergence of chronic unemployment, attacks on organized labour, and the elimination of the welfare state.

Implicit in the globaliztion of capitalism, is a socio-economic philosophy of neo-conservatism, which regards only competition as the rational driving force of human personality and the creative generative principle of human progress.[i] Due to technological advancements and the emergence of highly skilled, but low paid workers, mainly in Asia and countries south of the equator, Canadian and U.S. governments have accepted chronic unemployment. And if this wasn't failure enough, workers in these same countries are facing possible unemployment without an adequate social safety net.

When local and national economies recover in places like Toronto, the unemployed are often not rehired. The production of wealth can proceed without them.[ii] We read about corporations announcing record profits while at the same time laying off workers and giving early retirement packages. There is overwhelming evidence that we are moving into a new social epoch, marked by the disruptive presence of a substantial "underclass". Others have referred to the maginal class, but I believe underclass more accurately captures a group of people that have no formal means of survival. They are neither supported by the private or public sector. A shrinking work force isn't the only casualty of this new epoch. Social welfare and social justice programs are increasingly being cut-back, and in some cases legislative obligation is removed altogether.

The rationalization for allowing neighbourhoods in Toronto to become more and more similar to "Hells Kitchen", in Spanish Harlem, or South Central Los Angeles: failure of neighbourhoods and individuals relates back to their inability to successfully compete and move towards self-reliance. The strong survive, with less and less moral and legal obligation to the weak.

Assimilation

Why did Torontonians vote for Provincial and City political leaders that openly confess a neo-conservative ideology? In other words, it was no secret that if certain governments got into power, they would begin to dismantle the social welfare and social justice framework built by previous governments with the assistance of citizen groups and even some in the private sector. Have some Torontonians become tribalistic and selfish, hoping to profit from lower taxes, and shrugging their shoulders regarding the needs of their less competitive less successful neighbour? What is particularly interesting to me as a subject for discussion, are the individuals and communities that are traditionally marginalized because of race, gender, sexual orientation, age, creed and disability, seem to also succumb to neo-conservative ideology. Celebrated Canadian author, Neil Bissoondath, (born on the island of Trinidad with South Asian ancestry), has become one of the most public and cogent proponents of governments in Canada moving away from diversity and multiculturalism as sanctioned policy at the local and national levels. In Bissoondath's own words: "I did not come here to be labelled as an ethnic or a member of the multicultural community, or to be coddled with preferential treatment, nurtured with special grants, and then to sit on the sidelines and watch the world go by. I came here to be a member of the mainstream of the Canadian society. I do not want affirmative action; I expect fairness". Admittedly, as Bissoondath points out, their

should be fairness for all Canadians to compete and enjoy the full benefits of society. But in places like Toronto, fairness for some is an illusion not because they can't compete but there are barriers that result from racism, and prejudice against identifiable individuals and groups. And herein lies the contradiction, too many ethno-racial minorities like Bissoondath, who have either not witnessed barriers, or are equipped to overcome such barriers, are eager to accept the mantle of the neo-conservatives and, " emphasize the "I' and de-emphasizing the "we".[iii]

In some ways, similar to questions related to self-government for Native people, or separation for Quebec, Toronto is struggling with what the "We", means in a contemporary sense. It is my contention that diversity in Toronto is an extremely powerful force. Politically, socially, economically the potential is very real. Toronto's true world ranking status will not be achieved until it comes to grips with this diversity.

It is a Canadian phenomenon, (that the largely white, Christian-males of British ancestry, that traditionally defined Toronto's social and economic make-up) are increasingly becoming a minority, yet they continue to behave as a majority. Unbridled competition in Toronto, will serve to continue this unhealthy contradiction. In other words, people who are busy seeing their neighbours as competitors and not partners in building a sustainable community are people that failed to understand the deeper meaning of what Toronto is and can become. Toronto hospitals, schools, municipal departments are just a few areas that could begin to reflect a global and truly diverse society. Where Bissoondath's analysis really falls down, relates to his total ignorance of how economic and political power was consolidated in Canada and how it has been maintained. By definition, mainstream Canada is an exclusive group arranged by the white males I spoke of earlier, and has denied membership to many individuals and communities that had much more natural rights to this soil than Bissoondath will ever have...natives, women, Francophones, Blacks, Chinese, Jews, Japanese are all communities that were at one point refused membership into mainstream Canadian society. And it wasn't because of multiculturalism.
In sum, the real cult is *competition.*

Toronto desperately requires the vitality, energy and optimism of its diverse people. To borrow a phrase from John F. Kennedy, 'don't ask what the traditional way of life in Toronto can do for you, but what you can do for Toronto'. Silencing Toronto's diverse communities by simply assimilating them into the so-called mainstream on economic grounds is not a new experiment, and certainly not worthy of our collective imagination.

It is my belief that non-white communities in general, haven't responded very well to the new political realties in Toronto. Rather than engaging in the debate for what is the new civic realities in Toronto, so that workplaces and institutions become more inclusive and meaningful for the greater civic body, we're opting for feel good rhetoric. Contracts, jobs, and cultural decisions are being made without open and fair debate. Often times the police department is the wiping dog for our collective frustration with the declining state of some neighbourhoods and schools.

Racial Nationalism

There is cultural and racial experience , and at the same time there is a Canadian experience. We must connect the two and find our answers in this connection, not in the isolation of one over the other. Non-whites are becoming even more invisible on the national and local scene, with occasional unconnected exceptions. Exceptions are crime, immigration problems and sports. Not withstanding this reality, I would like to suggest that in many ways non-whites (especially refugees and new immigrants) are the moral center of Toronto's complex hybrid culture. They push democratic culture toward fruition, with the most obvious test being the inclusion-not assimilation-of-their difference.

If we are to ever attain an inclusionary society, we will need to redirect our attention from race-based identity politics to the importance of Canadian citizenship. Can we think less exclusively about what it means to be a Torontonian?

There are clear pitfalls with the pursuit of rigid identity politics. Blaming victims isn't going to help us identifying real barriers to full equality. And individuals internalizing victimization, is also not going to help us become empowered.

The logic of racial nationalism leads a group to

envision itself as necessarily alienated from Canadian culture at large. It defines itself in its very essence as being victimized by the ideas and structures it opposes.

In attempting to dislodge the hegemonic idea of whiteness some advocates are replacing it with an equally restrictive concepts of Blackness, Asianess or South Asianess. This is myopic. Ideological segregation yields little more than feel-bad rhetoric.

Citizenship

The necessary shift away from racial essentialism, bridges ideological differences, and can be pursued by invoking the language of citizenship.

Race is a manifestation of a larger Canadian project. It conceives of the problems of non-whites as inseparable from the problems of Canada, with race and citizenship as twin points on a moral compass, alternately viewing the issues raised by one perspective from the position of the other. Immigrants and minorities shouldn't be viewed by both conservatives and liberals as "problem people", but rather as fellow Canadian citizens that face unique challenge, complicated by being non-white.

Citizen-based commonality can overcome differences in race and class. Conservatives are simply wrong to incant the 'personal responsibility' mantra if they are not also prepared to help people who so desperately need to be helped.

Those people languishing in the drug infested, economically depressed, crime-ridden areas of Toronto... those people with medical, engineering and law degrees driving cabs-those people are our people and we must be connected to them. It transcends politics and policy. It is a moral imperative. If we fail this test, we no longer can be able to feel proud of the planet's most cosmopolitan city that works.

In conclusion, I'm hoping that we see the Native and Quebec experience as a possible alternative to The "Toronto" question. By that I mean, Toronto can be looked at as a city-state, that is separate from Ontario. The size of Toronto, and its diverse wealth might propel it forward in achieving an alternative national structure that can truly be sustained in the 21ST century.☯

Antoni Shelton is the Executive Director of the Urban Alliance on Race Relations.

Notes:

1. Dr. Gregory Baum, The Practice of Citizenship in Today's Society, presented to the annual general meeting of the The Social Planning council of Metro Toronto., Toronto, 1996.pp.1.

2ibid., at page 2

3. Neil Bissoondath, Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada, 1994, excerpted in Saturday Night Magazine, October, 1994, pp.22.

4. op.cit.

5. Robert Boyton, The New Intellectuals, in the Atlantic Monthly, March, 1995 pp.64-70

Community and Race Relations at the Local Level in the United States:

by Carol Tator

The dominant demographic trend in the United States over the last three decades has been suburbanization and White flight, combined with the downloading of human services from federal, state and local authorities to inner cities. This phenomenon has worked to intensify the geographic, social and economic separation and marginalization of minority communities, particularly Whites from poor Blacks across America.

Suburban growth, has resulted in the inner cities of the United States being left with the lion's share of responsibility for managing the priorities that relate to issues of ethno-racial diversity and equity, as well as the problems of welfare, health, education, social housing and other services. The downloading of the responsibility for human services to the poor and minorities living in these inner cities has served to deepen schisms between ethno-racial minorities, particularly African Americans, and White Americans.

The flight of White communities and businesses, with little concerns for the common good, permitted Whites to satisfy liberal ideas revolving around activist government. The accelerated growth of the suburbs has made it possible for many Americans to pursue certain civic ideals (involvement in schools, cooperation in community endeavours, a willingness to support certain public services, but which largely benefited middle or upper class Whites) within a smaller universe of local communities. These communities have been safeguarded in significant ways from the acute failure (crime, welfare, social housing, urban decay) of the inner cities of Detroit, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and most other urban communities in the country.

The growing division between city and suburb lessened White self-interest in making such social investment. In the United States, in 1991,96.7 percent of White children were educated outside of the decaying schools of the inner cities. Many of the more affluent citizens turned to private service providers, including independent and parochial schools, private police and security services, private recreational clubs, and private transportation companies.

The past two decades have seen a significant strengthening of the ideological underpinnings of political conservatism and with it an ever increasing polarization of American society. This polarization is built on mutually reinforcing divisions of the electorate: taxpayers against tax recipients; those who emphasize individual responsibility against those who emphasize group/collective rights; proponents of deregulation and an unfettered market place against supporters of the regulatory role of the state and of policies protecting or advancing the interests of those who are vulnerable in society. These social policies in the United States have led to a spiral of decline. The lack of local accountability has led to cities with an immeasurably poorer quality of life for millions of largely non-white Americans.

Canadian Municipal Race Relations Committees

Based on my background working with both municipal and other government ethno-racial advisory committees since the eighties, I think it is not too sweeping a generalization to argue that most of these committees have operated with rather loose, unfocused mandates, and equally unclear goals and objectives. These committees have functioned largely on the periphery of their decision-making systems. They have little, if any, authority, influence or power. They are there to listen, advise, consider, suggest, and monitor, rather than to initiate, advocate, strategize, plan, implement, and empower. Their primary modus operandi has been reactive rather than pro-active.

Annual budgets are often devoid of action plans and the required resources necessary to combat racism and other forms of discrimination. Today, constrained by even less fiscal resources, most of these committees operate without the support of full-time coordinators to support the work of the committee. They operate outside the mainstream political and bureaucratic processes. Their role is understood as largely an external function, rather than integrated into the political process. There are no clear lines of authority between committees and the political process. In most cases, there is no direct access. The politicians who should be front and centre as active and accountable participants, quite often play a drop-in-role.

All of these weaknesses serve to limit the contribution that community Committee members, however committed, can make. One could also pose the questions of: how are committee members selected; what criteria are established which might help ensure that those who would make the most significant contribution are chosen; how can the active participation of politicians committed to access and equity be ensured; what resources are provided in terms of knowledge and skill development for members of the committee. These are central questions that deserve the attention of our politicians.

The Challenge

How do we respond to these challenges in the current climate. In considering methods of strengthening each local community's effectiveness in dealing with racism and other forms of discrimination, I believe that, in many respects, the Metro Toronto model was unique in having an elected Standing Committee dealing with anti-racism issues. This model ensures that the concerns and issues related to ethno-racial equity are integrated into the political process. The community connection therefore is explicitly delineated, in addition to having a bureaucratic mechanism with an internal and external responsibility. However, even with the strengths of the Metro model, community input can be made more effective, efficient and streamlined. We still need direct access, and clearer lines of authority.

The Public Square

Let me conclude by offering some final thoughts inspired by Cornell West, the African American philosopher, theologian, activist and, writer. He comments in his book called, *Race Matters:*

"We must focus our attention on the public square - the common good that undergirds our national and global destinies. The vitality of any public square ultimately depends on how much we care about the quality of our lives together."

What I believe can be accomplished is to begin the process of trying to create a different and clearer vision to guide us- a vision in which the public square is not dismantled but enhanced. We need to begin thinking of new ways, to express our sense of common good, a common good which ensures the rights of all minorities and others, who are becoming more vulnerable with each passing day.☯

Carol Tator is a past President of the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, author of a number of critical studies in race relations in Canada, and a lecturer at York University.

The Demographics Of Toronto's Diversity

According to 1996 census data, approximately 48 percent of the population of the new amalgamated City of Toronto are immigrants. By the year 2001, foreign-born residents will comprise the majority of the Toronto population and a majority of the population will be non-white.

Over 70,000 immigrants are coming to Toronto every year. Coming from 169 countries, over 100 languages are spoken in Toronto with approximately 42 percent of new immigrants speaking neither English nor French on arrival. A measure of the speed with which Toronto is being transformed is that in 1961 racial minorities comprised 3 percent of Toronto's population. In 1991, it was 30 percent and by the year 2000 it is projected that racial minorities will comprise 54 percent of the population. Before 1961, virtually all Toronto's immigrants (92 percent) came from Europe, including Britain. Today, European-born make up just 17 percent of Toronto's recent immigrants.

One in five of Toronto residents are immigrants who arrived in Canada after 1981. One in 10 arrived after 1991. Toronto's immigrant population grew at four times the rate of the non-immigrant population between the 1991 and 1996 censuses.

How can the municipality develop effective and cost-efficient policies and programs that are accessible and equitable for all sectors of this dramatically changing population? How can the municipality ensure that all members of the community are able to derive equal benefit from services when the cultural, racial, and religious nature of the population is changing so rapidly?

Ethno-Racial Inequality in Toronto

In ensuring equitable access and the elimination of ethno-racial discrimination, it is perhaps useful to look at the comparative life chances of various ethno-racial and Aboriginal communities as compared with the general population in Toronto.

The development of socio-economic indicators of ethno-racial equality provides us with a more solid foundation upon which to remedy the causes of inequality. Understanding the extent of inequality in various areas of life, such as employment, education, housing, etc. as it affects different ethno-racial and Aboriginal groups will allow for more precise, targeted and cost-effective interventions. In a study undertaken by Professor Michael Ornstein of the Institute of Social Research, York University, for the Metro Toronto Access and Equity Centre, the 1991 Canadian Census was used to examine the socio-economic position of ethno-racial groups in Toronto in the areas of education, employment, income and housing.

The analysis revealed huge inequalities among ethno-racial and Aboriginal communities in Toronto. Without wishing to repeat or simplify all the findings contained in the study, the following are just some selected highlights.

Education

The Portuguese have the lowest levels: more than half of the Portuguese adult population, 54.5 percent (compared to the overall average of 15.5) have less than nine years of education, and just 26.7 percent are high school graduates (compared to 65.9 percent for all origins). The next lowest, the Italians and Greeks have about 40 percent high school graduates. The largest numbers of people without any high school are 27,500 Portuguese, 59,000 Italians, and 13,000 Greeks.

While 15.3 percent of adults over the age of 24 in Toronto have graduated from university, the lowest proportion of university graduates are Portuguese (2 percent), followed by Jamaicans, First Nations, Maltese, and Guyanese. With only six to seven percent university graduates being Trinidadian and Tobagonians, Greeks, Blacks and Africans, and Italians. Those groups with particularly high proportions of

university graduates include the Filipinos, Koreans, Jews and Egyptians with more than 25 percent graduates.

Employment

At the time of the 1991 Census, the overall rate of unemployment in Toronto was 9.6 percent . The data shows that the ethno-racial groups with the highest unemployment rates were almost all non-European: Africans from specific nations (25.8 percent), Mexican and Central Americans (24.7 percent), Tamils (23.9 percent), Iranians (23.1 percent), "other" Arabs and West Asians (22.4 percent), Vietnamese (20.6 percent), Sri Lankan (20.5 percent), and First Nations people (19.7 percent). Youth unemployment rates (15 to 24 years of age) are an additional 5 or 6 points above these percentage rates for all groups, with the notable exception of Jamaicans where the overall unemployment rate is 16.7, while the rate for 15 to 24 year old Jamaicans is 29.2 percent.

The study found a surprising weak relationship between unemployment and education: groups with the most unemployment are not those with the least education. Non-European groups generally - and especially Mexican and Central Americans, "other" Arabs and West Asians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, and First Nations people - face the greatest obstacles in converting their educational qualifications into jobs.

Income

The average annual income from employment in Toronto in 1990 was $31, 300. Tamils, Sri Lankans, and Africans from specific countries, all with less than $19,000 annual income have the lowest earnings, followed closely by the "other" East and Southeast Asians, Jamaicans, South Americans, Iranians, Vietnamese, and First Nations people.

Poverty

While 19 percent of all families in Toronto are defined as living below the "low income cut-off", the data shows that the highest levels of poverty are the Arabs and West Asians, Latin Americans, and Blacks and Africans - 37.4, 33.9, and 33.5 per cent respectively.

"Existing Municipal policies have been inadequate to the task and have failed."

Three in five children from specific African Nations live in poverty, along with more than half the children of Jamaican, Iranian, "other" Arab and West Asian, and Mexican and Central American origins, and more than two-fifths of First Nations children, and children of Tamil and Vietnamese background. Almost two-thirds of female lone parent families of Latin American origin, and more than half of ethno-racial groups of First Nations people, Blacks and Africans, Caribbean, and Arabs and West Asians are below the poverty line.

Acting on the Data

While the data from which the analysis is drawn is already five years old, and given that Toronto continues to receive approximately 70,000 immigrants a year, the 1991 data is certainly under-representing the magnitude and growth of ethno-racial inequality in Toronto today.

What should be of concern to the new City of Toronto in terms of changing priorities and the reallocation of resources, are those groups that are especially disadvantaged. Such disadvantage might be defined in terms of the combination of the proportion living in serious economic hardship, and experiencing very high unemployment and working in poor jobs, and with very low education. The following groups are shown to be the most disadvantaged in Toronto: members of First Nations, Africans, Jamaicans, Tamils, Sri Lankans, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis, Vietnamese, Iranians, "other" Arabs and West Asians, Latin Americans and Hispanics.

While poverty, low education and unemployment exists within every ethno-racial group, the data shows that these problems are spread very unequally among ethno-racial groups.

The patterns of inequality in Toronto clearly appear to be largely determined on the basis of race.

The demographic data presents a very clear picture of the disparities and extent of ethno-racial and Aboriginal equality in Toronto.

This suggests two things. First, that notwithstanding the legislative articulation and recognition of the multicultural diversity of our society and local municipal policies dedicated to the principles of tolerance and equality, racial inequality continues to be a fundamental characteristic of the Toronto community. Ethno-racial communities continue to be marginalized and excluded from mainstream society.

Existing municipal policies have been inadequate to the task and have failed. Municipal leadership, as expressed through policy commitments, will have to be dramatically reshaped and be far more directive and prescriptive if they are to have any value for the future. Municipal policies have to move beyond the language of "tolerating", "accommodating," "appreciating" and "celebrating" differences. Such language has been founded on the patently false assumption that justice and equality exist, apart from the occasional biased attitudes and behaviour of aberrant individuals. Such policies have failed to deal with the problems of systemic racism and are inadequate to the task of dismantling systems of inequality.

Secondly, the data provides direction to the new City of Toronto on where to target programs addressing social need in those areas of the community suffering the highest levels of disadvantage and deprivation. This kind of data is certainly critical in beginning to assess the needs of different ethno-racial groups, undertaking further analysis of patterns of inequitable need of groups, and undertaking more targeted remedial action and thereby more efficient and effective use of limited municipal resources. Such data also provides the basis to begin to measure the success of equity-sensitive programs and services by undertaking regular equity impact assessments.

Notes:

1. Facts and Figures 1996 Immigration Overview Citizenship and Immigration Canada Ottawa 1997.

2. Ethno-Racial Inequality in Metropolitan Toronto. M. Ornstein. Metro Access & Equity Centre. Toronto, 1996.

Those in high places are more than the administrators of government bureaus.
They are more than the writers of laws.
They are the custodians of a community's ideals, of the beliefs it cherishes, of its permanent hopes, of faith which makes a community out of a mere aggregation of individuals

Walter Lippman

with thanks to Bart Sackrule
(North York Mayors' Committee)

Measuring Equity

Defining Equity

Equity is about who gets what. Having said that, measuring equity is not as straight-forward as one would like and depends upon such factors as: the criterion of equity which is adopted; the definition(s) of service which is employed; the units upon which distribution is to be assessed.

Inequity exists when individuals, because of their race, ethnicity, gender, religion, sexual orientation or disability are:

- excluded from services or opportunities;
- treated differently and negatively;
- described or depicted as inferior;
- affected differentially and negatively by policies, programs or practices;
- subjected to direct or indirect harassment and or violence.

By What Criteria is a Service Equitable?

Equity according to what one might describe as "universal criteria" suggests that a service should be of the same quantity and quality for all individuals or groups. This approach takes the position that all should be treated the same regardless of attendant circumstances.

A second criteria is one determined by status. That is, differential treatment is determined by one's status group in the community such as age, sex, legal status, etc.

A third definition might be described as a "contractual criteria" wherein benefits are derived on the basis for example, on the level of community participation, power or control, or in proportion to the taxes paid.

A fourth criteria is on the basis of demand. That is, the level of community requests and/or pressure determines the distribution of resources.

Finally is the criteria of need which is an externally-determined condition of need and where a variety of methods and standards are employed for assessing that need.

One should therefore be careful in not just asking "is it equitable?", but also "by what criteria is it equitable?" I am sure we can all identify various municipal services that are provided on the basis of universality, or by differential status of different groups, or by differential levels of demand, but it is suggested that the most important equity criteria in the allocation of resources is differential need. ☯

Developing Performance Indicators

If the new City of Toronto is to succeed in making its programs and services more equitable, it needs some way to measure improvements in equity. How does one introduce an equity-based analysis of municipal programs and services?

The implementation of initiatives in pursuit of equity, and the attainment of a community that is comfortable and productive in its diversity, has all too frequently been hampered by an inability to translate the vision into programs and procedures that have a measurable impact on reducing discrimination and achieving equitable outcomes.

Municipal management and program practices cannot continue to simply pursue the goal of managing or delivering services to everyone in the same way. Such a strategy ignores the differences of diversity and in a city like Toronto it means in fact that a majority of people are potentially treated unfairly.

To ensure an equity perspective in the development and delivery of municipal policies and programs, what are some of the issues that program managers need to consider?

The working document "Gender-Based Analysis: A Guide for Policy-Making" (Status of Women Canada, 1996) offers some useful guidelines. If I may be permitted to expand its suggestions to all equity-seeking groups, this document suggests for example:

- that different measures may be required for outcomes to be equitable for different populations;
- consciously choosing outcomes that break down societal barriers or ameliorate current inequitable situations faced by different communities;
- that multiple outcomes may need to be identified to take into account the effects of diversity in program delivery;
- information needs to be disaggregated by equity group, and, as clearly indicated in the previous article, by race and ethnicity.

Performance Indicators

In delivering programs that are non-discriminatory, accessible and equitable, municipal departments will need to continually assess their policies, programs and services to ensure that they do not have intended or unintended exclusionary consequences.

What are the kinds of information and data that municipal departments need to be able to assume this basic responsibility?

Case Study:

The submission to the Toronto Transition Team by an Inter-municipal Staff Working Group on race relations, human rights, assess and equity identified the following examples of indicators of performance:

(a). The Department as a provider of services:

- How are the services delivered fairly and equitably to all communities? How do you measure this? What actions have you taken to assess this?
- Do services present barriers to different groups? How does one ensure equal benefit and fair representation in service use by different sectors of the population?
- To what extent, and how, does the department communicate and target information to and receive information from different sectors of the community?
- How do all sectors of the community participate in the planning, design and delivery of services? How is this measured?

(b). The Department as and Employer:

- How does one ensure appropriate representation of designated group employees in the work force and at all levels?
- Are there adequate mechanisms to handle discrimination complaints? How are systemic barriers addressed within the organization?
- What accommodation efforts have been implemented to reflect the needs of persons with

disabilities, for persons with different cultural or religious traditions or family responsibilities?
- Is their differential access or enrollment in in-service training? What training initiatives have been undertaken to address diversity issues? Is it incorporated into all training?

(c). The Department as a purchaser of goods and services:

- What is the percentage of contractors, as well as sub-contractors that are locally, women or minority-owned? What is the percentage of total purchasing dollars that goes to minority suppliers? How large is the minority business supplier base?
- How is bidding information distributed to potential small business suppliers? How much notification is given for bid opportunities?
- How is the Department addressing concerns that contracting requirements have a disproportionately negative impact on the ability of small and minority businesses to compete?
- How is the Department avoiding the repeated use of a restricted number of vendors?

(d). The Department as a grant giving agency:

- Is the composition of the Board, volunteers and staff of the organization that is requesting funds representative of the community it serves?
- How does the services that the organization delivers reflect and respond to the needs of all sectors of the community it serves?
- How does the criteria for selecting grant recipients reflect and respond to the diversity of needs within Toronto's diverse communities?

Collecting answers to the above kinds of questions not only allows program managers to identify inconsistencies and recommend practical responses, but it also provides the kind of data that allows both the political level and the community at large to more effectively monitor and measure the implementation of equity commitments.

Measuring Value Added Impact

Introducing an equity-based analysis of municipal programs clearly involves all organizational functions and all organizational members, customers/clients, and stakeholder groups.

Case Study:

In discussing the development of measurement models and vehicles for reporting progress, the Issue Paper "Measuring the Impact of Diversity", (published by the Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants and the Society of Management Accountants of Canada, 1996), suggests that the benefits of an equity management system can be assessed not only by compliance with legislation and regulation, but by its financial worth as well. While focusing on human resource practices, the Issue Paper suggests that the financial benefits of equity management practices can be costed through such outcomes as:

- decreased dysfunctional staff turnover;
- decreased cost of absenteeism;
- increased productivity and efficiency of employees;
- decreased cost of poor quality goods and services;
- decreased cost of outside consultants;
- decrease in legal and corporation costs of equity-related employee grievances;
- increased organizational innovation; increased employee morale and job satisfaction;
- increased customer service and satisfaction;
- increased organizational reputation;
- increased long-run profitability and financial health;

While the Chartered Accountants of Canada is interested in showing how equity and diversity is a source of wealth creation the above kinds of outcomes have equal validity in the public sector. What the above outcomes also show is that equity and diversity issues need to be incorporated into organizational planning and control systems as a key planning and performance variable. Equity measures can and must be measured as an essential attribute of any organization. ☯

Developing Outcome Measures

The most important measure of any initiative is its results. Finely written policy statements are worse than meaningless unless the end product is measurable improvement. Just as the success of a private business is evaluated in terms of increases in sales, the only realistic basis for evaluating a program to combat racism and increase racial equity is its actual impact on these issues. In other words, initiatives must show definable results that reduce racial injustices in a measurable way. New techniques and mechanisms are required to assess whether policies and practices are in fact achieving racial equity. There is a lack of rigorous monitoring in the field of anti-racism in Canada, and few criteria of evaluation have been developed. The consequence of this is that limited public dollars and community energies are wasted on irrelevant exercises that do little to control or eliminate racism.

Too many community activities are concerned with "promoting," "encouraging," "co-ordinating," "heightening," "improving", and other similarly imprecise and vaguely worded objectives. Sometimes, project evaluation consists merely of a loose "process evaluation" activity in which , for example, conference participants are asked to rate the speakers.

In other words, the purpose and goals of many of our activities are often too vague to isolate the impact. The results of most equity programs are frequently non-observable, non-quantifiable or otherwise difficult to measure.

What is An Appropriate Outcome or Results:

The selection of appropriate outcomes for program activities is obviously basic to the choice of goals and objectives. They must meet tests of validity and reliability and they should reflect substantive change caused by the program.

For example, a simple measure of the effectiveness of a campaign to encourage motorcyclists to wear safety helmets is the change in the number of motorcyclist fatalities. However, in a political, social and economic environment that cannot be controlled, such simple casual analysis is that much more difficult to achieve in the areas of anti-racism, access and equity. But at least we need to ask the fundamental questions before getting distracted by any limitations of the methodological tools available.

Case Study:

In looking at the City of Toronto, what are the equity and anti-racism outcomes that should be evident? For example are they:

(a). Employment Equity:

- Reduced over/or underrepresentation of designated equity target group employees in particular job categories.
- Reduced underemployment of designated equity target group employees in terms of matching job qualifications (education, experience, etc.) with job category.
- Improved enrollment in-service training by designated equality target groups employees.

(b). Human Rights:

- Increased assumption of corporate-wide supervisory and management responsibilities and skills in handling human rights and harassment complaints.
- More rigorous and consistent settlement of complaints.
- Reduction of the numbers and size of financial awards in settling complaints.

(c). Access to Services:

- Decreased barriers to access (i.e. physical, linguistic, culturally appropriate, etc.)
- Increased equity target group participation in the planning, design and delivery of services.
- Service delivery priorities and content adjusted to reflect equity target group needs.

(d). Access to Municipal Purchasing:

- Increased equity target group supplier pool.
- Decreased barriers to contracts by equity target group businesses.
- Increasing information to equity target group businesses on the City of Toronto purchasing needs.
- Increased equity group business network systems and with mainstream business supports.

(e). Public & Political Leadership in Promoting Equity:

- Increased level of Councillors' and City Council's lobbying and advocacy activities with the media, other levels of government , and other sectors in pursuit of equity.
- Increased Councillor's involvement and participation in equity target group community issues.
- Standing Committee decision-making process address equity target considerations.

(f). Civic and Community Participation:

- Increased community civic participation activities.
- Improved effectiveness of community lobbying and advocacy activities.
- Improved co-operation, co-ordination,and partnerships of community efforts.
- Improved ability of equity seeking groups to articulate their needs and issues and their capacity to address them.

In conclusion, it seems that the new City will need to generate more detailed and measurable equity outcomes for its work. Secondly, there is a need to identify the appropriate information required by both the general public as well as the new City Council to be able to measure and monitor the achievement of these equity outcomes. ☯

Monitoring Equity: Data Requirements

By Tim Rees

Almost every municipal decision, whether it has to do with the economy, land use, the environment, or other concern, affects communities and social well-being in some way. What are the effects and outcomes of these economic, social, political, cultural, and environmental decisions on the human environment? How are the human costs and benefits of these decisions distributed and how are they equitable?

The efficient use of limited resources and the effective development and delivery of services by the City of Toronto and its Agencies, Boards and Commissions requires a sound information base. Systematic data collection is integral to determining appropriate services and addressing gaps in provision.

The data collection process is not an end in itself, but simply the raw material out of which inequitable or inefficient programs and practices can be identified and their causes clarified.

Needs Analysis

The lack of a sound information base can result in poor planning. Inadequate data can result in not meeting the appropriate service needs of customers. Inadequate information and research can also hinder the advancement of new or enhanced programs or services.

Data can help for example to assess what components of the population a program is serving or not serving. It can help identify where there are apparent imbalances in populations served or inequities in resource allocations.

Diagnosis of Inequities

Relevant data needs to be collected which can show the extent to which inequality, inefficiency and unequal treatment in services may be prevalent. Such data are important, not to convince the victims of their plights, but to show that policy and program changes needs to be made.

Measurement and Evaluation

An information base is also needed to provide an ongoing assessment of the changing needs of the community a program or service is intended to serve. Such ongoing assessment also includes monitoring the impact of existing services. As the Metropolitan Auditor's , "Review of Race Relations Practices of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force" (September 1992) states, "it is an essential part of good management that programs be monitored and evaluated periodically. This requires that methods and processes be put into place to assess the program and activity in question and to measure the level and quality of accomplishment. Such a process should incorporate assessments of the effectiveness of programs."

All institutions therefore need to implement, as a matter of course, some system for reviewing the delivery of programs and services as a means of ensuring the efficient and effective utilization of limited resources.

Within this context, the most reliable and efficient means of monitoring the effectiveness of municipal commitments to ethno-racial access and equity is to carry out a regular analysis of the service clients according to ethno-racial origin. The absence of such data hinders the municipality in being able to remove ethno-racial barriers to equitable access.

Ethno-Racial Data Collection

The fundamental right to equality of access, equality of opportunity, and equality of results for all communities is entrenched in many existing municipal policies.

In many areas however, municipal services and programs may not reflect the ethno-racial and Aboriginal composition of the population. Communities and service providers across the City have continued to identify severe

problems in availability and access to service that are responsive to the needs of ethno-racially diverse clients. Some of these difficulties can be traced to the absence of relevant data on which to base equitable service delivery. The absence of such data may not only keep problems hidden, but it could also inadvertently encourage the proliferation of unjustifiable stereotyping. It is therefore important to know the extent of any inequalities that may exist in the delivery of a service or program, and whether it is direct or indirect. We need to know which dimensions of the service delivery are affected. Is it staff attitudes or behavior for example, or is it located in occupational practices and procedures, or in the outcomes of policy and program decisions on different ethno-racial groups?

The establishment of appropriate anti-racism and ethno-racial access strategies can only be developed from the priorities that emerge from the analysis of the data available. The collection of ethno-racial data offers an important opportunity to obtain information which would help to indicate the extent to which ethno-racial communities derive equal benefit from the services directly provided, purchased and contracted by the Municipality.

Addressing the Myths of Collecting Ethno-Racial Data[1]

Q. "By drawing attention to differences between people, is ethno-racial data collection in itself not contrary to a commitment to the creation of a community in which labels have no part?

A. "Labeling and differentiating" between people according to their ethno-racial origin is already prevalent in society. It has developed regardless of ethno-racial data collection. However, there is now a considerable body of empirical data indicating the extent and nature of barriers to service provision based upon ethno-racial differentiation. In such a context, ethno-racial data collection should be seen as an essential tool in removing these barriers and pursuing the goals of racial equity and ethno-racial access. Such data would provide reliable information to facilitate the formulation and implementation of policies and programs to achieve these goals.

Q. "The Municipality's policies and programs treat everybody equally. Introducing ethno-racial data is, therefore, an unnecessary exercise."

A. Without the information provided from the ethno-racial data, it is virtually impossible to assess realistically whether or not ethno-racial barriers exist in service provision. By introducing this data, the City can identify systemic barriers to its policies and programs and recommend effective measures to redress and remove these barriers. The lack of statistics impedes the ability of the Municipality to evaluate its own activities in terms of general trends, internal comparisons and individual performance.

Q. " The ethno-racial characteristics of the community are irrelevant to the provision of services. Ethno-racial communities do not have requirements that are qualitatively different from those of larger community."

A. Such a position makes the false assumption that every ethno-racial community has exactly the same kinds of needs and have exactly the same remedial requirements. It is a denial of the significant differences in the values, cultures and historical traditions that exist within the ethno-racial communities. Such an approach to service provision also denies these communities a part of their identity and leads to a mono-cultural view of social dynamics. As the Metro Social Development Strategy stated, "we must acknowledge that different communities have different needs and that our objective is effectiveness, not uniformity" (1992).

Q. "Ethno-Racial data collection provides an opportunity for discrimination through the misuse of such information collected."

A. People of ill-will do and will continue to discriminate and say whatever they want, regardless of the facts. One can discriminate without the availability of ethno-racial data. Perceptions of what the truth is may in fact be distorted in the absence of legitimate data. Ethno-racial data collection would however identify discrimination and highlight possible barriers to service provision. The collection of ethno-racial data should , therefore , not be short-circuited simply because of fears that some people might misinterpret or misuse the data.

There is also a fear expressed that if certain groups gained political control, the ethno-racial data could be used against these communities.

However, even if such groups were to gain control, they would not need the data to carry out their activities, but would simply use visual identification.

To allay any suspicions about the use of the data, emphasis should be given to publicizing the reasons why such data is necessary. These reasons should be made explicit at all points during the collection of the data.

Q. "The collecting and keeping of ethno-racial data would be costly and time consuming and, therefore inappropriate, if not impossible, in these times of restraint."

A. Racism costs. Toronto has already suffered many of its enormous social and economic consequences. It is precisely within the prevailing climate of bottom-line thinking and in these times of financial constraint and diminishing resources, that improvements in cost-effective and appropriate and relevant use of resources should be a priority.

The initial gathering and collating of ethno-racial data will require a commitment of resources. The amount of resources required however, will be largely dependent upon the present state and complexity of client records and existing program planning and evaluation systems.

It may seem superfluous to state that the first and ongoing task for every program area is to continually determine the need for it. The relevance of services to ethno-racial communities therefore should be an integral part of this on-going planning and evaluation function.

Q. "The huge numbers of clients make ethno-racial data collection unfeasible."

A. There is little merit in keeping broad statistics on the ethno-racial origin of clients unless they are useful. As the Metropolitan Auditor has said: "If statistics are kept which identify race, they should be kept at a level of detail which allows statistical conclusions to be made from them" (1992).

The ethno-racial origin of all clients must be recorded if one is to ensure that no barriers or inequalities are occurring in the provision of services. In smaller service units, it may be appropriate to simplify this procedure. But the underlying principle of identifying the appropriate data collection methodology should be its effectiveness in measuring whether service provision barriers are being removed and ethno-racial service equity is being achieved. Although in some circumstances there may be difficulties in setting up a system of collecting data, careful consideration nevertheless should be given as to whether it is wise and efficient management practice to be without such records.

Q. "Even if a particular ethno-racial group under-utilizes a particular service, this does not necessarily mean there is discrimination. How useful then would the results of an analysis of ethno-racial records be?.

A. In most cases, the analyzed data from ethno-racial records will not in itself prove the existence or non-existence of ethno-racial barriers or discrimination in service provision. But by indicating a pattern or trend, the data should identify or highlight areas where ethno-racial barriers may be occurring. For instance, the under or over representation of ethno-racial persons using particular services does not automatically imply discrimination, but the records may bring such disparities to light. For example, a low utilization of services could indicate there was little need in that particular ethno-racial community. Or it could indicate the community was self-sufficient. Alternatively it could indicate that the services were not available, or were not appropriate, or that there was discrimination in the delivery of the service. On the other hand, a high utilization of the service could indicate that the particular ethno-racial group was unable to cope with its own problems, or it suffered a disproportionately high number of problems. Or it could indicate that it was more effective in seeking out resources, or that services were accessible, appropriate and adequate.

Other data may therefore need to be collected such as a review of policies, programs and procedures as well as a survey or consultation with the community itself in order to identify the specific barriers that may exist or the issues which must be addressed.

Q. "Won't collecting ethno-racial data be to the disadvantage of the municipality were it to be involved in a complaint regarding inequitable access?"

A. There is little the corporation can do to corroborate or disprove allegations of bias or discrimination without

definitive data. Keeping ethno-racial data on clients could help protect the municipality against allegations of discrimination, since it would demonstrate its commitment to ensuring genuine ethno-racial equity in service provision.

However, the municipality must also be able to show why it is collecting ethno-racial data, and also that it is regularly analyzing the data and that the appropriate action is being taken in response to that analysis.

Conclusions

In summary there are a number of reasons for collecting ethno-racial data on a systemic basis. The collection of ethno-racial data provides an important means to:

-effectively monitor and evaluate progress towards equity and ethno-racial access.
-determine the relevance and relative use of a service by different ethno-racial, Aboriginal and linguistic communities and any gaps in service provision;
-assist in the identification of patterns of ethno-racial access barriers which might have occurred which leave particular ethno-racial groups disadvantaged, and which can assist in the identification of policies and procedures which can rectify such systemic barriers.
-identify the impact or effect of particular policy or practices upon different ethno-racial, Aboriginal and linguistic groups;
- assess particular needs of different ethno-racial, Aboriginal and linguistic communities which may require varying municipal responses in service provision;
- be factually informed in order to accept or refute allegations of inequalities of service provision to ethno-racial and other communities;
- contribute to the knowledge base by which the municipality formulates its policies and the development and delivery of programs, and the allocation of resources. ☯

Footnotes:
1. Why Collect Ethno-Racial Data? Access and Equity Centre Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1997

Municipal Structures

Possible Models Of Civic Participation

If you look at what has worked in this city over 150 years--a long time--you find it is the politics of participation and inclusion and every time this city gets into trouble, makes a mistake, does something it lives to regret, it's because it has forgotten that the true idea of itself is an idea of inclusion (John Ralston Saul, The William Kilbourn Memorial Lecture, June 9, 1997).

The principles of accountability, participation and inclusion are fundamental tenets of our democratic system and are a constant refrain in government policy commitments. Simply stating these principles of "empowerment", of "strengthening communities" of "accountable governance" however does not mean they will happen. It is somewhat remarkable therefore to realize how little thought or effort has been given to translating these principles of accountability participation and inclusion into actual practice and meaningful structures.

Full and equal citizenship and the notions of an inclusive society will not come about just because one thinks it should. An accessible, accountable and responsive municipal government will not occur of its own volition.

Far more attention needs to be devoted to identifying and analyzing the "empowerment" mechanisms, the "communication" mechanisms that make "accountable government" a "meaningful process". Democracy is far more than an election every three or five years. In these times of government down-sizing and down-loading there is a more urgent rather than a diminished need to strengthen community participation and involvement. ☯

Citizen Councils, Commissions, & Advisory Committees:

Vehicles for Civic Empowerment or Disempowerment?

The six area municipalities comprising the new City of Toronto have established advisory committees of lay people to improve "race relations", "ethnic relations", and/or "community relations". Some of these were referred to as "mayors" committees. Some committees reported to the municipal council through one of its standing committees, and some were chaired by the mayor. Committee members were usually appointed by the mayor on advice from a nominating committee. The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto established a Community Reference Group.

Whatever they are named, experience indicates that they generally have been given broad, largely non-controversial goals that give precedence to creating good or harmonious community, race and ethnic relations. This has largely been done by bringing together a select group of people who are asked to pursue this goal through a process of mediation and conciliation. Is there a danger here of relegating and marginalizing the goal of racial equality and of not directly and rigorously combating the facts of racial discrimination.

With vague terms of reference, sitting outside the normal decision-making

process, and rarely with adequate staffing or research resources, are they structured for failure?

To what extent can they monitor, scrutinize and publicly criticize local government policies? How much of an influence and impact can they have on municipal policies?

To what extent can such Committees provide the eyes and ears for the local bureaucracy. Can they ever be in the position to make the kind of thorough investigation of the local area which the municipality should require?

Are these committees going to find themselves permanently on a knife edge between maintaining the quiet acceptance of the status quo which might satisfy the municipality, and asserting a strong anti-discrimination line which would satisfy the minority communities? Isn't their role of "talking away conflict" contradictory?

Were they overly dependent upon the support of the mayor for their existence? Did the Mayor allow it to operate as an effective critic of local government policies?

In the composition of these committees, is there undue emphasis upon bringing together representatives of the minority elite? Are the articulate spokespeople from the minority communities too readily prepared to enjoy this 'elite strategy'? As Sri Guggan Sri- Skanda Rajah, a previous vice-chair of the Toronto Mayor's Committee has noted, "if you look at the history of these committees and look at how they were composed, they were not totally representative of the communities. They certainly had people with some sense of commitment but not representative in the sense of actually being from marginalized communities in terms of class, employment, wealth, background, etc."

Can such Committees truly represent the views of the minorities themselves? Will they be seen as a substitute for the active participation and advocacy activities of minority group organizations? Is the very existence of such Committees in danger of proving a hindrance to direct

"Fraudulent Exercises in Co-optation"

access, participation and development of such minority self-help groups?

Are Committees a substitute for action, given that they generally lack strategic importance and necessary institutional supports to result in meaningful change? Are they in danger of acting as agents of social control rather than social change?

In seeking answers to these questions current analysis suggests these Committees are ineffective in producing broad and substantive changes in the status of racial minorities. Reitz (1988) suggested that they often co-opt minority leaders and marginalize racial politics:

"When politicians appoint minority group members to race advisory bodies, both have a vested interest in a perception of close links to the respective minority community. In the long run, co-optation reduces conflict, not inequity". (436)

None of these committees have significantly addressed racism in the municipal corporation itself (Keith and Murji, 1987). Most of them become sterile because they are consumed by the larger politics of the municipality. Committee members are expected to be loyal; they are not expected to publicly criticize the ineffectiveness of the body of which they are members. A number of these committees become paralyzed by the politics of race within the committee itself. In camera meetings ensure that politically sensitive agenda items are explored and defused; motions are contrived and prepared. None of these committees uses the term "anti-racism," which symbolizes their orientation to the subject. Committees whose names cover both community relations and race relations frequently experience tensions with respect to their priorities. Since "community relations" is a broad, all-encompassing subject, issues unrelated to racism can easily assume priority.

Programs sanctioned by these committees can easily be eliminated when they disturb, or threaten to disturb, the centres of power in the municipal corporation. In one such situation, the Mayor's Committee of the City of Toronto was instrumental in established the Multicultural Access Program. Ironically, the committee was also instrumental in dismantling the initiative.

Generally, municipal advisory councils have been broadly criticized as being powerless to address equity in the municipal corporations. The advisory status means that

they make no decisions, can hold none accountable, and have a discretionary mandate revocable at the whim of the mayor. Thus, despite their significant level of activity, municipal advisory committees are by and large incapable of forging policies and programs, and they have been very tentative in pursuing them. (Henry et al, 1995).

Other commentators are even stronger in their criticism, seeing such Committees as a calculated and fraudulent exercise in co-optation and public relations. They are viewed as yet another buffer designed to postpone meaningful participation and significant change by diverting activity into a harmless institutional channel (Keith, 1988). As Roger Obonsawin, an early member of the Toronto Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations has said, "I was wasting my time...we don't want advisory, we want some direct control" (March 21, 1997, Proceedings of A Strategy Session on Amalgamation).

What is clear from these criticisms is that the advisory nature and consultation process of these committees is an inappropriate mechanism in dealing with the nature of institutional racism and inequality. Advisory committees may be able to buy time, but they cannot resolve conflict.

Of concern in the history of these advisory committees is the apparent and persistent confusion between seeking community advice and public accountability. Accountability is about power relations, while advisory committees are about dialogue. They are not the same.

Advisory committees may be used as a pseudo-democratic mechanism to address a politically necessary obligation. They're not a means of potentially reforming institutional processes and addressing racism and inequity. In this context, Keith concludes that these Committees are not only flawed and cumbersome vehicles but are scarred by the cynicism and bad faith on the part of those who are responsible for their design.

The Toronto Transition Team has noted the "healthy pressure today for enhanced democracy and accountability to the public." At the same time the Transition Team warns that "the new City must not put obstacles in the way of citizen access and participation in the democratic process." It would appear that citizen advisory committees are an outdated obstacle and not a meaningful, legitimate vehicle for strengthened civic participation.

We clearly need to move the focus away from more citizen advisory committees. In order to fulfill the commitment to increase the access and participation of all members of the community in the decision-making process, a broader and more creative range of approaches of working with and involving the community need to be implemented. It would seem that this array of empowerment mechanisms should be pursued at all levels of the municipal structure.

The mandate and objectives of these participatory mechanisms need to be concise. The approach and methodology need to be adequately resourced. And finally evaluation tools need to be developed and integrated into the process to measure their impact. ☯

Footnotes:

Keith, M and K. Murji (1989) in W. Ball and J. Solomos (eds) "Race and Local Politics" London: MacMillian.

Reitz, J (1988) Less Racial Discrimination in Canada, or Simply Less Racial Conflict? "Canadian Public Policy" 14(4):424-441

Henry, F et al "The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canada Society Toronto: Harcourt Brace 1995.

Toronto Equity Council: A Possible Model

If, as John Ralston Saul argues, Toronto has defined itself by not drawing lines - neither social nor racial lines- but by erasing lines, then we need to be more aggressive in rediscovering and in reasserting this identity.

Municipal action should not only be directed at removing the barriers of access and eliminating discrimination in the new municipal government. But even more important- more important than merely the removal of barriers is the proactive process of facilitating, supporting and strengthening the principles of inclusion and participation as the central idea of Toronto.

In considering participatory forms of responsible government, the Urban Alliance recommended to the Toronto Transition Team the establishment of a Toronto Equity Council.

Partnerships

The establishment of an arms-length body, "Toronto Equity Council" would allow the concepts of inclusiveness and community and institutional partnerships to be translated into practice. It would be as a consortium of institutional partners to provide leadership and direction in addressing the challenges faced by the city into the 21ST century.

With precedents existing in other major urban centres in the Western world, membership of the Toronto Equity Council (TEC) would comprise a 'blue ribbon' Commission of representatives from government, the business community, the media, religion, the arts, and the diverse communities.

Such a body, similar to the model of Arts Councils, and organizations like Leadership New York, has the ability to harness untapped energies to the task of understanding and responding in a comprehensive way the complex urban challenges before us. No one institution can or should attempt to assume responsibility for these challenges alone.

The role of the Toronto Equity Council would provide an arms-length disinterested medium by which leadership and moral authority in pursuit of inclusiveness and equity could be provided to the City.

The functions of the Toronto Equity Council will be to give credible analysis, authority and direction on critical community equity issues. Secondly, it will play a rigorous advocacy role on behalf of these issues. And thirdly, it will play a catalyst and facilitating role with all the appropriate institutional partners in addressing these issues.

This framework would overcome the pressure on the public sector to alone take leadership on social issues. It has neither the financial or human capacity to do so. Instead, the Toronto Equity Council would allow for the collective experience and resources of all sectors in the City to be applied in a fashion never before seen in Toronto.

The Urban Alliance has already had the opportunity to test the feasibility of such a partnership model through the establishment of the Wilson Head Institute, Team Toronto and in the development of its public education public service announcements. It is the experience of the Urban Alliance that the model offers enormous potential in accessing and providing the kinds of expertise far beyond what government alone can provide. The model takes an inclusive approach by responding to significant levels of interest in sectors previously ignored.

In helping the Toronto Equity Council determine its priorities and workplans - as an integral part of a trickle-up process -it should contain a small research and community development and grants program. The Urban Alliance recommended that the new City of Toronto contribute to the Toronto Equity Council, not only as members but by transferring all of its existing community grants programs and community development staff. It also recommended that other levels of government and other funding agencies be actively encouraged to do likewise.

Strengthening the Civil Society

The Municipality obviously cannot, and does not work in a vacuum in pursuing a more equitable and inclusive society. These goals are shared by a myriad of very many community groups, agencies and institutions. As the discussion paper "Anti-Racism, Access and Equity in the New City of Toronto" (Western Management, Metro Access & Equity Centre, May, 1997) notes, "civil society is the term that describes the "social space" that exists beyond the family and does not include either the private sector or the state. It is a space that is usually organized by the presence of many different groups, institutions and community-based organizations and by the networks among them". The paper goes on to recommend the need to recognize and work more closely with these informal, community-based coalitions and networks of communications. It is the specific role of the Toronto Equity Council to work with and strengthen this civil society.

In addition, it must be recognized that progress towards a more equitable and inclusive society will not be secure unless the affected communities themselves are able to consolidate, defend and combat disadvantage and discrimination. The affected communities require the resources to participate and be a part of societal change, to monitor institutional initiatives, ensure their implementation, and identify and overcome resistance, both systemic and individual.

To support this process, the Urban Alliance considers that a Toronto Equity Council is a

"It is the specific role of the Toronto Equity Council to work with and strengthen this civil society"

more appropriate vehicle to support community capacity building and recommended that a Community Development staff unit be established and that the staff of this unit be drawn from existing resources in Metros' Access and Equity Centre, the Community Development Officers of the Social Development Division, the staff of the area municipal mayors' committees, the City of Toronto's Healthy City Office, and staff from the area municipal local planning offices.

The pursuit of ethno-racial equity "must be built on a solid base of research and information. The present lack of information is part of the reason for the absence of coordination and planning of programmes taking on a crisis orientation reaction stance" "(Walter Pitman, "Now is Not Too Late" -Report to the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1987). The Urban Alliance is dismayed by the continuing lack of information- and the development and dissemination of a body of knowledge-about current need and provision in relation to disadvantage and discrimination. We are convinced that ignorance is an inadequate basis from which to assume that ethno-racial equity and justice can be achieved. The Urban Alliance, therefore, urges that research and public education be understood within the context of generating a body of knowledge and opinion that is broadly disseminated and shared.

In this process, the Urban Alliance recommended that the new City of Toronto provide to the Toronto Equity Council adequate resources to undertake research, and, as part of an enlarged community grants program to support community efforts of public education to promote best practice and to analyze, monitor and publicize initiatives directed at achieving equity.

The Toronto Equity Council will need a more solid foundation of data upon which to remedy the causes of inequality. Such an information base is essential to be able to determine the most effective and cost-efficient strategies in pursuit of equity. It will assist the Equity Council in identifying specific interventions and more precise, targeted, and cost-effective responses.

Such a transfer of resources would allow for the politically desirable goal of reducing direct public expenditures and the size of the municipal bureaucracy, It would also clearly commit the new City as a local partner in strengthening the civil society and supporting greater community access, control and accountability. The analysis of the results emanating from the grants

program will also provide "Toronto Equity Council" with essential information in its ongoing environmental assessment and priority setting process. Community members of the Equity Council for example would be true partners in the Councils' planning, priority setting, and peer review process of allocating grants.

Rather than simply a monitoring, compliance or enforcement body for municipal equity practices- which should more appropriately be placed within the political and bureaucratic structures of the new City of Toronto- Toronto Equity Council would embody in and of itself the notion of the civil society and provide in a truly consultative and inclusive framework, a broader, proactive leadership role. ☯

Municipal Ombudsman And The Right Of Complaint [1]

by Roberta Jamieson

The amalgamated city will change the scale, the distance of people and their officials. I worry that with distance – with smaller numbers of public servants serving greater numbers of people – you will increase, just by scale alone, the opportunity for errors. If ever there was a need for a check to be there to correct problems, it is now.

Right now if you've got a municipal complaint, you can't go to an ombudsman-like agency. You can't go to an independently empowered agency that can investigate for you. And the more things that are downloaded to the municipal level, such as social housing, the more you drain the right to complain unless you make sure avenues of complaints go with it.

People will be left with the only alternative of going to court. And they can go to their elected politicians who solve issues in their constituencies everyday. But the reason why the ombudsman office has been set up is because elected politicians realize that they have neither the resources nor the power of investigation that are necessary to get to the bottom of what went on.

The number of unresolved complaints at the municipal level appears to have grown considerably. In 1985, Ombudsman Ontario, received 787 complaints and inquiries relating to municipal government. Ten years later, in 1995, Ombudsman Ontario, received 2,241 such inquires and complaints. The types of complaints include welfare applications turned down, the way complainants are treated in municipally-run housing, property tax issues, boards of education, hydro, public health, etc. People are complaining about being treated unfairly, not being served properly, poor decision-making, inconsistent decisions, bias, rudeness, all kinds of things that need to be addressed.

What Is An Ombudsman?

- A public Ombudsman is an independent person appointed to receive, investigate and resolve complaints from affected persons about unfairness in the administration of public services.
- The essential and universally recognized features of ombudsmanship include: <u>independence, flexibility, accessibility and credibility.</u> The use of the term "ombudsman" to describe institutions lacking in any of these features, particularly those which are not seen to be truly

independent is questionable.

What An Ombudsman Is Not:

- An ombudsman is not an advocate for complainants. Rather, an ombudsman is an impartial investigator with the powers to discover the facts of a case and determine an appropriate resolution.
- An ombudsman is not an elected representative. And it is not the ombudsman's role to second-guess political decisions made by those who are elected. Rather an ombudsman deals with complaints about the administration of public services. In this way an ombudsman acts as a mechanism for assisting elected representatives in ensuring responsible government.
- An ombudsman is not a substitute or parallel authority to government agencies. Public complaints should first be directed to the agency involved to ensure that problems are resolved quickly and efficiently as they occur. The ombudsman is a place of last resort when other procedures have not resolved the complaint.

Why An Ombudsman?

- Dealing fairly and effectively with public complaints is a means of preserving a high quality of taxpayer funded services. As in the private sector, addressing customer complaints is a cornerstone of customer service, and this is particularly important when customers cannot "take their business elsewhere."
- An ombudsman provides an effective form of alternative dispute resolution. It is a method which is less formal, cheaper and more flexible and accessible than going through the courts.
- Elected representatives do not always have the necessary resources, powers, and impartiality to effectively investigate and resolve public complaints. The availability of an ombudsman ensures that all members of the public have a right to an effective remedy against administrative unfairness.

The Right Of Complaint: Core Standards

There is no one "right" answer to the question of how the right of complaint should be provided in respect of municipal government services. The following are the elements that provide the core of any meaningful "right of complaint" for municipal matters:

- provision of an internal complaints procedure of first resort so that the municipal service provider takes responsibility for resolving problems as they arise
- in cases of contracted services, an opportunity to complain directly to the government responsible when complaint resolution procedures internal to the service provider have not resolved the complaint
- recourse to a body or person independent of government (e.g. ombudsman), with investigative powers to deal with unresolved complaints, and the ultimate power to address any unresolved matters (particularly where the local authority has failed to implement an ombudsman recommendation) to the municipal council
- clear, accurate and accessible information about the full complaint process to affected members of the public, (especially at service delivery points)

In conclusion, in a time of dramatic change when people are being overwhelmed by the speed and the shape of change, they are looking for security. They are looking for fundamentals and one of them is fair and equitable treatment. And while the municipal ombudsman is not the panacea it is a key check and balance that needs to be put in place. ☯

Robert Jamieson is the Ontario Ombudsman. This article is drawn from her comments to the Strategy Session on Amalgamation (March 21, 1997): "Access and Equity... After Golden, Crombie and Leach", and an overview paper, "Municipal Ombudsman and the Right of Complaints" (January,1997)

Municipal Policy Arenas

The following articles look at some of the main areas of municipal government activity. These are some of the core policy and service areas that go to make up the local policy agenda on access and equity. Of all the issues on the local race agenda, policing has been at the forefront of many of the conflicts over the past decade or so. Starting with a historically informed assessment of our understanding of the nature of policing and notions of local accountability by Professor Philip Stenning the following articles look specifically at policing (which consumes close to half the municipal budget), and the fields of human services, urban planning and economic development.☯

Reclaiming Policing Back on to the Community and Municipal Agenda

by Philip C. Stenning

Policing for any community involves the attempt to establish and maintain an acceptable order designed to optimize the peace, safety and security of all the community's members.

In a democracy such as ours, the ultimate responsibility for deciding what the appropriate priorities are both in defining an acceptable order and in effectively securing its maintenance, lies with the community itself, either directly or through its elected community representatives. Other values which have high priority in our democratic system dictate that **every member** of the community should have access both to the benefits of effective policing (an orderly society, peace, safety, security, etc.) and to the processes through which this is achieved, **without discrimination** on the basis of race, creed, gender, class, etc.

Unfortunately, these ideals have never been successfully achieved in Canadian society in general, or in Toronto in particular.

In this article, I focus not so much on the more general issues of anti-racism, access and equity (which are not unique to the problem of securing effective policing in a democratic society such as ours), but on the issue of how the community's ultimate responsibility for ensuring adequate policing can be effectively fulfilled and maintained. More specifically, I address the questions of how and why many members of the community feel that it has lost control over the fulfillment of this responsibility, and what might be done to allow it to regain it.

'Policing' and 'the Police' – The Root of the Problem

Prior to the 19th Century, there was a pretty good understanding that most of the problems that required policing, as well as solutions to them, were rooted in the community. With the massive industrialization and urbanization which occurred in the 19th Century, and the consequent weakening of traditional community structures, however, reformers increasingly argued that communities required the assistance of a policing 'specialist' in order to be able to continue to achieve adequate and effective policing. Although they met with considerable resistance initially, these arguments were ultimately persuasive; and the result was the creation of modern public police forces. Skeptics were ultimately won over with the reassurances that these 'new police' were no more than 'citizens in uniform'. They were simply there to help the community do what the community was entitled to do for itself (hence, the famous slogan "police are the public and the public are the police").

In the century and a half after these 'new police' first appeared on the scene, however, a significant transformation occurred. Specifically, what happened was that **policing became colonized by the public police**, so that 'policing' came to be seen as something that (only) the police (should) do. Thus, 'policing' came to be defined in terms of what the police (should) do; so, for instance, Ontario's *Police Services Act* describes such things as crime prevention and assistance to victims of crime as "core police services" (Section 4(2)).

This kind of transformation has not been unique to policing, but can be seen in many other areas of social life; thus 'health' has been colonized by doctors and hospitals, 'education' has been colonized by teachers and schools, etc. I do not have space here to go into detail as to how and why this transformation occurred in democracies such as Canada. Suffice it to say, however, that, in the case of policing, legitimate concerns about the possibility of the police being 'captured' by partisan special interest groups, as well as some self-serving interests of the emerging new police 'profession' itself, played a key role in this process.

What is important to understand is the impact this transformation has had on the nature of the relationship between the police and the community.

1. Instead of policing being viewed as something best accomplished by the community, utilizing all the various resources available to it (including the police) for this purpose, policing came to be viewed as the more or less exclusive preserve of the police. Community policing initiatives were often actively discouraged as "vigilantism".

2. Instead of the police being viewed as one more resource available to the community for the accomplishment of policing, the community came to be viewed as a resource available to help the police do policing in the way they (as the "experts") thought best.

3. Instead of the police deferring to the wishes of the community in setting priorities for policing, the community (through its representatives) began more and more to defer to the police as experts. This autonomy of the police from community direction and control was given the status of an unquestionable principle of civic government. It was reinforced through the development (by the police themselves, with the assistance of the judiciary and subsequently politicians) of a doctrine of 'police independence'.

4. Instead of budgeting for "policing" for the community, municipalities just budgeted for their police forces. Thus, the (largely self-defined) resource needs of the police force became the sole determinant of the policing budget. Furthermore, the police (rather than the community's elected representatives) came to be regarded as being in the best position to determine the needs of the police force, and such matters were often not considered suitable for public debate. Thus, until much more recently than most people would perhaps imagine, the police budgets in many municipalities were secret.

New Wine in Old Bottles (or is it Old Wine in New Bottles?) –the 'Community Policing' Movement

During the last two decades, a trend towards a reversal of this situation has been witnessed. Under the banner of 'community policing', attempts have been made to re-involve the community in decision-making about policing. The community policing movement has been motivated in large part by a realization that, for a variety of reasons which are now well understood, the police could not deliver the safety and security expected by the community. Most significant in this respect has been the recognition that, as a strategy for achieving broad policing objectives, reactive law enforcement (which has traditionally been a central preoccupation of police work) has significant limitations. For example an increasing body of knowledge indicates that more proactive, preventative policing strategies may often be more productive in the achievement of policing objectives. Further, it is evident that many groups and organizations in the community other than the police have the capacity and skills to implement such alternative policing strategies effectively. In many of these

cases it is also evident that the police may not be either in the best position or the most qualified or best trained to implement such alternative policing strategies effectively. In addition to these considerations, of course, the demands for fiscal restraint in the delivery of municipal services have also played an important part in driving the 'community policing' movement.

The trend towards 'community policing' has been manifested in many ways:

1. greater involvement and a more open process by which community members and elected representatives can participate in the determination of policing policies, priorities and budgets

2. demands for increased accountability of the police

3. a recognition that effective policing cannot be achieved by the police alone

4. a recognition that all kinds of other resources for achieving effective policing are available within the community

5. calls for the development of new 'partnerships' between the police and other government service agencies, as well as between the police and non-government service providers, in the provision of policing services

6. major restructuring of police forces and reconceptualizing of 'police work' to give greater priority to proactive and preventative policing, to bring the police force 'closer to the community', and to make the police force more reflective of the community it serves, etc., etc.

The 'community policing' movement, in other words, has represented an attempt to reshape the politics as well as the practice of policing so that communities can reclaim significant influence over, and greater participation in, the provision of policing services within them.

Old Habits Die Hard

Steeped in a tradition which sees the police force as the critical institution for the delivery of policing services, communities have been too easily persuaded that 'community policing' is simply an agenda for *police* reform, rather than a more radical agenda for the reform of *policing*. For understandable reasons, the police themselves have not discouraged this view. 'Community policing' has thus come to be viewed as a program to be implemented by the police with assistance from the community, rather than a program to be implemented by the community with assistance from all the various resources for providing policing (including the police) which exist in the community. Instead of the police being viewed as just one (albeit an important one) of many resources available to the community for the accomplishment of effective policing, the community continues to be viewed as a resource available to the police for this purpose. The municipal budget on 'policing' is still the 'police' budget. And the police continue, in practice, to largely dictate the terms under which the community becomes involved in decision-making about policing, and who will be recognized as representing the community for this purpose.

Thus, the police have come to dominate the 'community policing' agenda just as they dominated the 'traditional' policing agenda. Not surprisingly, many community members still feel they have no effective input or influence over policy and priorities for policing in their community, and that the police are still not really accountable to them with regard to these matters. Equally importantly, police forces (and many police governing authorities) have often proven to have an insufficient capacity for change and renewal for an effective implementation of the 'community policing' agenda to be left entirely in their hands or under their control.

Reclaiming the Policing Agenda – A Strategy for the City of Toronto

What follows is a set of recommendations to the new City of Toronto Council which, together, are designed to provide the conditions under which the community can reclaim control over its policing agenda and budget. At the heart of this strategy is the need to de-centre the police as the institutional 'owner' of the policing agenda, and return that ownership to the community, where it properly belongs.

1. Establish a Safety and Equity Standing Committee for the new City of Toronto which

would have overall responsibility for the provision of effective *policing* (as opposed to just police services) for the city and would be accountable to City Council. Innovative ways need to be found to ensure broad community input into the work of this Committee, and this should be actively encouraged so that a lively, ongoing and inclusive public dialogue about objectives, priorities and policy for effective community policing for the city will occur.

2. Establish and support more local community or neighbourhood safety and security committees with a mandate to focus on more local issues, to act as resources and local liaison for the central Safety and Security Committee, and to help co-ordinate the provision of effective policing services at the more local level.

3. Develop, and keep updated, a full inventory of potential resources for the provision of policing services within the community other than the police force. This might include, for example, MTHA security, the TTC, taxi drivers (the 'TOPS' program), in-house and contract private security, school authorities, universities and colleges, community and neighbourhood security and policing programs, etc., etc. Once one begins to think of policing and safety and security in these terms, the list becomes almost endless.

4. Develop an *annual policing plan* for the City after extensive community consultation through the Safety and Security Committee and the more local community /neighbourhood committees. Ensure that the plan includes clear and achievable objectives, and that the extent to which these objectives have been met will subsequently be publicly discussed and evaluated.

5. Establish a *policing budget* for the City which would be allocated to ensure the provision of the most effective policing services for the city. Insist that the police force (and the police services board) justify its budgetary claims (i.e. the *police* budget) within the priorities of the broader *policing* budget – i.e. the police force will be competing with other potential public, private and community providers of policing services for allocation of resources from the police budget. Such resources will only be allocated to the police force (or any other potential provider of policing services) if, and to the extent that, it can satisfy the community that such allocation would represent the best use of such funds. Encourage other potential providers of policing services to apply for funding from this policing budget.

6. Appoint as the City of Toronto's representatives on the Police Services Board (whose main responsibility is to govern the police force) persons who understand, are sympathetic to, will co-operate with, and will encourage the police force and the police services board as a whole to co-operate with, this broader agenda for securing effective policing for the city. Some members of the Police Services Board could perhaps also serve on the Safety and Security Committee, but should not be allowed to dominate it.

[Note: under the recent amendments to the *Police Services Act*, the City will appoint a majority of the members of the police services board.]

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Measuring Effective Community Policing: A Case Study

by Richard Paris

'Community Policing' was designed to replace the 'Professional Law Enforcement Model' of policing where the police act as an independent public agency in charge of managing and maintaining the policing agenda. Community Policing on the other hand, is designed to adopt the concept that the police are a part of the community and the policing agenda is maintained by the partnership and collaboration between the two. This paradigm shift stems from a number of reactions to the traditional policing model: the communities' dissatisfaction with the police services being delivered, the continued breakdown of Police-Community relations, police dissatisfaction with the community's response to police services and the inability of police to control and reduce crime are just some.

In addressing these concerns, the Metropolitan Toronto Police Service made a formal commitment to community policing in 1991 with the release of the 'Beyond 2000' document. Recognizing that such a fundamental change could not occur overnight, the Police set a 20 year target for the full implementation of this new policing framework designed to govern all aspects of the organization, including investigative, management and support, as well as front-line officers. In 1993 the Metro Police released the document 'Moving Forward Together' which further outlined a number of race relations initiatives and programs which were being developed in accordance with the community policing philosophy.

What does community policing entail? How can one actually evaluate its performance? One cannot expect community policing to be successfully implemented if the criteria by which it is evaluated is dependent on the old 'professional' model of policing. A transition to a community policing approach from the traditional model requires a fundamental rethinking of the policing process, the roles of the police and community, the purpose of policing, and the maintenance of the priority setting process.

Community Policing is adopting a new relationship between the police and the community. It entails:

- Redefining and improving the **efficiency** of police. The services must be delivered in a fair and **equitable** manner:
- Increasing community **access** to the police and police services such as foot patrols, community stations, etc.,
- Significantly increasing the level of police **accountability** and improving the **effectiveness** of the civilian oversight process;
- Increasing the level of community **participation** in the police priority setting process. This includes decentralizing the power structure to allow both the community and police officers to have more input in determining how to deal with important issues at the local level.

An effective community policing commitment must include the recognition that:

- The majority of crime is produced by societal factors over which the police have relatively little control;
- Crime control needs to focus on those societal factors which cause crime;
- Proactive policing needs to be added to and in some instances replace reactive policing;
- Decentralized force-wide implementation of community policing is a prerequisite;
- Greater consideration for civil rights and liberties are essential for successful democratic policing;
- Greater focus on quality of life issues that exceed crime and fear of crime need to

be attended to in addition to 'traditional' crime issues;
- The police are part of the communities they serve.

The emphasis on police as being the sole agents in charge of crime control must be reconsidered. Current community theories suggest that it is the informal social interaction and processes within the community (rather than police activity) which has the most influence on the maintenance of social order and safety within the neighbourhood. Therefore, in terms of crime prevention (a conventional function of the police), such a model highlights the importance of community participation and effective utilization of community resources (see Rosenbaum, 1994.)

Because community policing entails a continually adapting and participatory model of interaction between the police and the community, an established community policing program may look quite different from one community to another. Nonetheless, there are fundamental elements which are necessary to any successful community policing program. The following is a brief discussion on some of these key elements and indicators by which the performance of community policing can be measured.

While the Metro Police has made a formal commitment to community policing what remains important is to examine if there is a gap between the policy commitment and the actual practice of police officers and services.

Has each Division taken steps to ensure the community policing philosophy and practice is being promoted and maintained by each of its officers?

Has the Division taken steps to ensure that its officers interact with all Community members in a fair and equitable manner?

Has the Division taken specific steps to remove barriers and improve access to programs and services?

The lack of gender and ethno-racial representation within the police agency with respect to that of its catchment area population is certainly not a new issue. Nonetheless, it is a problem which continues to go unresolved.

Does each Division have an explicit hiring/recruiting strategy to ensure equity and proper representation?

Has it compared its equity group composition with that of the catchment area it serves?

Equity in Policy and Planning

It is important that the police make explicit in its main planning and priority setting documents, a commitment to equality and improved race relations. Is there, for example, an equity and race relations dimension and monitoring and implementation structures to ensure that equity plays an instrumental (rather than symbolic) role in the planning and priority setting process at the Divisional level? What mechanisms have been put in place to ensure broad community participation in the setting of priorities?

Equity in Community Interaction and Access to Services

What has a tremendous impact on Police-Community Relations is the day-to-day manner in which the police interacts with the community. It is important that the Toronto Police Service and its local divisions ensure that its officers are treating all community members in a fair and equitable manner and that all members of the community have equal access to the police and police services. When this equality is lacking, community distrust of the police increases and police-community relations suffer. Has each Police Division, for example, undertaken a systematic review of service delivery in any or all of its units from the equity viewpoint?

Social Diagnostic Function of Police Officers

Redefining the traditional policing process and accepting the philosophy of Community Policing means expanding the function and responsibility of the police officer. Proactive policing entails officers working with the community in determining and solving local problems before they escalate. It entails addressing social problems which are contributing to or leading toward the decline of safety and quality of life in the community.

This requires establishing and maintaining a close working relationship with community services, health services and other local social service agencies to determine problems in the community. It also requires developing effective means of intervention, and determining the allocation of police and community resources in addressing them. Police officers must also function as mediators and take

responsibility for referring a problem to the appropriate social or government agency.

Social Advocacy of Police Officers

Working closely with community and social service agencies also helps police officers in the understanding of problems in a broader social context. Once police officers are actively involved, they will be in a position to act as community advocates and liaisons in addressing the social problems of the communities they serve.

It is important that the reward system within the police agency be reformed to recognize this kind of community service. Officers must feel motivated as a part of their function as police officers/public servants to actively participate in, and contribute toward, the social welfare of their communities. Is, for example, the effective use of government, social and community services in the problem solving process used as an indicator of police officer performance and reward?

Promotion of Community Policing, Anti-Racism and Equity Ethics

-Are certain clients, for example people of colour making a disproportionate number of complaints about service issues?

-Are people of colour for example, only making one contact with the Division when repeated contacts may be the norm?

-Has the Division documented the barriers which communities and clients may face in accessing and influencing the nature of the Divisions' programs and services?

-Has the Division taken steps to address the complaints, remove the barriers, and change programs and services to reflect community needs?

-Police should widely utilize their community contacts, media contacts and training sessions to promote their involvement in Community Policing and Race Relations.

-Has the Division ensured that staff and service users are familiar and supportive of the community policing, anti-racism and equity policies and procedures?

-Have actions been taken to ensure community outreach strategies through promotional materials, publications and community involvement from the officers themselves?

Community feedback/satisfaction surveys

It is important that the Police Service remain current on the issues and concerns of the community. Utilization of Community Consultative Committees as well as Community feedback /satisfaction surveys are just two methods that will allow the Police Service to more effectively build community partnerships. What other ways does the Division work with the community in performance evaluations as part of the accountability process?

Effectiveness and Accountability

Metropolitan Toronto Police Services is a government agency funded by taxes. Like all other public agencies, the police should be able to give an accurate account and assessment of all its current activities to both taxpayers and policy makers. Such an ongoing assessment should be a primary function of the police like any other public service agency.

The criteria for this assessment must look beyond the traditional measures of policing (i.e., crime stats., number of 911 calls, police response time, number of arrests, etc.). It must include an assessment of the communities' access and participation in setting the priorities in the policing process, the level of police accountability to the public, as well as the effectiveness, efficiency and equity of the police agency itself. For example:

How is the Division measuring the reduction of neighbourhood crime?

How is it assessing its role in decreasing citizens' fear of crime?

Community Mapping & Participation

To effectively address crime and fear of crime issues, the formation of community and social service agency partnerships must be emphasized to bring about crime reduction efforts, rather than simply the detection of crime (i.e., proactive rather than reactive policing). An important indicator for the success of community policing is to measure the number, type and effectiveness of the community partnerships that have been formed (and create a merit/reward system which identifies those partnerships).

-Is the Division measuring the level and extent of community members working with the Division in a variety of ways?
-Are training procedures and police resources guided by proactive rather than reactive policing?
-Are causes of crime addressed in the broader social context?

Efficiency

Working closely with other local social service and community organizations will facilitate better use of police resources. Community participation in this area will not only result in less duplication and more efficient use of police and community resources, but will also promote a stronger partnership between the police and community. The decentralization of power to the local level is an essential element to community policing. Local police officers working closely with community residents must also have some input into the budgetary and priority setting process. This decentralized organization will facilitate more efficient use of police and community resources as well as increase the job satisfaction of police officers.

All of the above elements are important to ensuring that communities have access and equity in regards to the policing function. Our society is constantly changing, communities are constantly changing, and it is important that the police as well as other public services change with them.☯

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Equity And The Delivery Of Human Services

Numerous reports and studies over the last decade have collectively identified the lack of ethno-racial access to appropriate human services, inadequate funding for ethno-racial community based agencies, the devaluing of the skills and credentials of minority human service practitioners, the lack of minority representation in mainstream human service agencies, and the maintenance of a mono-cultural model of service delivery.

Social work practice in Toronto has consistently identified a very large range of special needs of ethno-racial communities as a result of the effects of patterns of migration, racial discrimination, community tension, distinctive cultural patterns and language needs. They include, for example, refugee needs for advice and information and their difficulties in adjusting to life in this city, teenage difficulties, including conflict with society and their parents, the "nuclearization" of families in the Canadian environment and the difficulties of separated families and disruptions of family and community support systems, special religious, cultural and language needs as related to the distinctive needs of children of colour in care, and needs arising from exposure to prejudice and discrimination.

There is a growing gap between what is taught in faculties of social work--which have been criticized for relying too heavily on Eurocentric practice-models and failing to recognize that this paradigm is not the norm, but one of several norms--and the current social problems experienced by social workers in Toronto.

The community services functions of the municipality need to recognize the severity of systemic barriers and discrimination within the human service sector. These have frequently been dismissed or diminished by human service practitioners through a number of strategies including denial based on the idea that there is no such thing as cultural and institutional discrimination, only personal discrimination. Secondly, colour-blind strategies have been invoked that argue that all people are the same, and that members of all racialized groups have similar problems, needs and objectives. Thirdly, many agencies have approaches which may appear to accept the principles of equity and access, but when the power and privilege of mainstream agencies is challenged, demands for substantive change are met with fierce resistance and the status quo is affirmed.

Clearly if there is no possibility of increasing the level of service to any particular client group by an increase in overall municipal expenditure, then any increased priority will have to be achieved by the reallocation of resources. Meeting the less well established needs of ethno-racial communities in the present political and fiscal climate can only be achieved at the cost of reducing resources elsewhere. This rational process of allocating resources to those most in need is however not happening.

Rather than considering needs on their merits, human and financial resource allocations are too often taking place in the context of minority/majority power relations. Human service funding sources are avoiding having explicitly to remove resources from traditional, mainstream services to new needs resulting from the changing ethno-racial composition of Toronto's population.

Fourthly, strategies have been employed that place the responsibility for eliminating barriers and discrimination on the shoulders of the victims. Human service professionals too often continue to see themselves as neutral players.

Fifthly, social service agencies have tended to define their services in terms of traditional client groups, for example, the elderly, children at risk, the disabled, and have only included ethno-racial minority clients in their services if they happened to fall into such a client category, rather than making separate consideration of ethno-racial

community needs for human services.

Finally, many agencies acknowledge the presence of barriers and racism "out there" in the external environment but not in their own organization.

Despite the growing number of access and equity policies adopted by mainstream social service agencies, ethno-racial agencies in Toronto are continuing to fill a huge gap in the service-delivery system by meeting the needs of a multiracial, multicultural population.

The human service response to Toronto's multiracial communities continues to be discriminatory, piecemeal and lacking in strategy. While agencies like the United Way of Metropolitan Toronto and the Ministry of Community and Social Services have attempted to develop a multicultural/anti-racist policy and program to assist their funded agencies in becoming "more accessible, responsive and reflective of the total community through a process of multicultural/anti-racist organizational development", it would appear that few mainstream agencies have specifically and explicitly worked this through their systems.

At the municipal level, contacts between Metro's Community Services Department and local ethno-racial communities have multiplied and go well beyond the old pattern of mainstream service providers and ethno-racial service users, or Department funding of a few ethno-racial and voluntary projects. There are increasing numbers of minority staff, experimentation with a variety of advisory and consultative arrangements, and joint working in relation to action-research and other projects. In recognizing the complexity of change, funded agencies are moving beyond the simplistic reliance on one-stop responses such as issuing a policy statement, or training, or appointment of a race relations advisor. What needs to be noted, however, is that these changes are perhaps more about the process of change. They relate to shifts in ways of thinking about systemic barriers and discrimination, and about the conditions in which something further can happen. But they appear to have not yet achieved changes in outcomes.

The Challenges

The human services world is never a static one. Changes which are now underway are exceptionally far-reaching. Present budgetary pressures are providing significant resource and professional challenges. Coming from a variety of viewpoints there are a number of equity issues that the human services sectors need to address, ranging from confidence in a market-oriented approach to concern with social justice ideas about "consumerism" and about "user empowerment", about "choice" and "voice", questions about professional ethics and responsibilities, as well as the practicalities involved in readjusting the balance between "mainstream" and "ethno-specific" services.

Clearer criteria need to be developed around standards, assessment, evaluation, and accountability for agencies receiving funds. In this context, public sector funded providers, such as traditional voluntary organizations and private sector agencies, must clearly include ethno-specific user groups. Such an inclusive approach must be regarded as an integral and normal approach to the effective delivery of human services. The dangers of separate "special" provision are well known: marginalization, compartmentalization, inadequate resources, and in the present budgetary crisis more easily eliminated as dispensable frills.

Funders of human services, including the City of Toronto, need to more clearly specify the content of services and how they are delivered. Equity and access dimensions need to be clearly incorporated into such areas as purchasing, and granting specifications, choosing among possible providers, systematizing assessment procedures, in building quality assurance measures into performance monitoring, consideration of training needs of staff in all its diversity, and methods of hearing the voice of the "customer/consumer".

In addition, simple methods and procedures need to be developed for agencies to more effectively identify and respond to systemic barriers and discrimination experienced by service users.

The Municipal Task

In terms of the human service responsibilities of the City of Toronto, the first policy and political task is to determine priorities between conflicting or competing interests and needs. In terms of the human services needs of ethno-racial communities and the associated equity and access issues, the immediate and preliminary questions that need to be answered are:

1. What are the human services needs that arise precisely because of the ethno-racial nature of different sectors of Toronto's population?

2. Are the human service needs of ethno-racial communities comparable to the needs of other residents, either in terms of severity or in terms of the nature of the need?

3. Do all in need have equal access to the service, or does the style or presentation of the service operate to exclude a proportion of those in need?

4. What is the information and data available to relate services to needs, and in particular to be able to measure the human service needs of people of colour?☯

Racial Diversity And The Municipal Planning Function

At first glance it might seem that race has little relevance to urban planning given its traditional concern with physical matters rather than social issues. However, decisions taken by planners do, of course, greatly influence the quality of life enjoyed by Toronto's diverse communities. Urban planners need to be more aware of the explicit relationship between their professional practices and the different needs and values represented by Toronto's diverse population.

What are the initiatives which might plausibly indicate an organizational awareness that there may be institutional impediments to the needs of ethno-racial people being registered and acted upon within the planning system? Is there institutional support or awareness for equity and ethno-racial implications of the planning function?

Monitoring the interaction of the planning system with different ethno-racial communities is one clear indication that, at the very least, some acknowledgment is made of different impact. For example, what is the ethno-racial background of applicants for planning permission? Are urban planners drawing attention to the implications for ethno-racial communities in reports to Council on planning applications?

To what extent are planning authorities paying attention to establishing the needs and views of ethno-racial communities in a rigorous and consistent fashion? What are the patterns of usage, and barriers to usage of municipal services?

What are the public participation processes for developing policy and determining priorities? Does institutional machinery exist for such consultation? What are the ways in which appropriate groups for consultation are identified? What are the links with ethno-racial community organizations?

When local planning departments have no history of meaningful dialogue with ethno-racial communities, there is sometimes a tendency to use the "race relations experts" as a substitute for communicating with the communities themselves. It is unfair and unwise to expect these experts or special community advisory committees to act as a 'filter' for ethno-racial community concerns about urban or social planning. Departments must establish their own dialogues. The term 'participation' covers a spectrum of relationships to actual decision making, from tokenistic soundings of opinion to legitimize decisions already made, through to genuine power sharing.

There may be considerably more enthusiasm for drawing up planning policies which mention ethno-racial equity than there is in actually implementing programs, or in detailing with more specificity how ethno-racial needs are being met.

In terms of land use planning, policy vagueness such as terms like "the general character of the area" encourages inconsistent and inequitable decision-making.

How does one begin to use the planning system to shape a built environment which meets the needs of Toronto's diverse population?

Rather than ad hoc'ery, rather than see ethno-racial and equity issues as "a specialized problem"-the starting point of planning is assessing the needs of the community in all its economic, cultural and social diversity.

Why is there such an extremely low proportion of ethno-racial minorities within the planning profession? Is planning operating in a racial and cultural vacuum?

Race has particular, practical significance for urban planners for reasons such as:

- Disproportionate contact—many urban planning

policies and practices are geographically based. In Toronto, these practices will be directed at areas where there are concentrations of particular ethno-racial communities.

- Social distinctiveness— urban planning attempts to respond to variations in social characteristics. It is illogical for planners to ignore ethno-racial differentiation as it would be to ignore, for example, variations in age structure, employment patterns or car ownership.
- Participation in urban planning is one of the very few municipal services with any obligation for public participation. Ethno-racial communities in Toronto are part of the public which local planning authorities have generally failed to ensure are appropriately and adequately involved.
- Race Relations -- inter-racial conflict and disputes can find expression in urban planning issues such as zoning by-laws, commercial signage., or parking regulations which ostensibly have nothing to do with race . Urban planners need to be aware of these dynamics.

The sources of discrimination of which the urban planner should be particularly aware include:

- Lack of awareness of the ethno-racial characteristics, attitudes and aspirations of Toronto's diverse population;
- Policies and procedures which apply generally without regard to ethno-racial differences;
- Failure to ensure the involvement of all sectors of the diverse population in the planning process;
- Failure to challenge the traditional values of urban planning. Historically, urban planning has been oriented to the provisions of a pleasing environment that transcends or is above, or removed from the people directly affected.

"By definition planning should establish the assumptions and values needed for the future and question those inherited from the past"

Planning, of course, is for people and their particular needs. Indeed, it could be argued that the core of urban planning is to establish the assumptions and values needed for the future and to question those inherited from the past. Too often unfortunately, planning seems to be doing the opposite-mired in the regulations of a bygone era.

In summary, the kinds of questions that might be asked of the municipal planning department is:

- Is there specific consultation with ethno-racial communities within the participation process?
- Are references made to the needs of ethno-racial communities in Official Plans?
- Are materials translated and disseminated in appropriate languages? What other communications methods have been implemented?
- What specific research and surveys have been undertaken on the planning and land use issues affecting ethno-racial communities?
- What training and recruitment of staff has been undertaken to respond to the ethno-racial make-up of the population?
- Is there a policy for religious buildings used by ethno-racial communities?
- Has a review been undertaken for social, recreational and community facilities for ethno-racial communities?

Urban planning needs its own vision of how to incorporate an equity and racial dimension. Planners must be committed to systems and processes that are geared more closely to responding to the diversity of local community needs and values.☯

Minority Economic Development

By Tim Rees

The Toronto economy has been undergoing dramatic structural changes for at least the past 20 years. We can no longer look to big business and big industry as the source of job creation and the generator of economic growth. The majority of new jobs today are being created by the start-up and expansion of existing locally owned small business, not from branch plants or the relocation of multi-national corporations.

Small business is the major source of new product and service innovations, as well as the most dynamic source of job creation. Over the last 10 years, fully 98.5 % of all new jobs in Canada were created by firms with under 100 employees, and almost 60% of those jobs were created by firms with less than 5 employees.

Who Are the New Job Creators?

Contrary to the myth of minorities being job-takers, the reality in Toronto is that they are the new job-makers. Minorities have become the major source of job creation through both investments and business formation. Self-employment is especially attractive to members of ethno-racial communities. They participate in this sector at a greater rate than those of French or British origin (according to 1981 Census data, 79.2 per thousand versus 67.5 per thousand.)

As has been said many times, the key to Toronto's economic health and successful competition in the new global marketplace is the diversity of its people. The people of Toronto are our most important resource. The pursuit of municipal policies in pursuit of local and minority economic development are therefore in the interests of both economic efficiency and competitiveness.

First, because the ethno-racial business communities provide us with unique resources into the global marketplace as well as with significant competitive advantages in this international marketplace.

Secondly, a vibrant ethno-racial business community is a significant asset in attracting foreign investment. Thirdly, the recognition of Toronto as one of the most culturally diverse cities in the world with all of its social, recreational, cultural, and culinary attractions provides one of the most important foundations for Toronto as a major tourist destination. This potential needs further development.

In addition to recognizing the enormous economic contributions that the diverse business communities are making to the Toronto economy and the huge further potential within these communities of greatly enhancing the health and growth of the local economy, a municipal economic development strategy also needs to recognize and address the significant needs and barriers facing these diverse small business communities in being able to fully maximize business development opportunities.

A number of factors such as lack of business experience, casual business organization, shortage of personal liquid assets, problems of access and communication with the wider business support network, problems of access to sources of finance, growth limitations imposed by ethnic niche market dependence, and discrimination have all been identified as hindering the growth rate of many of Toronto's minority business communities.

Municipal Action:

The municipality, notwithstanding the sheer weight of federal and provincial monetary and other fiscal, regulatory and expenditure policies, does have considerable power to effect its own economic destiny. The fact is that the new City of Toronto retains the power to act across a broad range of fronts to directly influence local business development than is perhaps generally realized. Toronto has been behind international experience which indicates a universal trend among municipal governments of an increasing scale of involvement in the local economy. This

involvement in enterprise development has evolved from simple industrial promotion and attraction strategies to an emphasis on indigenous development that has included financial investments, the support of business assistance and advice centres, the provision of physical facilities and business incubators, and various other municipal enterprise programs.

The economic development areas within which the City of Toronto has a role to play include the municipality's statutory obligations and responsibilities such as:

Fiscal Policies:

For example, various properties in the new City of Toronto bear unequal property tax burdens as a result of a badly outdated assessment system. While property and business taxes may be more bearable for larger enterprises, they have a differential and inequitable impact on small and minority-owned businesses.

Does the review of the property tax assessment process, for example, take full cognizance of this issue to ensure that Toronto will remain a place where small and minority-owned businesses can thrive and prosper?

Regulatory Policies:

Local businesses are faced with a host of municipal regulations dealing with land use, issuance of building permits, hours of business and so on. They also relate to such areas as welfare regulations and the ability to generate self-employment earnings, and to public housing regulations and the ability to carry on a home-based business. A municipal economic development strategy needs to address these issues in a more holistic and comprehensive way.

Will municipal zoning policies, for example, adequately recognize that many businesses and minority businesses in light manufacturing and services in particular—are no longer incompatible with residential areas (the tradition having always been to separate employment and housing)?

Expenditure Policies:

How much the City spends, what it spends it on and where, clearly has an enormous impact on local business. Whether it be for roads, sewers, public transportation, public housing maintenance, or new social facilities, the effect on the local economy of municipal expenditure cut-backs could easily outweigh the positive effects of all other economic interventions combined.

How can the City, for example, begin to consider the local business and employment impacts, and the differential impacts on particular ethno-racial communities, of all municipal expenditures (or cutbacks)?

Purchasing Policies:

The new City of Toronto will be purchasing from the private sector well in excess of $1/2 billion a year in goods and services. The local servicing of supplies again obviously has a major impact on local economic growth. Like many other municipalities who have used their purchasing power as a pro-active economic development tool, how will the City of Toronto use its purchasing procedures to provide local, small and minority-owned business with the guaranteed markets they need for stability and growth?

How, for example, will the City track who gets municipal contracts?

How many municipal suppliers are locally and minority owned?

What are the pro-active procurement strategies being employed by the new City in support of local economic development?

In addition to these above statutory and direct responsibilities, there are a number of other indirect and discretionary economic development activities that the new City could play in support of local and minority business development including, for example:

- Improving Access to Finance;
- Strengthening Entrepreneurship Training and Education;
- Supporting Ethno-Racial Business Networks;
- Research and Information Dissemination;
- Public Education and Advocacy;
- International Trade and Business Promotions.

Conclusions:

The establishment of the new City of Toronto provides a unique opportunity to realign existing municipal economic development activities to reflect both the new economic realities and to the needs of the City's new job creators. A municipal focus on minority economic development is justified

because the public interest is served when:

- Growing, economically viable firms create jobs in ethno-racial communities, thus providing economic equality and economic opportunity.
- Profits from minority-owned business support investments that, in turn, permit further business expansion and job creation in those communities.
- Ethno-racial businesses are encouraged to locate and remain in Toronto, thus creating additional tax revenues from the additional businesses and the workers they employ.
- The competitive disadvantages suffered by small, ethno-racial owned businesses must be addressed in order to provide an expanded pool of competing firms from which to buy goods and services.
- The presence and promotion of business success stories attracts more minorities into self-employment, thus further promoting the economic development of ethno-racial communities.
- The furtherance of ethno-racial economic development helps to reduce racial tension in Toronto.
- Effective ethno-racial business networks provide unique access to global markets and the furtherance of international trade.
- Flourishing ethno-racial business neighbourhoods provide a major asset to Toronto as a tourist destination.☯

Free Speech And Race Relations In A Democratic Society

Principles of Good Practice and Conduct for Political Campaigners and Holders of Political Office.

The right to free and unfettered political speech and debate is fundamental to a democratic society, enabling the expression of the popular will at elections. The dissemination and free flow of information representing all political opinions is essential to this political process.

In a genuine democracy, freedom of political expression must be robust and uninhibited. In the course of political campaigns it is therefore perhaps inevitable that statements and literature may offend or anger those with opposing political views. No individual and no issue can be immune from political debate.

But if the right to freedom of political speech and public debate is essential it should not be viewed as an absolute right which has no limits.

Equally fundamental is the right of equal treatment and respect on the grounds of race, ancestry, place of origin, colour, ethnic origin, creed, citizenship, sex, sexual orientation, age, mental status or handicap. All candidates for, and holders of elected office should be committed to a plural society based on equality and inclusiveness. The right to free political expression must not be allowed to be abused in the competition for the popular vote by exploiting, causing or initiating prejudice on the above grounds.

There can be no place in the democratic political process of our society for those who seek to incite, whether blatantly or covertly, hatred, prejudice and discrimination.

The principles laid down here provide the basis for good practice and conduct for all those involved in political campaigning activities during national, provincial and local elections. They are aimed at MPs, MPPs, Local Councillors, Political Party Members, campaigners and supporters.

An adherence to the principles will help to ensure that political debate is conducted fairly and free of hatred and prejudice.

The Principles Of Good Practice And Conduct

All those who hold elected office and or are involved in national, provincial or local election campaigns whether they are MPs, MPPs, Councillors, Candidates, Political Party Members, campaigners or supporters should undertake:

- To reject all forms of racial violence, harassment and unlawful racial discrimination;
- Not to publish, or in any way endorse any election material, including pamphlets, leaflets and posters which cause or invite hostility or division between people of different racial or national groups, or which might reasonably give rise to hostility or division;
- To ensure that in any dealings with the public, no words or actions are used which may cause racial hatred or lead to racial prejudice;
- To ensure that all who work in political offices and in election campaigns are aware of these principles.

Action must be taken by the appropriate political bodies against any elected members, candidates or Political Party Members who are found to have knowingly broken these principles. This may include their removal from any formal role on behalf of the political body and a public disavowal by that body. ☯

These principles were developed and submitted by the Urban Alliance on Race Relations to the Metro Anti-Racism, Access and Equity Committee and adopted by the Metro Toronto Council at its meeting of September 24, 1997.

Book Review

Lawrence Hill's - Any Known Blood

an entertaining family history

By John Cooper

Take one man fast approaching middle age. Make him the product of a mixed marriage: his father Black, his mother White. Prepare him physically and psychologically in such a way that when we come upon him he is in crisis; he has been fired from his job as a speech writer, he has lost his wife; he has lost his identity and sense of direction. Give your character a name suggestive of strength, history and conviction: Langston Cane V. Set him in circumstances where the old adage can ring true that you cannot face your future if you don't know your past. Take this character and build a story that weaves together tightly-knit story lines covering 150 years of human history. Author Lawrence Hill has done just such a masterful job of storytelling with a tale of family life, love and discovery in his second novel, Any Known Blood.

Bittersweet Journey

Hill's protagonist Langston Cane V, a subdued man in the anti-hero mode, confirms the notion that being Black is not always about looking Black. Hill's detailed narrative sweeps the reader on a rich, funny sad and bittersweet journey through the lives of five generations of Langston Canes.

The author harnesses a history that's as subtle as the origins of Langston Cane V, a low-key government speech writer who is fired for perhaps his one and only act of bravery and/or foolishness: the leaking of a government document, via a Cabinet minister's speech, dealing with the dissolution of employment equity legislation. It's seemingly our protagonist's only stab against an uncaring world—yet there are surprises in store.

Langston Cane proves to be resilient and resourceful. Cut loose from his job and with feelings of failure chained strongly to his slim shoulders (his father's a doctor and famous civil rights activist, his brother a rising criminal attorney; Cane's only link to the past has been his father's sanitized anecdotes of the family's major accomplishments), Cane seeks out historical roots that go deep, from the family home of Oakville to Baltimore and back again. Cane is a man defined by grayness; early on he admits that people often ask him "Where are you from?" That tenuous perception led him to invent a myriad of shady pasts for his own amusement: sometimes Angolan, sometimes Middle Eastern, sometimes, something else.

But the loss of both his wife (a separation following a family tragedy) and his job causes Cane to seek definition—and perhaps redemption—in an attempt to finally put his past into concise black-and-white, the better to understand it, the better to mature within the structure of his own identity—and the better to come to terms with his unyielding father. He decides that the way to do it is to research his family's history and write a book.

Langston Cane V doesn't stay adrift for long; he establishes a direction (south) buys a used car and heads to Baltimore, to the home of his father's sister; the solid, no-nonsense Aunt Mill, whom Langston has never met, she having divorced herself from the family in objection to the mixed marriage of Cane's parents.

Mill warns her nephew that she will not help him with his story. Forget the matriarch stereotypes—Mill's house is a mess and she doesn't cook (preferring to order in Kentucky Fried Chicken). Still, her character evolves into a comforting figure who, with her old age, great physical size, streetwise manners and bustling energy, anchors a good portion of Hill's story.

Two of the novel's most colorful characters are outstanding not for their nobility but for their humbleness.

There is Cane's friend Yo Yo, an ex-journalist from Cameroon who, fearing reprisals from the military regime back home, finds himself cut adrift in Baltimore as an illegal alien, on the run from the police, but with the kind of social savvy that lets you know he's a canny survivor of circumstance. An alien he may be, yet with his entrepreneurial skills, Yo Yo is still closer to the American Dream than many Americans. And there is Aberdeen Williams, a creaky, ancient family friend and fount of local lore, who has watched three generations of Canes grow up.

While both Yo Yo and Aberdeen work with their hands (the first is a house-cleaner and sometime-shish-kebab salesman, the latter a handyman) what's really at work are their minds; they have a depth of understanding for the human condition that may be beyond the ken of any other character in the novel.

The lives of Cane's ancestors are played out in colorful detail: his father and mother, struggling to find accommodation in the racist Toronto of the 1950's, his grandfather, a World War I veteran and African Methodist Episcopal Church minister learning to adjust to civilian life: the turbulent life of his great-grandfather, who was abandoned by his own father, the first Langston Cane, and later adopted by a white Quaker family.

The book's most poignant section lies in Cane's final arrival at the truth about his great-great grandfather, Langston Cane I, an escaped slave, sometime womanizer, professional rat-catcher and would-be soldier in the cause of John Brown's ill-fated raid on Harper's Ferry, Virginia.

Hill said recently that he drew on real-life experiences for his work, and involved his parents, Danie and Donna, in discussions that give the book its keen edge of realism.

Like Langston Cane V, Hill is the product of a mixed marriage: his Black father is the former head of Ontario's Human Rights Commission, his White mother is a writer and social activist.

Hill allows that part of the framework of Any Known Blood was developed through recalling his family's own "kitchen table" conversations and building them into the fictional narrative, although he cautioned that the story's characters -- and their history—are fictional.

"You hear a story at the kitchen table, but the story you hear may last only 15 seconds," he said. "The task of a novelist is to take that story and spin it out."

And spin out those stories he does, for more than 500 pages that form a smooth, seamless and entertaining tale of life and love.☯

Any Known Blood is published by Harper Collins Publishers Ltd.