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Planning Amidst Diversity: The Challenges of Multiculturalism

in Urban and Suburban Greater Toronto

by

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A thesis

presented to the University of Waterloo

in fulfillment of the

thesis requirement for the degree of

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in

Planning

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ABSTRACT

Planning Amidst Diversity: The Challenges of Multiculturalism in Urban and Suburban Greater Toronto

This dissertation explores the varied ways in which demographic changes from immigration are challenging traditional planning practice in Canada. The research is tied together around three themes: diversity, planning and citizenship. These themes provide the means to examine the impact of ethnocultural diversity on participation and belonging as seen through local decision making. Focusing on the experience of the Toronto area, the redevelopment of George Brown College in the urban community of Kensington, and the development of retail condominiums (or Asian malls) in the suburban community of Markham are used as case studies.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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As always I am indebted to my parents for instilling in me a desire to reach. And for times when the task seemed too daunting I thank Ted, who never failed to be my support, my cheerleader, my friend.

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CHAPTER ONE: Setting the Context

A Local Look at Immigration

Immigration has been a familiar source of debate and political discussion in Canada. To date, this debate has taken place almost exclusively at the national level. It is the federal government's constitutional responsibility to determine who will enter Canada as an immigrant each year and under what terms. Although immigration is an area of shared jurisdiction, most provinces have not pursued a strong role in immigrant settlement leaving this also to the federal government.[1] Immigration is linked to a national debate over multiculturalism and the value placed on diversity in both practice and policy. As well, individuals and groups debate the economic and social impacts of federal immigration policy and programs from a national perspective.

Despite legislative control at the federal level, immigration is an increasingly important local issue in Canada. Upon entry to the country, immigrants impact upon local communities as they establish themselves within Canadian society. Furthermore, this local impact is overwhelmingly an urban one. Newcomers to Canada have long been attracted to cities and their promise of employment opportunities, community and family ties, and a range of settlement services. According to the 1996 census, 85 per cent of all immigrants to Canada live in a census metropolitan area (CMA). Compared to just over one-quarter of the Canadian-born population, 62 per cent of all immigrants are living in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, the three largest metropolitan areas (Statistics Canada, 1997;

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[1] Quebec is an exception in that it is the only province that has negotiated additional powers over the selection of immigrants entering its borders; most recently in the 1991 Quebec-Canada Accord. (Young, 1992).

Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997). Although immigrants represent 17.4 per cent

of the nation's population, many urban centres located across Canada (especially those in

Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia) have a proportion of immigrants higher than this

national average (see Figure 1.1).

**FIGURE 1.1: Percentage of Immigrant Population
in Selected Canadian Cities (CMAs), 1996.**
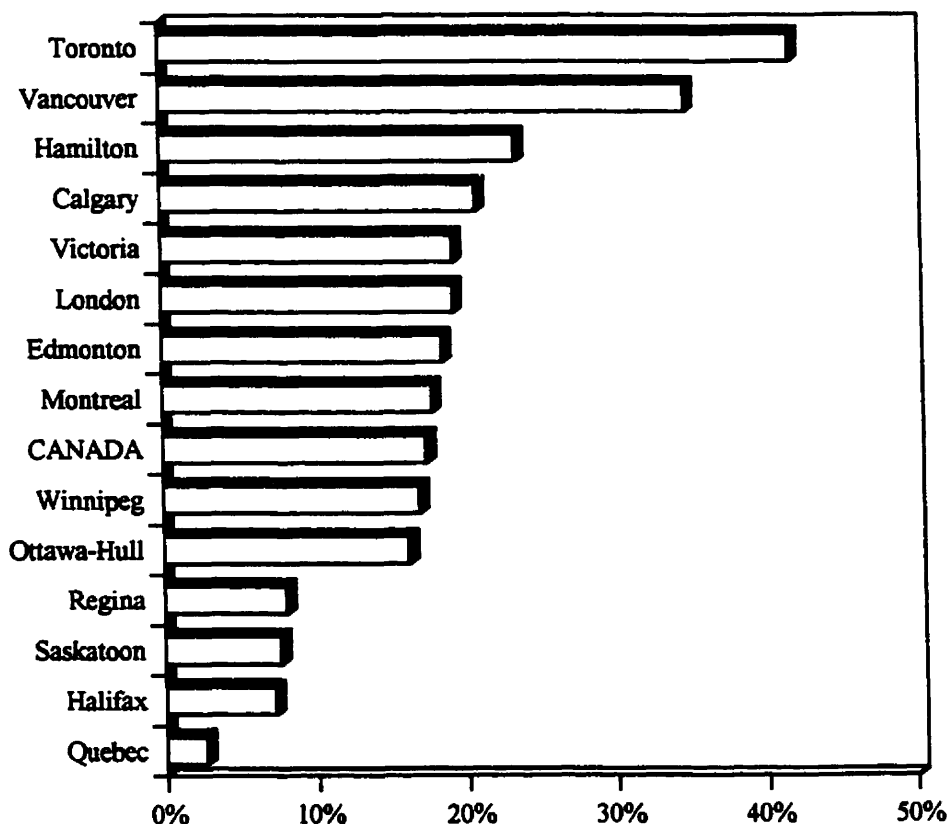
Source: Statistics Canada (1996). *Profiles, Part 2.* 1996 Census of Canada.

This immigration has fostered an ethnoculturally diverse society, especially in

Canada's urban and suburban centres. A testimony to the diversity of Canada's

immigration, projections for the next century suggest that the proportion of visible

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minorities[2] in Canadian cities will continue to increase steadily across the country (Vincent, 1995). Diversity, however, challenges the ways in which people participate and belong in communities. This is the primary focus of this dissertation. More specifically, it addresses the following question: *How does ethnocultural diversity challenge the way we participate and belong in our communities, as seen through urban and suburban planning processes?* This research question is based on three inter-related themes: diversity, planning and citizenship. Taken together, these three themes provide the means by which to examine the links between immigration and cities in general, and the impact of ethnocultural diversity on participation and belonging as seen through local decision-making within heterogeneous communities.

This dissertation explores the challenges that ethnocultural diversity poses for urban and suburban planning, and what this in turn says about the way in which we live together as citizens in such heterogeneous environments. While tensions between Canadian-born citizens, past immigrants and recent newcomers certainly contribute to how Canadians participate in local decision-making and the degree to which they feel they belong in ethnoculturally diverse communities, this dissertation is not specifically about race relations. Using one land use planning example from both an urban and a suburban community in the Toronto metropolitan area as case studies, this research explores the varied ways in which demographic changes from immigration are both challenging traditional planning practice, and forcing adjustments among new and old members alike.

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[2] Canada's *Employment Equity Act* defines visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race, or non-white in colour". Under this definition, the following groups are specified as visible minorities in the *Act*: Chinese, South Asians, Blacks, Arabs and West Asians, Filipinos, Southeast Asians, Latin Americans, Japanese, Koreans and Pacific Islanders.

In both case study areas used in this research, immigrants make up a sizable proportion of the total population, yet immigrant groups are not the focus of the research. Immigration is an important force of demographic change for Canadian cities and is discussed at length in the dissertation. Ultimately, however, this dissertation aims to explore the impact of ethnocultural diversity on urban and suburban planning, and in so doing refine our understanding of how we participate and belong amidst such diversity. In looking for evidence of what will later be described as "local citizenship", the research is informed by a variety of perspectives and points of participation within the case study communities. Place of birth or period of immigration therefore does not form the boundaries of the perspectives used, but rather intersects various positions of power and interest within the local planning processes explored.

Immigration in Toronto: Setting the Demographic Context

As the largest city in Canada and home to the largest immigrant population,[3] Toronto provides an excellent backdrop against which to examine the impact of immigration on local decision-making. Of all Canadian cities, Toronto has been the most affected by immigration, both in terms of overall numbers and diversity. According to the 1996 Census, Toronto attracts nearly one-third of Canada's immigrants (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997). An urban region home to nearly four million people, 42 per

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[3] Although immigrants and refugees are not addressed separately in this research, it should be noted that the Toronto CMA also receives the largest percentage of refugees in the country. In 1993, for example, 29 per cent of those claiming refugee status in Canada did so in Toronto. However, this translates into a relatively small number of actual people (7,101) and a very small percentage of the population within the Toronto CMA (0.2 per cent) (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1994b).

cent of Toronto's population are immigrants (Statistics Canada, 1997). Just under two-thirds (58 per cent) of these immigrants are recent arrivals (1981-1996) (see Figure 1.2).

FIGURE 1.2: Immigrant Population by Period of Immigration, Toronto CMA, 1996.
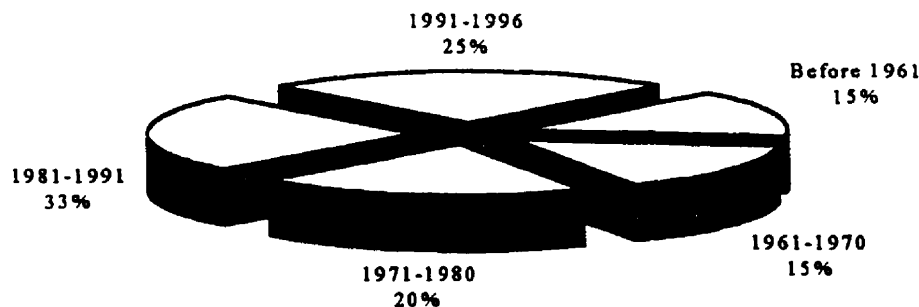
Source: Statistics Canada (1996). *Profiles, Part 2.* 1996 Census of Canada.

Table 1.1: Top 10 Places of Birth for Total Immigrants and Recent Immigrants,* Toronto CMA, 1996.

Total Immigrants		Recent Immigrants	
1. United Kingdom	8.9 %	1. Hong Kong	11.0 %
2. Italy	8.3 %	2. Sri Lanka	8.3 %
3. Hong Kong	6.2 %	3. People's Rep. of China	8.0 %
4. India	5.6 %	4. Philippines	7.5 %
5. People's Rep. of China	5.0 %	5. India	7.5 %
6. Jamaica	4.9 %	6. Poland	4.2 %
7. Portugal	4.6 %	7. Jamaica	3.8 %
8. Philippines	4.5 %	8. Guyana	3.0 %
9. Poland	4.2 %	9. Viet Nam	2.8 %
10. Guyana	3.4 %	10. Trinidad and Tobago	2.6 %

* Recent Immigrants refers to those who immigrated to Canada between 1991 and 1996.
Source: Statistics Canada (1996). *Profiles, Part 2.* 1996 Census of Canada.

Toronto's diversity is evident in the varied source countries of its immigration. As

Table 1.1 indicates, all of the top ten places of birth represent less than 10 percent of the

total immigrant population. When recent immigrants are isolated from the total immigrant population and compared, a pattern similar to that of Canada as a whole emerges. Asian immigration has outpaced European immigration since the 1970s, and among Toronto's recent immigrants Poland is the only European country in the top ten places of birth. Although not as numerically large as their Asian counterparts, immigrants from the Caribbean also make a significant showing among Toronto's recent immigrant population. Toronto's diversity is perhaps most vividly represented in the visible minority data that is available for the first time in the 1996 Census. The Toronto CMA is home to 42 per cent of Canada's visible minorities; representing 32 per cent of the Toronto CMA total population (Statistics Canada, 1998).

Absent Voices? Research on Immigration and Cities

Immigration and the resulting ethnocultural diversity are most acutely felt at the local level. Yet, despite attracting recent national attention and research funding, the link between cities and immigration has failed to capture the attention and imagination of a majority of Canadian planners — both academic and professional.

Working on the front lines of Canada's changing urban landscape, planners are well-placed to understand the multicultural impact of immigration. A review of the planning literature, however, reveals that very little has been written on issues of immigration and local planning.[4] Despite the related history of urban development and

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[4] Some notable exceptions here are the academic contributions of Qadeer (1997; 1994) and Sandercock (1998). By way of practice, the case studies found in the literature are almost exclusively focused on the cities of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver.

immigration,[5] the ethnocultural diversity of North American cities is rarely a topic for

contemporary planning debates. Citing a very short list of exceptions within American

literature, Laws laments that "despite the obvious links between cities and immigrants,

surprisingly little appears in the recent planning literature, and in urban studies more

broadly, on the urban dimensions of immigration and the consequences for urban

planning" (Laws, 1994: 92-93). Unfortunately, the same can be said for Canadian

planning literature (Wallace, 1997). Where ethnocultural diversity is mentioned, it tends

to be in passing as a future concern, and not addressed as part of the basic elements or

context of planning practice (Hodge, 1998: 439-40).

In an effort to overcome the lack of Canadian research on immigration and cities,

the federal government has established the Metropolis Project,[6] a joint venture between

eight federal departments and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of

Canada, worth $8 million over six years (Metropolis Canada, 1997: 4). Four Centres of

Excellence[7] were established across the country for research on immigration and

integration in Canadian cities. This long term research initiative aims to encourage

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[5] Waldinger acknowledges that during the formative years of sociology, the study of cities was largely the study of immigration (Waldinger, 1989). This would likely be a reference to the Chicago School in the early 1900s and the work done by Park and Thomas amongst others. For a description of this work, see Driedger (1989).

[6] The Canadian government's interest in cities and immigration is part of an international, multi-year undertaking to address immigration and policy development in urban centres, and rests on a global partnership among: Canada, the US, Italy, Israel, France, Denmark, the UK, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Argentina, Germany, New Zealand, and Switzerland (Metropolis Canada, 1997: 3).

[7] Centres of Excellence are located in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and Edmonton. Each Centre is structured around a partnership between local universities, although the Edmonton Centre is a regional one involving a partnership among 6 "prairie" universities. As part of the funding mandate, each Centre is actively involved in the local community, forming additional partnerships with public and private agencies, community groups and immigrant-serving organizations (Metropolis Canada, 1997). Curiously, little research is being done in the area of urban planning by scholars with the Metropolis Centres, although Planning for Diversity at the Neighbourhood/Community Level was the focus of a workshop session at the Second National Conference of the Metropolis Project held in Montreal in November, 1997 (Metropolis Canada, 1998: 285-90).

research that moves away from the traditional preoccupation of immigration as a national issue and towards a recognition of the urban reality of Canadian immigration. Of the research projects Metropolis has funded, however, very few have addressed the link between ethnocultural diversity and urban planning.

Urban Immigration and Local Planning

Diversity from immigration promises to be an important source of change for the future of Canadian cities, and there is a place for planning -- a profession where demographic analysis is a valuable tool in dealing with issues of physical and economic growth -- to take a lead role in understanding the impact of that diversity (Knack, 1997: 10). As Canadian cities experience significant demographic shifts through immigration, urban and suburban planning practice is facing challenges to its traditional tools and assumptions. Multiculturalism is entering the context of planning decisions in ways it never did before. Whether changing house numbers to be sensitive to Asian cultural practices, addressing neighbourhood disputes over in-fill housing in older areas (sometimes called monster homes), or adjusting parking requirements for places of worship with a regional catchment area and a capacity not defined by pew seats, the reality of multiculturalism is colliding with established assumptions in the everyday practice of planning.

One example of this collision is in the realm of public participation. Social norms, language barriers, and a mistrust of the process on the part of newcomers can conspire to make the traditional forum of the public meeting an ineffective planning tool. Translation services and multi-lingual documentation are a first step toward accommodating an

ethnoculturally diverse community. Adopting more community-based planning and searching for alternative means of involving the public in local decision-making may also be necessary if resident participation amidst such diversity is to be ensured. A second step is more substantive in nature, requiring structural changes. As Sandercock points out:

> We could look around the room when we are in planning meetings and ask whether the faces present represent the diversity of the population... We could deconstruct our plans (planning documents, regulations, legislation) to see who is the subject; who is the object; who is the knower, the author; and what interaction there has been between the author and the community (Sandercock, 1995: 86).

> In many ways, these challenges to planning practice are not new, echoing the efforts of activists and concerned citizens in the 1960s and 1970s to have an increased role in the process of local decision-making (Arnstein, 1969). Out of this legacy has come a greater commitment to public participation within both planning theory and practice. Planning legislation, however, has remained rooted in language which refers to people and the public as generic and undifferentiated (Wallace and Moore Milroy, forthcoming). Within this traditional framework, ethnocultural diversity is dealt with in planning practice only on a case-by-case basis as "formal policies remain 'blind' to the ethnic and cultural characteristics of a proposal" (Qadeer, 1994: 192).

Diversity, Planning and Citizenship

This dissertation addresses the following question: *How does ethnocultural diversity challenge the way we participate and belong in our communities, as seen through urban and suburban planning processes?* To answer this question, the

economic, social, political and cultural implications of land use planning are explored in

two case studies, both ethnoculturally diverse communities located in the Greater Toronto

Area.

MAP 1.1: Locating the Case Studies: Markham and Toronto

Source: Metro Toronto Planning Department
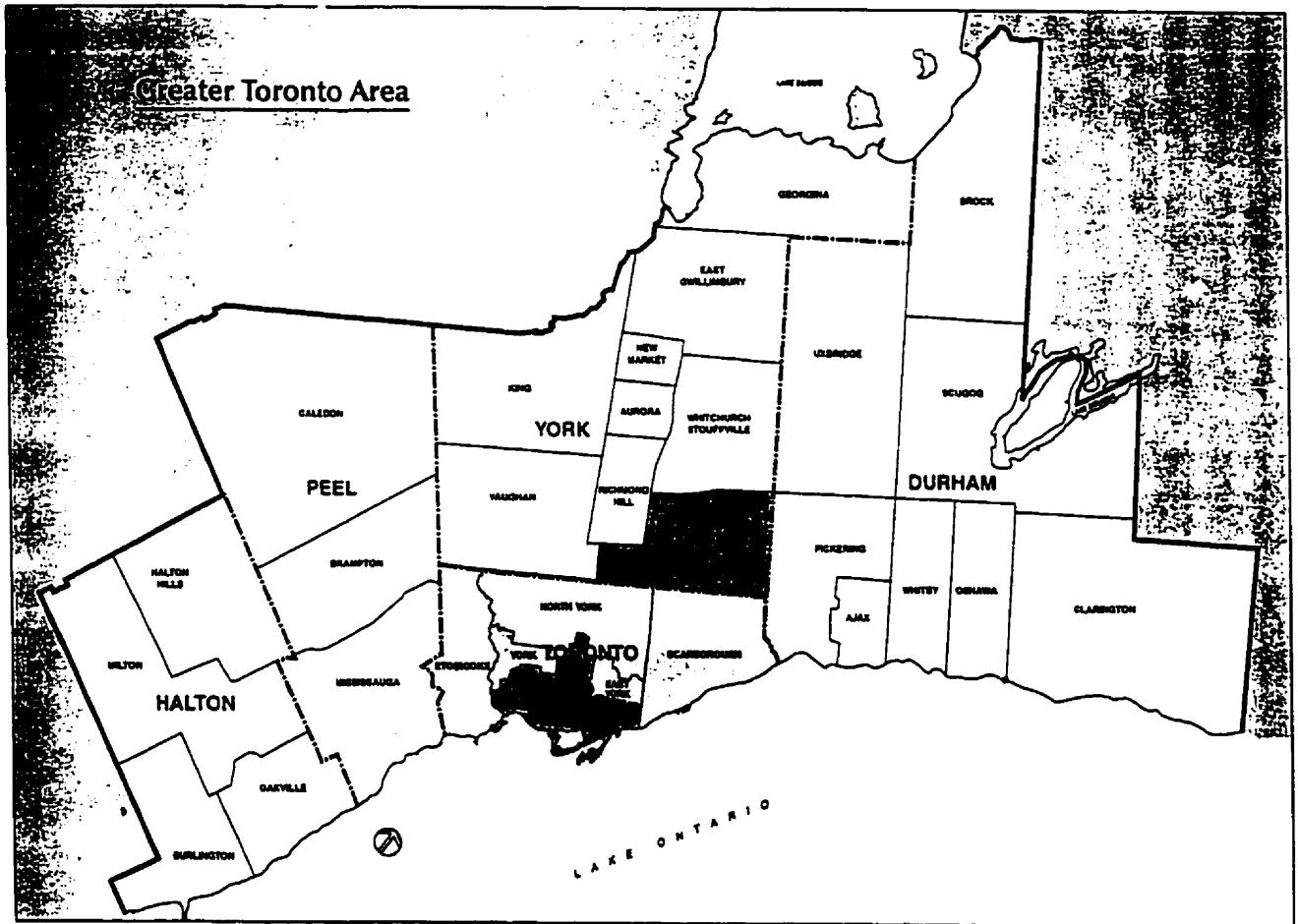
The first case study is the redevelopment of the George Brown College site in the

inner-city community of Kensington in downtown Toronto. The second case study is the

development of retail condominiums (or so-called Asian theme malls) in the suburban

Town of Markham located just north of Toronto (see Map 1.1). While ethnocultural

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diversity is the major focus in these case studies, differences based on class, gender, place

of birth, or citizenship will also be addressed where they intersect with ethnocultural

differences.

While similar in terms of their ethnocultural diversity, the two case studies

illustrate some key differences in how cities are planned. Kensington occupies a

downtown urban location, and planning in the Kensington case is necessarily influenced by

the community's density. Land use occurs in a mixed environment, with commercial,

residential, institutional and even some former industrial uses occurring adjacent to one

another. The George Brown redevelopment case study is an example of the typical form

for new development initiatives within such a dense, urban environment.

By contrast, the Markham case study offers a look into planning within a suburban

context. Markham is located just north of Toronto, where planners have been

preoccupied with managing growth in what has been primarily undeveloped, rural lands.

Along with a rapid increase in population, Markham is experiencing a boom in residential,

commercial, and industrial development within its borders. The retail condominiums

involve "greenfields development," a typical form for development initiatives within such

an open, suburban environment.

Canadian cities are not uniformly impacted by immigration, and the two case

studies also address this reality. In fact, the source of the ethnocultural diversity found in

each case study reflects the evolution of federal immigration policies. Traditionally,

Canada's immigration program admitted mostly people with a skill that was needed in the

Canadian economy, and the relatives of earlier immigrants. Inner-city communities like

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Kensington have been the traditional receiving areas for these immigrants for many decades, offering close proximity to a network of government and non-profit sector services, as well as opportunities to meet basic needs such as affordable housing and employment. This settlement pattern is often perpetuated as newcomers seek out locations where family, friends, or others from their ethnic or cultural group have settled and can provide additional support.[8]

Since the 1990s, Canadian immigration policy has been shifting toward economic immigrants. Immigrants admitted largely on the basis of economic criteria do not fit the now stereotypical image of immigrants who enter Canada at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy and work their way up through society (Porter, 1965). Business immigrants in particular can afford suburban lifestyles, and are often in a position to create employment for themselves and others. These suburban newcomers mark a change in traditional immigration settlement patterns and illustrate the varied ways in which Canada's urban centres are being impacted by immigration. Thus, while similarly multicultural, the respective urban and suburban context of Kensington and Markham mean the two communities represent very different planning environments in Toronto's metropolitan area and are being impacted by immigration in very different ways.

As discussed in the final chapter of this dissertation, care must be taken when trying to apply the lessons of the two case studies to other urban and suburban communities. It is true, for example, that ethnocultural diversity has a divisive impact in

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[8] Many caution against an idealized vision of the "ethnic neighbourhood". While serving as a social system, a cultural centre, and a place of economic and political empowerment for many (Olson and Kobayshi, 1993), it is also argued that ethnic neighbourhoods delineated categories within which groups were expected to conform; a means of ascribing "otherness" upon an ethnic group (Harney, 1990; Anderson, 1991).

some Canadian communities; indeed some multicultural communities function very poorly socially and/or economically as a result. The case studies chosen here, by contrast, have to be seen as relative success stories. It was important for this research, however, that the case study areas chosen did function relatively well and in many respects held together as communities. Along with diversity and planning, citizenship is the third key component of this research. The elements of citizenship, defined by local participation and belonging, are arguably only evident in communities that function successfully. This does not mean the research could not be revised to look at "unsuccessful" cases, but this would be a different dissertation, and is not the objective here.

A Guide to the Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into nine chapters. Following this chapter's introduction to the connection between cities and immigration, Chapter Two explains the methodology of the dissertation, including the criteria used to evaluate participation and belonging in the two case studies, the comparative case study approach used, and how the data were collected and analyzed.

Chapter Three provides a factual basis for understanding the source of ethnocultural diversity found in Canadian cities today. In this chapter an historical overview of federal immigration policy is presented, with emphasis on how federal policy has structured the demographic character of Canadian society over the last century. This overview helps to explain the differing immigrant settlement patterns found in the two case study areas used in this research.

Chapters Four and Five focus on the urban case study in Kensington. Chapter Four offers a context for the planning case to be examined, presenting a detailed description of the Kensington community, including a brief history and an empirical portrait of its ethnocultural diversity. Chapter Five moves to the particulars of the case study, providing a detailed understanding of the ways in which people participated in the planning process. Structured by the criteria introduced in Chapter Two, information is drawn from both document and interview data.

Chapters Six and Seven focus on the suburban case study in Markham, and follow the format of the previous two chapters. Chapter Six provides a historical and empirical context for the planning case study examined in this research. Chapter Seven explores the case study in light of the criteria from Chapter Two, using both document and interview data.

Chapter Eight compares and contrasts the two case studies. Based on the criteria introduced in Chapter Two, participation and belonging in the two communities are evaluated with an aim to identifying the impact of ethnocultural diversity. The chapter closes with a discussion of ethnocultural diversity within the context of urban and suburban planning, and the currency of what seems to be a burgeoning concept: "multicultural planning". Specifically, the changes needed in the planning process to address the impact of multiculturalism on local participation and belonging are explored.

In Chapter Nine, a summary of the dissertation is offered within the framework of its three interrelated themes: diversity, planning and citizenship. It is argued that conceptually this research speaks to our sense of citizenship – a notion that is relevant

beyond formal rights and obligations and can be seen in the active practices of decision-making that we engage in within local communities -- and that the planning process offers a venue to explore the ways in which people exercise their local citizenship within local decision-making structures. The chapter closes with some suggested directions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: Citizenship in Canadian Communities

The planning process provides a context in which to understand how we participate and belong in our communities. In this dissertation, a comparative case study approach is employed to examine particular land use planning examples and understand better participation and belonging in culturally diverse urban and suburban centres. This chapter begins by introducing the comparison being made, and in particular the scale of that comparison. The methodology of the study is explained, both in terms of research design and implementation. The remainder of the chapter outlines the concept of citizenship as it is used in this research; specifically its utility at the local level. The chapter concludes by identifying the criteria, developed within a communitarian context, that are used to evaluate the two case studies in subsequent chapters.

Understanding "Community"

Community is counter to the rugged individual so worshipped today. It draws from our natural thrust toward association, and it is difficult to define because there is a certain mystical quality to it, and there is such absence of community today. Community is a willing association which embraces consensus with much difference, the encouragement of individualism with no outcasts. It is a safe place that is always growing, learning from conflict with everyone a leader, and lastly it is a spirit — of peace, of the group itself, of wisdom beyond the individual (Gerecke, 1988: 34).

To some, the above sentiment is utopian and naive. To others, it describes the very ideal our society should be working towards. In this study, community is the level of analysis.

The term "community", however, is not without its own epistemological baggage. Communities have a spatial element, as areas within cities or urban regions that have particular characteristics that set them apart from the rest of the city (Davies and Herbert, 1993: 6). More than the place where people routinely interact with neighbours, community also evokes sociological meaning. In fact, community is often seen as "an ambiguous and overused concept," referring broadly to social bonds forged by a range of common experiences, interests, and struggles (Horton, 1995: 36). Community is the social domain of our lives, a place of local level associations -- family, friends, and neighbours, clubs and civic groups, local unions, government, and media. In the context of this research, where the ways in which people participate in local decision-making and share a sense of belonging with their neighbours is of key interest, "community" is also the environment where citizenship can be practiced. "Community" is thus used here as both a geographical and sociological concept, with reference to a physical area in addition to common ties and social interaction (Knox, 1995: 213).

Comparing Apples and Apples: "Community" in this Dissertation

Given the differences in spatial extent and population between the two case studies, there could be some concern as to whether or not the comparison being made in this research is of the same scale. Although the suburbanized collection of villages (Markham) and the inner-city neighbourhood of a few square blocks (Kensington) being compared here are of unequal size, both represent a similar mental and physical boundary

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of belonging that residents within the two case studies identify with. That is, there is a shared quality of life that exists within these communities that can be readily identified and compared. It is this apparent, yet hard to define, sense of community that is being explored under the rubric of local citizenship. The dissertation seeks to evaluate what, if anything, exists in the two communities beyond shared boundaries. While Markham *could* be used as a higher level of analysis than Kensington — i.e. municipality vs. neighbourhood (Andranovich and Riposa, 1993), the focus of this research is not aimed at Markham as a centre of government and administration, but rather as a community from which the underlying urban social and political processes can be explored. Thus Markham and Kensington are not used in the research as a "municipality" and a "neighbourhood", but rather as "communities".

The boundaries chosen also serve a very practical purpose, given that the dissertation explores the arena of land use planning decisions in suburban and urban environments. Planning is done on the scale of the entire municipality in Markham under the Official Plan. For Kensington Market residents, planning is nested within the City of Toronto's Official Plan, but their primary contact with urban planning is through the community planner assigned to the local area, guided by the Part II Official Plan, the secondary plan for Kensington.

This does not mean that the existing political boundaries of this particular municipality and neighbourhood represent the only relevant boundaries for Markham and Kensington residents. As an intensely personal concept, "community" may indeed be

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defined within larger boundaries (the Greater Toronto Area, or the City of Toronto[1] for example) or even smaller boundaries (the old village of Unionville in Markham or Augusta Street within Kensington) than those used here. In fact, "community" was *not* consistently defined by the interview participants in either case study. Some gave the label a social meaning, describing their community as the basis of their identity. Others described their community as a place where goods and services could be collectively shared, giving the concept a political and economic meaning. Still others rejected the term altogether when describing the events that took place in the case studies. It was out of the interview portion of this research that the understanding and use of the word "community" in the dissertation significantly evolved, through a recognition that a community undoubtedly is a product of what its inhabitants think it is, and that classifications and definitions of communities "must depend on the geographic scales of reference used by people" (Knox, 1995: 214).

This study was not designed with a preconception of what community means for individuals or groups, nor did it seek to form such a definition. Community therefore should be understood here only as a means of defining the scale or level of analysis. As the dissertation explores participation in local decision-making, however, the degree to which people feel a sense of belonging in their community is an important factor in achieving meaningful participation. The potential for a *collective* sense of belonging, and thus the extent to which "community" describes more than a geographic and social

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[1] In this context, City of Toronto refers to the former City of Toronto, which became the physical core of a much larger amalgamated City of Toronto in 1998.

boundary, is something speculated upon within the final chapter's discussion of local citizenship (Chapter Nine).

Planning, Community and the 'Public Interest'

In the planning literature, issues of participation and belonging in communities have been addressed under the rubric of the 'public interest'. Encompassing notions of technical optimality and ethical good (Mazza, 1996: 397), planning is deemed to be in the 'public interest' when it produces "sound, amenable development for the community as a whole" (Hodge, 1998: 197). Determining what that looks like in practice, however, is unavoidably tangled in the political nature of local decision-making, a process fragmented by the various interests hoping to exert influence. What the 'public interest' means, therefore, is related to who defines the 'public interest'. But as Hodge explains:

> "Quite simply, there is no ready mechanism for doing this. Politicians will argue that voters have sanctioned their views; citizen groups will argue that their grass-roots views truly reflect the public interest; and planners may argue that their comprehensive view of the community provides the basis for such a definition. Clearly, there is ample room for conflict among participants in whichever definition the planner adopts" (Hodge, 1998: 402).

In the first half of the twentieth century, urban planners were preoccupied with the goal of efficiency, defined within a context of rational comprehensive planning. The views of those affected by planning proposals and decisions were said to be represented by planners themselves. That is, though citizens did not participate directly in decision-making, a major tenet of the planning profession was that planners were to act in the

'public interest'. Not only was it assumed that there was such a thing as a common

'public interest' , but it was also taken for granted that due to their education and position,

planners (and other political administrators) were deemed capable of defining that 'public

interest'. Rational comprehensive planning, then, was "...premised on the idea that there is

a collective 'public interest' that can be identified through the planning process, and

becomes the criterion for evaluating alternative planning proposals" (Alexander, 1992:

129).

The first challenge to this dominant perspective in planning came in the 1960s as

both practitioners and theorists began to question why what was in the interest of the poor

and the marginalized was often not part of what was defined as the 'public interest'. This

critique coalesced around a seminal article by Paul Davidoff (1965) and his idea of

"advocacy planning". Alarmed that planners were too concerned with the process of

planning and had lost sight of the outcomes, Davidoff argued that planning was not a

value neutral activity, and that planners should not only identify the values underlying their

prescriptions, but importantly affirm them and take a political stand as an advocate for

what they deemed right. Davidoff presented a fundamental challenge to the assumed

neutrality of planning, and the ability of planners to equitably define the public interest.

While advocacy planning has been widely attributed with broadening the scope of

what are considered the roles and responsibilities of planners, some of the mostly white,

middle class professionals who went into poor neighbourhoods to act as advocates for the

marginalized found the experience sobering (Sandercock, 1998: 89). In cases where a

lack of decision-making power was the problem, technical skills of advocacy proved to be

of limited utility. Moreover, as Sandercock argues, the planners came to these communities with an agenda, conceptualized the problem and defined the terms of a solution:

> Under this model [advocacy planning] some planners would now explicitly think about and represent the poor in the planning process -- without, however, actually giving the poor a voice in that process... Advocacy planning expanded the role of professionals and left the structure of power intact (Sandercock, 1998: 89-90).

Despite its limitations, advocacy planning opened up the concept of a single 'public interest' for scrutiny. In the decades that followed, other groups in society came forward arguing that their interests were not being met by the planning process and its reliance on a planner-defined 'public interest'. Feminist activists within planning were analyzing gender inequalities (Moore Milroy, 1990). People of colour were drawing attention to racist practices in planning (Thomas and Ritzdorf, 1997). Gay and lesbian activists were addressing oppression affecting their lives in cities (Forsyth, 1997; Valentine, 1993). Today, multicultural difference is also becoming a category of analysis in planning (Sandercock, 1998). Combined, these various critiques;

> "...have left this particular historical notion of 'the public interest' in tatters, as have the lived realities of late twentieth-century existence. A defining characteristic of this era is a multiplicity of cultural communities and social groups dwelling in any one city or region, often alongside and yet not connecting with each other, sometimes incapable or barely capable of peaceful co-existence (Sandercock, 1998: 197).

As the range of interests affected by the planning process filters out into various groups, the concept of a single 'public interest' is severely undermined. For those who do not wish to abandon the idea entirely, how one defines the 'public interest' must be addressed. There have been a few attempts to do just that (Alexander, 1992: 130-31). One is to see the public interest in a normative framework, a concept based on explicit values, as in advocacy planning (Davidoff, 1965). In this case, planning might be deemed in the public interest if it is equitable, or if it improves the situation for those worst off in the community. Another alternative is to interpret the 'public interest' in terms of the 'relevant public' (Klosterman, 1980: 326). Here planning would be considered in the public interest if it benefits the group of individuals that are relevant to the issue at hand. Although this approach requires that the planner decide who is 'relevant', arguably the plurality of interests that exist can be more readily acknowledged for a single policy or decision than for planning practice in general. Perhaps the most enduring approach to redefining the 'public interest' has been calls for democratic public participation. From this perspective, planning is in the public interest when everyone participates, with the legitimacy of the process directly related to the level of participation (Arnstein, 1969). This too has its drawbacks, however, articulated in the debate over the efficiency and effectiveness of public participation strategies (Wallace, Woo and Boudreau, 1997).

Rather than bolstering a discredited concept, Sandercock opts for the creation of a new, fragmented definition of the 'public interest'. Discussed as part of a larger critique of the pillars of the traditional approach to planning, Sandercock makes the case for diverse or multiple publics. Planners under the traditional paradigm operate in the 'public

interest' and present a public image of neutrality; planning policies are expected to be gender- and race-neutral. Sandercock argues that the concept of the 'public interest' must be deconstructed: "We must acknowledge that there are *multiple publics*" (Sandercock, 1998: 30; italics in original).

Such a "multiple publics" perspective, however, should not be equated with planning without any concern for the public, but rather planning in a way that diversity in behavior, opinion and experiences is assumed to be the norm. Planning from this perspective must recognize the complexities in decision-making within any community. The research for this dissertation is informed by this "multiple publics" perspective. The ethnoculturally diverse communities of Kensington and Markham are not assumed to have a collective purpose, nor is it expected that planners in those communities will be able to articulate a single 'public interest'. In fact, the focus of this research was the challenges that diversity presents for the planning process.

A Note on Methodology: Comparative Case Study Research

This dissertation is exploratory in nature; it seeks insights and asks questions as opposed to strictly describing events or attempting to explain actions.[2] As such, it does not seek to find a causal relationship between citizenship, planning and ethnocultural diversity, but rather makes a case for recognizing the interrelationship between these three themes. "Rich description", using a variety of data sources and data collection techniques, is used to describe the context of the communities and the background and context of the planning situations in Chapters Five and Seven. "Reflection" is employed in Chapter

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[2] For more detail on "exploratory" research as opposed to "descriptive" or "interpretive" research, see Neuman (1997), chapter four.

Eight, to evaluate and understand the decisions made within the particular planning process that occurred in each case study. This reflection is based on the comparison of differing perspectives articulated in the combination of interview and document data, and helps to draw the connections between planning and participation in each community and the broader concept of local citizenship (found in Chapter Seven).

The data were obtained from two major sources. Newspapers, planning documents, as well as various municipal, consultant and community studies and reports were used to define the scope of the research, and frame the case studies. Key informant interviews provided a "reality-check" on the secondary data collected, and created a more complete picture of events and the interaction of various actors. The interviews offered insight into why particular decisions were made and by whom, and provided additional context for the decisions made within the formal and informal planning processes. However, they are meant to be neither exhaustive nor representative of the case study communities, but rather used as a technique to augment what is documented about a particular situation. This combination of secondary and primary research was used in order to arrive at a more complete understanding of the case study communities and the planning processes that occurred around the particular situations explored in this dissertation.

The case study method allows the inclusion of such a variety of data sources. Through the use of case studies, the subjects of the research (planning and citizenship) are investigated within a real-life context (ethnocultural diversity) (Yin, 1984; Feagin, Orum and Sjoberg, 1991). Belonging to the "context of discovery" rather than the "context of

validation" (Ragin, 1991), case study research does not provide the means to prove ideas or test hypotheses so much as it allows for exploration of "one or two issues or processes that are fundamental to understanding the system being studied" (Feagin, Orum and Sjoberg, 1991: 153). The focus of this study is on the decision-making process surrounding a particular planning example in each case study community. The comparison of two case studies allows for the relationship between the variables planning and citizenship to be examined within a common context -- in this case cultural diversity.

While the two case studies chosen are similar in that they both have ethnoculturally diverse populations, the history of this diversity, the impact it has on each community, and the implications it presents for local decision-making are quite different for Markham and Kensington. It is these differences that the dissertation attempts to draw out through the comparison of the two case studies. In particular, a comparative case study approach is useful to understand the impact of federal immigration policy over the last twenty years -- with the very different local histories in the two communities offering concrete examples of the impacts of changing federal immigration policy agendas. As well, the urban and suburban differences between the two communities not only allow for a comparison of differing planning priorities, but also present an opportunity to contrast differing senses of community membership or local citizenship. To reiterate the three themes of the dissertation presented in Chapter One -- diversity, planning and citizenship -- the comparative case study approach used in this dissertation provides a more detailed and potentially more accurate understanding of both the challenges ethnocultural diversity

poses for urban and suburban communities, as well as the options and means used to address these challenges.

Defining Citizenship[3]

Citizenship describes one's participation, or membership, in a common community, with community typically understood as a political community (Barbalet, 1988: 2). Formally, citizenship is a legal status within a set of political institutions or practices. Given certain rights and responsibilities of government, people are equal in their status as "citizens" (Flathman, 1995: 112).

By extension, "designating membership in a national community, citizenship also defines non-membership" (Barbalet, 1988: 97). With different types of political communities come different types of citizenship, and different conditions put on the means to acquire citizenship. As Brubaker explains:

> ...citizenship is locally exclusive. Every state limits access to its citizenship. It limits the circle of persons to whom it ascribes its citizenship at birth, and specifies the terms and conditions on which it will permit others to acquire its citizenship (Brubaker, 1992: 31).

Moreover, citizenship is the purview of nation-states and not individuals: "Citizenship is not as many other memberships voluntary," Hammar explains. "The state decides whether a citizen shall be allowed to renounce his citizenship, and whether a foreigner shall be granted citizenship." (Hammar, 1986: 740-41; see also Bauböck, 1991: 9-10). This has

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[3] Citizenship has become a popular topic in recent academic scholarship. Efforts to (re)define citizenship have been the subject of a number of stimulating essay collections by a range of scholars (e.g. Andrews, 1991; Barry, 1994; Beiner, 1995; Clarke, 1994; Turner, 1993; Vogel and Moran, 1991). For Canadian citizenship, in particular, see: Kaplan, 1993.

proved to be a point of tension in many Western European countries as definitions of

citizenship separate immigrants, and sometimes subsequent generations of immigrants,

from the rest of society (Hintjens, 1992). Even in Canada, a country known for its liberal

immigration reception, concern over inflows of immigrants has spawned discriminatory

and intolerant attitudes among some who view immigrants as outsiders regardless of their

legal status.[4]

The distinction between membership and non-membership -- what some describe

as the "politics of citizenship" (Hall and Held, 1989) -- is especially relevant when the

relationship between immigration and citizenship is considered. Immigrants are dependent

upon host states for some rights of citizenship they once possessed in their home country.

As Bauböck explains:

> Any right to immigrate which might be conceded, is dependent on a decision by
>
> the authorities or on rights held by members of the country of immigration that
>
> cannot be seen as acting on behalf of the immigrant...[those] who have not held an
>
> autonomous right of immigration when entering the receiving state, generally find
>
> themselves afterwards in a reduced status of citizenship within the legal and
>
> political system of this country (Bauböck, 1991: 27).

Thus, the exclusionary aspects of defining citizenship can become an instrument of "social

closure" for a society (Garcia, 1996: 12).

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[4] Canadian society may have its share of intolerance, but Canadian citizenship remains one of the most
inclusive of Western democracies. As Kaplan explains: "Very few countries, Canada is probably the one
exception of note, give permanent residents a 'right' to citizenship when stated conditions are met," rather
than reserving naturalization for when it is in the interest of the state (Kaplan, 1993: 253). Or, as
Cousineau argues, immigrants and refugees to Canada become Canadian citizens by changing their
membership in a nation-state. "The status of citizens of Canada is independent of any prior or subsequent
contribution to our nation-state" (Cousineau, 1993: 137).

In bestowing the status of "citizen", states also offer a variety of citizenship rights, including civil, political and social rights (Marshall, 1992: 8-9). Civil rights include the right to own property, and are the oldest form of citizenship rights in modern democracies. Political rights, such as the right to vote, were the next to evolve. Social rights arrived with the advent of the welfare state, and include rights to health care or education.[5] Today the concept of citizenship is most commonly associated with nation-states, as they are empowered to grant the status and rights of citizenship.

The benefits of membership in a national community, or national citizenship, has been challenged in this century by socio-economic pressures as social rights have proven to be difficult to guarantee. Though aspired to by some, social rights have failed to be universally applied to all citizens in many modern democratic states in the same way as civil and political rights. It is here that the challenges of delivering the benefits of national citizenship have undermined an exclusively national definition of citizenship. That is, as local communities increasingly take on the responsibilities of funding and delivering the goods of the modern welfare state, the comprehensiveness of a national citizenship beyond legal status is eroded.

Citizenship in the Canadian Context

Canadian citizenship has evolved primarily as a formal-legal concept within the context of the expansion of rights (Williams, 1985: 99). A term absent from the 1867 *Constitution*, Canadian "citizenship" did not exist until 1947 with the passage of the

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[5] Marshall's evolutionary understanding of citizenship rights is highly contested (see, for example, Mann, 1987). The burgeoning of social rights can possibly be traced even earlier that the welfare state in Canada's largest cities (Toronto, Montreal) where there was a growing understanding of social rights articulated in basic housing and health programs.

Canadian Citizenship Act. This marked a significant shift away from Canada's role as a

British colony and was meant to be a positive expression of Canadian nationalism. As the

minister responsible for the *Citizenship Act*, Secretary of State Paul Martin, explains:

"Canada... was becoming more outward-looking and would be better fitted to play its full

part in the world if Canadians had a sense of community expressed by appropriate

symbols" (Martin, 1993: 71). The *Citizenship Act* was to give Canadians "a

consciousness of common purpose and common interests as Canadians" (Canada, 1946:

502).

Canadian citizenship, as it was envisioned by its architects, was never intended as a

solely legal notion. Citizenship was seen as a legal status whose active elements were

expressed in the people and the infrastructure of the nation. As Martin explained in the

House of Commons at the time the *Citizenship Act* was debated:

> Citizenship means more than the right to vote; more than the right to hold and
>
> transfer property; more than the right to move freely under the protection of the
>
> state: citizenship is the right to full partnership in the fortunes and future of this
>
> nation.
>
> With this bill we are linking our past with our future. We are saying to history and
>
> to our posterity: Here is the definition of Canadianism. Here is the common status
>
> in Canada, a common stake in the welfare of this country, a common Canadian
>
> citizenship (Canada, 1946: 510).

This sentiment was further strengthened in the 1960s as concern over human rights became an important milestone for the concept of Canadian citizenship, moving it away from its exclusively rights-based understanding. As Williams explains:

> Interest groups had mobilized around various human rights issues, fitting the language of rights to the special interests of their members. A *sociological* rather than *legalistic* approach to citizen rights was increasingly apparent. And there was a new concern with equality rights and with the socioeconomic prerequisites of equality (emphasis added) (Williams, 1985: 107).

By 1982 the Canadian citizen was guaranteed some civil, political and social rights with the introduction of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. This was a most significant point in the development of Canadian citizenship, yet even as Canada was redefining itself as a country separate from British tradition the concept of citizenship remained elusive. In fact, compared with most European nations, the citizenship which has developed in Canada is "easy and undemanding" (Morton, 1993: 59), a "minimalist citizenship, ill-defined and therefore unthreatening" (Fulford, 1993: 11).

The Limitations of National Citizenship in Canada

Citizenship, understood as more than a legal status, includes a range of political, civil and social rights (Marshall, 1992) -- the provision of which is something that all national governments are finding harder to do. In Canada, in particular, economic and political pressures to decentralize government are increasingly shifting the responsibility of ensuring citizenship rights through funding and service delivery to provincial, regional and local levels. Debt reduction and restructuring efforts in areas of social programs (health

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care and unemployment insurance, for example) are eroding the infrastructure that national citizenship requires. The Canadian government has less fiscal capacity to support the universal social rights envisioned when the *Canadian Citizenship Act* was first introduced. Furthermore, the federal government is no longer the only instrument for realizing citizenship rights and is unable to guarantee equal or universal application of such rights, as the provinces and municipalities take on policy-making roles.

Given this fiscal strain, many argue that Canada must move beyond social rights as a basis for (national) citizenship (Fulford, 1993: 107). In an economic and political climate where social rights cannot promise to hold us together as Canadians, one obvious direction in which the federal government has moved has been the promotion and recognition of Canada's multiculturalism. It has proved very difficult, however, to incorporate that diversity into an understanding of citizenship. As Paquet points out:

> There has been a recognition that citizenship in a polyethnic and bi-national society is not easy to develop. Besides simplistic ministerial references to "linking citizenship to cultural diversity," little has been done to determine what this sort of citizenship might be (Paquet, 1994: 73).

Bissoondath goes further, suggesting that it has been failed attempts to incorporate multiculturalism into citizenship ("the creation of hyphenated Canadians") that has diminished the value of Canadian citizenship itself (Bissoondath, 1994). Despite legislation and targeted spending, a national citizenship based on Canada's multicultural reality has failed to effectively replace social rights as a basis for citizenship in practice.

Beyond a Formal-Legal Approach: Substantive Citizenship

Citizenship, conceptualized from a national perspective, is defined by legal rights and obligations. It is a legal construct, essentially a passive understanding of citizenship. It assumes that people become citizens and acquire the identity of citizenship out of legal means and not out of experiential or social relations.

If, however, the argument is accepted that national governments are less capable of providing that "collective project", and that the job of providing the [social] benefits of citizenship are increasingly decentralized to lower levels of government, then there becomes room for alternative conceptualizations of citizenship.[6]

More than a status bestowed by the state, citizenship involves membership in a (political) community, the legitimacy of which is often judged by the degree of participation in that community. According to Kymlicka and Norman, it is these two concepts of citizenship which are mistakenly conflated:

> ...citizenship-as-legal-status, that is, as full membership in a particular political
> community; and citizenship-as-desirable-activity, where the extent and quality of
> one's citizenship is a function of one's participation in that community (Kymlicka
> and Norman, 1995: 284).

Another way to understand this duality in the concept of citizenship is to recognize a distinction between formal and substantive citizenship (Brubaker, 1992; Bottomore, 1992; Bauböck, 1991).[7] *Formal citizenship* allows a person to claim the status of citizen and

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[6] The discussion of alternatives has focused on the pressures from above (global) and below (local) upon the nation-state (Beiner, 1995), with the final frontier of citizenship described as its confinement in the territorial limits of the state (Parry, 1991: 167).

[7] This distinction between formal and substantive citizenship has also been referred to as "associate" and "full" membership (Bissoondath, 1993: 384).

any rights and obligations granted from political membership in a community. *Substantive citizenship*, on the other hand, is much harder to secure, requiring equal participation in a community. Substantive citizenship moves beyond a legal status and includes a universality or equality in the practice of citizenship.

For Marshall, substantive citizenship was the end goal of the evolution of citizenship rights in modern democratic states. He described this journey to substantive citizenship as the movement forward by society on a path "toward a fuller measure of equality" (Marshall, 1992: 18). From this perspective, substantive citizenship was ultimately a socio-economic matter because citizenship for Marshall was about the welfare state's ability to provide a minimum socio-economic equality for all classes through the promise of social rights. The provision of extended welfare rights, however, proved difficult to sustain, and therefore raises questions as to whether or not social rights *should* be considered rights of citizenship. As Parry points out, substantive citizenship, if based on Marshall's criteria of rights, is unattainable for most states (Parry, 1991: 196). It is the ability of the state to guarantee such rights of citizenship that is problematic.

Substantive Citizenship at the Local Level?

The limitations of a legally constructed definition of citizenship have been widely argued by those who, wary of citizenship being understood merely as a collection of rights and obligations, recognize the sociological element of citizenship (Barbalet, 1988; Turner, 1993). Acknowledging that citizenship is more than a legal status but also an activity, citizenship is seen to originate out of not only membership but also participation in a community. As Turner explains:

Citizenship is the set of social practices which define social membership in a society

which is highly differentiated both in its culture and social institutions, and where

social solidarity can only be based upon general and universalistic standards (Turner,

1993: 5).

The benefit of such a conceptualization of citizenship, according to Turner, is that it places

the concept squarely in the debate over inequality and the problem of unequal distribution

of resources in society (Turner, 1993). Citizenship as a set of practices[8] is therefore an

active idea imbedded in the local level of social relations. As Alejandro describes it,

citizens are the subjects, not the objects of citizenship. Citizenship, he argues, is:

...a space of memories and struggles where collective identities are played out... a

space where citizens decode languages and practices. As a space of memories,

citizenship requires symbols... signs... rites... myths... and even instances of

forgetfulness (Alejandro, 1993: 36).

Participation then, as the practice of one's shared membership or citizenship, is not passive

but active in the associations and relations encountered at the local level. Participating is

more than voting in elections to be served by those elected, it is "in the associational

networks of civil society, unions, parties, movements, interest groups and so on..."

(Walzer, 1995: 164).

Recognizing the local elements of citizenship need not be a rejection of the national

elements of citizenship. Citizenship is a legal construct, a status bestowed by the state,

and the state plays a unique role in both framing society and occupying a space within it

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[8] Turner uses the word "practices" to reflect "the dynamic social construction of citizenship which changes historically as a consequence of political struggles..." (Turner, 1993: 2-3).

(Walzer, 1995: 169). The argument made here, however, is that citizenship is *more* than a legal construct, and is present in the actions and practices of social relations at the local level. Shifting focus from the national to the local level does not necessarily offer a more legitimate practice of citizenship. Care should be taken not to romanticize the concept of the "local community" -- it is important to recognize the inequities that are present in local practices as well. A local understanding of citizenship, where citizenship is seen as active, as a set of practices, assumes that some degree of common membership is possible. The basis of this common membership, or the ability of citizens to participate in a common community equally, however, is by no means ensured.

Diversity and the Challenges of Substantive Local Citizenship

Given the heterogeneous nature of communities, perhaps the most significant obstacle to achieving substantive local citizenship is assuming universality in the practice of citizenship. When citizenship is understood as legal status, people are said to be equal, regardless of social or group inequities among them, by virtue of their shared status as citizens. Those who do not share in this status are not promised equality by the state; a point that was made earlier with the conflation of immigration and citizenship. Diversity, however, challenges the legitimacy of this assumed equality in practice. Social or group inequities can prevent individual citizens from obtaining the full benefits of citizenship in the (political) community, even if they may be legally equally entitled to them.

Although the distinction between formal and substantive citizenship was originally conceived with class differences in mind, the inequalities that are inevitably bound up with citizenship can alternatively be understood based on ethnocultural diversity. Where formal

citizenship exists, the substantive rights of citizenship may not be acquired in practice, or only to an unequal degree, by particular ethnocultural groups (Bottomore, 1992: 69). Despite the assertion that citizenship requires "a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilization which is a common possession," (Marshall, 1992: 24) the sense of belonging in a common community is not guaranteed with the shared experience of citizenship any more than it is with the shared status of citizen.

Evaluating Substantive Local Citizenship

Planning as a structure and process for local decision-making provides a useful context in which to observe community membership, or the ways in which people participate and belong in their communities. While the land use planning examples used in this research provide a useful lens through which to explore these ideas, planning in itself does not provide a means of evaluating the nature of community membership. For example, is belonging and membership in a community manifested in a formal right to attend public meetings? To what degree does membership go beyond this basic participation and involve power and influence over local decision-making? How equitably is this power and influence shared within the community? In what varied and complex ways do groups and individuals function within the community?

In order to evaluate participation and belonging as seen in local planning processes, criteria have been taken from the communitarian tradition. Communitarianism is one side of a long standing debate within political thought over whether it is the individual or the community that is the most appropriate unit of analysis, political organization and social action. (Avineri and de-Shalit, 1992). In recent years, there has

been a revival of communitarian ideas by those unwilling to accept the status quo of contemporary urban society: "..the longing for community has arisen from many voices... Scholars in different fields, with different perspectives seem to share a weariness with the politics of interest" (Hirsch, 1986: 423).

While communitarianism has a wide band of supporters in both philosophical and practical circles, its critics are also abundant. One of the strongest criticisms of communitarianism is that it requires homogeneity to function -- if not homogeneity in membership, then homogeneity in terms of a commonly held vision of the future and the importance of community membership. Critics point out that such a homogeneous environment is seldom possible:

> Because they often do not look at... 'hard cases' -- these critics of liberalism or liberal institutions spare themselves the painful task of examining the ways in which 'community' may conflict with other values; hard cases are where the *dangers* of community become apparent (emphasis in original) (Hirsch, 1986: 424).

These so-called "dangers" of community arise out of the common historical, cultural or social experience that binds a community together, but in no way must meet universal or independent standards about what is "right" or "good". Although most commonly described within the confines of a moral and consensual association of individuals, critics argue that communitarianism ideals could likewise be used to foster a closed community structured, for example, around a racist or sexist inequality. The danger of communitarianism, therefore, is in the potential to romanticize the concept of

"community" by putting it beyond reproach simply because it is a local-level association.
As Hirsch sternly concludes:

> The cry for community is, to be sure, heart-felt; the language is often elegant and
> the sentiments noble. In the end, however, it is a cry for a medicine that cannot
> cure the pain, and that can produce a disastrous pathology of its own (Hirsch,
> 1986: 426).

A Modified Communitarian Approach

Although the "community" is a justifiable level of analysis for research based on
local decision-making as seen in planning practice, the ideals of communitarianism do not
sufficiently allow for the challenges ethnocultural diversity poses within Canada's urban
communities. In order to evaluate the substantive nature of community membership
within Kensington and Markham, criteria evolving out of what may be called a "modified
communitarian approach" are used. This approach is based on the ideas of civic
membership and community found in the communitarian tradition summarized in Robert
Putnam's Making Democracy Work (1993). It is tempered, however, by liberal and post-
modern critiques of the civic community ideal related to diversity and inequality, as raised
by Will Kymlicka (Multicultural Citizenship, 1995) and Iris Marion Young (Justice and the
Politics of Difference, 1990) respectively.

Putnam identifies four elements as the central themes of the communitarian ideal of
a "civic community": (1) civic engagement; (2) political equality; (3) solidarity, trust and
tolerance; and (4) associations (Putnam, 1993: 87-91). *Civic engagement* refers to
participation in public affairs. According to Putnam, within a civic community people's

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citizenship is marked by their active participation in public affairs. Citizens are not

motivated to participate out of altruism, however one's self-interest is defined in the

context of broader public needs in the civic community. *Political equality* is a second

theme of the communitarian ideal of civic community as described by Putnam, and refers

to the democratic relations of cooperation that exist within the community. The structure

of the ideal civic community is reinforced by a series of horizontal relations of reciprocity

and cooperation, within a general climate of equal rights and obligations. Putnam does

not go so far as to suggest there is an absence of power within the communitarian ideal,

although he does admit that in the civic community leaders must be responsible to their

citizens (the democratic cornerstone), resisting relationships of authority and dependency.

Solidarity, trust and tolerance is the third theme of the civic community. While the civic

community ideal is not expected to be conflict free (in fact, Putnam argues it is filled with

healthy conflicts), tolerance is a necessity for the community to function. Amidst the

diversity of the community, isolation, distrust and opportunism are dispelled with the

solidarity of the communitarian ideal citizens share. *Associations* is the final theme of the

civic community, and according to Putnam the most important. Associations are the

social structures and practices that reinforce the civic community on a daily basis. These

associations will be local, participatory, and indigenous in that they embody the norms and

values of the community.

Civic community, broken down into these four elements, offers a useful base from

which to examine the meaning and practice of local citizenship -- or as it is articulated in

this dissertation, the participation and belonging that is evident within local decision-

making. These elements of civic community, however, offer no assistance in addressing

the thorny questions associated with diversity and inequality necessarily found in a

heterogeneous community, and arguably found in every community outside the

communitarian ideal. For this, attention must be paid to liberal and post-modern writers

that acknowledge the complex reality of heterogeneous communities.

Although aimed at the level of the multicultural state, Kymlicka (1995) sheds some

light upon the inequalities that inevitably exist within a heterogeneous community at any

spatial level of analysis. Kymlicka argues that although society needs universal rights

assigned to all individuals regardless of group membership, certain differentiated rights or

"special status" must also be given to minority groups if equality is to exist in practice

(Kymlicka, 1995: 27-33). As Kymlicka explains, group differentiated rights "are based on

the idea that justice between groups requires that the members of differentiated groups be

accorded different rights" (Kymlicka, 1995: 47).

Coming from a liberal tradition, Kymlicka is not articulating a justification for

collective rights out of interest in the character or traditions of a minority group in the

communitarian sense. Rather, the protection of group rights for cultural minorities is

considered necessary to preserve a context for individual choice (Kymlicka, 1995: 34).

Minority groups are said to need this protection because without it, the rights of

citizenship that are held in common would be interpreted by the majority. In fact, beyond

this adjustment to create equality in the practice of commonly held rights of citizenship

(such as the right to participation in decision-making), Kymlicka severely questions the

ability of a common citizenship, a sense of belonging, to exist at all within a differentiated

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society that lacks shared values and a shared identity. As he points out, heterogeneous societies lack the means for "membership in shared possession" (Kymlicka, 1995: 180-181) such as a commonality in history, language or culture that homogenous communities can build a common citizenship upon.

Post-modern theorists likewise criticize the "civic community" ideal as summarized in Putnam's work above, although on different grounds. As Young (1990) argues, there is no such thing as the common good. Collectivities do exist, but only in that strangers share public space and are collectively impacted by social, economic, political and/or cultural concerns (the domain of planning decisions). According to Young, an alternative to the ideal of community is "a normative ideal of city life" whereby social relations are defined as the being together of strangers. As she explains:

> In the city persons and groups interact within spaces and institutions they all experience themselves as belonging to, but without those interactions dissolving into unity or commonness... City dwellers are thus together, bound to one another, in what should be and sometimes is a single polity. Their being together entails some common problems and common interests, but they do not create a community of shared final ends, of mutual identification and reciprocity (Young, 1990: 237-38).

Just as the liberal criticism of the communitarian ideal suggests that the majority will define common citizenship rights, Young argues that the privileged in a community will articulate what is described as the "common good". According to Young, citizenship is dictated by the power relationships and inequalities which structure how and to what

degree we participate within our communities, "the virtues of citizenship are best cultivated through the exercise of citizenship" (Young, 1990: 92). Civic community, therefore, is not a desirable goal because it assumes that people will leave behind their particularity and difference in favour of the common good (Young, 1990: 118). As Young explains:

> The most serious political consequence of the desire for community... is that it often operates to exclude or oppress those experienced as different. Commitment to an ideal of community tends to value and enforce homogeneity (Young, 1990: 234).

One consequence of intersecting the ideas of communitarian, liberal and post-modern perspectives is that the definition of community becomes very important. For example, while Putnam articulates a community of association, and Kymlicka describes a differentiated political community of minority and majority groups, Young challenges the legitimacy of the community ideal itself, considering instead a city ideal. As was described earlier in this chapter, community in this dissertation is used as both a sociological and spatial concept. Without assuming a collective "unity or commonness" (to use Young's words), and while acknowledging the heterogeneity in the two communities, Kensington and Markham are used with the understanding that the boundaries of the two case study communities chosen represent boundaries that have meaning for those who live and work within them.

The distinction between associations and groups is another useful consequence of the intersection of these three theoretical perspectives. This distinction is best articulated

in Young, as she uses "social groups" to represent individuals who share some sense of identity and "associations" to represent where individuals voluntarily come together out of a shared set of attributes (e.g. ratepayers). Using this distinction, we can determine that Putnam's "associations" are voluntary linkages between citizens that structure and reinforce civic community. By contrast, Kymlicka makes a case for collective rights for social groups; in this sense "groups" are collectivities we belong to by virtue of who we are, such as ethnocultural groups. As Young notes, however, groups and associations intersect in practice, as individuals develop their sense of identity. Given the related themes of diversity and planning explored in this research, both groups (e.g. ethnocultural) and associations (e.g. of residents, of ratepayers, of businesses) are important, and therefore will be distinguished from one another in the chapters to follow.

Criteria for Evaluating Substantive Citizenship

In order to judge the practice of citizenship in Kensington and Markham -- that is, to look for evidence of substantive citizenship in local decision-making processes -- criteria are necessary. Drawing from the modified communitarian approach explained above, each case study was evaluated on four grounds:

    i. *participation in public decision-making* - who is involved? how are they involved?

    ii. *democratic equality* - how democratic are the communities in practice? what influence do individuals have? what influence do social groups have? to what degree is power distributed?

    iii. *social structures and associations* - how are citizens impacted by planning decisions? in what way(s) is the community organized?

iv. *solidarity and tolerance* - to what degree is diversity tolerated? what do citizens share, if anything?

Before participation and belonging, or substantive citizenship, in the case study communities can be evaluated and before the impact of ethnocultural diversity on the planning processes involved can be assessed, it is important to understand how these communities came to be multicultural. Chapter Three provides an historical background to Canada's immigration policy and the influence of policy-making on the structure of Canadian society that helps explain the similarities and differences in the ethnoculturally diverse populations of Kensington and Markham.

CHAPTER THREE: A Short History of Canadian Immigration

The ethnocultural diversity that characterizes Canada's cities, especially the larger ones, is a product of the evolution of Canadian immigration policy. There are two ways to understand the multicultural impact successive waves of newcomers have had on Canada's urban landscape: one approach stresses the role of the state in dictating who would enter Canada, while the other approach stresses social, economic, and cultural forces outside the state as the motivation for immigration policy (Simmons and Keohane, 1992). From a state-centred perspective, one can point to senior government decision-makers and their efforts to change the *Immigration Act* and its related regulations (Hawkins, 1988), or immigration bureaucrats acting as gatekeepers and/or facilitators in the immigration process (Dirks, 1995). Alternatively, from a societal perspective, some argue that it was the attitude of the general public which permitted the perpetuation of racial stereotypes in immigration policy (Satzewich, 1989), or that economic forces have dictated the inflow of immigrants into Canada (Anderson and Marr, 1987; Hiebert, 1994). Both state-centred and societal approaches offer valuable insights into the application of Canadian immigration policy.

This chapter begins with an historical overview of Canadian immigration policy, using a combination of state and societal approaches to that policy. An understanding of past and present immigration policy helps to identify the points of comparison between the two case studies used in this dissertation. Traditional immigration policy over most of this century produced diverse, urban communities like Kensington. By contrast, as the chapter

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concludes, immigration policy over the past two decades and its emphasis on economic considerations is fostering suburban, ethnoculturally diverse communities like Markham.

The History of Canada's Multiculturalism and Immigration

Unlike countries in Europe, where immigration can often be identified with a single country, region, or ethnic group, ethnocultural diversity is a defining characteristic of Canadian immigration. Moreover, statistics show that among newcomers, the once majority European immigration has been steadily replaced since the 1970s by immigrants from Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and the Caribbean. These new immigrants have introduced a spectrum of ethnocultural diversity previously unknown to Canadian communities.

The diverse character of Canadian immigration should be understood, however, within the historical context of what has been a series of severely racist immigration policies over the last century (see Table 3.1). In an attempt to control the development of a burgeoning Canadian society, Canada's immigration policy restricted entry for certain groups deemed "less desirable" by policymakers. Perhaps the starkest examples of restrictive legislation are the *Chinese Act(s) 1885, 1923* which required a sizable head tax from all potential immigrants of Chinese origin, and used other hurdles in the immigration process as disincentives.[1] Immigration was also formally discouraged from other Asian countries such as India through what was known as the Continuous Journey Regulation.[2]

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[1] Whereas the original *Chinese Act, 1885* restricted Chinese immigration with a head tax, the *Chinese Act, 1923* placed further barriers to Chinese entry. Entrance could only be made through the Victoria and Vancouver ports, and was limited to diplomats, merchants (with a minimum investment), students, and children born in Canada to Chinese parents. The *Chinese Act, 1923* existed until 1946.

[2] The Continuous Journey Regulation (1908) stipulated that all immigrants to Canada were required to come directly from their country of origin or citizenship by a continuous journey on a ticket purchased in

In fact, for the first half of this century, entrance criteria were clearly based on race and

ethnicity, allowing Canadian policymakers to influence what Canadian society would look

like.

Table 3.1: Timeline of Important Dates in Canadian Immigration Policy

1869	Canada's first *Immigration Act*.
1885	original *Chinese Act*; restricted Chinese immigration with a head tax.
1908	Continuous Journey Regulation; discouraged Asian immigration by demanding immigrants travel to Canada on a ticket purchased in country of origin, thereby eliminating the option of securing passage from a third country.
1910	*Immigration Act* revised, giving cabinet virtually unlimited discretionary powers.
1923	*Chinese Act*; further restricted Chinese immigration. Existed until 1946.
1952	new *Immigration Act*; empowered the government to prohibit entry of immigrants on various grounds including: nationality, citizenship, ethnic group, occupation, class or geographical area of origin.
1956	*Immigration Act* regulations amended; created "favoured nations" list to give preference to British, American and white Commonwealth immigrants.
1962	*Immigration Act* regulations amended; preferential treatment removed and replaced with focus on economic qualifications (education, training, skills).
1966	White Paper on Immigration.
1967	*Immigration Act* regulations amended; points system introduced. Education replaced race as major selection criterion.
1975	Green Paper: Canadian Immigration and Population Study. Business immigration introduced as a pilot project in Ontario.
1978	*Immigration Act, 1976* becomes law; established cornerstones of current immigration policy. Business Immigration Program implemented nationally.
1992	*Immigration Act* regulations amended; changes focused on immigration management, including: setting limits on immigration; allowing government to change priorities between classes; and tightening illegal immigration.
1994	Five year plan introduced; put greater emphasis on attracting economic immigrants and looked at settlement costs of immigration in Canadian cities.
1997/98	Consultation to look at alternative means of the federal government fulfilling settlement services obligations. Final report entitled "Not Just the Numbers: A Canadian Framework for Future Immigration".

that country. This Regulation was challenged in 1914 when Indian Sikhs aboard the Hong Kong ship *Komagatu Maru* landed in Vancouver. Two months later (with no one allowed off the boat) the Supreme Court of British Columbia upheld the order to restrict entry and the ship was sent back to sea (Knowles, 1992: 88).

By the end of World War II, Canada still had an ethnically and racially restrictive immigration policy, supported by the general public and politicians alike. As Prime Minister Mackenzie King stated before the House of Commons in 1947, "the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population" (Satzewich, 1989: 78). This view was codified in the *Immigration Act, 1952* as the government, through the Minister of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, was empowered to prohibit entry of immigrants for reasons ranging from their nationality, ethnic group and geographical area of origin, to their "peculiar customs... [and/or] unsuitability having regard to the climatic, economic, social, industrial, education, labour, health or other conditions" (Satzewich, 1989: 78-79). The objective of these restrictions was apparently to prohibit entry of people deemed unable to adapt to Canada's harsh climate (and therefore be a drain on the health and labour system), or those unable to assimilate into the culture and capitalist economy. In 1956 the regulations to the *Immigration Act* were again amended, this time formally categorizing source countries for immigration as being either "preferred", "non-preferred" or "restricted" (Anderson and Marr, 1987: 94).

Alongside these legislative means of structuring immigration policy and restricting access to "undesirable" groups, other more "favourable" groups were encouraged through the discretionary means available to immigration policymakers. During Prime Minister Laurier's government (1896-1911), Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton aggressively used immigration policy to settle the West. Immigrants from ethnic groups deemed good farmers were given priority over others. In particular, the promise of cheap land was

offered to Northern Europeans, and then later Southern and Eastern Europeans to increase the numbers of what was deemed settlers of "good quality". Sifton is remembered for saying, "a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born to the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children is good quality" (Knowles, 1992: 64). By 1910, revisions to the *Immigration Act* enhanced such a discretionary role for policymakers and "conferred on the cabinet virtually unlimited discretionary power allowing it to issue orders-in-council to regulate the volume, ethnic origin, or occupational composition of immigrants destined for Canada" (Knowles, 1992: 80). Later, under Prime Minster Mackenzie King's first government (1921-1926), discretion in immigration policy was again used, as the administration of immigration was heavily influenced by the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National railways and their vested interest in attracting unskilled labour. A number of immigrants in officially "non-preferred" or "restricted" categories were granted entry at this time (Thompson and Weinfield, 1995: 188).

The First Steps to Non-Racial Immigration Policy

Using such legislative and discretionary tools, Canada's early immigration policy was structured around a hierarchy of favoured nations aimed at attracting those immigrants least "socially distant"[3] from the British. Overtly racist yet supported by successive layers of legislation, change to this status quo in immigration policy was slow to come. In fact, immigration policy was based on ethnic and racial criteria until the early

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[3] "Social distance" refers to the degree to which a person will willingly associate with others from distant ethnic groups. Within the literature it is often assumed that when ethnic groups are culturally similar to each other, they are less likely to be segregated from each one another. (Balakrishnan and Selvanathan, 1990: 406; Moghaddam, 1994: 244).

1960s, when a poor international reputation contributed to a radical change in policy (Troper, 1993: 226). By removing regulations dictating "preferred" countries of origin from the *Immigration Act*, in 1962 the federal government took the first step towards the visible and diverse immigration we see in Canada today. Four years later, a White Paper on Immigration was released by the government to facilitate public consultation. Following the debate it spawned, the regulations of the *Immigration Act* were amended again in 1967.

Considered by many as the landmark for when Canada's immigration policy was officially de-racialized, the 1967 changes have been described as putting into place "a complete universal, non-discriminatory immigration policy and a unique and sensible selection system" (Hawkins, 1988: 342). Introduced at this time was the "points system," whereby prospective immigrants score points in a number of criteria including education, experience, arranged employment and language ability. These criteria form the basis of Canadian immigration policy today, although not all categories of immigrants are assessed with the points system.

Critics of the 1967 amendments suggest that these changes were not so high-minded as supporters proclaim. As some argue, "Canada backed into a non-racist immigration policy. The motivation was less to court non-white immigration than it was to improve Canada's international image and bring immigration legislation into line with domestic human rights policy more generally"[4] (Troper, 1993: 266). Others maintain that despite a change in rhetoric during this period, the process remained structured by racist

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[4] Prime Minister Diefenbaker unveiled the Canadian Bill of Rights in 1960. It applied only to areas of federal jurisdiction.

stereotypes. While officially immigration was not racially restrictive, an ideological

climate against visible minority immigration within government and the public at large

meant that immigration was not encouraged equally at all overseas offices, and in some

cases there was a reluctance to establish offices that would encourage increased

immigration from undesirable locations, such as the Caribbean (Satzewich, 1989: 93).

Instituting the Principle of Universality

In 1975, immigration entered a new era of public debate with the release of the

infamous "Green Paper" -- a four volume Canadian Immigration and Population Study.[5]

The Green Paper offered background information designed to initiate wide public

discussion about the costs and benefits of immigration, and included policy alternatives

framed by the assumption that immigration should fill Canada's economic needs. Out of

this discussion, the *Immigration Act* itself underwent major revisions in 1976,[6] establishing

the cornerstones of Canada's current immigration policy. The 1976 revisions included a

preamble which cemented the principle of universality (admission without regard to

nationality, race, colour or creed). On a procedural level, the new *Immigration Act, 1976*

created a new system for the planning and management of Canadian immigration

(including the introduction of mandatory consultation with provinces to set inflow

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[5] For a useful discussion of the Green Paper as it was interpreted at the time, see: Richmond (1975) and Hawkins (1975).

[6] Although the *Immigration Act* had undergone significant changes in 1962 and 1967, the 1976 changes could be considered a tremendous step in the evolution of Canadian immigration policy. In 1976 the *Act* itself was changed: new legislation was enacted and the entire issue was open to parliamentary and public debate. Previous changes were only changes to the regulations and therefore an area of ministerial discretion (Hawkins, 1988: 105-06). As Troper explains, "ministers and officials generally have had a free hand in setting and interpreting policy, even to the point of seemingly turning policy on its head without enacting new legislation" (Troper, 1993: 258).

targets); established three classes of immigrants: Family, Economic, and Refugees; and substantially reduced the excesses of ministerial discretion (Hawkins, 1988: 377-78).

Whether motivated by concerns over Canada's international reputation or more genuine concerns about the racist policies that dominated Canadian immigration policy over the century, the changes to immigration regulations in the late 1960s and then to the *Act* itself in the mid-1970s fundamentally changed the character of Canadian immigration. Since then, Canadian communities have become more ethnoculturally diverse, and in larger urban centres this diversity is magnified by the arrival of large numbers of immigrants belonging to visible minority groups. This is not to suggest, however, that the diversity in immigration has erased the racism inherent in Canadian society. In fact the opening up of immigration policy and the diversity it has brought into Canada's cities is forcing a controversial debate on the value of immigration and on what basis we are all Canadians.

The Geography of Canadian Immigration

An important characteristic of Canada's geography of immigration is its urban nature -- the context for this dissertation. As mentioned in Chapter One, not only have immigrants historically settled in Canadian cities, but today nearly two-thirds (62 per cent) live in the three largest metropolitan areas -- Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997). As a result of this attraction to urban centres, almost 90 per cent of all Canadian immigrants live in just three provinces: Ontario (53 per cent), British Columbia (23 per cent) and Quebec (13 per cent) (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997).

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To a limited degree, the geography of Canadian immigration is the product of the federal government's efforts to distribute the benefits and impacts of immigration policy throughout the country. One of the earliest, and perhaps most striking, examples of efforts on the part of the federal government to control the geography of Canadian immigration was with the settlement of the Western prairies. At the turn of the century, federal policymakers were able to encourage suitable immigrants to settle and form secure communities in what they saw as unprotected and largely unsettled land with the promise of cheap land (Driedger, 1989: 73). As a result of this targeted campaign, diverse European immigration began to shape Western communities.

This commitment to regional distribution is even spelled out in the *Immigration Act* itself. One of the objectives of immigration is, as s. 3(h) of the *Act* states: "to foster the development of a strong and viable economy and the property of all regions in Canada" (*Immigration Act*, 1985: s. 3h). Yet as current statistics confirm, "there is a profound gap between the rhetoric of the *Immigration Act* (which portrays immigration as an instrument of regional equity) and actual settlement patterns (which exacerbate disparities across the country)" (Hiebert, 1994: 256).

Beyond the formal commitment in the *Act*, regional distributive principles have been institutionalized in the mandatory consultations the federal government must have with provinces every year before setting immigration inflow targets, and in the smattering of federal-provincial agreements on immigration that exist. This interjurisdictional contact provides a limited means for regional distribution in immigration policy, in that all provinces have in theory the potential to structure policy in ways that may be favourable

to their unique regional needs. Yet in contrast to other policy areas, immigration has been one place where most provinces have been reluctant to push for an active role. As Dalon explains, while the *Constitution* "provides the provinces with a legal justification for entering the field of immigration, it does not by itself constitute a compelling reason for such action (Dalon, 1976: 79). Quebec, of course, is the obvious exception. Seeing the attraction and integration of especially French-speaking immigrants into a province with a naturally declining population as a political benefit, Quebec has defined the potential for a provincial role in immigration in Canada. In general, however, with the movement towards business class immigration and the large numbers of visible minority immigrants settling in major receiving cities, all provinces are expressing a greater interest in immigration policy. (Dirks, 1995: 111)

Integration of Immigrants: An Area of Overlapping Jurisdiction

Despite provincial interests in immigration, this is a policy area of federal responsibility as defined by the *Canadian Constitution*. Responsibility is separated by the federal government into two areas of immigration policy and planning: 1) immigration flows, and 2) the settlement of immigrants. In managing immigration inflows, the *Immigration Act* demands the government make yearly decisions about the number of immigrants to enter Canada (to be released in an annual report to Parliament), and engage in five year plans that detail their immigration strategy. With the revisions of 1976, the *Act* also assigns a minor role to provinces in setting targets for immigration flows through the mandated need for their consultation.

In contrast to this rather straightforward jurisdiction over managing immigration flows, the settlement and adaptation of immigrants is an area of complex jurisdictional overlap and is by no means centralized. The federal government's role in immigrant settlement is primarily one of funding, and currently involves four programs: the Transportation, Assistance and Admissibility Loans Program; the Adjustment Assistance Program (AAP); Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC); and the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP). One area where immigration policy and social policy converge, however, is the provision of settlement services which involves areas of provincial jurisdiction such as education and social assistance, and therefore necessitates a provincial role.[7] In Ontario, for example, the Ministry of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation, the Ministry of Housing, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Community and Social Services all provide programs and services either directed at immigrants or used by immigrants as part of the settlement process. Moreover, amidst current consultation over alternative means for the federal government to meet its immigrant settlement obligations, there is widespread speculation over the potential for an increased provincial role. One option could be the downloading of federal responsibilities for settlement services to the provinces, accompanied by block funding. Under this scenario, it would be up to provincial discretion as to how the services were delivered, and to what degree government agencies or existing non-profit organizations would be involved.

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[7] Quebec, of course, is the province that has extended this provincial role the most through a series of federal-provincial agreements over immigration; most recently in the 1991 Quebec-Canada Accord (Young, 1992).

Immigration settlement is an area which illuminates the local dimension of immigration policy, as the vast majority of Canada's immigrants have chosen to settle within major urban areas. In addition to the federal and provincial governments, local and/or regional municipalities play a role in immigrant settlement, albeit a less defined one than higher levels of government. Although limited in funds, some larger municipalities do offer grants to local human service providers including immigrant settlement organizations. As well, many municipalities with diverse populations are recognizing the need for multi-lingual access and translation services so that the public can better use the range of general municipal services offered. Race relations or community relations committees have become increasingly standard in municipalities, and in some cases equity and race relations initiatives have infiltrated the daily activities of the local bureaucracy, as in the former City of Toronto and Metropolitan Toronto governments.[8]

Added to these layers of government jurisdiction are the nonprofit sector service providers found within many of the urban centres where Canadian immigrants have settled. Through a myriad of community, multi-service, ethnocultural, and religious organizations, the practical, day-to-day delivery of immigrant services such as English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL), counselling, employment training, and housing assistance are for the most part done by the nonprofit sector. Arguably better able to reach immigrant populations than large government bureaucracies, this often informal network of services and programs attempts to meet a wide range of needs for newcomers. Most of these nonprofit organizations depend on government funding, and some even carry out specific

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[8] As of January, 1998, the six former cities of Metropolitan Toronto (Toronto, Scarborough, York, North York, East York and Etobicoke) were amalgamated by the Province into the new City of Toronto.

federal government settlement programs through contract funding arrangements (e.g.

LINC or ISAP). This sector of service provision for newcomers has a long history in

Canada, although today the continued existence of many organizations is in jeopardy as all

three levels of government engage in deficit reduction and cut back funding to nonprofit

organizations.

Accessing Immigration Services: The Toronto Context

The Toronto area has various layers of immigrant settlement services that can be

accessed by newcomers. The federal government funds the national programs mentioned

above (loans, AAP, LINC and ISAP) either directly or through contracts with nonprofit

sector agencies. The Ontario government also influences immigrant settlement in areas

where the work of provincial departments intersects with immigration. The Province also

engages in some direct funding to nonprofit organizations, although this has decreased

with widespread efforts to decrease government spending.

At the core of the Greater Toronto Area is the old City of Toronto, where the

majority of immigrant settlement services are available (see Map 3.1). Settlement services

are concentrated in this area because of their proximity to traditional immigrant

communities such as Kensington, an original immigrant reception area or "port of entry"

in Toronto. This clustering of services and programs, however, is not only for the benefit

of the population in the urban core. Acting as a hub for the new City of Toronto

(formerly Metropolitan Toronto) and to some extent the wider Greater Toronto Area,

many organizations delivering immigrant services beyond the boundaries of the urban core

have chosen to locate their offices centrally and yet serve the larger region. Often this is

the result of organizations expanding beyond their original clientele as immigration

patterns have shifted and immigrants have increasingly settled beyond the City of Toronto

and in the surrounding regions of Peel and York. There are very few settlement service

organizations within these outlying communities, in part because of the recency of

immigration settlement in these areas. As is the case in Markham, the need for integration

and settlement services is only now becoming obvious to the wider suburban population.

MAP 3.1: New City of Toronto in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA)[9]
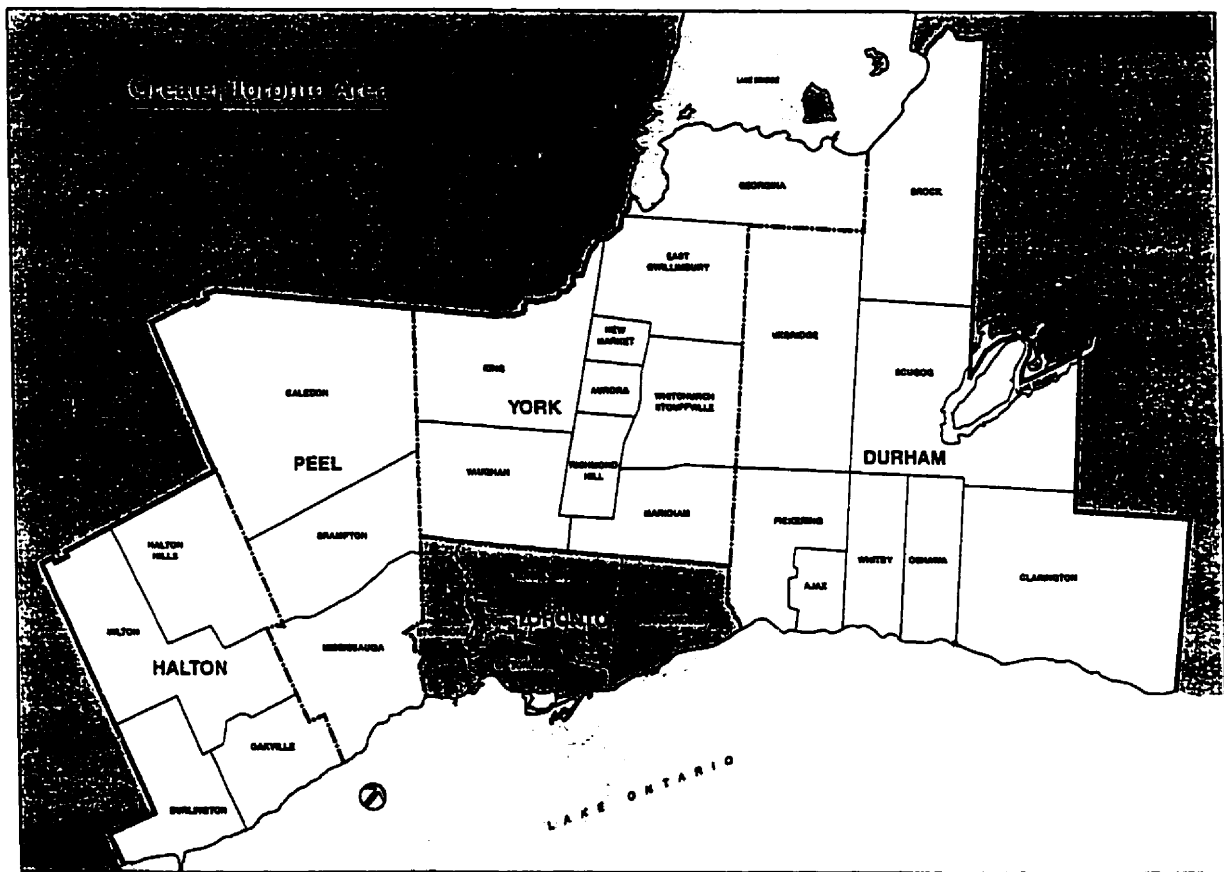
Source: Metro Toronto Planning Department

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[9] The Greater Toronto Area (GTA) is a larger service and planning area which includes four suburban regional municipalities (Halton, York, Peel and Durham) and the new City of Toronto (formerly Metropolitan Toronto). The GTA contains 25 local municipalities within these boundaries.

Immigration as an Economic Tool

Officially Canadian immigration is separated into three classes: Family, Economic, and Refugee; and each class is subdivided into various categories (see Table 3.2). These classes reflect the motivation behind Canadian immigration policy, often characterized as a historical balance between the value of immigrant family reunification and the benefit of immigration for the Canadian economy.

Today it seems that balance is clearly being tipped in favour of economic immigration, and is expected to continue to be so into the next century. Amendments to the *Immigration Act* regulations in 1992 allowed the government to shift priorities between entrance classes, which has meant that family reunification is no longer guaranteed a dominant position in Canadian immigration policy. According to the federal government's most recent five year plan for immigration (1995-2000), economic immigration is expected to slowly, but steadily, outweigh family immigration (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: 1996- 2000 Immigration Plan, Planned Percentages

☐ ECONOMIC ■ FAMILY ■ OTHER*
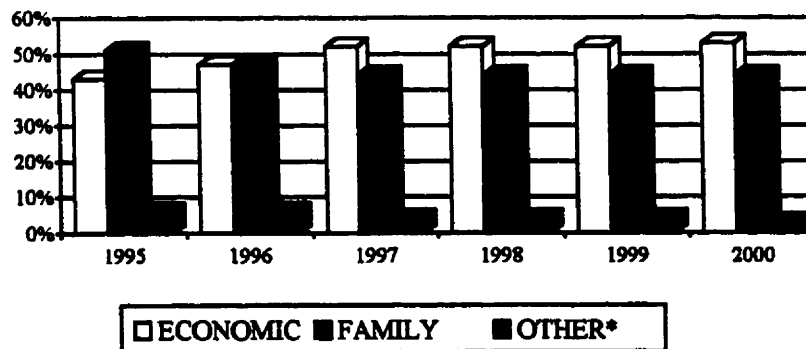
* In these data, "other" is a category that includes those who enter under special government agreements including: the Live-in Care Giver Program (for domestic workers); the Deferred Removal Order Class (a temporary holding for failed refugee claimants); and Retirees (those applicants who were in the system prior to the program's cancellation in 1991).
Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1994a: 13.

Table 3.2: Structure of Canadian Immigration, Entrance Classes and Categories

FAMILY CLASS IMMIGRATION	*Sponsored Relatives* - not assessed by the points system; expected their needs will be met by the sponsor and not the welfare system.	*Immediate Family* - spouse, dependent children, fiancé(e).
		Parents and Grandparents
ECONOMIC CLASS IMMIGRATION	*Assisted Relatives* - relatives that do not fit sponsorship category (e.g. sister, uncle); assessed in part by the points system.	
	Independents	*Skilled Workers* - people who score high on the points system.
		Live-in Care Giver Program - program to admit domestic workers into Canada on a temporary work visa.
	Business Immigrants - includes their spouses and dependent children.	*Investors* - have successively operated, controlled or directed a business or commercial undertaking, have minimum net worth of $500,000 and agree to invest in a business venture, privately- or government-administered venture capital fund. Investment must receive government approval and be under Canadian control.
		Entrepreneurs - experienced business people who wish to buy or establish a business they will have an active managerial role in. Business must create jobs for one or more Canadians and make a significant contribution to the economy (small to medium enterprises).
		Self-employed - have intention and ability to establish or buy a business in Canada that creates employment for themselves. Business must significantly contribute to the economy, or the cultural/artistic life of Canada.
REFUGEES	*Convention Refugees* - as defined under the 1951 Geneva convention; people persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality or membership in a social/political group.	
	Designated Class - those who do not fit the definition of Convention Refugee, but admission would be in accordance with Canada's humanitarian tradition.	

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While some see this move towards economic immigration as a recent shift, the emphasis on economic concerns can also be interpreted as the entrenchment of something that has long been important in Canadian immigration policy. Early in the century, for example, immigration was viewed as a valuable means of meeting labour market needs. Moreover, the various amendments to the *Immigration Act* and its regulations that took place in the 1960s and 1970s steadily replaced entrance criteria based on country of origin with economic considerations of education, training and language skills. Moreover, the federal government's actions in the area of immigration have been described as "tap-on, tap-off" -- a reference to the influence of internal economic demands on immigration policy (Anderson and Marr, 1987).[10]

The most significant change to recent immigration policy in terms of economic considerations, however, has been the creation of a new category for business immigrants. Supported by immigration policy that clearly favours immigrants that are seen to be an economic benefit to the country, the potential of business immigration has captured the interest of the federal as well as provincial governments.

The Economic Benefit of Business Immigration

Business immigration falls within Canada's economic class of immigration (see Table 3.2). Immigrants who enter through the economic class are seen to fill a specific economic need in the country or are expected to contribute positively to the economy in some way. These economic immigrants are categorized as either:

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[10] This "tap-on, tap-off" policymaking is evident in the restraints placed on immigration during periods of economic recession (during the Depression of the 1930s, or the recession of the 1970s), and the efforts to encourage immigration during times of prosperity (settling the West in the early 1900s, or the rebuilding after World War II) (Anderson and Marr, 1987: 97-98; Hiebert, 1994: 254).

(1) *assisted relatives*: people who have some family support, but do not fit the

definition of the family class;

(2) *independents*: people who score high on the points system by having needed

job skills, language ability, or arranged employment; or

(3) *business immigrants*: investors, entrepreneurs and self-employed.

First introduced as a pilot program in Ontario in 1975, business immigration has

been a category within Canadian immigration policy since 1978. The objective of the

program is to encourage the immigration of experienced business persons who will make a

positive contribution to the country's economic development, through their capital and

business knowledge while creating jobs for Canadians. In the first years after its

introduction, the business immigration program attracted a small number of applicants,

mostly from the United States, West Germany, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and

France. By 1983, business immigration to Canada increased sharply as Hong Kong

became the top source country for entrepreneur immigrants (Smart, 1994: 101). Hong

Kong continues to dominate the business immigration category today, and represents the

top source country for Canada's total immigration (all classes combined) (Citizenship and

Immigration, 1998).

Originally a program made up of "business migrants" and "entrepreneurs" (Smart,

1994: 99), the business immigration category was further expanded in 1986 with the

introduction of the Immigrant Investor Program. Under this program, qualified business

people were admitted to Canada on the condition they invested capital in pre-approved

Canadian business ventures. The program was designed to create jobs and benefit smaller

businesses that were typically having trouble raising funds (Employment and Immigration, 1993). The minimum investment required by a prospective immigrant to qualify for the program ($250,000, $350,000 or $500,000) was linked to the province in which they wished to settle and invest. In an effort to redistribute the benefits of this foreign capital across the country, the largest investment was required of those immigrants who intended to settle in the provinces with the highest proportion of business immigrants. These investor requirements have since increased, with the minimum investment required for immigrants settling in British Columbia, Alberta, Quebec or Ontario now set at $450,000. For those investing in the other provinces, the minimum investment is $350,000 (Peirol, 1997).

The economic impact the business category of immigration has had on Canada is staggering, especially given that it represents a relatively small proportion of all Canadian immigration (only about 8 percent of all immigration between 1985 and 1991). Between 1987 and 1990, nearly 11,000 entrepreneurial immigrants had an estimated collective net worth of $14.3 billion; their investments were to create about 48,000 jobs[11] (Li, 1993: 232). During the same period, nearly 2,000 "investor immigrants were estimated to have a net worth of about $3.2 billion, of which $753 million was estimated to have [been] directly invested in various Canadian investment funds" (Li, 1993: 235). These economic benefits are not equally spread across the country, however, as some provinces and cities

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[11] According to the notes in Li's article, these figures are based on special tabulations from data originating with the Immigration and Refugee Affairs Division, Department of External Affairs, Canada. The data were compiled from information provided on visa application forms as reported by entrepreneurial and investor immigrants being issued immigration visas abroad between 1987 and 1990. As such, he further notes that the amounts may not truly represent the total money that has been or will be brought into Canada. (Li, 1993: 232-33)

are considered more attractive than others. Similar to Canadian immigration trends in general, business immigrants are most attracted to Vancouver, followed by Toronto and Montreal (Citizenship and Immigration, 1994b).

A Critical Look at Business Immigration

Despite these dizzying figures, business immigration has been criticized for not providing the economic benefit it promises. Predictably, the gains made from business immigration are not equitably distributed among the provinces (Hiebert, 1994). Beyond the issue of regional equity, it is questionable whether business immigrants have met their promised obligations regarding job creation and investment. Moreover, there is concern over the long term commitment of those immigrants whose investment is only a small portion of their net wealth -- commitment that is likely needed to make the investment succeed.

Within an immigration program that some argue facilitates the selling of Canadian visas to wealthy newcomers, the impression exists that business immigrants are given an easy entry into the country and are not as rigorously scrutinized as immigrants in other categories. Describing the federal government's attitude as "*laissez-faire*", some argue that "instead of reforming the business migration program to require greater accountability and to ensure that these migrants are of maximum economic benefit to Canada, the government has been content to make it even easier for entrepreneur immigrants to enter Canada" (Nash, 1994: 261).

Interestingly, the business immigration program is also criticized for the hardship it presents to the business immigrants themselves. Despite the obvious attractions some

immigrants may have to the program, ambiguity over the criteria by which investment opportunities are judged to meet program requirements, as well as provincial variations in the program's administration, raise questions as to the level of risk these investments present for immigrants.[12] Moreover, the program presents structural challenges for immigrants through such things as the exclusive power given to fund managers for those who enter as investors, or the hurdles for entrepreneur immigrants of setting up a new business in a largely unknown market and/or buying an existing business that is having difficulties (Smart, 1994).

Finally, business immigration has been severely criticized for creating a two-tier system for immigration. With the goal of providing economically prosperous immigration, some suggest the federal government has created a mechanism whereby Canadian citizenship can be "bought" by the wealthy (Malarek, 1987: 227). Historically Canadian immigrants have entered Canadian society at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy (Porter, 1965). With business immigration programs, and an increased emphasis on the economic contribution of immigrants through criteria that favour education and skills, the stereotype of the "poor immigrant" has given way to "a more complex class and ethnic hierarchy in Canada" (Abu-Laban, 1997: 79).

Changing the Patterns of Immigration Settlement

Without question, business immigrants have a very different impact upon urban communities than previous immigrants. For these wealthy newcomers, suburban living is

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[12] Without clear guidelines and national criteria for the approval of business investments that meet the business immigration requirement, entrance is provincially variable. "For example, Quebec is widely known to be an 'easy' province that approves applications that are likely to be rejected by the more popular provinces such as British Columbia and Ontario" (Smart, 1994: 112).

not something that comes with integration into the host society, but is instead a point of entry. This is changing the typical patterns of immigrant settlement, and creating ethnoculturally diverse suburban communities such as Markham.

Historically urban core communities like Kensington have been the reception areas for immigrants, with mobility beyond those communities often achieved with the next generation. Business immigrants, however, are on average much wealthier than many previous immigrants to Canada and are more likely to buy a suburban home upon entry into a local community. In many respects, they are more like their new middle-class suburban neighbours than the stereotypical newcomer needing a range of basic settlement and integration services. This does not mean, however, that these immigrants do not need help integrating into Canadian society. Obvious tensions are created by this new pattern of immigration settlement, requiring an adjustment on the part of both newcomers and existing residents.

Factors such as period of immigration, country of origin, and immigrant entrance class all potentially shape Canadian cities in different ways. In the next four chapters, specific examples of urban and suburban immigration settlement patterns will be explored. Chapter Four introduces the inner-city community of Kensington, which is a prime example of the kind of traditional "port of entry" for immigrants that exists in many of Canada's largest cities, similar to St. Lawrence Boulevard in Montreal, or the downtown Eastside in Vancouver. Chapter Five examines a particular planning case study in Kensington – the redevelopment of a former College campus site. Chapter Five shifts to the suburban Town of Markham, a community that is currently dealing with the impacts of

federal immigration policy changes aimed at attracting wealthier economic immigrants to

Canada. Chapter Six examines the planning case of retail condominium developments, or

Asian malls as they are known.

CHAPTER FOUR: Diversity and Planning in Kensington

Kensington, located in downtown Toronto, is a dynamic and culturally diverse community. The result of years of successive waves of immigration, the community also boasts a mixture of residential, commercial and institutional land uses. The redevelopment of the George Brown College site in the heart of the market area provides an excellent example of how Kensington citizens participate in local planning decisions, and the challenges and obstacles ethnocultural diversity pose to that process. The redevelopment of George Brown College, and the Kensington community, are the subjects of this chapter.

Kensington

Defining Kensington is in some ways a very personal task. Kensington is like a small, old-country village within the City of Toronto. It is primarily a low- income neighbourhood that has long been an immigrant settlement reception area. The community is also a popular tourist destination for visitors to Toronto, as well as Torontonians themselves. It is a handy market area for people in the surrounding neighbourhoods. It is also a trendy, bohemian, urban enclave that attracts artists and professionals. At the same time, Kensington is "just" a neighbourhood set against other neighbourhoods within Toronto's urban core (see Map 4.1). The definition of what Kensington is, therefore, ultimately depends on your perspective.

MAP 4.1: Kensington in the former City of Toronto
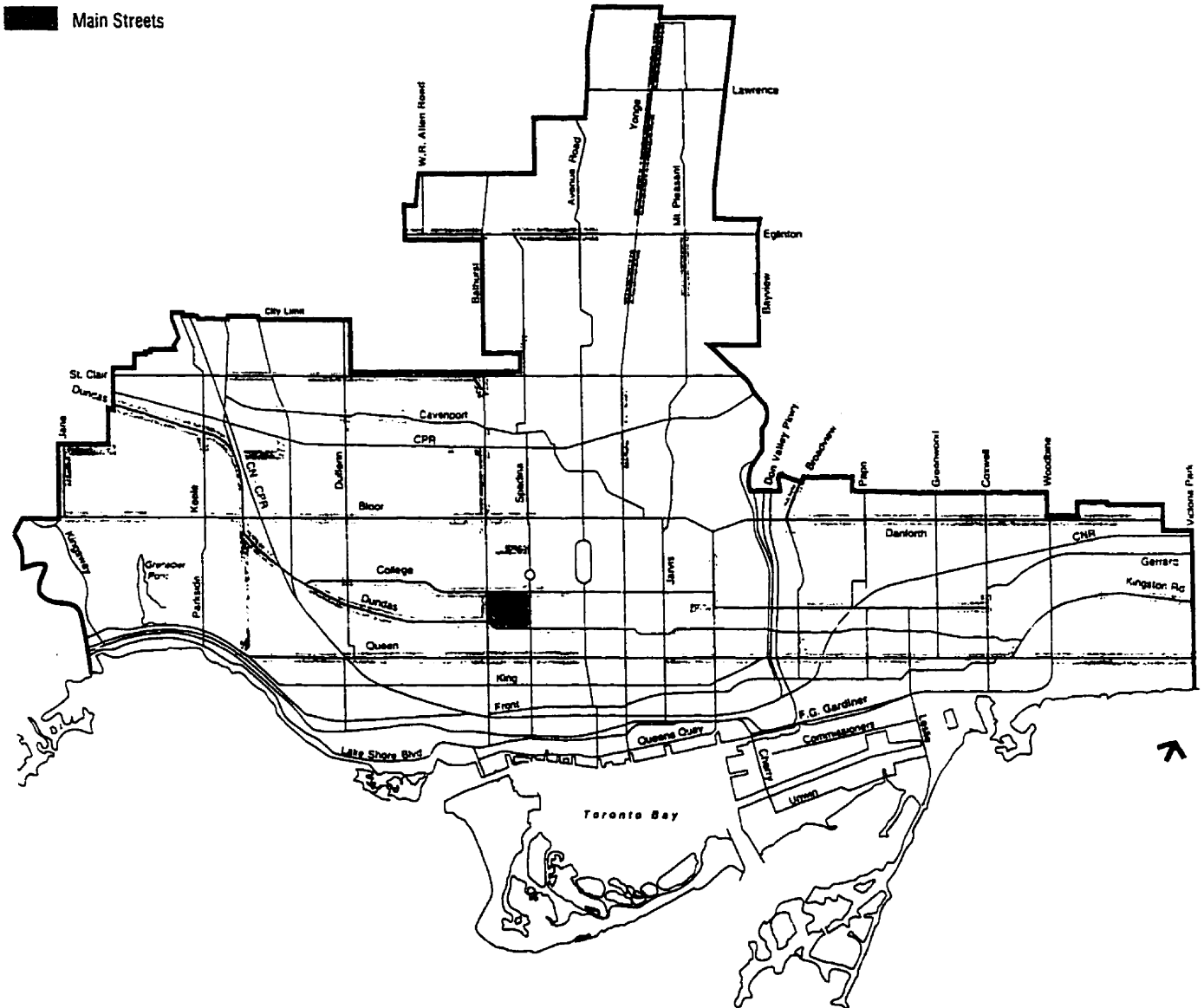
Main Streets

Physically, Kensington is bounded by Bathurst Street, College Street, Spadina Avenue, and Dundas Street West (see Map 4.2). The community's interior is dominated by a shopping artery that has evolved along Kensington Avenue, through Baldwin Street and along Augusta Avenue. Here the shopper can find everything from bulk beans, whole

fish, fresh cheese, fruit and vegetables, to vintage clothes and fine tailored men's suits. Like many older downtown communities, parking is at a premium on the narrow streets. This closeness is further accentuated by the canopies and displays of goods from the various shops that spill into the sidewalks. The result is a jostling, dense and lively community.

MAP 4.2: Kensington
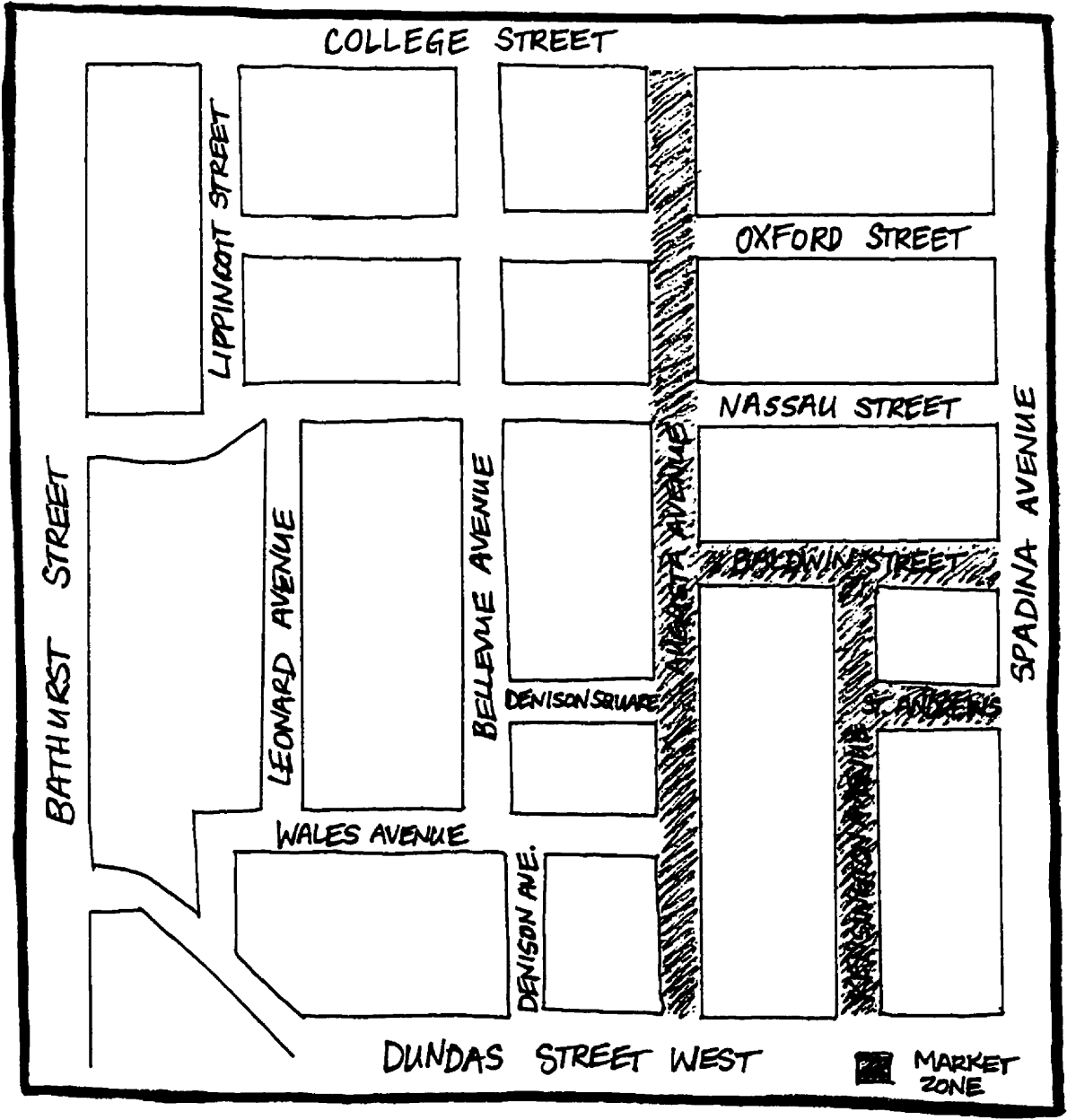
A History of Diversity

The diversity and life of the Kensington market neighbourhood are owed in large part to its multicultural mix. This multiculturalism evolved with the changing immigration patterns Canada as a whole has undergone over the last century, and today is seen in the juxtaposition of cultures in the local shops, housing and street life found in Kensington. With each wave of immigration came new businesses and new neighbours, while at the same time evidence of previous groups lingered in the community. What has evolved is a layered multiculturalism that can be peeled back and discovered with an understanding of Kensington's history as a diverse community.

The Kensington neighbourhood, as its British name suggests, started out as an Anglo-Saxon residential community on what was then the western edge of the City of Toronto. Rows of middle class homes were built in the 1870s along streets with typically British names: Oxford, Kensington, St. Andrews, Baldwin.[1] "For thirty years streets were kept tidy, lawns kept manicured, and the eventual conversion of the neighbourhood into a street market could not have seemed less likely" (Markson and Clarke, 1977: 50).

The community underwent a major transformation in the early 1900s, as Jewish immigrants from Central and Southern Europe moved westward from an earlier immigrant receiving area[2] into Kensington. British residents were moving to more affluent parts of

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[1] The area stretching from Beverley and Augusta Streets (encompassing part of present day Chinatown and part of Kensington) was designed by the owner of the land, Dr. Baldwin, in the 1820s. Spadina Avenue was laid out as a tree-lined central thoroughfare with an ornamental garden crescent above College Street to give a pleasant view for his estate, "Spadina" at the top of Davenport Hill. Side streets broke with an even-grid pattern, forming interesting blocks of unequal size. The result was some imaginative planning that made the area attractive for subdivision and sale (Myrvold, 1993: 4).

[2] An area east of Kensington known as St. John's Ward (or the Ward) had been a popular immigrant reception area. The Ward was bounded by Queen Street, Yonge Street, College Street and University Avenue.

the city, and this made room for newcomers and what became a very swift ethnic shift in the community. To provide but one example: in 1901 Kensington Place (a dense, narrow lane of row houses that formed the core of Kensington's residential area), was 80 per cent Anglo-Saxon. By 1911, it was 100 per cent Jewish (Harney and Troper, 1975: 26). Why large numbers of Jewish immigrants were attracted to the area is wrapped up in the complex causes of internal immigrant settlement patterns. Prejudice from the Anglo-Saxon business community (Markson and Clarke, 1977) and changes in commercial and street railway patterns (Harney and Troper, 1975) were likely contributing factors.

The most notable legacy this Jewish migration into Kensington left was the creation of what has become Kensington Market. "The Market was born, having its beginnings in the hand carts pushed through the streets of the area by Jewish merchants. Eventually the hand carts came to rest on the postage stamp lawns of the homes on Kensington Avenue" (St. Stephen's, 1980: 4). This cart-style market evolved into shops, often created out of the existing living rooms and parlors of the old British row houses, with the store owners living behind or above their businesses. The market quickly became known as the Jewish Market, and indeed some older residents and patrons still refer to it as such.

By the 1920s, 80 per cent of the city's Jewish population (35,000 at the time) lived in or around Kensington (Myrvold, 1993), and Jews continued to dominate the Kensington neighbourhood until after World War II. Postwar immigration brought large numbers of Ukrainians, Hungarians, Italians and Portuguese into Kensington. Aside from the Portuguese, though, the majority within these new groups lived on streets surrounding

Kensington, and therefore had a more limited influence on the community's development. By the 1960s, many of these post-war immigrants had moved north and west, leaving Portuguese from the Azores as the major ethnic group in Kensington (Myrvold, 1993: 7). The Portuguese influence on the community had a lasting effect on the area, characterized by the shops and restaurants they opened as well as their settlement in the surrounding residential area (St. Stephen's, 1980). During this period, the Portuguese newcomers repaired many houses and repainted them bright primary colors of blue, red, green, and yellow. Evidence of this infusion of color can still be seen on some of the houses in the neighbourhood.

By the 1970s, Chinatown was expanding westward. Although Chinatown itself centres around Spadina Avenue and Dundas Street today (an area adjacent to Kensington), this migration introduced another layer of diversity into the Kensington community. Over the years, the proximity to Chinatown, along with the presence of high density housing populated by Chinese seniors, has meant that Chinese have become a dominant group in Kensington.

Kensington continued to be an immigrant reception area for Toronto throughout the 1970s and 1980s, adding further to the diversity of the community. As was explained in Chapter Three, federal immigration policy had significantly changed by 1975, allowing the entry of immigrants from a wide range of countries previously considered undesirable. New immigrants from the Caribbean, India, southeast Asia and Latin America settled in Kensington at this time. Diverse immigration into the community continues today, with newcomers mostly from Africa and Asia.

Period and Source of Immigration

The community that has evolved over the last century in Kensington is noteworthy

for its ethnocultural diversity. In Kensington, the immigrant population outnumbers the

Canadian-born by nearly a ratio of 2:1 — 60 per cent are immigrants, 33 per cent are

Canadian-born and 6 per cent are non-permanent residents (Statistics Canada, 1998). Of

that immigrant population, half (50 per cent) are newcomers, arriving after 1981 (see

Figure 4.1).

FIGURE 4.1: Immigrant Population by Period of Immigration, Kensington, 1996.
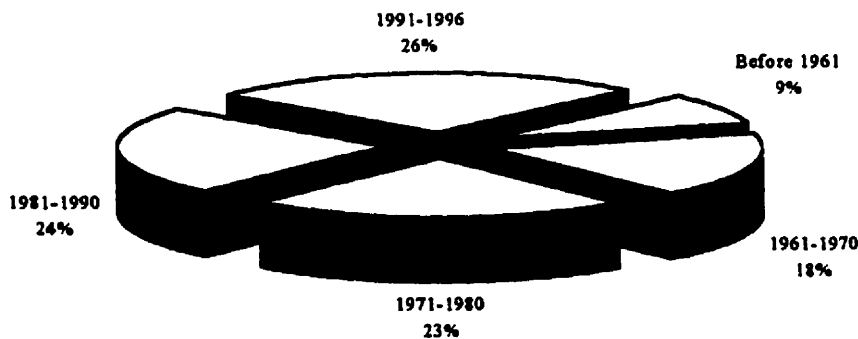
Source: Statistics Canada (1996). *Profiles, Part 2*. 1996 Census of Canada. Tract 038.

Consistent with the increased diversity that more open federal immigration policies

fostered after the 1970s, the immigrant population that resides in Kensington comes from

a variety of countries. As Table 4.1 illustrates, the largest group of immigrants in

Kensington comes from China. With the exception of Portugal, Asian countries dominate

the top half of the list of places of birth among immigrants in Kensington. This

corresponds with immigration data for Canada in general, where European immigration

has been steadily declining in favour of Asian immigration. When recent immigrants are

isolated from the immigrant population in Kensington, immigration patterns are even more

concentrated — over 70 per cent of recent immigrants are from China or Viet Nam.

**Table 4.1: Top 10 Places of Birth for Total Immigrants
and Recent Immigrants,* Kensington, 1996.**

Total Immigrants			Recent Immigrants**	
1. People's Rep. of China	43.2 %		1. People's Rep. of China	50.4 %
2. Portugal	18.0 %		2. Viet Nam	21.1 %
3. Viet Nam	12.9 %		3. Sri Lanka	6.4 %
4. Hong Kong	4.9 %		4. Trinidad and Tobago	6.4 %
5. Sri Lanka	3.2 %		5. Hong Kong	3.7 %
6. Trinidad and Tobago	2.2 %		6. Jamaica	2.8 %
7. United Kingdom	1.7 %		7. Portugal	2.8 %
8. United States	1.2 %		8. United States	1.8 %
9. Jamaica	1.2 %		9. Iran	1.8 %
10. Taiwan	1.2 %			
11. Ukraine	1.2 %			

* Recent Immigrants refers to those who immigrated to Canada between 1991 and 1996.
** Kensington's recent immigration originates from only nine countries.
Source: Statistics Canada (1996). *Profiles, Part 2.* 1996 Census of Canada.

Ethnicity, Visible Minorities and Language

Three other important indicators of Kensington's ethnocultural diversity are

ethnicity, visible minorities and language. In Kensington, over half of the residents

claiming a single ethnic origin[3] were Chinese (63 per cent), with Portuguese a distant

second (15 per cent), followed by Vietnamese (4 per cent). The balance of the population

is scattered in small proportions among a range of ethnic groups. Data on ethnicity is

complemented in the most recent 1996 Census with data on visible minorities. In

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[3] These figures are for "single ethnic origin". Only 20 per cent of the population in Kensington claimed more than one ethnic origin.

Kensington, 63 per cent of the total population is a member of a visible minority group (Statistics Canada, 1996).

With respect to language, 40 per cent of residents primarily speak English in the home. Of the remaining residents, a large proportion speak Chinese -- as might be expected given the large proportion claiming Chinese ethnicity in the community. Corresponding to the data on ethnicity, Portuguese is the next most common language spoken at home (see Figure 4.2).

FIGURE 4.2: Language Spoken at Home*, Kensington, 1996.
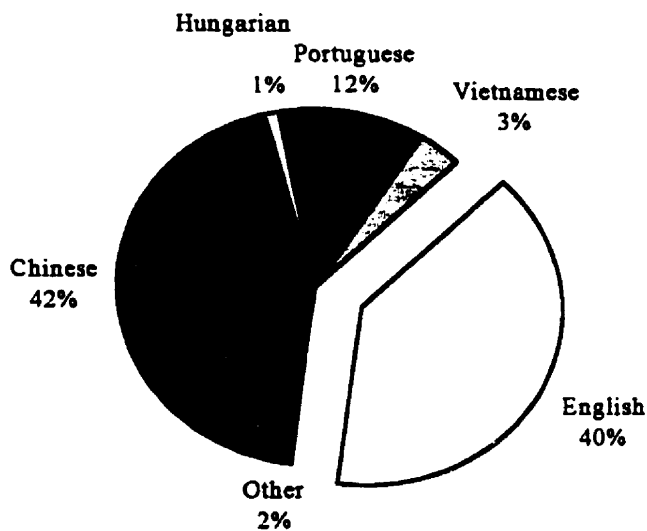
Hungarian
Portuguese
1% 12% Vietnamese
3%

Chinese
42%

English
40%

Other
2%

*Data taken from single language responses only.
Source: Statistics Canada (1996). *Profiles, Part 3*. 1996 Census of Canada. Tract 038.

Income and Education

Kensington has long been an immigrant reception area, in part because of the availability of rental housing in the community and the range of goods offered within the Market. Although Kensington's earliest beginnings were as a middle class suburb,

Kensington today is largely a working class neighbourhood. In 1995, the average

household income among Kensington residents was $28,684 – $30,000 less than the

average for the Toronto CMA (Statistics Canada, 1996).[4] While household income is

fairly evenly distributed in the middle to upper income levels in Kensington, there is a

notable peak in the low income range. Half (50 per cent) of all households claim an

income under $20,000 (see Figure 4.3). According to Statistics Canada's calculations, the

incidence of low income among the population in private households is 54.8 per cent in

Kensington (Statistics Canada, 1996).[5]

These income figures are further illuminated when data on education are examined.

Within Kensington, almost half (47 per cent) of the population in 1996 over the age of 15

did not have a high school certificate (Statistics Canada, 1996), and 57 per cent of the

population over the age of 15 had not obtained any education beyond the secondary level

(see Figure 4.4). By comparison, 31 per cent of the Toronto CMA population over the

age of 15 did not have a high school certificate, and 44 per cent had not obtained post-

secondary education (Statistics Canada, 1996). In Kensington, university educated

residents accounted for 28 per cent of the population, likely accounting for the scattering

of household income levels in the middle to upper ranges of Figure 4.3. This mixing of

income and education levels is not surprising: although the community is primarily an

immigrant and working class neighbourhood, the urbanity and diversity of the Kensington

area is something that has also attracted middle class professionals.

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[4] The median household income for Kensington is $20,612. This figure is $28,000 less than the median for the Toronto CMA.

[5] For comparison, the household incidence of low income for the Toronto CMA is 21.1 per cent.

FIGURE 4.3: Population by Household Income, Kensington, 1996.
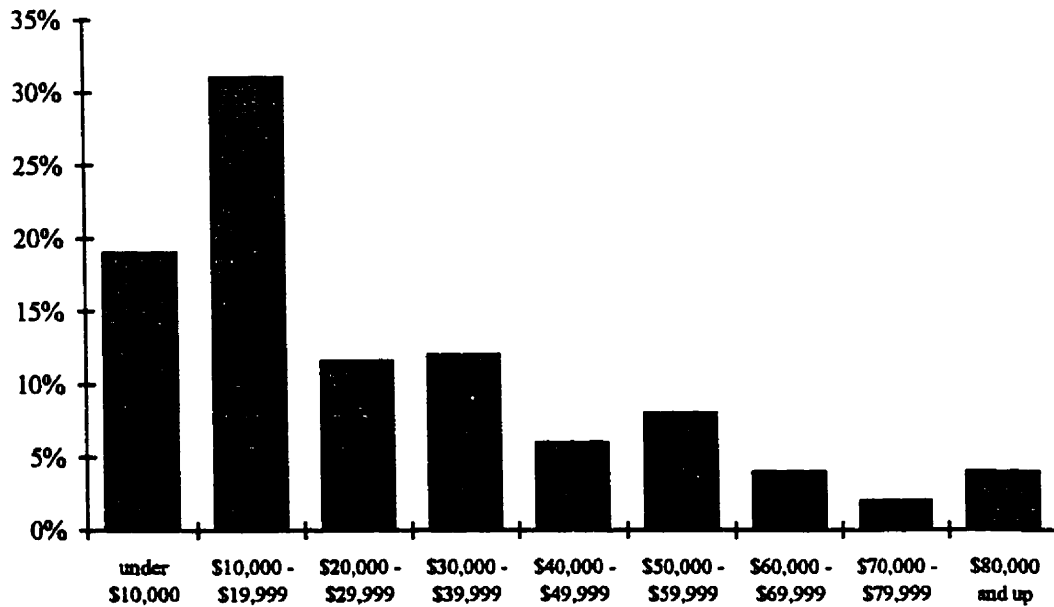
Source: Statistics Canada (1996). *Profiles, Part 8.* 1996 Census of Canada. Tract 038.

FIGURE 4.4: Population (15 years and over) by Highest Level of Schooling, Kensington, 1996.
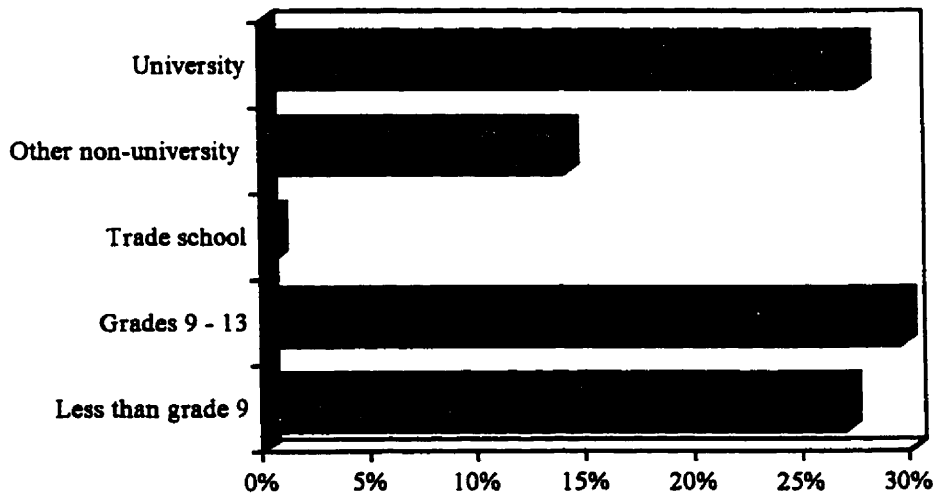
Source: Statistics Canada (1996). *Profiles, Part 7.* 1996 Census of Canada. Tract 038.

Housing

Kensington was originally built in the 1870s, populated by middle class Anglo-Saxons. Despite redevelopment since then, the majority of dwellings (54 per cent) were built prior to 1946 (Statistics Canada, 1996). Kensington Market grew out of what was an exclusively residential area, so the combination of narrow streets, shops, restaurants and older residential housing stock has created a dense (9500 people/ km^2), mixed-use area. As is common in older urban communities, the Kensington residential neighbourhood is dominated (93 per cent) by attached housing forms and low-rise apartment buildings (Statistics Canada, 1996). Almost three quarters (73 per cent) of Kensington residents rent their dwelling. (Statistics Canada, 1996).

Redevelopment in an Urban Community

The redevelopment of the George Brown College site captured the attention of the Kensington community in the mid-1990s. Physically, the three buildings that made up the Kensington campus occupied 1.29 acres of land, contained 200,000 sq. ft. of space and had a gross floor area of 3.5 times the area of the lot (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978a: 49). Due to the density of the site, the building complex was a visual barrier, creating a very different environment on each street the property bordered (interested party A-K,[6] 1997). On the south side, or Baldwin Street, the College is located on an important commercial artery for the active Kensington Market. On the north side, or

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[6] The "-K" denotes the interview pertains to the Kensington case study. Interviews are sourced by the general role (i.e. planner, resident, etc.) each person played in the case study to obscure their identity. See Appendix A for a description of these individual actors. "Interested party" is a role used to describe those people whose involvement in the case study was motivated by a specific interest that is not captured by the roles of planner, resident, business person, etc. The specific interest these actors had in the process is described in Appendix A.

Nassau Street, the College shared a relatively quiet residential street with mostly

Portuguese residents (resident A-K, 1996).

MAP 4.3: The George Brown College Site, 1995
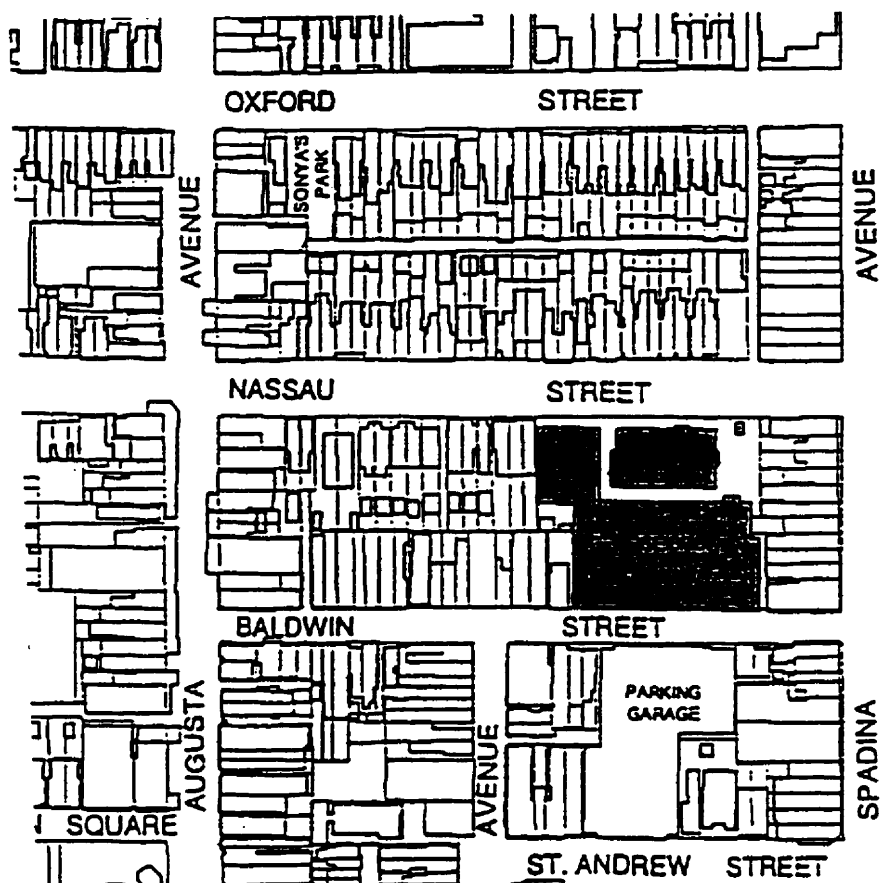
In some ways, the potential redevelopment of the site was typical of urban

planning in well developed areas. The planning process required an application for

rezoning, and the demolition and/or retrofitting of the existing buildings was necessary

before alternative uses could be applied to the site. What made this particular

redevelopment opportunity so interesting from a planning perspective, however, was that

it was located in a community with a long history of activism, and some strong ideas about what they collectively wanted to see replace the College.

Urban Planning and the Kensington Market Area

Kensington's ethnocultural diversity and dense mix of commercial and residential uses attract visitors and shoppers to the area on a daily basis. From the City of Toronto's perspective, the unique character of the Kensington market area is something to be preserved, so as to benefit both the surrounding neighbourhood and the City as a whole. Although planners in the past have referred to Kensington as "a somewhat unstable mixed use area" (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1973a: 2), the neighbourhood has long been recognized as having something unique and worth preserving amongst Toronto's other downtown communities.

Kensington has retained its Low Density Residential zoning designation, but in acknowledgment of the commercial uses that have evolved along select streets some industrial and commercial uses have also been permitted (see Map 4.2). Lands designated Institutional are occupied by the Toronto Western Hospital (to the west) and the George Brown College (to the east). According to the neighbourhood Official Plan for Kensington, the Market area is designated a Low Density Mixed Commercial-Residential area.

The Market is also designed an *Area of Special Identity* according to the Plan. With this designation, the City of Toronto aims to conserve and strengthen the area, in recognition of its special identity and character. In such Areas, "Council will employ its available powers to enact regulations, review plans and drawings, and make requirements

so as to ensure that new development is consistent..." (City of Toronto Planning and Development, 1991).

MAP 4.4: Kensington, Recommended Official Plan, 1978.[7]

LOW DENSITY RESIDENTIAL AREA

LOW DENSITY MIXED
COMMERCIAL-RESIDENTIAL AREA

INSTITUTIONAL AREA

COMMUNITY RESOURCE AREA

LOCAL PARK

STUDY AREA BOUNDARY

RECOMMENDED OFFICIAL PLAN
KENSINGTON
OFFICIAL PLAN PART II STUDY
CITY OF TORONTO PLANNING BOARD   OCT. 1978

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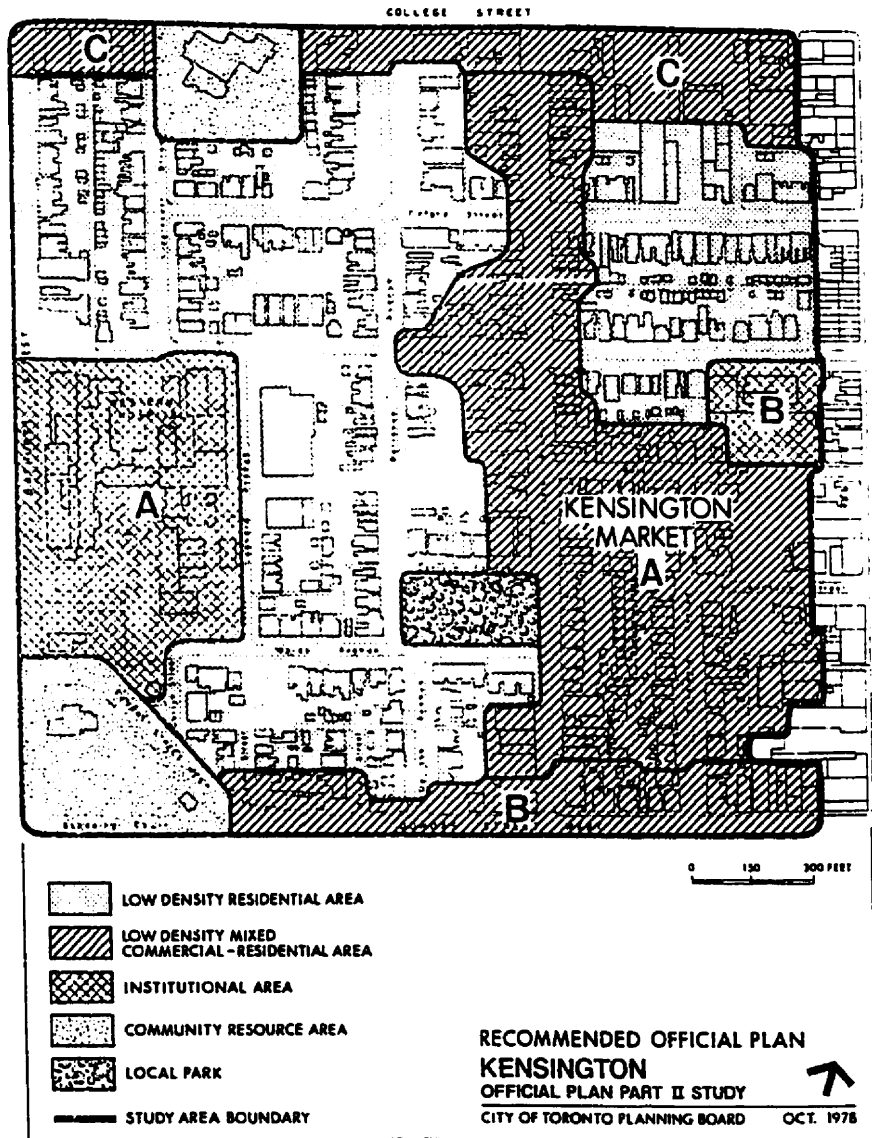
[7] The 1978 Plan for Kensington was carried into Toronto's 1991 Official Plan, and remains the relevant secondary plan for the neighbourhood. In the Mixed Commercial-Residential Use Areas, three sub-areas are identified in the Plan to distinguish the different functions and character of the Kensington Market (A), Dundas Street (B) and College Street (C) shopping areas. In the Institutional Areas, two sub-areas are identified in the plan: Toronto Western Hospital (A) and George Brown College (B).

Planners and the Kensington Community

Despite the value placed on the "unique character" of Kensington, the relationship

between the community and the City of Toronto planning department has had a long, and

somewhat acrimonious history. Not unlike other downtown neighbourhoods, Kensington

has faced extreme pressures of redevelopment and renewal that threatened its existence,

especially during the 1960s. In 1962, a Market Study was done by planners to look at the

feasibility of "a properly planned open market" for the Kensington area (City of Toronto

Planning Board, 1973a: 3). As the only intensive regional retail area in the City of

Toronto not located on an arterial street (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978b: 12), the

narrow streets, lack of laneways and the proximity of residential uses have long been the

source of traffic congestion, parking, and servicing problems. According to the Market

Study's recommendations, a "properly planned" market required three things: preservation

of the market and enhancement of its unique attractiveness; provision of adequate off-

street car parking; and the improvement of circulation for pedestrians, cars and trucks. In

the end, only the second recommendation was implemented -- two new parking lots were

built, but at the cost of demolishing a number of residential buildings (City of Toronto

Planning Board, 1973a; 1973b). The other recommendations were shelved in recognition

that they required a change in the existing zoning for the market and would create

significant problems for the rest of the predominantly residential area surrounding the

market.

From 1966-1969 Kensington was the subject of another planning study, although

this time with potentially more serious consequences. The neighbourhood was targeted

for "urban renewal" by planners under the federal government's renewal program. The objective was to create low-cost housing and remove downtown urban decay, or "blight" as it was known. Alexandra Park, the neighbourhood to the south of Kensington, had been cleared and rebuilt as public housing. At the time, it was considered a success by planners and Kensington was slated for the same fate. Residents, however, were determined to prevent the demolition of their neighbourhood, arguing it would destroy the social fabric of their community (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1973a: 3).[8]

In 1967 the Kensington Area Residents Association was formed, providing coordination for residents fighting to save the community and individual homes (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978a: 16). Although opposed to wholesale expropriation and demolition of existing housing, Kensington residents did see the need for renewal efforts in the community. They lobbied for a more community-oriented approach to renewal that would maintain the historical streetscape and identity of the neighborhood (St. Stephen's, 1980: 5), and won the establishment of an Urban Renewal Committee as part of the City's governing structure. The committee was composed of residents, business people and the Ward Alderman, and was to advise City Council on matters affecting the Kensington area. Out of this committee came a fourteen-point program the residents felt would be significant to any urban renewal scheme for the area, and a ten-point program business people developed relating specifically to the future of the Market. What the community articulated was a vision of Kensington where solutions could be found to "stabilize the

---

[8] Kensington was not the only community in Toronto that fought against the Urban Renewal Program, nor even the most widely known. Due in large part to the dynamic individuals involved, the citizen attack against bulldozer renewal in the neighbourhood of Trefann Court to the east is probably the most famous Toronto example.

Market, protect residential properties, and buffer the residents against the unpleasant conditions produced by Market activities" (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1973b: 3). This was a tall order, and has proven to be a challenge that planners continue to wrestle with. At the time, though, nothing was done about these concerns. Due to opposition to the urban renewal program across the country, the federal government cancelled the project in 1969, and no further funding was made available for Kensington's community-oriented approach.

City of Toronto planners were aware of the need for some sort of renewal in the Kensington area so in 1971 Kensington was proposed as a priority area for the successor federal government funding initiative: the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP). Money from this Program was targeted to community facility improvements (e.g. parks, street lighting). An interesting requirement was that the Program had to be approved by the local community, and area residents had to be actively involved in setting planning priorities for the use of NIP funds (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978a: 30). The Program was not immediately initiated in Kensington because of community opposition to what was seen as "yet another 'renewal' scheme" (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1973b: 6), but was eventually implemented from 1976 to 1978. Kensington was allocated almost one million dollars in NIP funds, and planners set about completing minor improvements in street lighting, public lane paving and transit shelters. The majority of their spending was on the implementation of three initiatives: block-by-block termite control; land acquisition to buy up land parcels with non-conforming uses in residential areas to be redeveloped as park land (such as the parkette on Oxford just off Augusta);

and improvement of park facilities, especially at Bellevue Square (City of Toronto

Planning Board, 1978a: 30).

In recent years, planners have once again approached Kensington with plans for

renewal. Through what is called the Kensington Revitalization Plan (discussed more fully

later in this chapter), the City of Toronto has been working with the community at every

stage of the Plan's creation with the aim of creating something the community would

support. Acknowledged to be a vocal community regarding local development issues,

planners are aware that even technically legal options for renewal will not work in

Kensington unless they are supported by community leaders.

The Kensington Revitalization Plan's consensual community approach fits with the

neighbourhood style of planning the former City of Toronto took pride in.[9] According to

Toronto's Official Plan (known as CityPlan 91):

> Toronto is a City of neighbourhoods. The neighbourhoods are identifiable
>
> geographic areas which provide a focus for the daily life of the City's residents.
>
> Many neighbourhoods express unique characteristics based on the City's varied
>
> natural features and its diverse multicultural makeup (City of Toronto Planning and
>
> Development, 1991: 36).

Under the Plan, the City's general goals for all neighbourhoods are: to provide a pleasant,

supportive, safe and healthy daily living environment; that there be adequate services, open

space, urban design and built form; and that a wide diversity of individuals be

accommodated through a range of housing types and social and economic activity.

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[9] The chief planner for the new City of Toronto is a veteran of the "old" Toronto and has indicated a
continued commitment to stable neighbourhoods, although this has yet to be tested in practice (Graham
and Davis, 1998).

Moreover, it was the policy of Council to regard all existing and emerging residential areas in the City as "neighbourhoods". In terms of the planning process itself, neighbourhoods figure prominently. As the Plan explains:

Council recognizes the tradition and practice of public participation in the neighbourhood planning process. Council shall seek the views and participation of the public during the preparation and prior to implementation of the following: Part I and II Official Plan Amendments, Zoning By-law Amendments, Community Improvement Plans, Community Services and Facilities Strategic Plans, neighbourhood traffic plans, heritage preservation policies, social planning and other planning initiatives (City of Toronto Planning and Development, 1991: 38).

A Balancing Act: Residential vs. Commercial Interests

The over-riding dilemma that continues to occupy planners in regard to the Kensington neighbourhood concerns the balance between residential and commercial uses. Since the 1950s, the expansion of the market has put internal pressure on efforts to preserve the surrounding residential area. As the market was never planned but rather evolved out of a low-density residential neighbourhood, an uneasy relationship between the two uses has also evolved. While some business people from the Market see the need to enlarge laneways, widen road allowances, and provide additional parking, these commercial improvements could very likely accelerate the absorption of residential properties into the Market. Mostly through legal non-conforming zoning changes granted by the Committee of Adjustment over the years, the Market has in fact slowly spread into adjacent areas that were once only residential. In efforts to ensure the Market is a "good

neighbour" to the residential uses in Kensington (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978b: 13), planners are conscious of the need to protect the integrity of Kensington as a residential community, while at the same time supporting the Market as an *Area of Special Identity* and being flexible enough to allow the Market to adapt and change in order to survive.

In the next chapter, the change instigated by the redevelopment of a significant piece of land adjacent to the Market area will be explored. Chapter Five examines the redevelopment of the George Brown College site in Kensington in the context of the research question: *How does ethnocultural diversity challenge the way we participate and belong in our communities, as seen through urban and suburban planning processes?* The criteria introduced in Chapter Two are used to shape the details of the case.

CHAPTER FIVE: The Redevelopment of George Brown College

A Closing is an Opportunity

The rezoning of the George Brown College site became an issue in late 1992 when it was announced that the College was closing its Kensington campus by 1995. Having received $13 million from the Province to expand two of its four campuses in Toronto, George Brown College let it be known that when the rebuilding at the Casa Loma and St. James campuses was complete, the Kensington campus would be closed and the property sold (Toronto Star, 1992).

According to the secondary plan for Kensington, upon the closing of the College, a planning study was required before the George Brown site could be rezoned from its existing Institutional Use. The Plan states:

> In the event of the relocation of George Brown College, or the vacation of part or
>
> all of the site occupied by George Brown College, Council shall undertake a study
>
> to consider alternate uses for the site having particular regard to the feasibility of
>
> residential and/or commercial uses (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978b: 38).

Given their history with the Kensington community, and in this context of balancing the needs of Kensington's residential and commercial interests, planners approached the redevelopment of the George Brown College site with a degree of caution. Although the City was required to undertake a study prior to rezoning the site, when the College officially closed, the planning department decided to wait until an actual proposal was made before attempting to meet this requirement. Aware of the community's strong interest in the site and the uncertainty over who would own the property in the future, City

planners took on a passive, yet interested role. As it turned out, the search for a new owner of the George Brown College site was not straightforward, and it was four years after the College had announced its intentions to close before an application for rezoning was filed with the Planning Department.

When the campus officially closed in March 1995, the site became a widespread community issue. As the feature of a special issue of the local newspaper the "Drum", residents were alerted to the closure with the bold front-page headline "George Brown Gone: Now What?" (Drum, 1995). Describing the site as the largest land parcel in Kensington Market, the paper went on to outline what was known to date about who owned the land and by what process it would be sold.

From the community's perspective, this was a tremendously important local issue for a variety of reasons. Given the size of Kensington, the scale of the land that was about to become available with the closure was significant. Early rumours in the community suggested the site could become everything from an indoor shopping mall, to residential housing, to a parking lot. The location of the College was important given that it was in such close proximity to the Market, and there was concern over the impact of future uses for the site from the local business interests. As well, the closure of George Brown meant a loss of potential customers: the College had a large student population who had used the Market's shops and restaurants. The fact that such a locally significant parcel of land was becoming available for redevelopment was also a concern for Kensington residents. Many were concerned about retaining the community's residential character (resident A-K,

1996), and were anxious both about the future use of the site as well as the safety of the site if it remained empty for a long period of time.

While there were many concerns about the closure, the Kensington community also saw the potential for redevelopment on the site as a real opportunity. As one interested party explained,

> I see the creativity and optimism of the Kensington community as special. On the
>
> one hand they are fearful... on the other hand they also see the campus didn't
>
> exactly fit the community.... So they see the redevelopment as an opportunity.
>
> Maybe some changes can be brought in which can revitalize the business
>
> community and be more compatible with the characteristics of the [residential]
>
> community (interested party B-K, 1997).

Collective Action Among Diverse Interests? Kensington Market Working Group

While much of land use planning can be characterized as technical and regulatory, some planning issues are unmistakably about politics. Active, vocal residents and business people in Kensington have developed relationships with local planners and politicians, although not along clearly organized channels. Kensington is a community where collective action is possible when necessary; yet ultimately the workings of this diverse community are characteristically anarchical. For example, despite its compact size, the community has multiple business and resident associations claiming to represent Kensington's interests, as well as some charismatic individuals who hold local influence. As the planner assigned to Kensington explained, this is a community where "you need to

listen, accept other ways of living... you need openness, lots of [telephone] calls, and patience" (planner A-K, 1996a).

The closure of George Brown College became an issue that inspired collective action. Although some community members were aware of the impending closure earlier, the first gathering of local interests took place in late 1993 when the local MPP Rosario Marchese (and Parliamentary Assistant to the Premier) called a community meeting. He recognized the College closure would affect a large and important piece of land in the community, and invited people to come and discuss it. A small group of people came to this first meeting, many of whom would later become the core of community planning efforts concerned with the future of the George Brown College site (resident C-K, 1997). Believing the property could be used as a tool of community revitalization, Marchese wanted to ensure the community was not shut out of the process (Kensington Market Working Group, 1997). Subsequent meetings facilitated by MPP Marchese were held over the next year, and attendance grew. What emerged out of this process was the creation of a new community association: the Kensington Market Working Group.

The Kensington Market Working Group aimed to be a representative voice for the community at large over the George Brown College issue, although this was soon expanded to include other issues of local interest such as parking, garbage, and neighbourhood safety. The Working Group was made up of active community members, some of whom were professionals who brought with them skills of law, architecture, business, and politics. Although involving a mixed group of people and interests, as one member admitted that newer ethnic groups present in the community (such as Asian or

African) were, and continue to be, deeply under-represented in the Working Group (resident A-K, 1996). The Working Group was designed as a formal voice for the community, with a board of directors and sub-committees to tackle specific issues. One of the first committees to be formed was the George Brown Steering Committee -- involving a group of dedicated individuals who had experience or interests that could lobby for /the community's position on the future of the George Brown College site.

Perhaps the greatest success of the Working Group has been the creation of a venue where residential and commercial interests could come together. Incorporated as a non-profit organization in 1995, the Working Group built bridges with politicians and other community associations in a concentrated effort to be a truly representative body for the community. This was unusual for Kensington. Unlike other residential communities where there might be one residents' or ratepayers' association, or other commercial areas where merchants have joined together with a Business Improvement Area or a registered Business Association, Kensington has had a much more erratic and free-flowing association of interests. Multiple resident and business groups do exist, but the degree to which any particular group represents all relevant interests or communicates with those interests is questionable. From the beginning, the Working Group aimed to be different from existing community associations in Kensington. As one Working Group member explained, "The group speaks in terms of 'we the community'... this is in contrast to the business associations where they still speak more from their individual experience; 'my store'" (resident C-K, 1997).

It is within this environment that the Kensington Market Working Group set out to generate a community-wide consensus over what should be done with the George Brown College site. The Working Group members were convinced of the need to develop such a consensus despite tendencies in the community towards more interest-based coalitions and a practice of somewhat unconventional organization. To encourage wide community participation, hundreds of flyers were delivered in the community, with translations provided by the City of Toronto as well as a local community organization, St. Stephen's House. Articles in the local newspaper such as the special issue on the campus closure (Drum, 1995) were also helpful in increasing local awareness. At community meetings, interpretive services were made available in Chinese, Spanish and Portuguese. Even with these inclusive efforts, participation by the wide range of ethnocultural groups living and working within Kensington remained low. "They still come to the community meetings," one person active in the community explained, "...but none of them are involved in the steering group. That could be seen as an under-representation in the process. Language seems to be a major factor" (interested party B-K, 1997).

In February 1995, the Working Group sponsored an "Ideas Meeting" as a first step in the community planning process over the future of the College site. A professional facilitator was hired and the eighty people that attended developed an impressive list of possible uses for the site through brainstorming -- parking, housing, park space, retail, education, arts, "green" initiatives, and community services, among other ideas (Kensington Market Working Group, 1995a). Motivated by a Working Group member who had experience with community participation processes, a grassroots consultative

approach was employed at the meeting. As one of the organizers in attendance described it:

> Before we showed anybody any plans we had... [80] people in a room. We just
> put paper all over the wall and said 'tell us what you think might be a good idea to
> put in this building'... remarkably swiftly the ideas sifted out into things that we
> should look at incorporating" (interested party A-K, 1997).

As those in attendance moved from brainstorming to critically analyzing each idea for its practicality, a community consensus over what should be done with the George Brown College site evolved. The Working Group was left with a general schematic plan of what could be done, and more importantly a list of development principles for the site that transcended architecture (interested party A-K, 1997). These principles represented what the community wanted to retain and foster in their neighbourhood, and included: the need to make any future development financially stable; a rejection of mega-developments; a concern over protecting the vitality of the commercial activity in the market; a concern over the impact of future development for the residential community; and a preference for renovation and redevelopment over demolition and new development on the site.

The Working Group used the February 1995 meeting as a springboard for developing a community-based option for the site. Two additional community-wide meetings were held to take the community's ideas and translate them into action. As one active Working Group member explained, they saw this community planning process as a real opportunity. "Usually the public is in a reactive position when it comes to zoning changes... this time the community could get ahead of the ball" (resident A-K, 1996).

Aiming to carry the weight of community consensus behind it, the Working Group set out to be a player in the political maneuvering over what would eventually happen to the property.

The Search for A Buyer

At a formal level, the City of Toronto was mandated by the Kensington neighbourhood Official Plan to be a key player throughout the redevelopment process of the site. Although required to do a planning study prior to rezoning the College site, the planning department decided to wait until a proposal was made by a developer.

The Province's Role

The search for a new owner of the George Brown College site was complicated. The province of Ontario had bought the property in the 1950s, and transferred ownership to the Board of Governors for George Brown College in 1970. The Ministry of Education had reserved an option at this time to regain ownership of the land for seven dollars in the event that the College did not have any further use for it. When the College first announced its intention to close the Kensington campus, the matter was immediately referred to the Province's Management Board Secretariat.

While seven dollars might sound like a bargain for 200,000 sq. ft. in a downtown Toronto neighbourhood, from the beginning the property was generally treated by everyone except the community as a liability no one wanted to be stuck with. Every potential use for the site was expected to involve substantial and costly renovations, estimated at $10 -20 million depending on the intended use (Drum, 1995). Although the

buildings were structurally sound, they were not insulated, and had outdated heating, plumbing and electrical systems. Straight demolition of the buildings to use the property as a parking lot was expected to cost $1 million.

With a cost of one-half a million dollars to do nothing but safely keep the buildings empty, the Province did not jump at the chance to exercise its seven dollar option. The Province did, however, commission a study to look at four specific scenarios for the property: continuing use for educational and/or commercial purposes; residential development; residential / commercial mixed use; and complete redevelopment of the site (demolition). The study described the zoning changes each scenario would require, and concluded that using the main floor of the buildings for commercial use and the rest for non-profit housing was the preferred option, allowing for the highest and best use for the Province (Ian Morrison and Associates, 1993). The Management Board Secretariat was reluctant to engage in such a project, choosing instead to delay its final decision about the seven dollar option until the campus finally closed.

The Kensington Market Working Group, by contrast, had always been very interested in the property. Following the community planning process they had initiated, and using volunteer labour from those who lived, worked and were concerned about the future of Kensington, the Working Group managed to put together a rather detailed proposal of their own (Kensington Market Working Group, 1995b). Envisioning a participatory community planning and design process, they prepared the proposal with a non-profit organization, Toronto Artscape Inc., as the developer. Requiring the three existing buildings to be converted from an Institutional Use to a Mixed Use designation,

the Working Group's proposal involved the construction of a combination of artist live/work studios, housing, a cultural incubator,[1] some parking, and grade-level retail facing Baldwin Street. While in many respects the proposal articulated a vision for the site's future use, it also included a remarkable amount of specificity. Costs and financing were outlined; schematic plans and a timeline for implementation were included. The key assumption of the proposal, however, was that the Province would transfer its ownership (through the seven dollar option) to the non-profit Toronto Artscape. The problem, as they soon discovered, was that the transfer of ownership could only go to another government, and not to a non-profit organization. At this point the Working Group went to the City of Toronto.

The City's Role

The housing department at the City of Toronto was generally enthusiastic about the potential for an affordable housing project on the site, seeing it as a means to meet needs for family housing within Kensington and adjacent neighbourhoods. The housing department's interests peaked as provincial funding sources for such projects were cut soon after the Conservative government took power in June 1995. The Kensington Market Working Group's proposal also had support from the local City Councillor, Dan Leckie, who was concerned about the Market's decline. Many with an interest in Kensington feared pressures from the recession and the increasing number of empty storefronts put the neighbourhood at risk — the closure of George Brown College could become symbolic of a dying community.

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[1] The cultural incubator was envisioned similar to small business incubators, as a place where cultural groups would have space to hold events and/or develop projects and programs.

The Toronto City Council's Executive Committee proved to be the real stumbling

block for the Working Group's community proposal. Headed by Tom Jacobek, a

conservative Councillor well known for his cost-cutting stance, the Executive Committee

was worried about the potential for the City to be stuck with a property that would be

expensive to renovate and maintain. At the same time, though, the possibility for the City

to get centrally located real estate for just seven dollars was indeed attractive. As the

committee reported to Council:

> The City has an opportunity to acquire this valuable site for a nominal price for the
>
> purpose of redevelopment... While the long-term feasibility of the redevelopment
>
> of the site has still to be determined, it is felt that the inherent value of the site
>
> permits the City to acquire the site, complete the study, and still have the option of
>
> proceeding or not proceeding without net cost to the City. The closing of the
>
> purchase will be subject to the City satisfying itself on the environmental condition
>
> of the site. (City of Toronto Executive Committee, 1995a: 58)

The Executive Committee recommended that the City commission additional feasibility

and environmental studies of the property. The Province agreed to extend the deadline on

the transfer option until July 31, 1995 to allow the City's studies to be done, arranging to

pay for the upkeep costs of the property in the interim. If the City agreed, the actual

transfer would take place on September 30 of that year (City of Toronto Executive

Committee, 1995a: 59).

In an irony of bureaucratic red tape, the completion of these studies took longer

than the deadline extension allowed for and eventually cost the City its chance to own the

land. As time ran out, the City of Toronto sent a letter to the Province saying it would exercise the option pending the completion of what they expected to be favourable studies, but it was too late. The new provincial government, perhaps believing the process had dragged on long enough and unwilling to pay anything further for the site, did not grant another extension. The Management Board Secretariat officially allowed the transfer option to expire. Only two days later the City's studies came in recommending the City of Toronto buy the property, a fact that is somewhat bitterly remembered by those involved (resident A-K, 1996).[2]

The Kensington Working Group's Role

Careful not to put too much stake in governments that seemed unwilling to act quickly and take over the property, the Working Group had also been negotiating with George Brown College itself during this period. The Working Group was proposing the College retain title to the land until the community moved through what was expected to be a lengthy rezoning process. Under this proposal, the community would not be responsible for financing until they could start construction, but it was argued the College would also benefit because the proposal involved community cultural groups renting space to cover general upkeep costs. The Working Group gave an opening offer of $700,000 for the land itself, with an on-going rental stream of $100,000 per year (interested party A-K, 1997). From the Working Group's perspective, this deal was very fair -- their own

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[2] The City of Toronto's executive committee reported back to Council a different reason for the missed opportunity to purchase the site. According to their report, "The Province supported the City's position, but George Brown College was not prepared to accept a conditional offer and deemed the option to have lapsed. The option to acquire the property at no cost has, therefore, been lost" (City of Toronto Executive Committee, 1995b: 8).

feasibility studies had shown that the property was only worth $1 million, and the yearly

payment could have paid for something like a Chair of Urban Planning for the College

(resident A-K, 1996). The College disagreed. They were obviously interested in

obtaining as much revenue for the property as possible, and believed market value would

yield much more. As well, according to Working Group members, the College was not

interested in maintaining any sort of permanent role on the site. George Brown College

rejected the community's offer, and put the property up for sale.

At this point, the Kensington Market Working Group decided to invest their

energies in educating potential buyers about the community's interests for the site rather

than attempt another proposal. The Kensington community had developed a consensus

over what they did and didn't want for the site -- the majority of the site for residential

use, retail on Baldwin Street to reconnect the market with Spadina Avenue and

Chinatown, parking to accommodate these uses, and the potential for community space.

The Working Group wanted any future developer to work within this framework. The

efforts of the Working Group paid off. Of the three bids seriously considered by the

College, all were from developers who had agreed to support the community's proposal

(resident A-K, 1996). Worth noting, however, is that despite the College's belief that the

buildings were worth considerably more (some suggest they expected $5 million),

interested developers did not offer much more than the community itself had (interested

party A-K, 1997).

By the end of October 1996, it became known that George Brown College had

found a buyer (planner A-K, 1996b). The first impressions within the Kensington

community were positive: the buyer the College had chosen was also one the Working Group supported, feeling comfortable with their commitment to work with the community if they secured the favourable bid for the site. Closing the deal, however, proved to be difficult. Amidst a climate of speculation and hearsay within the community, the announcement of the sale was delayed into November, and then again into the new year.

It was at this point that a second developer entered the scene. Having heard about the delay in closing the George Brown College deal, they approached the College directly and discovered the buyer had put down a deposit, but was having financial problems in closing the deal (developer interest A-K, 1997). An architect involved with this new developer had been interested in the site at the original sale, and suggested they team up and effectively assume the buyer's offer. As a result:

> "[the buyer] is still involved in this project, although in a minority role, and we [the second developer] sort of became the major partner in the project so that way it avoided any legal battle... it was sort of a win-win situation. George Brown wanted to close the sale quickly... [the buyer] wanted to resolve this thing with some dignity... and we have a really exciting project to work on. So it was good for everybody" (developer interest A-K, 1997).

Having secured the deal, the new developer quickly went to work drawing up plans for the site. Eager to have their application for development and zoning changes approved before the City of Toronto was dissolved into the "mega-city",[3] they met with the Kensington community and announced their plans to turn the site into primarily affordable

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[3] "Mega-city" is the term some use to describe the new City of Toronto.

residential loft condominiums,[4] with some grade-level retail space on Baldwin Street. Parking for these residential units was incorporated into the site, and most of the structure of the three College buildings was to be retained. The developers also established an aggressive timeline that had building starting January 1998 and the property occupied by the following summer.

The community was generally supportive of the plans. It seemed the developer respected the community's vision for the site and was willing to risk a sizable amount of money on a redevelopment project that would both protect the community's character as a residential neighbourhood, as well as infuse the Market with new customers for its shops and restaurants. While the developer did not use the Kensington Market Working Group's proposal, they did agree to the development principles it included and the basic elements of the community proposal were incorporated into the developer's plans (interested party A-K, 1997). The developer also hired the two architects who had been working on the community proposal, thereby capitalizing on their knowledge of the site, and sustaining a continuity with the community consensus that had been achieved.

Examining the Kensington Case Study

As was explained in Chapter Two, the case studies in this research were evaluated on four grounds: (1) participation in public decision-making; (2) democratic equality; (3) social structures and associations; and (4) solidarity and tolerance. Each of these criterion will be evaluated below in the context of the Kensington case.

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[4] The condominiums are expected to sell for around $100,000 each. While the community generally favoured residential use for the site, it had always been important to them that the housing built be affordable so as to fit with the character of the existing Kensington neighbourhood.

Participation in Public Decision-making

In Kensington, it was the local MPP who initiated a collective community reaction

when it was first known that George Brown College campus would be closing. Although

the relationship between citizens and government officials had not always been this

harmonious, in this case it was undoubtedly an important ingredient (business interest B-

K, 1997). In contrast to the politicians who were instigating community action, the

planning department took on a more responsive role. In fact, this role allowed for a

substantial informal planning process to begin under the guidance of the Working Group

long before the formal planning process was engaged with the submission of a zoning

change to the City by the successful developer. Looking back on the success of the

outcome, this was applauded by some:

> ...[the Kensington planner] is one of the more community consultative planners [in
>
> the City of Toronto's planning department] and I think that has been one of the
>
> things that moved this project from something controversial to something where
>
> everybody is rowing in the same boat. I think that is one of the very necessary
>
> ingredients (interested party A-K, 1997).

Although reluctant to direct the process, the planning department, and specifically the

local planner, was described as being competent, knowledgeable, and aware of both what

the community wanted, and what was appropriate (developer interest A-K, 1997;

interested party A-K, 1997).

As was described earlier in this chapter, community participation in this case was

organic and proactive. Moreover, in a community with a history of collective action, the

reaction to George Brown College's closure was not uncharacteristic. Although not the first government project to capture local attention, the redevelopment of the College site was seen as a large structural change that could potentially have a tremendous local impact. This sparked a proactive reaction on the part of individuals within the community, who chose to see the College's closure as an opportunity for the neighbourhood. They were eager to have their concerns taken seriously and did not want any one of the community's diverse interests to detract from what was best for the community as a whole (resident A-K, 1996).

The Working Group represented the core of public participation. Working Group members were individuals with the time and ability to get involved in local issues and those who had a strong interest in the changes occurring in their community. Some described these people as "middle-aged, middle-class professionals" (business interest A-K, 1997). Others saw the participation of this association as covertly political, supporting the agenda of an active City Councillor (resident B-K, 1997). Older Kensington residents, however, acknowledged that the involvement of a small group of people is natural, reflecting almost a generational shift, as they remember times when they too were active in local planning issues in the community (business interest B-K, 1997). Regardless of the motivation of these key participants, it was the skills of those who took leadership roles and the sophistication of their involvement that was key to what became a non-adversarial process between planners, the developer and the community, and the creation of a final outcome that is supported by the majority of Kensington residents and business people today.

What gave this collection of community members legitimacy to speak for

Kensington as a whole was that the Working Group employed grassroots consultation

techniques to develop a community consensus over the future of the site outside the

formal planning process, and then used this consensus as leverage among the other

interested parties. As a result, this collective community approach was seen by outsiders

as a unique but healthy example of local planning:

> The community is quite proactive and very experienced, is very rational,
>
> practical... many resident associations don't know how developers work, don't
>
> understand that projects have to work financially, and one gets into an adversarial
>
> relationship. In this case the community understood the numbers and understood
>
> how business works and wished to be cooperative and proactive (interested party
>
> A-K, 1997).

> Despite best efforts, however complete community participation was unattainable.

While encouraged by the large showing of community members at the first consensus-

building meeting the Working Group held to develop a proposal for the George Brown

College site, those involved in the planning process admitted that full participation was

exceedingly hard to attain (resident A-K, 1996). As someone active in the community

stated:

> Most people are not involved. Only through loose connection to groups via
>
> membership, but they don't go to meetings. This is despite repeated opportunities
>
> to be more involved. 1960s textbook-style participation doesn't work (business
>
> interest A-K, 1997).

This sentiment was echoed by those with extensive experience in community planning processes:

> Of course like any community, issues will never have every single person involved
> in the process. There could be a lot of barriers... language barrier... people may
> not be interested, or people may not feel things will change even if they get
> involved. In January 1995 when we had that first community consultation meeting
> we had [almost] 100 people at the meeting. There was only a small portion of the
> whole community, but this is something we have to accept, we cannot have
> everyone involved in the process (interested party B-K, 1997).

According to some, limited participation was the result of the busy schedules of people, especially business people (resident C-K, 1997). Others suggested that interest in an issue was difficult to sustain over the long term, and so participation would predictably drop off as the process continued (business interest A-K, 1997). A lack of language and literacy skills was raised as an alternative reason for low participation rates by those who specifically questioned the low turn-out of proportionally smaller ethnocultural groups (who are also recent immigrants) (interested party B-K, 1997).

While some continued to see the Working Group's activities as politically motivated and insincere (resident B-K, 1997), to their credit they did succeed in building bridges between the two major cleavages within the community, incorporating people who represented both local business and resident interests in decision-making. In a community with several business and residents' associations, this was no small task and made the

informal community planning process arguably more legitimate. As one who facilitated this process explained:

> As far as the representation of citizens in the community meetings and in the remainder of the process... I think they are very well represented. We have business people, people who are residents of the area -- this is the two major sectors in the community, which could have a very different agenda. People who do the business and people who live here may see differently on the problem of the future of redevelopment. In the whole process I can see both sectors are well represented. (interested party B-K, 1997).

Moreover, through their extensive efforts at community consensus-building, the Working Group was able to keep the community informed about the planning process surrounding the College's redevelopment, and even expand their mandate beyond this one planning issue to address other concerns raised by business people and residents. Again, the one glaring omission in terms of representation was that of recent immigrants belonging to proportionally smaller ethnocultural groups. Although they were evident in the larger community meetings, they did not appear to be represented in the leadership of the Working Group or any of its subcommittees (interested party B-K, 1997; developer interest A-K, 1997).

Democratic Equality

Participation in the Kensington case study was largely within an informal planning process, dominated by a handful of interested community members. In keeping with its

"urban village" character, Kensington is a community where personalities matter a great deal. As a community service organization employee active in the Kensington area noted:

> It is such a fascinating community. It took me quite some time to make myself familiar with the Market, when I took this job... A lot of demanding personal relationships, relationships between major groups -- it takes time to be familiar. It wasn't easy (interested party B-K, 1997).

To those living in Kensington, these personalized relationships are crucial to how influence is exercised in local decision-making. Perhaps best described as coalition-building, support within the community for pursuing local changes within formal planning channels was centred around the personalities of influential individuals. As one long-time resident explained:

> That's how it works. You have to have a strong willingness in this area [community support], then you can bring it forward to the politicians. If you haven't got anyone to carry it what are you going to do? You need to have someone they [the City] will respect (business interest B-K, 1997).

> In addition to the influence of personalities in the community was the powerful role played by the Working Group. In fact, many of the charismatic leaders in the community were members of the Working Group, or its sub-committees. The influence of the Working Group was rooted in the varied community interests it incorporated. It was legitimized by the community consensus they worked at acquiring early and continued to carry with them throughout the process. This role was praised as key to how the College

redevelopment was resolved with such wide support within the community (interested

party A-K, 1997):

> The leadership of the Kensington Market Working Group was critical. There was
>
> a group of residents who were ready to meet the community and help them find
>
> the wishes of their own. In the absence of the Working Group at that moment, I
>
> doubt that we would be as we are now. I think that the leadership was most
>
> crucial to the process (interested party B-K, 1997).

To date, many Working Group members are committed to cementing this influence

in the community even though their *raison d' etre*, the closure of the George Brown

College, has come to a natural conclusion. Some Working Group members hope to

replace the ad-hoc arrangement of influential individuals and sometimes inactive

associations by entrenching the Working Group as the structure for local decision-making

within Kensington:

> The Working Group has to change with the vision of the Market. It must be
>
> reputable, accountable, responsible as the community grows and revitalizes. This
>
> requires a 10-year, a 25-year commitment (resident C-K, 1997).

This is not a new direction for the Working Group. Early in its life a board of directors

was formed, regular meetings were held, and non-profit status was sought. This was done

to separate the Working Group from other local associations that had a history of

questionable representation and fractured local politics (resident A-K, 1996). Efforts to

form a legitimate structure for community representation improved the Working Group's

ability to be considered a genuine player in the formal planning process and "politicking" that occurred beyond the local community.

The powerful role the Kensington community was able to have in the planning process was facilitated by the City planning department, local politicians, and a community service organization, yet it was achieved because local residents decided to take this power by opting for a strong, informed role early on. Because it was considered a serious local issue, the closure of the George Brown College generated a spontaneous, informal planning process.

Beyond the informal process, the ability of community members to develop a consensus over what was best for the redevelopment site (e.g. residential use) and, more importantly, what they collectively valued and wished to protect and enhance in Kensington as a whole proved to be a powerful tool. This clarity and consensus allowed the community to retain influence, through the Working Group, even as the planning process moved into a more formal vein. Once into that formal planning process, the developer had a great deal of power over what was to be proposed, and the municipality and planning department had power by way of their authority to approve any applications, and the mandated need to complete a study before rezoning of the site could occur. Because the Kensington community had opted for a pro-active role early on, however, its collective interests remained a strong influence even at this stage. As a spokesperson for the final developer explained:

> In fact we actually retained the architects that were working for both George
>
> Brown and the community... a lot of the design had been done by the

neighbourhood community was what made sense to the community and we totally

agreed with it -- we made some changes, but the basic concept we agreed with --

the neighbourhood community is very supportive because it is not very different

from what they wanted to do (developer interest A-K, 1997).

The result was a formal planning process that lacked the acrimony and frustration that is

sometimes felt by developers, planners and residents when they discover their interests

diverge (developer interest A-K, 1997; interested party A-K, 1997).

Social Structures and Associations

Kensington's ethnocultural diversity is not manifested in *local* ethnocultural

associations. One possible reason for this is that in Toronto, ethnic groups have spread

across various urban neighbourhoods as they have grown in size. For example, while the

Portuguese were the dominant group in Kensington in the 1960s, the present Portuguese

community of Toronto spreads across fifty city blocks and its cultural centre is located

many blocks west of Kensington (Teixeira, 1995). The strength of ethnocultural

associations within Kensington is also limited by the fact there are few ethnocultural

groups large enough in the community to have a collective presence, and those that are

large enough have divisions within them based on political ideology, class, or home

country. While many residents may be part of ethnocultural associations outside of

Kensington, within the community these associations do not form citizens' central

affiliation or identity. As one active community member explained:

The [Kensington] community is a neighbourhood, a market... these are more

readily forms of identification. You can describe who is in Kensington in ethnic

terms, but you can't project those differences on this city block (resident D-K, 1996b).

In the case of George Brown College, the primary community differentiation was between residents and business people. This historical cleavage sprang from the unusual mixing of residential and commercial uses within such a densely populated area and is accentuated by the fact that most business people in the Market today do not live within the Kensington community (resident B-K, 1997). The division between residential and commercial interests dissolves into sub-groups as other factors such as ethnicity, culture, age, and length of time in the community are taken into account. For example, although there is formally only a single residents' association there is an obvious split in the community between the interests of older and newer residents, which combines with differences in ethnicity and culture given Kensington's layered pattern of immigration. This split is to some extent represented in the membership of the two community organizations – the Kensington Residents' Association and the Working Group.

The business community in Kensington is even more fractured. Unlike other downtown Toronto communities that have formed Business Improvement Areas to join local business interests, merchants in Kensington Market are much more disorganized. As the City of Toronto planner responsible for Kensington described, they are "...not clearly organized, but maybe they are in their own way. Is that the cause of, the nature of the community?... It doesn't have to be organized if it works" (planner A-K, 1996a). This diversity of local business interests was best explained by those active in local community politics and decision-making:

Within the business community there are different interests. It could have something to do with locations; people on Augusta Street may have different interests than people on Kensington Street. It could also be due to the ethnoracial background. I'm sure my comment would be controversial, but I do feel that the business people with Jewish background group together quite closely and other businesses form their own group, and sometimes their interests or their ways of seeing things may not be the same. Also, I think it has a lot to do with the type of businesses. Grocery stores, or clothing stores, maybe their interests are different. Kensington market is a mix of all kinds of multicultural business and maybe these businesses have different interests in the future developments of the community (interested party B-K, 1997).

Officially there are two separate business associations in the Market, although power-struggles and specific issues have at different times split even these two associations. Factors such as ethnicity, age, type of business and whether space is owned or rented outline stark differences in the membership between the two associations, and are a reflection of when each association was created. The oldest business association is the Kensington Market Businessmen's [sic] Association -- an association that was formed in the early 1960s when primarily white, male, Jewish landowners joined together out of a common interest in property values (business interest A-K, 1997). This association and its active leadership have been credited with winning some important battles against the City for merchants within Kensington Market (resident A-K, 1996),[5] although in more recent

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[5] The Businessmen's Association, and specifically its leadership, was responsible for increasing local parking for the community, but is primarily known for its twenty year battle (and eventual victory) to have

years has been severely criticized for not being representative of all the local business interests. Despite an election for the association in 1989, many were frustrated that no real power-sharing occurred or "new blood" was infused as a result. The association claimed to be an active body, but failed to present proof of this in the way of meeting minutes or bank records (resident C-K, 1997).[6] Amidst these charges, new elections were held and a subsequent business association was created in 1995. Known as the Kensington Market Business Association, this new association includes a cross-section of ethnocultural groups (reflecting the diversity of shops in the Market today) and is dominated by younger merchants, many of whom rent their space.

Within this somewhat disorganized environment, the Kensington community functions in practice not through associations, but instead through the leadership of individuals who act as spokespersons for different interests. For some, including those who have been working hard to create formal structures of power and influence in the community, this is a point of constant frustration. As one person active in the new Business Association lamented, "Most people are not involved. Only through loose connections to groups via membership, but they don't go to meetings. This is despite repeated opportunities to get involved" (business interest A-K, 1997). Perhaps as a result of this reluctance on the part of community members to actively participate in local associations, the Business Association appears to be suffering a similar fate as its rival and has struggled to hold onto its structure of regular meetings. It is amidst this environment

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the "canopies", covered street additions to local stores that spill onto the busy sidewalks, be considered legal buildings by the City.

[6] According to community members (both residents and business people) the charges against the Businessmen's Association went so far as to involve a court order aimed at seizing the bank accounts of what many saw as a delinquent association.

that Kensington Market Working Group's continued success as a collective, organized association is unusual, and is attributable to the personal commitment of its membership and the specific, time-bounded challenge it had to address. For others, however, the domination of influential people continues to be a natural and useful way to accomplish local goals (business interest B-K, 1997). Personal alliances with local leaders remain a more accurate reflection of Kensington's social structure than formal association membership lists.

Given this complex maze of associations, alliances, and personal influence, Kensington is a community that could be interpreted as disorganized and somewhat dysfunctional as a collectivity. Yet this apparent disorganization is a historical element of continuity within Kensington. As a community where the multiplicity of smaller factions of interests has been the norm, continuity springs from the creation and re-creation of alliances and associations as issues within the community arise. During the research, both residents and business people alike were quick to give examples of other instances where community interests coalesced (and Kensington's history of community activism supports this), invariably at times when the community felt threatened in some way. Despite the diversity of interests present in Kensington, there is a degree of continuity that some find comfort in. As one long-time resident commented: "If my parents came back to life they'd still recognize Kensington. Renovations have been done, but there is an atmosphere, an ambiance... it is a place where you can live, work, eat, go to school all in the same block" (resident B-K, 1997).

Solidarity and Tolerance

Kensington's sense of community solidarity comes from the unique downtown urbanism (often described as an "urban village") that it offers as a place to live and work. Home to a population of immigrants and urban professionals, Kensington is a community that embodies a diversity that many find attractive. This "urbanism" is tangible:

> ...they all have a love of this area, they're all downtown people. They like the urbanity of it. All the qualities of Kensington they thrive on. I think that is sort of self-selecting. If they didn't like it they wouldn't live here.... It seems to be a very conscious decision, they are very proud of the area, and they want to maintain it and strengthen it (developer interest A-K, 1997).

Kensington residents also acknowledge, however, that it is a community where people "mind their own business", where people are independent and come together only when a particular issue moves them (resident B-K, 1997; business interest B-K, 1997). The solidarity that community members share in their urban identity was particularly evident in the planning example explored in this research. The closure of the George Brown College campus was just the sort of issue that could bring together independent interests. As was revealed in Chapter Four, the Kensington area has a long history of collective action at times when change appears to threaten the unique character of the community. Yet this periodic "coming together" of diverse interests should not be equated with a sense of community that runs beyond their common interest in preserving the place that embodies the urban identity they find attractive. As one active resident explained:

On the one hand, the concept of community doesn't fit with Kensington. People

try to find things that tie them together as a neighbourhood, but in a way it is still

just a city block. At best a neighbourhood. But a community? On the other hand,

when you have a festival you hope it will bring everyone together. A negative

issue... then everyone would come together as Kensington people (resident D-K,

1996b).

This sentiment was expressed by business people active in Kensington as well:

Kensington is not a community in a cultural sense. Neighbourhoods in larger

urban centres are not communities... the interaction of people, positive or negative,

makes it sort of like a community. People would respond to negative change; like

when everyone is collectively angry about something and other intellectuals

capitalize on that feeling. But it's not clean, and not necessarily progressive. Only

can say it is a shared experience really [sic] (business interest A-K, 1997).

The historical pattern of immigration into Kensington also has a unifying effect on

the community. In fact, diversity is so embedded in the community's history that it is

taken for granted, and tends to be interpreted as a source of strength, rather than a factor

working against community solidarity. With one of its greatest constants being change,

Kensington has become home to a new group of immigrants that continue to reinforce not

only ethnocultural diversity, but also: "diversity from language, different needs,

representation of issues, education, culture and laws, income levels, [and]

responsibilities..." (resident C-K, 1997).

Others outside the community have noticed this strength. Kensington attracts

many visitors and tourists who are eager to experience this "atmosphere and ambiance"

that is created by the community's density, mixed uses, and ethnocultural diversity.

Kensington's uniqueness has also proved to be a bargaining tool: according to some, when

local needs and initiatives can be identified as supporting the multicultural character or the

community's diversity, the City of Toronto is keen to be supportive (business interest A-

K, 1997). Interestingly, the community's ethnocultural diversity has been touted as the

best selling feature for the new condominiums the developers are building on the old

George Brown College site (developer interest A-K, 1997).

Diversity, however, has also proved to be counter-productive to accomplishing

what some would consider to be community goals. Viewed as a "selling feature" by the

developers and something unique and worthy of protection by the City of Toronto,

Kensington's diversity is not as idealized by those who live and work there. Although

valued as an important aspect of the community's urban identity, residents and business

people also recognize that the community is a collection of individual people, sometimes

with very different perspectives, that come together often informally over specific issues.

This is a source of frustration for some active members of the community who want to

build a strong community solidarity -- reaching consensus within such a mixed group of

interests and viewpoints is a challenge. Therefore, while they may see Kensington's

diversity as a positive, they also recognize it can be the community's "worst enemy"

(business interest A-K, 1997).

Tolerance is a significant aspect of community life in Kensington, given the high density of the neighbourhood and the multiple group associations that functioned within its borders. Some identified this tolerance by pointing to examples of the different languages and cultures that live and work side-by-side each other in Kensington (business interest B-K, 1997). Others, however, contradicted the notion of Kensington as a tolerant community by suggesting that what some saw as tolerance was really no more than an acceptance that no single group of people was large enough or powerful enough to exert its weight over others in the community. When asked if Kensington was a tolerant community, one resident even suggested it was the lack of a majority that made Kensington seem tolerant:

> Tolerant community? No. Accepting, but maybe by virtue of there not being a block of a single group. There are so many different people now, and there is an acceptance of underdogs and people that are different (business interest A-K, 1997).

Ethnocultural diversity is not the only strain on tolerance in Kensington. In fact, for some it is the combination of residential and commercial uses in such a densely populated space that is the most amazing example of tolerance present in the community. As one person explained:

> [Kensington] is not just a residential community, nor is it just a retail or commercial community. It is very distinctive in that both groups work together in a pretty positive way. People live on top of these stores. People live on streets clogged with traffic. And on the other hand, folks in the market seem to be quite

supportive of the residential community. It is an interesting community in that way... it is much more densely interwoven, the shops are right in the middle of the neighbourhood, it's not as if they are out on the main street. Both parties seem quite willing to live with the vagaries and problems of the other (interested party A-K, 1997).

Alternatively, the coexistence of residential and commercial interests can be attributed to the practical requirements of their proximity rather than a common understanding, or a consciously shared sense of place:

Residential and commercial -- I don't see a lot of interaction between them. To me it seems there is a line that is drawn; "as long as you don't step over that line I don't care what happens in your side. [sic]" Even though we label them as the Kensington community, I don't see a lot of interaction, I don't see a lot of collaboration, [but] I don't see a lot of fights. It's just that everyone knows there is a line that everyone watches carefully (interested party B-K, 1997).

Epilogue: New Hope for Kensington?

With the George Brown College planning issue coming to a close, some members of the Kensington community had been working on other means of revitalizing the neighbourhood. A member of the Kensington Market Business Association prepared a detailed inventory of the revitalization needs of the community, and presented it to Councillor Dan Leckie (business interest A-K, 1997). This project was taken on by the City of Toronto planning department, which developed a draft Kensington Market Action Plan. Constructed with the help of a reference group of active community residents and

merchants (some of whom were involved in the Working Group and local business associations), the planning department's aim was to develop grassroots suggestions for the community's revitalization needs and create a basis for the consensus needed to implement any future revitalization plan (planner A-K, 1996b). A public meeting on the Plan was held in March, 1997 and Council adopted the Action Plan in June of that year.

The Action Plan is a framework to revitalize the Kensington area, and focuses on the Market. Based on the recognition that the economic vitality of the Market had been sapped in recent years, the Plan suggested action in six particular areas: physical appearance; promotion of the Market; street marketing; store vacancies; traffic and parking; and recycling (City of Toronto Urban Development Services, 1997). The Action Plan was given a three year implementation timeline, and continues to require a joint effort by the City of Toronto, property owners and businesses in the Market.

In combination with the on-going redevelopment of the George Brown College site, these revitalization efforts from the Action Plan have infused the Kensington community with a new sense of excitement and change. Not everyone, of course, is happy with the direction of these changes. As one long time resident explained,

Various people have had influence in the community with an eye to saving it [over the years]. The spokesman now is the developer... selling a "yuppification of Kensington". No thought is given to the impact of George Brown College if it gets developed as they suggest (resident B-K, 1997).

Although there have been planning efforts by the City to draw a reference group together to develop a revitalization agenda, there continue to be at least two competing

Business Associations in the Market. As well, the Kensington Market Working Group is trying to entrench itself in the hopes of being a central voice for the community beyond their original mandate of the George Brown College's redevelopment (Kensington Market Working Group, 1997; resident C-K, 1997). With the City promising to spend money in Kensington, and even talk of federal government infrastructure money becoming available in the future, these associations are at present not in conflict. Although they may not envision identical futures for the neighbourhood, the many groups and interests present in the community all want Kensington to succeed. There is also the question of who is representing the silent majority of immigrants living in the community. Although the diversity of the area is seen in the public meetings that have been held on the Action Plan, it is not as evident amongst the leaders of community associations.

As a politicized urban planning issue, the redevelopment of George Brown College spurred a unique and dynamic community planning process. Within this process, however, evidence of the social, economic, and political implications of land use decisions have emerged. These implications will be more fully addressed in Chapter Eight, where an analysis and comparison of the two case studies used in this dissertation is presented. In the next chapter, the focus is on the second case study in this research: the suburban community of Markham.

CHAPTER SIX: Diversity and Suburban Planning in Markham

Markham is a multicultural, suburban community located just northeast of the City of Toronto. Physically growing and economically vibrant, Markham has attracted a significant amount of Canada's recent business immigration. Retail condominium developments, or "Asian malls" as they are sometimes referred to,[1] provide a unique opportunity to explore the challenges ethnocultural diversity poses to rapidly changing suburban communities, and the pressures such diversity puts on local decision-making. The planning process surrounding retail condominium developments, and the community of Markham, are the subjects of this chapter.

Markham

Markham is one of several burgeoning suburban municipalities that form a ring around the more urbanized parts of Toronto (see Map 6.1). The landscape is dominated by big box retail outlets, campus-style, suburban commercial and industrial development, and low-density residential neighbourhoods. A community clearly designed around the automobile, Markham is a stereotypical example of suburban planning.

Upon closer examination, however, there is also much that makes Markham different from many of its suburban counterparts. Widely celebrated in planning circles for experimenting with neo-traditional planning on a project called "Cornell", Markham is known as one of the first Canadian municipalities to implement ideas of pedestrian-scale

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[1] These developments have also been referred to as "Asian theme malls," a term some take offense to. Asian malls is the term that was used by many of the interview participants (of a variety of ethnocultural groups) in Markham and will be used in this chapter. Not meant as a derogatory term, retail condominiums are called Asian malls because the majority of retailers are Asian, and the goods and services they provide tend to cater to an Asian market.

neighbourhoods that have been made famous by Duany and Plater-Zyberk south of the

border (Wood-Brunet, 1994). Markham is also recognized for its environmental

achievements and has engaged in innovative waste management studies in partnership with

local residents, the Ontario government, and funding partners (Town of Markham, 1996).

MAP 6.1: Markham in Toronto's Suburban Fringe
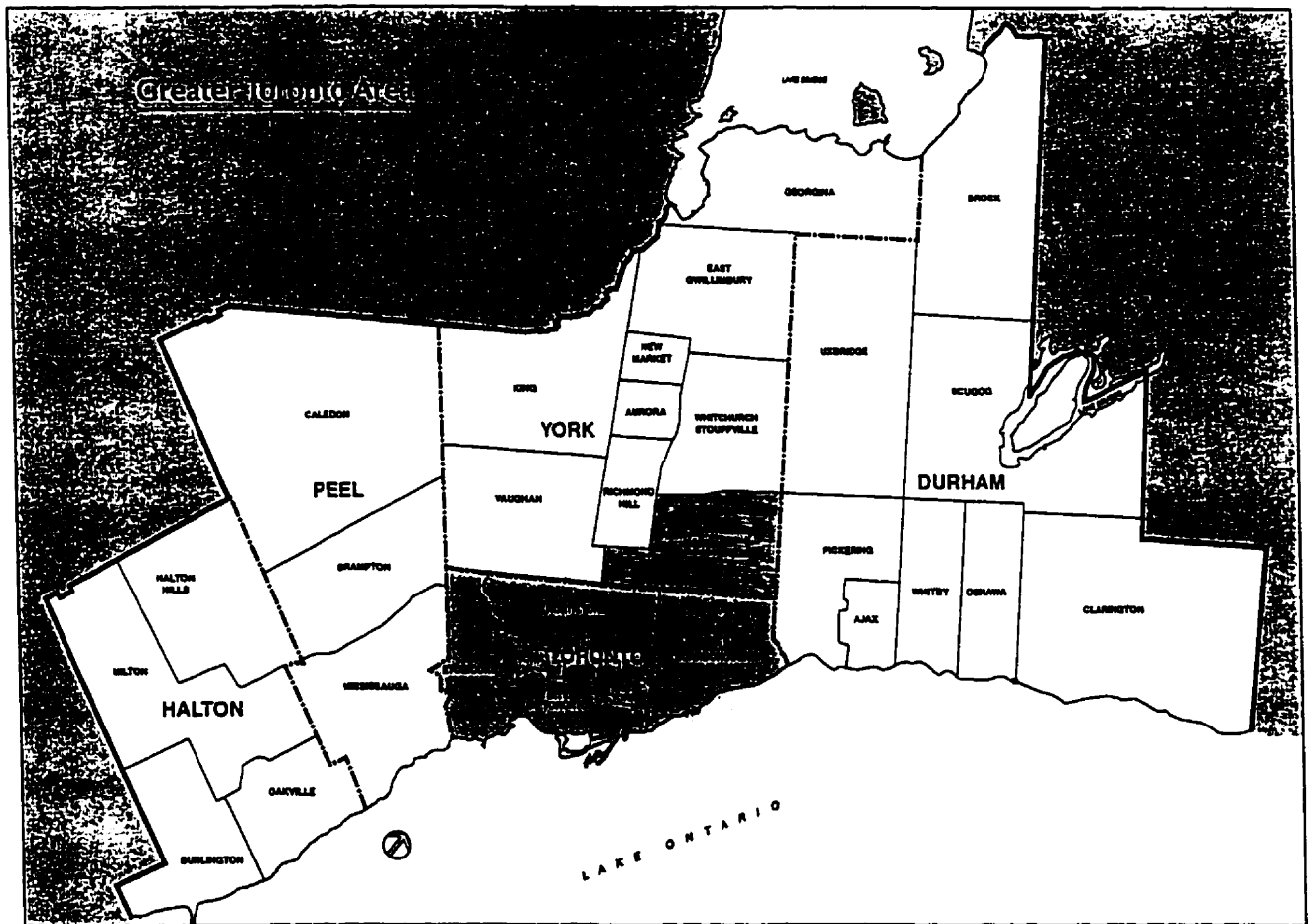
From a local perspective, one of the most significant differences between Markham

and other more commuter-based suburban communities is its ability to attract jobs and

economic opportunities. Markham's economic development office markets the

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community under the theme of "star power" – and it is a fitting slogan. While supporting

an attractive residential quality of life through urban design and environmental initiatives,

Markham has also managed to attract a large number of corporate industries. Home to

over 600 electronics, computer hardware and software manufacturers, distributors and

developers, Markham has the largest concentration of high-technology firms in Canada

(Town of Markham Economic Development Office, 1996: 3) Markham is also home to a

number of corporate headquarters, including Allstate Insurance, Lego, ATI Technologies,

Seiko, Johnson & Johnson and IBM (Town of Markham Economic Development Office,

1995a: 25). While other centres are adapting to leaner times, commercial growth in

Markham today is outpacing the peak performance experienced during the 1980s

(Markham's Commitment, 1997: 4).

While it actively courts business and industry in a global setting, Markham also has

a strong community and heritage focus, owing to its rural small town history. This history

is quickly becoming a pastoral legacy as the population of Markham has more than tripled

in the last twenty-five years[2] (Town of Markham Economic Development Office, 1995a).

Moreover, amidst this population explosion there has been a rapid and substantial

demographic shift. Immigrants currently make up 40 per cent of Markham's population,

and many are from visible minority groups. This immigration into Markham has occurred

within the last ten to fifteen years and has spurred acrimony and frustration within the

community, as will be discussed at length later in this chapter. Markham today is a

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[2] Markham shares this growth with neighbouring municipalities, as it is located in Canada's fastest growing region (York Region) (Town of Markham Economic Development Office, 1995a).

dynamic, economically vital, and ethnoculturally diverse suburban community[3] that

continues to search for ways to combat its rapid growing pains.

Looking Back: A History of Markham

Markham began as a small German settlement on what was then uninhabited rural

land.[4] Making their way up from Niagara Falls, the first settlers to the area came in 1795.

These mostly German settlers were subsequently joined by small groups of Pennsylvania

Dutch, Tunkers and Mennonites who migrated to Upper Canada until the War of 1812

(Markham Township Historical Committee, 1950).

Today, Markham is an amalgamation of smaller villages, including old Markham

Village, Unionville, Thornhill and Milliken. Markham's earliest beginnings were also as a

collection of hamlets and villages -- communities that originated out of the location of an

early mill or tavern on a crossroads that spawned subsidiary activities. Some of these

centres of local activity disappeared, while others (like Markham Village or Unionville)

prospered (Committee for the History of Markham Township, 1979). Those that survived

were guaranteed a future because of their proximity to the railway lines, and later the

highways.

Old Markham Village was the largest and most active of these small centres.

Known as the Birmingham of Ontario during the late 1800s (Committee for the History of

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[3] Markham could be an example of an "ethnoburb" or ethnic suburb, a term coined by Li (1998).
According to Li, "ethnoburbs" are suburban clusters of residential areas and business districts in large
metropolitan areas, where the population is multi-ethnic, supports a vibrant ethnic economy, and has
strong ties to the globalising economy.
[4] According to local historians, the land that is now Markham was uninhabited (that is, not populated by
aboriginal peoples) before the German settlers arrived. Archeological digs have found that Indians
preferred other nearby areas because of their proximity to some of Ontario's many lakes. The Markham
area was without such water bodies, and was therefore less used (Markham Township Historical
Committee, 1950).

Markham Township, 1979: 259), Markham Village (incorporated in 1872) was a manufacturing centre for a variety of goods including shoes, woolens, threshing machines and even bells. These industries employed dozens of people who acquired homes and services for their families in the Village. The industrial role of the Village declined by the turn of the century as local industries were unable to compete with larger companies in nearby Toronto.

Unionville, an historical centrepiece of contemporary Markham, was a centre for bustling commercial development during the last century because of the location of a railway station just south of the Village. Commercial development continued into the 1920s with the arrival of the highway. As historians note, "this movement south explains why so much of the old 19th-century [Unionville] village remains intact..." within the suburban Town of Markham today (Committee for the History of Markham Township, 1979: 301).

The Town of Markham, as it is currently known, was incorporated in 1971. With the modernization and suburbanization efforts of the 20th century that spread Toronto's population into outer-fringe communities like Markham, many of its historical crossroads communities are remembered in name only. Covered by housing and industry, much of the farming and small town landscape of Markham's past has eroded in favour of suburban development. In the minds of many long-time Markham residents, however, it is that pastoral 19th century heritage that continues to define Markham's unique character.

After nearly 200 years as a relatively homogeneous community with a strong sense of its historical roots, Markham began to change fundamentally in the 1970s. No longer

homogeneous, Markham is now a dynamic and somewhat unstable mix of long-time residents and new immigrants.

Contemporary Markham: An Empirical Portrait

Period and Source of Immigration

Communities like Markham offer evidence of a larger shift in the settlement patterns of Canadian immigrants. Suburban areas have traditionally been home to the Canadian-born and/or immigrants who have been living in Canada for many years. Today, by contrast, many newcomers are also choosing to settle in suburban municipalities directly upon arrival. Although an historically white, ethnically German community, contemporary Markham is very multicultural.

Markham's diversity has resulted from the influx of large numbers of immigrants into the community to the point where today the population is composed of 48 per cent immigrants, 51 per cent Canadian-born and 1 per cent non-permanent residents (Statistics Canada, 1996). In contrast to Kensington's historical immigration pattern, though, over half (54 per cent) of the immigrants living in Markham arrived since 1981 (see Figure 6.1). In 1971, Markham's population was composed of only 20 per cent immigrants, and 80 per cent Canadian-born (Statistics Canada, 1971). By 1981 Markham had more than doubled in population, yet immigrants made up only 29 per cent and the Canadian-born still dominated at 71 per cent of the total population (Statistics Canada, 1981). By 1991, the immigrant population continued to grow to 40 per cent of Markham's population, while the Canadian-born slipped to 58 per cent. This trend has continued. The recent 1996

Census shows that the immigrant and Canadian-born populations are roughly equal in size at 48 and 51 per cent, respectively.

FIGURE 6.1: Immigrant Population by Period of Immigration, Markham, 1996.
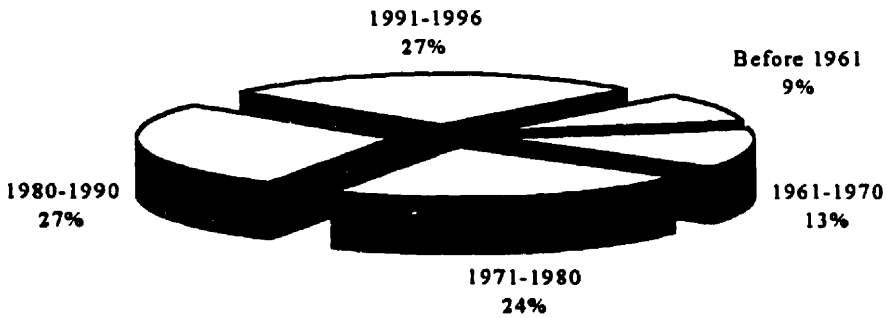
Source: Statistics Canada (1996). *Profiles, Part 2.* 1996 Census of Canada.

Table 6.1: Top 10 Places of Birth for Total Immigrants and Recent Immigrants,* Markham, 1996.

Total Immigrants		Recent Immigrants	
1. Hong Kong	25.8 %	1. Hong Kong	48.1 %
2. People's Rep. of China	10.2 %	2. People's Rep. of China	17.3 %
3. United Kingdom	6.9 %	3. India	4.3 %
4. India	6.3 %	4. Republic of South Africa	3.2 %
5. Jamaica	4.4 %	5. Philippines	3.0 %
6. Italy	4.3 %	6. Sri Lanka	2.8 %
7. Philippines	3.5 %	7. Iran	2.2 %
8. Guyana	2.9 %	8. Pakistan	1.6 %
9. Republic of South Africa	2.8 %	9. Taiwan	1.5 %
10. Greece	2.2 %	10. Guyana	1.4 %

**Recent Immigrants refers to those who immigrated to Canada between 1991 and 1996.
Source: Statistics Canada (1996). *Profiles, Part 2.* 1996 Census of Canada.

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With changes in federal immigration policy in the 1960s and 1970s, Canada has witnessed a shift in source countries away from Europe in favour of Asia. As the majority of Markham's immigrants arrived since 1981, the community predictably reflects the national trend toward Asian immigration. Immigrants from Asia, and especially Hong Kong and China, represent the largest group within Markham, with European immigrants from the United Kingdom, Italy and Greece present in comparatively much smaller proportions (see Table 6.1). When recent immigrants are isolated from the total immigrant population, there are no European countries in the top ten list.

Ethnicity, Visible Minorities and Language

The ethnocultural diversity that is characteristic of Markham today is also evident in the variety of ethnic origins that residents claim. Chinese is the most frequent ethnic origin claimed[5] (33 per cent), followed by East Indian (12 per cent), Canadian (8 per cent), and then English and Italian (each at 7 per cent). The balance of the population is scattered among many ethnic groups. Complementing this ethnicity data is visible minority available with the 1996 Census, which shows that 46 per cent of Markham's total population belongs to a visible minority group (Statistics Canada, 1996).

Given the variety of ethnic groups in which Markham residents claim membership, one might expect a corresponding multilingual community as well. Surprisingly, this is not the case. Markham is overwhelmingly an English-speaking community, with 68 per cent of the population speaking English in the home. Of the remaining 32 per cent, Chinese is the next most frequent language spoken in the home (see Figure 6.2).

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[5] Data includes "single ethnic origin" responses only. 28 per cent of Markham's population chose more than one ethnic origin.

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FIGURE 6.2: Language Spoken at Home*, Markham, 1996.
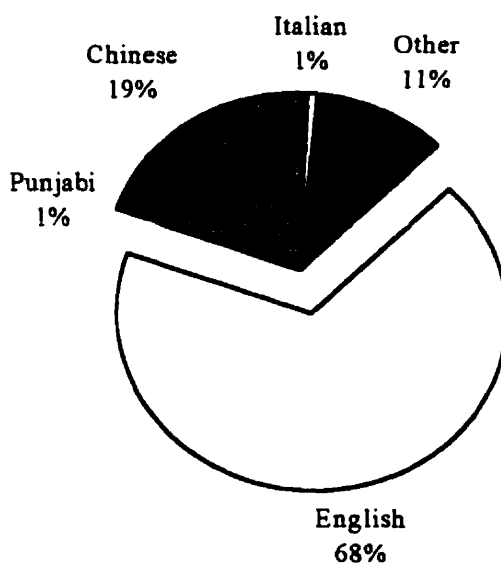
Chinese
19%

Italian
1%

Other
11%

Punjabi
1%

English
68%

* Data taken from single language responses only.

Source: Statistics Canada (1996). *Profiles, Part 3*. 1996 Census of Canada.

Income and Education

Markham is a very affluent suburban community. Household income is evenly

spread across the low and middle income groups, but is disproportionately weighted at the

top end of the scale, with 39 per cent of Markham residents claiming a household income

over $80,000 in 1995 (see Figure 6.3). The average household income in Markham in

1995 was $78,425 -- a figure that was $18,000 more than the average for the Toronto

CMA as a whole, and $49,000 more than Kensington (Statistics Canada, 1996).[6] The

incidence of low income among individuals in private households for Markham is only

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[6] The median household income for Markham is $66,865. This figure is $18,000 more than the median
for the Toronto CMA, and $46,000 more than the median for Kensington.

14.6 per cent, compared to 21.1 per cent for the Toronto CMA and 54.8 per cent for

Kensington (Statistics Canada, 1996).

FIGURE 6.3: Population by Household Income, Markham, 1996.
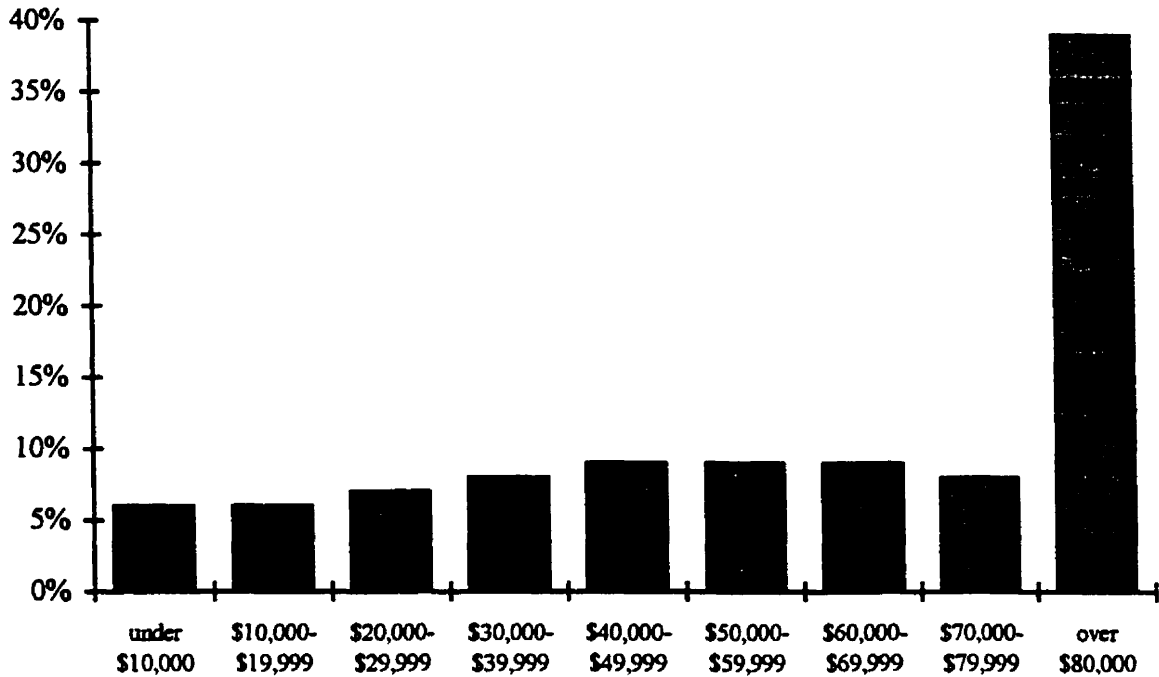
Not unexpectedly, as well as being a high income community, Markham is also

home to a well educated population. In Markham, only one quarter (25 per cent) of the

population over 15 years old did not have a high school certificate in 1996, compared to

almost half of the Kensington population. As Figure 6.4 illustrates, 64 per cent of

Markham's population had achieved education beyond the secondary level, and 37 per

cent had a university education.

FIGURE 6.4: Population (15 years and over) by Highest Level of Schooling, Markham, 1996.

University

Other non-university

Trade school

Grades 9-13

Less than grade 9

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30%
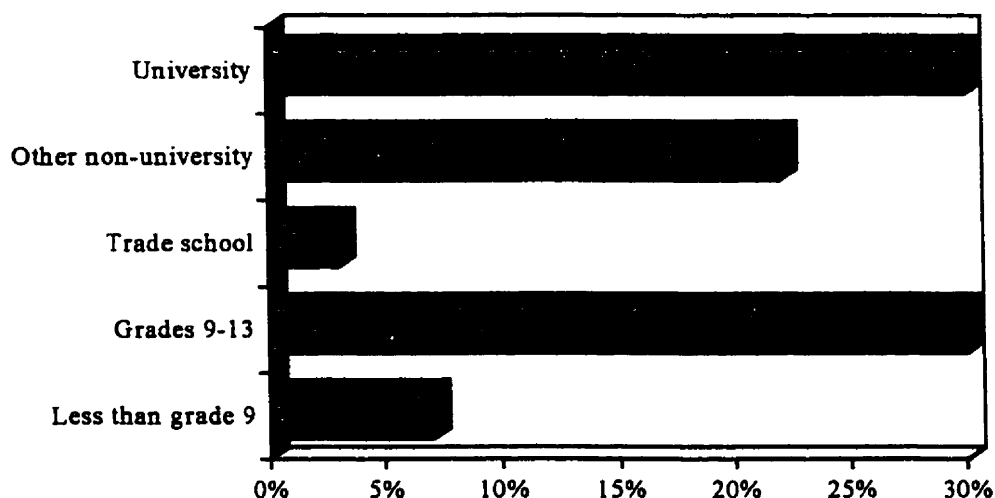
Source: Statistics Canada (1996). *Profiles, Part 7.* 1996 Census of Canada.

Housing

Although Markham has historical roots as far back as the late 1700s this is not

reflected in its housing stock. Having experienced a tremendous population boom since

the 1970s, only 2 per cent of all occupied dwellings in Markham were built before 1946.

The majority of Markham residents live in dwellings built recently -- 81 per cent have been

built since 1971, and over half of those (57 per cent) were constructed since 1981.

(Statistics Canada, 1996). Furthermore, although Markham experienced a notable peak in

construction during the 1980s, residential units are continuing to be built in the community

at a rapid pace. According to municipal estimates, 160 per cent more residential units

were built in 1994 than the previous year (Town of Markham Economic Development

Office, 1996: 29). This is supported by the 1996 Census which shows that 12 per cent of

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all occupied dwellings in Markham were built between 1991 and 1996 (Statistics Canada, 1996).

Markham is a family-oriented community, as evidenced by the type of predominance (77 per cent) of single detached housing. Not surprising given the suburban character of Markham, 83 per cent of residents own their home, and the density is quite low (820 people/km^2) (Statistics Canada, 1996).

Development in a Suburban Community

Markham (along with other cities like Scarborough and Richmond Hill in Ontario and Richmond in British Columbia) has gained wide attention because of its retail condominium developments. These developments coincide with the large, affluent Asian population that has chosen to settle in Canadian suburban centres such as Markham. Somewhat of a chicken-and-egg phenomenon, it is unclear whether or not businesses catering to the Asian market have attracted Asian residents, or if the increasingly large Asian residential population in the region has attracted such businesses (interested party B-M,[7] 1997). What is clear is that Markham has become an attractive choice as both a residential and commercial location among many Asian immigrants. Asian malls have perhaps been one of the more controversial signs of this immigration settlement pattern.

Defining the Trend: An Alternative Form and Function

A development trend which emerged in the 1990s, condominium-style malls mark a unique departure from conventional North American commercial development both in

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[7] The "-M" denotes the interview pertains to the Markham case study. See Appendix A for more detail on the interview participants.

terms of form and tenure. Although some have been created by converting existing plaza-style developments, most of these retail condominiums are purpose-built, large enclosed structures offering a wide range of services including shopping, dining, banking, bowling, electronic games and theatres (Wang, 1996: 12). Although large, they lack the conventional "anchor" department stores typically associated with traditional mall developments.[8] Customers are drawn instead by the small restaurants that are located in these malls (occupying 20 - 25 per cent of the total commercial space). The first Asian mall built in Markham, for example, proposed to have up to 40 different restaurants (developer interest C-M, 1997). The use of restaurants as anchors is often attributed to an Asian preference to dine out -- the average Chinese family is said to eat out much more frequently and tends to spend more than its North American counterpart, in part because restaurants rather than homes are used as places to network and socialize (Morgan, 1994). Others argue that the attraction of restaurants is exaggerated, and that in the more successful developments entertainment amenities, and not restaurants, are the real "anchor" (John Winter Associates, 1994: 22).

Higher density is another unusual feature of Asian malls when compared with traditional shopping centres. Stores inside retail condominium developments are typically much smaller than in traditional malls. Although most of the developments proposed and built in Markham have had 800 square foot units, some have units as small as 150 square feet (see Figure 6.6). This is much smaller than conventional large regional malls where

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[8] Debate surrounds the importance of conventional anchor stores for commercial success. Some warn against the long-term weakness of a mall without such stores (John Winter Associates, 1994); others make a convincing argument that the need for anchor stores does not apply in this alternative form of retail development because the clientele it attracts and the use of the mall are different than in conventional malls (Morgan, 1994).

2000 - 3000 square foot units are the norm (planner B-M, 1996a). According to some, the creation of small stores within this type of commercial development are reminiscent of the vertical shopping centres with very small stores commonly found in Hong Kong, and reflect a cultural preference among Asian retailers (developer interest C-M, 1997). Undoubtedly, this preference is also rooted in the cost of owning a retail unit -- small stores make this alternative form of commercial development affordable to a wide range of prospective buyers. As one business person explained:

> In Asia... a lot of businesses are established under condominium developments... they chop the store, the property, into little chunks and sell it out... If you're buying a shopping centre here you are talking about $70 - 80 million, whereas [if] you're buying a property which occupies only one store like 500 square feet it would be a few thousand dollars only (business interest A).

> Not the first community in the Toronto metropolitan area to acquire Asian malls, nor home to the greatest number of such developments, Markham gained notoriety because of the large size and scale of the ones built, and the political upheaval they spawned. The first retail condominium development built in Markham (Pacific Mall) did have very small stores, and this became a source of public opposition to the development. Many people were fearful that the result would be a flea-market type of retail, where small stores functioned more as market stalls. From the developer's perspective, however, the stores averaging 350 - 800 square feet were integral to the premise of the development's function:

The idea was that if you could make them [stores] very small you could create

very specialized retail environment; in a tiny store people would tend to specialize

in one or two or three retail products, like women's dresses or men's suits

(developer interest C-M, 1997).

Money was also invested in store fronts and flooring to create an up-scale environment

that would discourage the creation of bargain-stores within the mall.

FIGURE 6.5: Pacific Mall, Floor Plan:
Markham's First Retail Condominium Development
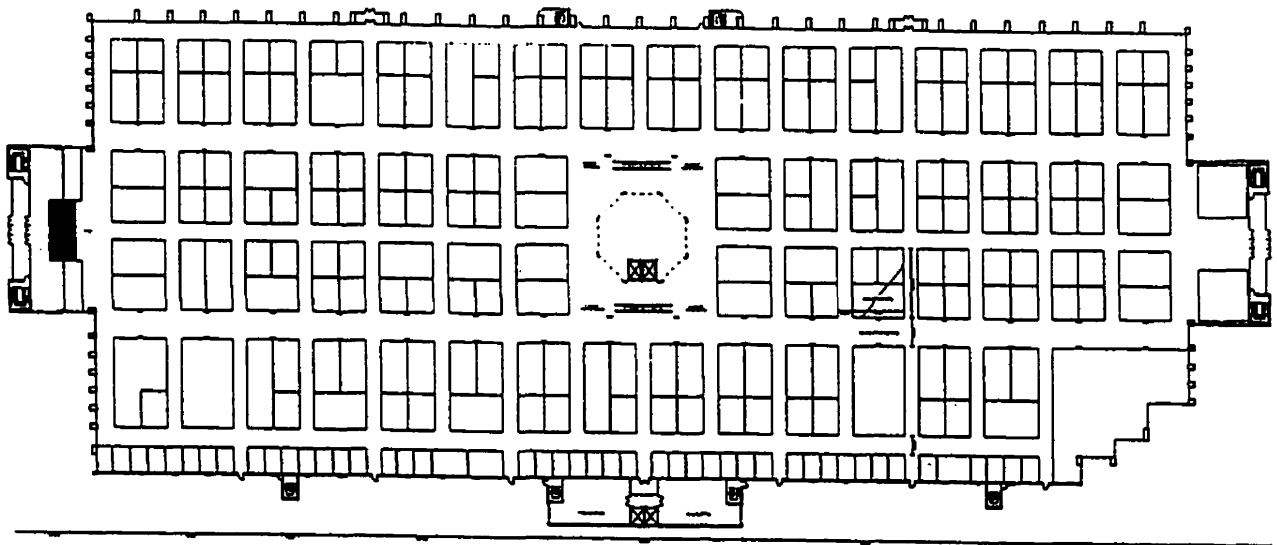
Note: This mall was designed with 150 square foot units (the smallest squares in the floor plan) that could be sold in multiples (the larger squares in the floor plan). As a result of the multiple units, the average unit size in the mall is 350 - 400 square feet.
Source: Town of Markham Planning Department (1994). *Report to Council*. July 5, 1994.

Responding to a unique market niche of Asian business people looking to invest,

retail condominiums also differ substantially from conventional North American

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commercial developments in terms of tenure. In contrast to the traditional retail experience in North America where malls are financed and built by large developers who then rent or lease out individual stores, retail condominium developments are often financed by pre-purchased individual units. Retailers own their stores and have access to shared common spaces. As Wang explains:

> In a condominium shopping centre each unit is owned by individual investors, who
> are usually the store operators. Individual owners form a condominium
> corporation and collectively own the building and shared spaces such as parking
> and loading areas. The condominium corporation levies common-area
> maintenance charges to operate the facility and develop a reserve fund for
> necessary future renovations and maintenance (Wang, 1996: 13).

One downside of this multiple-ownership arrangement is that no single body is responsible for the development or any problems that may arise from it. As some business people see it:

> ...if there are 50 units in a condominium shopping centre that means 50 separate
> and individual owners. That means no central control, every single body who
> owns a store in there is a landlord... especially in terms of the enforcement of any
> regulation and policy, it would be difficult in that business environment (business
> interest A-M, 1997).

The Success of Asian Malls

As a new type of commercial development, retail condominiums have been very popular. Developers have been attracted to the lower initial investment they have to make

in order to start construction because of the pre-development selling approach.

Interestingly, although catering to Asian retail investors and an Asian customer market, most of the developers in Markham have not been ethnically Asian themselves but rather a multicultural mix of business people seeing a market opportunity. With the prosperity of investments in conventional regional shopping centres declining in the late 1980s, retail condominiums arrived at a time when the commercial development industry was looking for a more secure investment alternative (developer interest C-M, 1997).

Retail condominiums have been most successful because of the ready investors many Asian immigrants have proven to be. While in part a result of geo-political forces occurring in Asia and elsewhere, shifts in Canadian immigration policy have had a hand in facilitating the arrival of these new immigrants. The proliferation of interest in retail condominium development within the Asian business community in Canada coincides with federal immigration policy aimed at attracting immigrants seen to be an economic benefit to the country. Within the business category of immigration (discussed in detail in Chapter Three), immigrants can enter Canada as either self-employed, entrepreneurs or investors. Retail condominiums offer many prospective business immigrants a comfortable venue in which to start a business or make an investment that will meet their immigration entry requirements. Developers recognize the potential these requirements create, and in some of these retail condominium developments, the unit price has been specifically tailored to match the minimum investment requirements of the federal government's Immigrant Investor Program (Harris Hudema Consulting, 1994: 5). Some question

whether or not newcomers see Canada's business immigration as "a relatively low price to buy a residence permit to live in Canada" (Wang, 1996: 13).

Retail condominiums have also been successful because they have met a market demand. As immigrants (both recent and more established) continue to populate suburban areas, there has been an increased demand for goods and services that reflect their multicultural preferences. Moreover, given the automobile-oriented nature of the suburban lifestyle, large-scale Asian malls can attract customers from within a wide market shed. In some cases, several malls have clustered together, forming a commercial shopping node and offering a sizable shopping resource to the Asian target market (business interest A-M, 1997).

As was pointed out by an architect active in this commercial development area, the presence of an ethnically specific retail option is not new to the Canadian market; though the scale at which retail condominiums are built is different. "It is the same thing if you have an ethnically geared product like bagels," he explained, "Only theme malls are larger, so more noticeable... [they] are seen as a huge physical monster" (interested party C-M, 1997). From this perspective traditional malls are also ethnically specific, perhaps catering to an Anglo-Saxon market.

Suburban Planning in Markham

Although Markham planners did not seek out developers interested in building retail condominiums, the climate for development created by local planners and politicians made Markham an attractive community for Asian mall developers. With a pro-business attitude among Council members and a commitment to keep taxes low (Town of

Markham Economic Development Office, 1995a: 3), Markham has successfully

encouraged varied growth and development within its municipality. The planning

department has also worked hard to create an environment where the form and impact of

proposed development is evaluated within a generally flexible planning approach (planner

B-M, 1996c). In contrast to higher density urbanized municipalities where new

development and redevelopment may be heavily structured within existing zoning

hierarchies, Markham planners pride themselves on having created a flexible and adaptive

environment that encourages new development. As one municipal spokesperson

explained, "Markham has greenfields... more room for thinking without bounds"

(interested party A-M, 1996).

Markham has a planning agenda and vision for the future. Out of respect for the

community's pastoral history and the ties many residents continue to feel for that history,

planning tools are used to ensure it remains a strong part of Markham's future. One

example of this is the historical main streets found in old Markham Village, Unionville and

Thornhill, which are protected by a separate commercial zoning designation. In fact, many

developments outside these main street areas, both residential and commercial, reflect this

small town Ontario aesthetic in their architectural design.

While acknowledging the importance of its heritage, Markham is also very focused

on future growth. Eager to avoid the often unsightly development patterns of strip-malls

and suburban sprawl that have grown up in other suburban cities, Markham has attempted

to guide the residential, commercial and industrial developments that are being built in the

rapidly expanding municipality within a somewhat cohesive "planned vision". Dedicated

to flexibility as a hallmark of the planning approach in Markham, planners have allowed alternative development initiatives to be tried within general urban design parameters. Residentially, Markham has done this with the neo-traditional planning ideas that are being implemented in some subdivisions. As a suburban centre attracting not only residents but also retail, business and light industry, however, Markham planners have also been faced with a variety of commercial and industrial development challenges.

In order to keep up with an evolving commercial sector and to adequately address new retailing trends in Markham, an amendment to its Official Plan was recently passed (Town of Markham, 1995). The amendment followed a review of Markham's commercial sector, completed in 1994. Although many parts of the sector (including large office buildings, single-tenant industrial buildings, hotels and historic main streets) were not experiencing significant problems, the review was commissioned because there were concerns relating to new large free-standing stores, retail plazas and retailing in industrial areas. As the preamble to the amendment explains:

> ...the Official Plan and Zoning system has become extremely complex and difficult to administer. It has been subject to a great number of site-specific amendments that are tied to a particular use or building. The Town's various Zoning By-Laws have not been consolidated. The result is that the Official Plan/Zoning system has become extremely complex and often difficult to interpret and a great deal of time is spent processing relatively minor changes in land use (Town of Markham, 1995: ii-iii).

The existing planning structure was also criticized for being inflexible, having a lack of categories and definitions that adequately reflected the variety of commercial development that was occurring in Markham. Further, planners saw a need to de-link commercial zoning decisions and site-specific local market issues, so that the reality of regional competition could be accounted for when considering planning approvals. It was clear to planners in Markham that a more flexible and adaptable planning framework needed to be in place.

The amendment created nine new categories to further subdivide the existing Commercial and Industrial Uses in order to cope with a diverse and rapidly changing local economy. Commercial Use now includes: Major Commercial Area, Community Amenity Area, Neighbourhood Commercial Area, Heritage Main Street Area, Commercial Corridor Area, and Retail Warehouse. Industrial Use includes: Business Area, Business Corridor Area, and General Industrial Area. These land use categories were designed "to reflect area characteristics and building forms, and to implement the planned function of nodal and corridor development. The categories are intended to focus commercial and other activities by type, scale, intensity and building form" (Town of Markham, 1995: iv).

Markham has attempted to accommodate new trends in commercial development and improve the functioning of local planning, and also maintain a high level of structural quality and design control. Part of achieving what Markham planners refer to as a "quality urban image", urban development design guidelines have accompanied the commercial zoning designation amendments for such new uses as the commercial and business corridors. As well, campus-style business centres have been encouraged in many

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commercial and industrial areas. Firmly committed to fostering ever-more development within the municipality, Markham also wants to ensure that such development evolves as an attractive, cohesive whole that will make it a place where people will continue to want to live and work.

Planning in an "Edge City"

Like planners in highly urbanized areas, Markham planners are dealing with pressures to manage residential, commercial and industrial growth. Working within a suburban municipality, however, they face the unique demand of encouraging a wide range of development in what are primarily empty lands. According to Garreau, Markham and its surrounding area represent an emerging "edge city" -- an urbanized area built on the scale of the automobile that rapidly develops out of a suburban residential or rural landscape (Garreau, 1988). As a suburban growth community of the future, Markham promotes itself in terms of both a favourable business environment (low taxes, flexible planning structure, available lands) and the aesthetic the community offers (open spaces, pedestrian-friendly neighbourhoods, architecturally complimentary commercial development). This has proved to be a potent combination that is attracting residents, businesses and developers in large numbers. As Garreau explains, "people who are out there redefining themselves, like entrepreneurs, are attracted to places that are new, where things can be more flexible" (Garreau, 1988: 29).

What is interesting from the perspective of this dissertation is that in recent years as Markham has rapidly expanded, it has not only been wealthy middle-class Canadians looking beyond Toronto's urban core who have been attracted to the community, but also

new immigrants who have the money to buy into such a suburban lifestyle. That a community such as Markham is attractive to these newcomers should not be surprising. Citing an interview with the spokesperson for a large Japanese commercial development located outside New York City, Garreau makes the case for why many entrepreneurial and wealthy immigrants are living and working in "edge cities":

> Why would a Japanese [person] come to America to live in a cramped apartment?... Look at the size of Yaohan Plaza. It would not be possible to build something like this in Manhattan. Where would you park the cars?... If you look at the way people live in this country, the land of opportunity is New Jersey (Garreau, 1988: 22-23).

While Markham may not exactly be the "land of opportunity," many recent immigrants with the money to set up a business and/or buy a suburban home find it a very attractive location. This influx of immigrants has not only changed the demographic character of Markham, but has also introduced new commercial developments into its suburban architecture, providing new challenges for Markham planners.

In the next chapter the particular challenge of retail condominium development is explored in greater detail. Chapter Seven examines Markham's first experience with Asian malls in light of the criteria introduced in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Retail Condominium Developments in Markham

Markham's Asian Malls

Retail condominiums caused a stir in Markham's local commercial development

market when the concept first became popular in the early 1990s. Markham had empty

lands suitable for this type of development, and Asian immigration was a growing trend in

the region. A coincidence of both location and timing, Markham was attractive to

developers interested in retail condominiums (developer interest A-M, 1997).

MAP 7.1: Location of Retail Condominium Developments in Markham
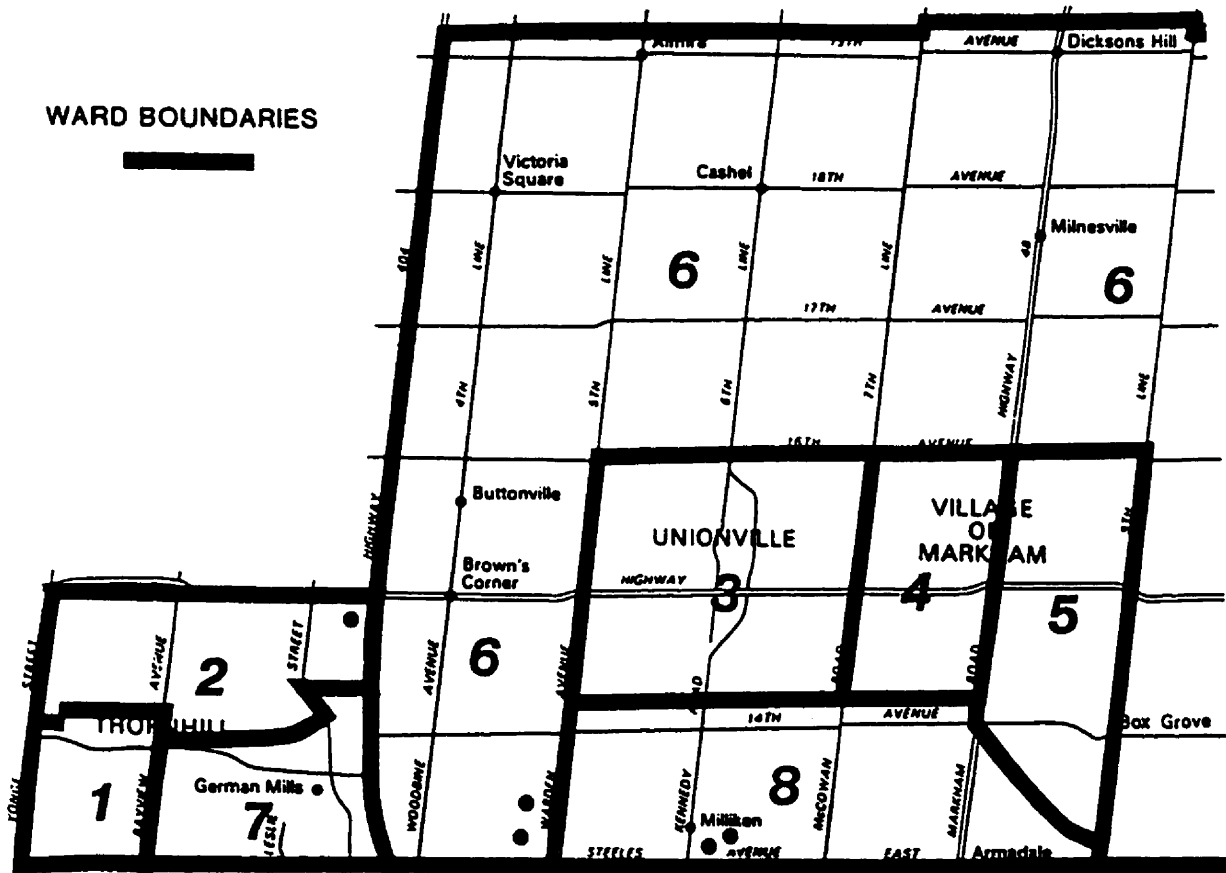
● Site of a retail condominium development.
Source: Town of Markham Economic Development Office (1995a). *Economics 1995*. January, 1995, 5.

Retail condominium developments built in Markham (see Map 7.1) have been along major roads in commercially zoned lands, and not part of residential areas where the site might be part of the planned commercial hierarchy, such as in a Neighbourhood Commercial Area. Local ratepayer groups therefore did not react to most of these development proposals because although close to residential neighbourhoods, these malls were not located in what was perceived as primary shopping areas (resident A-M, 1997). Resident concerns were raised, however, over the parking and traffic impacts along major routes adjacent to their communities (planner B-M, 1996a).

In other communities, retail condominium proposals have sparked greater resident concern. In neighbouring Richmond Hill, for example, the local planning department ended up at the Ontario Municipal Board after rejecting an Asian mall development proposal for a site zoned as a "neighbourhood commercial" space. Concerned about the development's density, parking pressures and other issues like garbage and odour, Richmond Hill planners and residents were able to convince the Board that the proposed development would not meet the function of "neighbourhood commercial" and therefore contravened their Official Plan (Landsmith Corporation, et.al. v. Town of Richmond Hill [1996]). Given the multicultural focus of this research, it is important to note that in this Richmond Hill case, the residents who opposed the development were ethnically Chinese.[1] Dispelling the theory that retail condominium developments are exclusively an issue of clashing cultures, what was important in this case was the planned function of the site and the ability of such a development to meet that function. Where similar developments have

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[1] According to the OMB hearing decision, the Board was told that 60 per cent of the residents in the immediate area were of Chinese origin.

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been proposed in Markham, they too have been addressed by those involved as primarily a dispute over land use rather than culture --although as the case study in this research illustrates the two are sometimes not easily separated.

Creating Challenges for Planners

Even where retail condominiums are located outside residential communities, this new form of development presents many challenges for planners. Perhaps the most pervasive of these challenges has been that for many developers these developments are as much about real estate as they are about retail. As units are sold and not rented, there is the potential for a developer to profit regardless of whether or not the mall becomes commercially viable in the long-run. Moreover, there is often no planned tenant mix such as found in traditional malls, as units are sold to those who can afford to buy them. Should the mall fail to succeed, commercial purchasers are not legally protected under provincial condominium legislation like residential condominium purchasers are. Potentially:

> If a proposal is turned down on planning grounds, but the developer has spent a great deal of money on promotion and on legal and professional services (such as lawyers and architects), there may be not enough money to refund the purchasers for their deposits... pre-selling can put great pressure on local planning authorities to approve the development application (Wang, 1996: 23-24).

There are also concerns amongst local planners that if retail units were sold to investors looking to fulfill an immigration requirement, they may have no interest in being active retailers and instead may leave the space vacant for a length of time that could

threaten the commercial viability of the mall (Harris Hudema Consulting, 1994: 5). As

one developer described a mall under construction:

> They [mall developers] claimed to have sold out a good percentage of it, 70 - 80
>
> per cent. People bought for different purposes, one being as an investment hoping
>
> they could flip it up. Or worse... 'I'll buy it and if the prices go up then I'll make a
>
> gain on it, if not I'll open my own business' not knowing what that kind of
>
> business is going to be (developer interest B-M, 1997).

While Markham planners were interested in letting market forces work themselves out,

they were also conscious that if a particular commercial use failed it would hurt the

surrounding business environment (planner B-M, 1996a).

As a means of coping with these challenges, Markham's planning department

commissioned an independent study to review the phenomenon of retail condominium

development and make recommendations on market and planning issues (John Winter and

Associates, 1994). The study recommended that retail condominiums be approved,

arguing that it was "a new form of development, that adds to choice and diversity in the

marketplace" (John Winter and Associates, 1994: 19). Markham planners agreed,

although they discovered that there were no hard and fast rules in dealing with such a

unique form of commercial development. Beyond asking the Province of Ontario to

reform its condominium legislation,[2] Markham chose to respond by letting market forces

decide what was viable and what was not. Retail condominium developments were

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[2] Unlike residential condominiums, retail condominiums are not regulated under provincial legislation.
The *Condominium Act* governs condominium life (e.g. regulations about the governance structure), and
construction standards, but it also regulates the market relationship between the buyer and developer. If
retail condominiums were included under the legislation, buyers could be protected in the event that the
development proved to be unfeasible.

deemed a commercial alternative that Markham was going to remain open to -- just as it

had with other "theme related" developments such as outlet malls or home improvement

centres (interested party C-M, 1997). To a great extent, this strategy proved effective: of

the 18 development projects that had submitted retail condominium applications to the

planning department by the beginning of 1996, only 7 or 8 are likely to be, or have already

been, built (planner B-M, 1997). As one planner explained:

> Planning is not about the success or failure of shopping centres, that is a market
>
> issue. The planning department was presented with a retail alternative, and have
>
> since approved some others... [a] planner's job is not to tell the industry what is
>
> right and wrong (planner A-M, 1996).

Traffic, Parking and Other Site-Related Concerns

A number of specific planning concerns have been associated with retail

condominium developments, which Markham planners have tended to deal with on a site-

specific basis. Given the regional draw of shoppers to these malls, they are said to create

more traffic congestion than smaller, more locally-drawing shopping centres. Traffic is

perceived as an even greater problem where several malls are located together. Parking is

also a concern, as was the case with the first Asian mall built in Markham.[3] Where

parking requirements have been met with underground structures, further concerns about

public safety have arisen. As well, given the large percentage of space allocated to

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[3] Parking problems are typically addressed by finding physical characteristics to base increased parking
requirements (such as percentage of restaurant space, or number of stores). One Markham planner
questioned whether congestion was in fact a characteristic of retail condominiums or simply the result of
large numbers of people being temporarily attracted to a new retail niche (planner B, 1996a).

restaurants, surrounding neighbourhoods have raised concerns about noise, odour and garbage.

For planners in Markham, retail condominium developments have been a controversial land use issue, and reflect the changing context within which they must operate. In a practical way, these developments challenged existing planning by-laws and regulations and forced planners to find ways to manage the impacts of this new, alternative commercial form. As each development application for a retail condominium has come in, Markham planners have focused on the potential impacts of the development and the requirements of the built form to meet their recently amended commercial and industrial zoning by-laws. They are working from the assumption that the market should bear what it can, provided proposed developments do not interfere with the planned function of commercial sites as stated in the Official Plan, or have adverse residential impacts. Seen as an emerging form of commercial development, retail condominiums continue to be cautiously observed -- they are considered a new and exciting, but ultimately untested, alternative development trend.

The Politics of Multiculturalism in Markham

While Markham planners attempted to deal with Asian malls on a site-specific basis, local politicians were thrown into a battle that highlighted the fragility of the new multicultural relationships within Markham. A community that has undergone a rapid demographic shift, Markham has suffered some identifiable growing pains from its new-found diversity. Older residents look out into a community that no longer resembles the

one they have spent their lives in, and newcomers are learning how to adapt to both a new

community and a new country. As a Markham planner explained:

> When [immigration] settlement is highly visible, it means adjustment on both sides
>
> is required. This adjustment is happening in Markham, and with adjustment comes
>
> a certain amount of conflict (planner A-M, 1996).

The "Carole Bell Incident"

Increased Asian immigration and the development of Asian malls became a

lightening rod for community tension and frustration in Markham during the summer of

1995. The controversy began when Deputy Mayor Carole Bell made some comments that

offended many Markham residents. In trying to identify Markham's strengths and

weaknesses at a political retreat, she brought forward concerns that had been expressed to

her by residents. Bell had warned her fellow Council members that a growing

concentration of ethnic groups was causing conflict in some communities within

Markham. She specifically spoke of the new retail developments that she claimed were

marketing exclusively to the Chinese, with some stores having signs only in Chinese.[4]

The response was mixed. The comments, and the Deputy Mayor's refusal to

apologize for them later, deeply offended many in Markham who accused her of racism.

Other residents supported the Deputy Mayor for bringing a genuine community concern to

the forefront. Reportedly some 400 residents stood and applauded the Councillor as she

entered Council chambers during the height of the controversy in a show of public support

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[4] The issue of whether or not Asian stores had only Chinese signs was subsequently disputed. Although widely reported to be true in the local and Toronto-wide media, others offered evidence from on-site inspections that showed English signs were indeed present in virtually all stores and restaurants, although often smaller than the Chinese ones.

(Belgrave, 1995). Concerned that her remarks were being misinterpreted in the media, however, Bell attempted to explain herself in an open letter to the editor in Markham's local newspaper. She wrote:

> When dozens of individuals who are the backbone of Markham say they are moving away, as dozens of other neighbors and friends have, then we have a problem that must be addressed... We once had one of the finest communities in North America with enviable business parks and the top corporations in the land. Now all we get are theme malls to serve people way beyond our borders... We need to strive for harmony not monopoly" (Markham Economist & Sun, 1995).

Markham's Race Relations Committee formally responded to the Deputy Mayor's initial comments with a press release, affirming their opposition to racism or remarks that would be regarded as such. The Committee stated:

> ...Carole Bell has made positive statements about the benefits of ethnocultural diversity in our community, [but] we are troubled by her comments on the 'concentration' of ethnic communities, the threat of social conflict she believes this causes, and the singling out of the Chinese community in her statements (Markham Race and Ethnocultural Equity Committee, 1995).

With the controversy gaining media coverage well beyond the municipality's borders, a group of twelve mayors in the Greater Toronto Area weighed into the debate, signing a statement that condemned Bell's remarks, stating that they shared "the outrage and disappointment of Chinese-Canadians" (DeMara, 1995).

The rapid growth of Markham and its changing demographic character both residentially and commercially had been sensitive issues in the community even before the Deputy Mayor's comments (planner A-M, 1996), although it was her public statements that brought forward community frustrations that had until then never been explored so publicly. Given the ethnocultural diversity Markham residents were already coping with, the fact that this issue incited heated local debate is not surprising, nor is the politicization of a land use planning issue. What was unique was that this local planning issue helped push Markham into a battle that garnered local, national, and even some foreign media coverage.

A Political Response: The Mayor's Advisory Committee

Markham's Mayor, Don Cousens, sought to diffuse tensions by inviting concerned members of the public to express their views before Council, but he did not condemn the Deputy Mayor's right to make the statements she did, instead agreeing to disagree with her on this issue (Shackleton, 1995). Not everyone in Markham was happy with the Mayor's position, believing that Council should have doused the controversy by dismissing Bell's comments outright. As one local politician remembered:

> It started out as jokes about the Chinese... Humour was a way to deal with a tough situation, and then humour turned to meanness... with the [Deputy Mayor's] comments nobody realized how people were waiting to pounce on it and it became the lightening box for a major outbreak of public anger... I see what happened to Markham as totally predictable, and everything else is happening so quickly, but

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the transition and the integration of a new society into our community is taking

longer than anyone would have realized (elected official A-M, 1997).

Mayor Cousens organized a formal process intended to build bridges and increase

harmony in Markham -- in September 1995 an Advisory Committee was created to draft a

protocol for addressing multicultural issues in Markham. To select committee members,

Council advertised in the local media an invitation for volunteers who were fair-minded,

representative of Markham's diversity, were community leaders and had good

interpersonal skills. Of the one hundred and twenty-five applications, eleven Markham

residents were selected to form the Committee with the Mayor, and three members of

Council (Mayor's Advisory Committee, 1996: 3-4).

In addition to drafting a protocol for addressing multicultural issues in Markham,

the Committee was expected to develop recommendations to build harmony in Markham

and provide opportunities for all community groups to participate in cross-cultural

exchanges of view. Specifically, the Committee was to examine five related and

contentious issues in the community: race relations; signage/language; cultural integration;

demographics; and communications (Mayor's Advisory Committee, 1996). During the

Council meeting that issued the Advisory Committee's directive, it was stated that: "the

first step has already been taken. Council and the Community acknowledge that there is a

problem. This gives all of us an opportunity to place the issues on the table open for

discussion" (Mayor's Advisory Committee, 1996: iii).

Predictably, the Advisory Committee was less about making concrete changes, and

more about mending a political situation. The report the Advisory Committee tabled was

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optimistically entitled "Working Together Towards Better Understanding and Harmony in the Town of Markham" which, as its authors frankly stated, was just the beginning of the needed dialogue on diversity within the community (Mayor's Advisory Committee, 1996: 21).[5] Most of the recommendations in the report centred around calls for tolerance, increased communication between groups, and a wider distribution of the relevant information needed for dialogue. Given the cleavage that was exposed in Markham after the Deputy Mayor's comments, the real success of the Advisory Committee may be that groups and individuals were able to come forward and express their concerns to a willing audience. As the Mayor stated in his preamble to the Advisory Committee's report:

> This report is an attempt to help our community move forward in a new spirit of cooperation... I suggest that we not expect perfection in this report. Let us understand the intent and move forward as we learn from the past, sensitive to our main goal of finding ways to increase cultural awareness through education of the whole community" (Mayor's Advisory Committee, 1996: ii-iii).

Mayor Cousens used the Advisory Committee as a forum to publicly support the multicultural character that had become a reality in Markham. After such a public controversy, however, some people in Markham believe that a continued challenge exists in de-linking Markham's name from the word racism (Caspersen, 1996).

The 1997 Election: A Footnote

One interesting footnote to this story was the 1997 municipal election. Although Mayor Cousens won his seat again by a landslide (Van Rijn, 1997), the campaign re-

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[5] The report did, however, win Markham the 1997 Excellence in Race Relations award from the Human Rights and Race Relations Centre of Canada (Keung, 1997).

opened the issue of racial tensions in Markham. A 26 year-old Chinese Canadian

candidate ran against the incumbent mayor on a single issue platform of race relations.

Reacting to Deputy Mayor Bell's comments from the summer of 1995, the young would-

be politician explained, "Change doesn't happen until you stand up and rock the boat. We

can't heal our problem if we don't acknowledge its existence" (Keung, 1997). Mayor

Cousens responded by stating his disappointment that his competitor did not appreciate

how much Council had achieved in race relations over those two years (Keung, 1997).

What the election proved was that despite efforts by many in Markham to move past the

conflict, tensions have not disappeared in the community.

Examining the Markham Case Study

As was explained in Chapter Two, the case studies in this research were evaluated

on four grounds: (1) participation in public decision-making; (2) democratic equality; (3)

social structures and associations; and (4) solidarity and tolerance. Each of these criterion

will be examined below in the context of the Markham case.

Participation in Public Decision-making

In Markham, the relationship between politicians, planners, developers and the

public functioned within traditional channels of communication. Developers put

applications before the planning department, Council debated them, and the public was

involved at points in the process through structured public meetings. Citizens participated

in the local planning process when invited: either by politicians looking for a reaction or

comment, or by planners through advertised public meetings. Planning, in other words, was done exclusively within the confines of the formal planning process.

Communication was strongest between the politicians and the planners who shared a pro-development agenda (developer interest C-M, 1997). As one developer explained:

> I remember having meetings with planning commissioners sometimes, various members of Council, the Mayor -- they were looking explicitly for economic development and they were very open to any suggestion, without jumping into it without study of course. They were careful, but yet they were open to the idea...
> [The planning department is] trying to be a little more flexible. Not so far that they will bend the rules, but to try to open up to a new kind of planning, and go with the times (developer interest B-M, 1997).

In the case of retail condominium developments, however, some saw the role politicians took in the planning process as an unnecessary complication. As an architect who worked on the first Asian mall built in Markham argued:

> The site plan approval process is supposed to be a process between the owners and the municipality where the public is not involved... [and] results ultimately in an agreement between the owner and the municipality that guides the development. I've never seen [such] political interference in any other municipality. They wanted to open it up to the public, so they turned it into a quasi re-zoning application. It seemed to me that the politicians by doing that created an issue, a very strong political issue, and led people to believe they had some control and say over this issue, while under the *Planning Act* [at this stage of the process] they

don't. If every municipality operated in this way on every project, we'd never get

anything built. There is a careful balance between the interests of the community

and the individual, and moving forward and getting buildings built. When you

have tremendous community involvement, you never know what the real issues are

(developer interest C-M, 1997).

Public participation in Markham was overwhelmingly reactive. During the

interviews done for this research, it was repeatedly pointed out by elected officials,

planners, business people and residents that this planning process was judged to be

normal, expected and even highly efficient. In fact, participation in local decision-making

was described by those interviewed only within the confines of the formal process

orchestrated by the planning department and Council. As one elected official offered:

...it is Council and only Council that can make a decision about an application. If

they [other interested groups or individuals] have an interest we send them a copy

of the report, we have a public meeting and there they can voice their concern. If

they don't show up that means they are supporting it (elected official B-M, 1997).

While others did not characterize the planning process as being so simple or smooth, even

the most active residents pressed for changes within the formal framework. Community

interests in Markham were unquestionably funneled through a decision-making structure

that was headed by Council and the planning department.[6]

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[6] Judging by the interviews with residents, this seems to be a typical perspective in Markham. One notable exception was during the time of Markham's Official Plan amendments (1995), when local residents' and ratepayers' associations joined together under the umbrella organization, the Federation of Ratepayers in Markham, to ensure residents concerns were taken into consideration. This was an issue where people felt their concerns were not being met by the formal planning process.

Community interests represented a variety of perspectives and positions with the development planning process. For example, a multicultural mix of developers and owners initiated the planning process by approaching the planning department to gain approval for their retail condominiums. The actual buyers of the units, predominantly new immigrants from Asia, did not have a direct role in the planning process, although it was the presence of retail condominiums that at least in part sparked political opposition within the community. Participation of the wider community took place at presentations made at Council meetings, and in the community debates that occurred within local media. The work of the Advisory Committee, in particular, drew public participation in the presentations it heard and the open public meetings it held. As one elected official explained:

>...if she [Bell] didn't make that statement, a lot of people just wouldn't care. They do their thing, back to work again, but since that happened a lot of [people], especially Chinese, get involved.... so many of my residents came to Council. Never before have I seen that many (elected official B-M, 1997).

While public meetings were considered an adequate way of informing the public of local development changes, however, they were never expected to bring all or even a majority of people into the process itself. As one member of Council described:

>I send out some flyers or I make a copy of the application and pass it along to people very close who are affected and ask them to comment back their concern. I invite them to a public meeting. That is what I do to keep them informed about what is going on. Sometimes the interest is not there (elected official B-M, 1997).

As anyone with any experience at public participation exercises will attest, a planning process that does involve large numbers of interested individuals is rare, and so the Markham experience of minimal participation within the wider community is not unusual. What is important to note is that many of those interviewed acknowledged that there was a difference in participation between the current population (including both immigrants and Canadian-born) and the most recent newcomers. Whether because of a matter of preference, available opportunities, or comfort level on the part of the newcomers, Markham residents, business people, planners and politicians alike described a separation of the new Asian immigrants from the rest of the community. Interestingly, statistics indicate that despite the large numbers of Chinese immigrants that have entered suburban society throughout the greater Toronto area, there seems to be a reluctance on their part to get involved in suburban politics. (Vincent, 1997).

Due to the formal nature of the planning process, ensuring adequate representation seemed to be the responsibility of the municipality. In particular, the Mayor, his Council and the planning department were said to be the community's representatives in local decision-making. What interests did the municipality represent? The most overt interest of Markham politicians and planners was residential and commercial development. Business people and residents in the community reflected a suburban mentality that not only supported such a pro-development stance, but often listed this as a primary reason for having located in Markham. This is not to claim that everyone in Markham would have supported increased development. It was, after all, the perceived over-development of

residential and commercial projects seen to cater to the new Asian population that the Deputy Mayor was speaking about in her controversial remarks.

Democratic Equality

In the Markham case study, local decision-making was deemed the purview of the municipality and therefore the Mayor, Council and the planning department had the greatest influence over the planning process surrounding retail condominium developments. As one business person offered:

> I'd say it really is coming from the Town of Markham. Different lobby groups
>
> may voice their opinions, like for industrial development, different zoning...
>
> different lobby groups will say something, but still the eventual, the core decision-
>
> making is still back in the Town (business interest A-M, 1997).

Some went as far as to insist that the municipality, and in particular the elected politicians, were the only ones with any legitimacy to speak for the community's interest (elected official B-M, 1997).

Developers also had a great deal of influence over the planning process in Markham. Although the local politicians and planners were pro-development, it was individual developers who brought forward the applications for Asian malls they wanted to locate in Markham. It was developers who initiated the formal planning process for the creation of the malls. These developers, however, were motivated by a host of economic factors, including the municipality's efforts to sustain a favourable development climate, and the potential profit the retail condominiums promised (interested party C-M, 1997; resident B-M, 1997).

One final source of influence in Markham's planning process was the indirect pressure of Asian immigrants and the market potential they posed as retail consumers and potential retail unit owners (business interest A-M, 1997). As one active community resident argued:

I think the arrival of the Chinese has certainly... contributed to all the building. Let's face it, builders are there to make money. If the money is there, it doesn't matter who has the money, you're going to cater to those people... I don't know if they are catering to them simply because of who they are, I think they're catering to them because they have a product to sell. They realize that if my product is packaged the way the buyer wants it, it will sell (interested party B-M, 1997).

The community's power within local decision-making was much more limited. The community reacted to the development of Asian malls within a planning process where politicians and planners were working to encourage development, and individual developers were presenting applications for this new form of commercial retail. The influence the community did have can be attributed to the effort the Mayor made to bring the diverse groups in Markham together through the Advisory Committee's public consultation and subsequent report. When concerns were raised by individuals, they tended to be over parking, traffic, noise and the like and were dealt with by the planning department on a site-specific basis.

The possibility for a more pro-active and powerful role by the public did exist, however. Organizations such as ratepayers' associations or ethnocultural associations in Markham could have come forward to represent community interests even within the

formal planning process. For example, the Federation of Ratepayers in Markham, an umbrella organization of ratepayer groups, had represented a common front on planning issues in the past when resident interests were perceived to be ignored. In the case of the Asian malls, however, the idea of increased development was generally supported, and the malls were never seen to be harming the majority of Markham residents (resident C-M, 1997). The malls were not perceived as an "opportunity" for the community, and therefore did not garner community-wide interest. Where the community at large in Markham was most affected was in the controversial comments made by the Deputy Mayor -- thus community concern was not directed at the planning issue of retail condominium development, but rather the actions of a specific politician.

Social Structures and Associations

Seen in the political tensions the Deputy Mayor's comments sparked, ethnocultural differences form a strong cleavage within Markham. Some of these differences manifest themselves geographically: north Markham is the older part of Markham and is dominated by Anglo-Saxon, Canadian-born residents; south Markham has been the location of most recent development, and is home to Markham's multiculturally mixed population (resident B-M, 1997).

These ethnocultural differences, however, are not structured by associations in the community, at least within local decision-making processes. For example, in the presentations made before the Mayor's Advisory Committee, Markham's ethnocultural diversity was evident yet people did not speak on behalf of, say, the Italian community or the East Indian community, but rather as concerned residents of Markham (interested

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party B-M, 1997). Delegations from local Filipino and Chinese Associations were the exception here, and as one Committee member suggested, this may have been due to the fact that it was the Asian community that had felt most "wronged" by the Deputy Mayor's comments and therefore felt the need to respond collectively (interested party B-M, 1997).

Furthermore, in the case of Asian mall developments, the planning process cannot be reduced to a race relations issue. Community members from ethnoculturally diverse backgrounds were often found on the same side, expressing very ordinary planning concerns about increased traffic or parking. In fact, as the planning example of the Asian malls illustrates, some of the conflict was between established Markham residents (a multicultural mix including established immigrants) and newcomers (recent immigrants). Moreover, even the most visible ethnic groups were not homogeneous: although some long-time residents would refer to the "Chinese immigrants" as a single group, the ethnically Chinese in Markham differentiated themselves according to the period of their immigration into Canada (i.e. recent arrivals vs. more established immigrants), their language, and their home region. As one elected official admitted:

> Even among themselves they are differentiating... There are five different groups of
>
> Chinese anyway that speak five different languages... I have difficulty finding
>
> leadership for the Chinese community (elected official A-M, 1997).

Associations are more obvious in Markham's economy, where business associations represent the various corporate head offices and high technology companies located in the municipality. Many of these associations differentiate along technology and non-technology lines (interested party A-M, 1996), although ethnocultural differences

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combine with business interests to further subdivide this sphere. For example, there are two technology associations, one that is primarily Anglo-Saxon (York Technology Association), and one that is Chinese (Canada Chinese Computer Association) (elected official A-M, 1997). Similarly, there are several general business associations (such as the Markham Board of Trade, the Richmond Hill and Markham Chinese Business Association, the Markham Chinese Business Association, and the Markham Scarborough Chinese Business Association) that are differentiated by the ethnicity of their membership. Here again, however, the large Chinese community is differentiated within itself, having three different Chinese business associations which some suggest do not cooperate with each other and function very independently (elected official A-M, 1997).

Associations continue to play a vital part in the community even as Markham has grown and become increasingly multicultural. Ethnocultural diversity can be found in a variety of spheres of local community life, including business associations, ratepayers' and residents' associations, and social service, charity and fund-raising organizations. Many of the established immigrants have entered these organizations over the years as they became settled in the community (interested party B-M, 1997; resident B-M, 1997).

With the most recent newcomers from Asia, however, this process of community integration has not readily occurred. One might argue that this discontinuity is to be expected, given the time it takes for new groups to adjust to new surroundings and integrate into an existing community. What is interesting, however, is that in many cases parallel associations and organizations have been created by and for these new community members (elected official A-M, 1997). It seems that these newcomers are not so much

having trouble adjusting to their new surroundings, as they are reluctant to integrate into the social fabric of the community -- a fact lamented by those working to integrate Markham. This was most vividly represented in the political crisis that erupted out of the Deputy Mayor's comments. As one concerned resident explained:

> There is a big concern having all these people with their own way of life, which is accepted (may not be right but is accepted) to be totally self-centred, and totally within their community and nowhere else. A lot of people think, and this has been discussed locally, that this in itself is bad for the Town of Markham. Bad in a way that from my point of view that people are not prepared to accept changes. Imagine all of a sudden that you find that you were the dominant race and you wake up one morning and somebody has taken over (interested party B-M, 1997).

As this chapter revealed, cleavages within the community are evident between residents (both Canadian-born and immigrants) and newcomers, and between Anglo-Saxons and Chinese. Manifested in the planning process through concerns over garbage, odour, traffic, and signage, new immigration in Markham has become increasingly visible and emphasizes the community's differences along lines of ethnicity, culture, citizenship and period of immigration.

Solidarity and Tolerance

Some long-time residents of Markham would undoubtedly point to a nostalgic small town identity in describing their community. With increased immigration, however, this has given way to the suburban realities of the present -- Markham is a community that is economically dynamic and ethnoculturally diverse. Unlike the academic critics of the

suburban lifestyle, those who have chosen to live and work in Markham readily identify

their suburban identity with a source of pride. For example:

> [Markham] is a suburb of Toronto... that's got to be one of the most treasured
>
> parts, or identifiable factors. We know we are not in Toronto. From a
>
> development point of view, I'm not getting the rent I'd otherwise get downtown...
>
> living here, I know I'm not living in Toronto, and I know my next door neighbour.
>
> People understand this is not the busy metropolitan lifestyle, and I think that is
>
> something they would really share -- the understanding (developer interest B-M,
>
> 1997).

This affinity for a suburban lifestyle is one factor which seemed to bridge the strong

ethnocultural cleavages present in Markham: "People who live here want to be in the

GTA [Greater Toronto Area]. They choose Markham for space, access, lifestyle... it

addresses the needs of more than one cultural group" (interested party A-M, 1996). This

sentiment was echoed by an immigrant local business person:

> ...a lot of the Asian immigrants have picked Markham to be their home. Probably
>
> based on the fact that Markham has a nice environment, the land is slightly cheaper
>
> than Metro, the living costs are a bit lower and the population density is not as
>
> high as in downtown Toronto. So a lot of people do enjoy the living environment
>
> in Markham (business interest A-M, 1997).
>
> The degree to which this affinity for a suburban lifestyle can be translated into a

sense of community in Markham is questionable, however. In talking with local

politicians, quality of life (fostered by recreation and cultural programs, theatre,

community centres, schools, sporting facilities, and the like) are directly equated with a sense of community (elected official A-M, 1997). Meanwhile residents and business people are just as likely to deny the existence of a collective *Markham* community identity. "Right now I really don't see there is a very strong, community-minded loyalty... Right now I don't see a whole lot of identification of Markham," explained one Markham business person (business interest A-M, 1997).

Immigration has changed the multicultural composition of the community and forced an adjustment on the part of newcomers and established residents alike. When this new diversity began to take on an identifiable form in the economic life of the community, unresolved tensions came to the fore. As the architect for Markham's first Asian mall explained:

> Retail is an expression of the cultural identity of a community and when it changes so dramatically you can start to feel displaced, and I don't think that is necessarily a racist view. I think it is a genuine feeling on the part of people in Markham about their community. But it gets played out as being a racist backlash (developer interest C-M, 1997).

Furthermore, as the new immigrants who came to Markham had money to create their own businesses and social structures, their self-imposed isolation was seen by some as more threatening than the integrative patterns of earlier groups of immigrants. Canadian-born residents of Markham were not alone in questioning the ways of these newcomers. As an immigrant business person stated:

What I believe personally is that every immigrant who comes to this country should respect the original culture of what is already existing right now. That doesn't mean that they are going to give up all their heritage or their culture, they still want to maintain it which is fine... I think some retailers out there, they're thinking or mentality was kind of narrow... Business is business, it doesn't matter who walks into your store, they give you the transaction, that is supposed to be your client (business interest A-M, 1997).

The development of retail condominiums focused community tensions between residents and newcomers, and revealed the distance the community had to go before it could come to terms with its demographic transformation. Moreover, ethnocultural diversity has affected parts of Markham to differing degrees and at different rates of change. Despite these challenges, some people in Markham continue to look for signs of a collective coming-together. Others also expressed the hope that a degree of solidarity could be fostered amidst this diversity. Those within the business community were especially quick to point out that Markham benefits from a diversity of business interests, education levels, and viewpoints in addition to ethnocultural diversity -- features that have proven to be selling points in Markham's economic development (developer interest B-M, 1997). As described by one active community member:

I really don't know if people want to be known as different from each other. I think that was what the controversy was all about. Since then a lot of people realize I don't need to demonstrate that I'm different from you, it's quite obvious... Let's do the things that make Markham the place it is... I think this is

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demonstrated, for example, by all the types of diverse businesses in Markham...
There are lots of immigrants, Chinese, Italians, Indians that are in big business. I
think that in itself says that we know we are different, but we are going to live
together to serve the community and to make the community a great place for
everyone to live in (interested party B-M, 1997).

Tensions have emerged in Markham due to rapid immigration and a corresponding
demographic shift in the community's composition. Tolerance is something that those
who live and work in Markham continue to strive for, requiring adjustments both on the
part of established residents who are witnessing massive change in their community, as
well as the recent newcomers.

Unfortunately in Markham, negotiating what membership and belonging in the
community means amidst its new-found ethnocultural diversity has resulted in a messy
political battle. According to many in Markham, the Mayor's Advisory Committee and its
subsequent report was an important political gesture in quieting things down, but did little
to resolve the community's actual internal conflicts. As one Committee member admitted:

What the controversy did was say aloud what a lot of people were thinking... [now
we] just go on the way we were going before the controversy. I can say it
certainly has involved a lot of awareness, but whether or not that awareness has
contributed to making relationships better I really don't know. I hope it did, but I
really don't know" (interested party B-M, 1997).

Is Markham a more tolerant community today? The evidence from this research
would suggest not, although many in the community believe Markham is moving in the

right direction by encouraging communication (elected official B-M, 1997; elected official A-M, 1997; interested party B-M, 1997). In a community that is working out the growing pains of rapid demographic change, where community members are forced to live with their new residential and commercial neighbours or move out, tolerance may be more than what is currently possible. For those active in the community, however, the real challenge is not in rooting out intolerance but rather in building solidarity within the community that everyone in Markham can value and be proud of. As one resident summarized:

> I'm not going to say that tension is not there, but I really haven't run up against any tensions, I don't look for any tensions. My role ever since I moved to Markham, especially in the last 5 or 6 years has been to be part of the solution not part of the problem... It's there, if you look for it, it's there. But then you can't really tell yourself that okay, I really can't go out the door because there is tension out there. You have to negotiate it the best way you can (interested party B-M, 1997).

Epilogue: Markham's Future as a Growth Community

Markham has experienced tremendous growth and demographic change in recent years, and this trend is offering no signs of easing. With this growth has come an educated, middle-class, professional group of immigrants, attracted to the suburban lifestyle and opportunities available in Canadian communities such as Markham. In fact, Markham intends to continue to market itself internationally, using the slogan "Doing it Right" as it moves into the next century (Town of Markham Economic Development Office, 1995b).

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Retail condominium developments are continuing to be built in the region (interested party C-M, 1997), however, many developers who were active in this alternative commercial market in the early 1990s are not intending to build new malls for fear the specialized target market may soon be saturated (developer interest A-M, 1997; developer interest B-M, 1997). Those that are built are often choosing to go with a split between conventional rented stores and retail condominium units, or with a mix of tenants and/or owners beyond the Asian market (developer interest B-M, 1997).

Questions also remain as to the long-term future of the many retail condominium developments that have been built. Will Canadian mainstream retailers some day take over these stores, choosing to buy rather than rent space? Will current Asian immigrant store owners become future landlords, renting out their mall space to new retailers when the demographic character of the community once again shifts? Such questions illustrate how increased diversity necessitates an approach to planning that moves beyond a strictly technical definition, to one that acknowledges the social, economic, and political challenges of land use. Markham planners have decided that flexibility and adaptability will be key tools in managing these challenges in the future.

This chapter and Chapter Five explored how ethnocultural diversity challenges participation and belonging in an urban and a suburban context using the criteria introduced in Chapter Two. The next chapter draws some conclusions from this evidence by comparing the two case studies, and addresses the notion of "multicultural planning".

CHAPTER EIGHT: Evaluating Citizenship in Kensington and Markham

Comparing the Case Studies

In the planning case studies examined in Chapters Five and Seven it was revealed that ethnocultural diversity is but one -- albeit important -- factor which influences local planning decisions. In the Kensington case study, ethnocultural diversity was linked with other tensions and cleavages in the community. Although ethnic and cultural differences were present in the planning process, factors such as the period of arrival of immigrants and the contrast between residents and business people were more relevant to local decision-making than the ethnocultural group differences. As the redevelopment of George Brown College quickly became a community issue, multiculturalism was only one factor in the formal and informal planning surrounding the redevelopment.

In the Markham case study, multiculturalism was linked with period of immigration, citizenship and deep-seated views over the proper mix of residential and commercial land uses. While conflicts in the community were inappropriately characterized as an ethnic cleavage between Anglo-Saxons and Chinese by some in the media, Chapter Seven revealed that although tensions did exist, reaction to planning for retail condominium developments cut across ethnocultural lines. It was a multicultural mix of established residents who were wary of the malls and the new immigrants who purchased space inside them.

Through a comparison of the two case studies, this chapter reveals that patterns of communication, expectations of the planning process, the source of ethnocultural diversity, and the values of residents in the two communities reflected their

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urban/suburban differences. Although there was no indication in either case study that local planners had modified their planning practices to address the multiculturalism found in both Kensington and Markham, it was the context of diversity that made the planning outcomes so different. That is, the expectations of the process on the part of residents, developers, planners and politicians differed between the two cases and was reflected in the different manner in which people participated in local planning decisions. This is not to suggest that participation or belonging should be judged more or less favourably in either case study, but that the environment in which planning occurred contributes greater dissimilarity between the two cases than the multiculturalism they share. The two case studies cannot, however, be reduced to generic urban or suburban planning cases. Ethnocultural diversity did affect the way planning progressed: it was a consideration among those making decisions, and in many ways was key to the planning issue generating the kind of local attention it did in each community.

Using the criteria described in Chapter Two and employed in Chapters Five and Seven, this chapter compares and evaluates how cultural diversity challenged participation and belonging in the two case study communities.

Participation in Public Decision-making

Participation can be examined in four distinct ways. The interrelationship between planners, politicians and the public can shed light on both the planning process and the sources of influence on participation within that process. Evaluating the nature of public participation can determine the extent to which participation is proactive or reactive. Tensions between the quality and quantity of participation can be identified. Finally, who

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participates in the decision-making process can be examined for evidence of inclusive and representative participation. In the following sections participation in the two case studies is examined using each of these four approaches.

Politicians, Planners, and the Public

Public participation is an important factor affecting the quality of local planning, and is influenced in large part by the interrelationship between the community, local politicians and planners. As Hodge explains:

> The effectiveness with which this triad -- public, politician, and planner -- can work together will largely determine the success of the planning process in a community... the citizenry and the municipal planners and councillors are dependent upon one another in the process to attain a plan that embodies an acceptable direction for the future of the community (Hodge, 1998: 394).

In both case studies, this three-way relationship played a prominent role.

In the Kensington case study, communication between the politicians and the community resulted in the formation of the Working Group, a group that proved to be a very important player in both the formal and informal planning processes surrounding the redevelopment of the old College site. Although the planning department remained outside of the community's actions and chose to wait until the issue settled before they fulfilled their obligation to do a planning study on the site, the local planner was generally considered to be knowledgeable and was actively following both the informal and formal activities surrounding the site.

In the Markham case study, the relationship between politicians, planners and the public was also important, although it flowed along more traditionally organized channels. Communication was strongest between the politicians and the planners who shared a pro-development agenda, and the public was included when politicians were looking for a reaction, or planners brought proposals before public meetings.

Community Participation: Proactive vs. Reactive

Within this formal context, community participation in Markham was overwhelmingly reactive. Interestingly, politicians, planners, business people and residents alike seemed to support similar assumptions about the value of a formal process. Indeed, while obviously not all community members agreed with the decisions made by the municipality, they did seem to feel their interests were being served within such a process. By contrast, community participation in Kensington was much more organic and proactive. The redevelopment of the College was viewed in terms of its potential impact on the community, and garnered widespread community interest.

Part of an explanation for why participation in Kensington was more extensive and integral to the planning process than was the case in Markham has to do with the history of participation for each community. As was explained in Chapter Five, Kensington is a community that has responded to change within its borders in the past. Whether fighting bulldozers, or lobbying the City of Toronto for revitalization efforts, Kensington residents have repeatedly stood up and made their voices heard. Within this context, the closure of George Brown College should be seen as yet another important local issue the community felt should be addressed. As a result of this activist history, momentum for public

participation existed in Kensington's associations and influential individuals which could be readily built upon when the campus closure became known.

Markham, by contrast, did not have this momentum for public participation to build upon. Planning issues had come up in the past that had attracted community interest and concern, but they had either a localized impact that did not affect the majority of those living and working in Markham (e.g. NIMBY issues), or they were single, focused issues that stirred up widespread participation which dissolved after the issue was settled (e.g. the Official Plan amendments). What makes this so fundamentally different from Kensington is that issues were disconnected, with an entirely new group of actors participating each time. When the development of Asian malls and the corresponding increase in Asian immigration became an issue in Markham, it did attract widespread community attention but there was not the same history with collective participation to build upon as was the case in Kensington.

Does "More" Equal "Better" in Public Participation?

A legacy of the politicized fights for citizen involvement in the planning process during the 1960s is that most local planning today assumes some level of public participation to be legitimate.[1] Consultation is written into planning legislation as a requirement, yet in many cases planners have encouraged public participation beyond that which is mandated in their Official Plans. In part this is because the public will demand to

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[1] As Hodge describes: "By the late 1960s, when planning was quite pervasive, proposals by planners began to be questioned, often vociferously, by citizens... in the emerging era of 'citizen activism,' 'participatory democracy,' and 'advocacy planning'" (Hodge, 1991:362).

participate in planning processes in ways they deem meaningful if they are not invited to do so (Marshall and Roberts, 1997).

Some planning professionals also express concern that public participation must be tempered so as to achieve a sense of proportion within the planning process (Seelig and Seelig, 1997). While it may be tempting to equate a greater amount of public participation with "better" planning (Arnstein, 1969), lessons from planning practice illustrate that in reality trade-offs often must be made between goals such as high participation, equitable representation, and cost-efficiency. The effectiveness of a particular public participation strategy is therefore dependent upon a host of factors including the public's influence, the perceived legitimacy of the process, the degree of controversy raised by the issue, and fixed concerns such as available time and cost (Wallace, Woo and Boudreau, 1997). It is also important to understand that participation is not a static activity. Some individuals will participate through strong central roles in a planning process, while others may move in and out of the process as their time allows, or as their interest is piqued. As well, many more individuals may never become involved in the process, and may yet still be interested in any outcomes that are achieved.

In the Kensington case study, a handful of interested community members formed the Working Group which became the core of public participation. Although not supported by everyone in the community, it was the leadership of these individuals which can be credited with the non-adversarial, informal planning process that evolved and eventually resulted in what was a favourable outcome for most community members.

In the Markham case study, various interests defined public participation at different points in the process, but overall public participation was significantly less than in Kensington. Developers and residential condominium owners dealt exclusively with the planning department at the beginning of the process. Once the malls were being built, participation in the process spread to the indirect activity of the predominantly Asian buyers of the units, and the reaction of the wider community to the developments.

Inclusion and Representation

Despite best intentions to encourage everyone to become involved in community issues, the reality is that in planning processes a relatively small group of people participate, and in unequal ways. Therefore, in evaluating participation in local decision-making one must consider how representative the process is.

In Markham, participation structured within formal channels in the planning process was considered an adequate way of informing the public of local development changes. Given the rarity of a planning process that involves large numbers of interested individuals, the Markham experience of minimal participation is not unusual. What is noteworthy about the Markham case study in this respect is that the Asian newcomers were not represented among those who did participate, a factor that may have contributed to the tensions between the current residents and the recent immigrants.

Complete community participation was also unattainable in the Kensington case study, although for different reasons. Community participation peaked at points when the Working Group actively sought community opinion, but for the most part community members would indirectly or infrequently participate in the process even though they

considered the issue to be a community concern. For some in the community, a lack of

language and literacy skills contributed to their reluctance to actively participate in the

process.

Table 8.1: Participation in Public Decision-making

	Kensington	Markham
process of participation (politician/ planner/ public)	- MPP started informal process (public/ politician). - planner was responsive, but removed.	- formal process, public invited through meetings, planners and politicians had control.
proactive/ reactive participation	- proactive. - Working Group's community consensus used as leverage in formal planning process.	- reactive. - public participation increased out of reaction to Deputy Mayor's comments.
quality/ quantity of participation	- key participants were experienced and motivated (Working Group). - final outcome supported by majority in community.	- participation through Council, media and Advisory Committee. - participation would be significantly lower without controversy.
inclusive and representative participation	- good showing at Working Group meetings, but not majority. - low turn-out of smaller ethnocultural groups/ recent immigrants. - Working Group said to represent community as a whole (business and residents).	- formal invitation to participate, never expect majority. - separation between current population (Cdn. born and immigrants) and new (Asian) immigrants. - no community group/ association representation, municipality spoke for community.

Given that the majority of the public was not involved in the planning processes

examined in either of the two case studies, it is important to know the degree to which

those silent majority interests were represented within the process. In Kensington, the

Working Group appointed itself to represent the community as a whole, and managed to

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succeed in bridging the residential-business cleavage in the community. The Working Group members, however, were not a representative sample of the various ethnocultural groups found in Kensington.

In Markham the municipality, represented through the Mayor, his Council and the planning department in particular, were said to be the community's representatives in local decision-making. The municipality supported continued land development, and this seemed to be also supported by Markham's suburban residents and business people. The form of land development, however, was a more contested topic as the case of the retail condominiums revealed.

Democratic Equality

The second criterion used to evaluate the impact of ethnocultural diversity on local planning processes is democratic equality. Underlying the level and means of public participation in local decision-making is the degree to which people are empowered to participate as a result of how power is distributed within the community. As the research revealed, power in decision-making was not solely defined by ethnocultural differences, but also the influence and position of certain individuals or interests within the planning process.

Sources of Influence

In the Kensington case study, participation was largely within an informal planning process, while in the Markham case study it occurred within a more traditional, formal planning format. This difference influenced who was active in local decision-making

within the two communities, and by extension who had the greatest influence over those decisions.

The planning process in Kensington was dominated by a handful of interested community members. A community where personalities matter a great deal (planner A-K, 1996a; business interest A-K, 1997; business interest B-K, 1997), influence was exercised in local decision-making through coalition-building relationships. Added to the influence of individuals was the powerful role played by the Working Group, particularly in articulating the community's interests. The Working Group's efforts to adopt the structure of a non-profit organization helped to increase its influence in the formal planning process, and to be considered a player in the "politicking" that occurred alongside government representatives and prospective developers.

In the Markham case study, local decision-making was deemed the purview of the municipality and, therefore, the Mayor, Council and the planning department had the greatest influence over the planning process surrounding retail condominium developments. Developers brought forward the applications to build Asian malls, thereby initiating the formal planning process within a pro-development climate among local politicians and planners. The indirect pressure of Asian immigrants and the market potential they represented as retail consumers and potential retail unit owners was another source of indirect influence on the planning process in Markham.

Distribution of Power

In Kensington, there was greater community control and power than in Markham. The powerful role of the Kensington community was facilitated by outsiders (planners,

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politicians, community service providers) but was ultimately the result of resident action early on. Given the importance of the site to the community, the closure of George Brown College generated an informal planning process within which some residents in particular took on an informed role.

The community consensus that developed over what to do with the site was also a powerful tool. It was the process of securing this consensus that helped give the Working Group influence within Kensington, and the consensus itself gave legitimacy to the Working Group in their political activities beyond the community's borders. Once the formal planning process began, the developer, the municipality and the planning department had substantial influence. Because the Kensington community had opted for a pro-active role early on, however, its collective interests remained a strong influence even at this stage and the formal process lacked the acrimony and frustration that could have occurred if the process had proceeded more conventionally.

In Markham, the community's power within local decision-making was more limited and reactive. Community members did have a forum to make their views known through the public consultation mechanism created by the Mayor's Advisory Committee, where concerned individuals and groups were able to bring written briefs and presentations to its members. Beyond this special venue, community concerns tended to be over parking, traffic, noise and the like and were dealt with by the planning department on a site-specific basis within the typical channels of community consultation. Despite the potential for a more proactive approach on the part of Markham residents (as had

occurred with the previous Official Plan amendments), there was never the kind of

collective community response in this case that was evident in the Kensington case study.

Table 8.2: Democratic Equality

	Kensington	Markham
sources of influence	- charismatic individuals. - Working Group. - indirect role of elected officials (supported/ encouraged community initiatives).	- Mayor, Council and the planning department. - developers (brought forward applications, started the process). - indirect role of Asian immigration (fueling mall development).
distribution of power	- community took power with informal planning process. - consensus was powerful tool for Working Group to enter formal process. - later, formal channels of power in the developer, planners, and the Council.	- power vested in the actors of formal planning process (developers, planners, Council). - community views heard through Mayor's Advisory Committee and reaction at Council meetings (but not specific to planning issue).

Social Structures and Associations

Neither Kensington nor Markham has a homogeneous population. Instead, the

two communities are differentiated along lines of ethnicity, culture, period of immigration,

citizenship, and/or interests, which add considerable complexity to an understanding of

how local decision-making works in each context. Given this differentiation, it was

relevant to explore the impact of planning decisions on various collectivities within the

communities, and how they were involved in the planning process. Social structures and

associations is the third criterion used to evaluate the impact of ethnocultural diversity on

local planning processes in the two case studies.

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Alliances and Associations

Kensington's ethnocultural diversity is not manifested in *local* ethnocultural associations. Whether due to the growth of ethnocultural groups beyond the borders of the Kensington community, or the lack of a single group large enough to play a dominant role in local decision-making, ethnocultural associations are not the central affiliation or source of identity for people in Kensington. In this case study, the primary community differentiation was a historical cleavage between residents and business people. Beyond this cleavage is the differentiation that occurs within these two groups in the form of multiple associations and informal alliances.

Within this environment, the Kensington community functions in practice not through associations, but instead through the leadership of individuals who act as spokespersons for different interests. It is for this reason that the Working Group's continued success as a collective, organized association is unusual for Kensington. The dominance of influential people, however, continues to be a natural and useful way to accomplish local goals. Many of the community's influential leaders are in some way connected to the Working Group and its various subcommittees, a factor that has contributed to its ability to exist beyond the George Brown College issue it was created to attend to.

Ethnocultural differences form a strong cleavage within Markham. In part, these ethnocultural differences are manifested geographically (north vs. south). Within the decision-making process, however, ethnocultural differences are not structured by associations in the community. In fact, in the case of Asian mall developments, the

planning process cannot be reduced to a race relations issue. Community members from multicultural backgrounds were often found on the same side, expressing very ordinary planning concerns about increased traffic or parking. More relevant cleavages seemed to be between established residents and newcomers, and between residential and commercial interests, and within ethnocultural groups.

Continuity in the Local Social Structure

In Markham, ethnocultural diversity has not traditionally been structured by associations. The diverse membership of Markham's business associations, ratepayers'/residents' associations, and social service, charity and fund-raising organizations are a marker of the integration that has occurred for established immigrants in the community.

Despite this evidence of integration, recent newcomers from Asia have not as readily become part of the social fabric of Markham. The creation of parallel organizations and associations has contributed to the separation between newcomers from established residents, a fact that gained a political expression with the crisis that erupted from the Deputy Mayor's comments. Cleavages based on ethnocultural differences, period of immigration and citizenship are evident within the community, although they have entered the planning process veiled as generic concerns of parking, traffic, garbage, odour and signage.

From one perspective, Kensington can be seen as a disorganized community with multiple and often competing associations claiming to represent the community's interests. Amidst this complexity and sometimes confusion are influential individuals who represent

coalitions of local interests. From another perspective, however, this apparent

disorganization can be seen as a historical element of continuity for the community -- that

is, the creation and re-creation of alliances and associations as community issues arise.

During the research, both residents and business people alike were quick to give examples

of other instances where community interests coalesced (and Kensington's history of

community activism supports this), invariably at times when the community felt threatened

in some way.

Table 8.3: Social Structures and Associations

	Kensington	Markham
alliances and associations	- ethnocultural associations not locally active. - community differentiated along business/ resident lines; fractures exist in both. - local leaders speak for peoples' interests.	- ethnocultural cleavage, but not structured by associations. - business sector has several associations (differentiated by type, and ethnicity).
continuity in local social structure	- informal social structure with strong local leaders. - several cleavages, some represented by associations. - (re)creation of alliances has historically existed depending on the issue.	- diversity found in social structure of existing associations. - unlike earlier immigrants, new Asian immigrants have not integrated, but instead created parallel associations.

Solidarity and Tolerance

The fourth and final criterion used to evaluate the impact of cultural diversity on

local planning processes is solidarity and tolerance. Discovering what community

members share in common was perhaps the most interesting and challenging aspect of this

research. This criterion was crucial to understanding the depth to which residents felt a

sense of belonging in a shared space. The degree to which diversity was tolerated, and

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what in fact citizens involved in the decision-making process collectively shared, was explored through observation as well as in the reflections of those who live and work in Kensington and Markham.

Evaluating the case studies in terms of solidarity and tolerance is challenging in that unity or collective action within a community is ultimately something practical rather than theoretical. Reflections of those interviewed caution us against assuming that community participation necessarily indicates community unity.

Solidarity in an Urban / Suburban Identity?

From a practical perspective, the greatest sense of community solidarity is derived from a commonly shared identity in an urban or suburban location. By choosing to live and/or work in an expressly urban or suburban community, people in Kensington and Markham were illustrating a preference that in some ways served as a basis for collective or common action. In this way, place, and the social environment it supported, was the strongest force of solidarity:

> The more socially homogeneous a community, the more likely is any one person to find within close residential or institutional proximity others whose interests and tastes are similar to his own. Life-style (as opposed to simple demographic) uniformity tends in this way to intensify the formation of social networks (Schwartz, 1977: 331).

The solidarity which springs from a common place can be found in socially isolated suburban communities. In fact, the suburbs have long been criticized for being nothing but a home for people sharing a suburban lifestyle, rather than collectivities or communities

with a shared purpose. Charged with lacking density, ambiance, civic substance (Meeker, 1989) and generally a sense of place (Kunstler, 1993), many argue that the "suburbs are essentially lifestyle enclaves, not really neighbourhoods or communities," and that:

> ...the challenge is to find denser housing patterns and site-planning organizations that create a sense of place, that create elements of urban fabric interfacing with and not isolated from the metropolitan arterial web, and that contribute to the meaning, cultural identity, and regional imagery of the host community (Meeker, 1989: 64).

In Markham, the sense of place that is shared by community members has two facets. Some of Markham's long-time residents nostalgically hold onto a small town identity. However, because of increased immigration many people in Markham base their identity in their suburban realities of economic growth and ethnocultural diversity. The degree to which the affinity for a suburban lifestyle can be translated into a sense of community in Markham is questionable, however.

Although suburban communities have been extensively criticized for lacking an organic sense of place or sense of community, it is important that urban communities not be idealized at the other end of the spectrum. Kensington has a community solidarity that springs from its urban, diverse environment that attracts immigrants, urban professionals, and business people alike. This solidarity is evident whenever an issue captures widespread community interest, as was the case with the planning example of the closure of George Brown College. In fact, as was addressed in Chapter Four, Kensington has a long history of collective action around issues that had an impact upon the community as a

whole. This solidarity arising out of diverse interests, however, does not extend beyond a shared desire to protect the urban identity that those who live and work in Kensington are attracted to.

Ethnocultural Diversity and Community Solidarity

This dissertation has consistently emphasized the impact of ethnocultural diversity on participation and belonging in two heterogeneous communities. Implicit in this focus, and indeed, the starting point for the criteria used to evaluate the impact of diversity, is the idea that involvement in local decision-making can be an active expression of community membership.

Participation within ethnoculturally diverse communities, as the research revealed, is often complex. In the Markham case study, ethnocultural diversity was linked with class differences. Immigration had changed the multicultural composition of the community and forced an adjustment on the part of newcomers and established residents alike. When this new diversity began to take on an identifiable form in the economic life of the community, however, it was seen as more threatening than the integrative patterns of earlier groups of immigrants. Financially able to create businesses and social structures, these newcomers stood out from both the Canadian born and earlier immigrants in Markham. Despite these challenges brought on by ethnocultural diversity, some of those interviewed for this research were searching for solidarity and strength that could be fostered amidst the diversity in interests and viewpoints as well as the ethnocultural differences.

By contrast, in Kensington diversity is so embedded in the community's history that it is seen as a source of strength, a source of community solidarity. Through ethnocultural diversity has come differences in language, income, interests and issues, yet the historical pattern of immigration has had a unifying effect on the community. It is this diversity that attracts Kensington's many visitors, has earned the community's market the special protection status (Area of Special Identity) from the City of Toronto's planning department, and was even considered a primary selling feature for the new condominiums to be built on the old George Brown College site.

Amongst those who live and work in Kensington, though, it is widely acknowledged that the community is a collection of individuals with differing and often opposing perspectives. Despite their ability to come together over specific community issues, a more broad-based and consistent solidarity has proved to be elusive for those who seek it.

Tempering Communitarian Idealism: Examining Tolerance

Examining the degree to which tolerance existed within the case study communities was a useful balance to some of the more idealistic observations and reflections about community solidarity. For example, while ethnocultural diversity was generally described as a strength by community members, the planning examples revealed the challenges of achieving full or representative participation amidst such diversity. Discovering the degree to which tolerance for diversity exists within the two communities could therefore illuminate the strength of community solidarity.

In the Kensington case study, tolerance was a practical necessity given its high

density, multiple group associations, and the mix of residential and commercial uses.

While some readily described the community as tolerant and pointed to its ethnocultural

diversity, others contradicted this by suggesting that what could be mistaken for tolerance

was in fact the absence of any one ethnocultural group large enough or powerful enough

to dominate the community.

Table 8.4: Solidarity and Tolerance

	Kensington	**Markham**
solidarity in an urban/ suburban identity	- residents attracted to the "urban village" lifestyle in Kensington. - periodic coming together of diverse interests, but not the same as a sense of community.	- suburban quality of life attractive to both existing residents and newcomers. - bridges diversity, but doesn't translate into sense of community.
ethnocultural diversity and community solidarity	- diversity typically interpreted as source of strength. - source of frustration for some wanting to build community consensus.	- demographic changes have created tension (came to the fore with Deputy Mayor's comments). - diversity is economic selling point for Markham. - will be source of solidarity with time?
tolerance	- practical necessity in such a dense environment (mixed use). - no group large enough to dominate.	- political battle challenged tolerance. - Advisory Committee report did not foster tolerance so much as "quiet things down". - moving in right direction with communication?

In the Markham case study, intolerance was given a political expression as rapid

immigration spurred a demographic shift in the community's composition. According to

many in Markham, the Mayor's Advisory Committee and its subsequent report was an important political gesture in quieting things down, but did little to resolve the community's actual internal conflicts over what membership and belonging are to mean amidst Markham's ethnocultural diversity. Moreover, given the recency of Markham's demographic changes, tolerance may still be out of reach. Active members of the community see building solidarity within its diverse population as a more constructive and practical goal than addressing the intolerance that does exist.

Multicultural Planning?

The redevelopment of George Brown College in Kensington, and the development of Asian malls in Markham provide evidence of the ways in which ethnocultural diversity challenges participation and belonging in urban and suburban communities. While ethnocultural diversity is but one factor of many that affect local decision-making processes, these case studies also raise some interesting questions about the challenges of diversity for urban and suburban planning, an issue which is increasingly relevant for planning practice in other Canadian cities.

As was stated in Chapter One, and repeated throughout this dissertation, immigration and ethnocultural diversity in Canada's urban landscape are not new phenomena. What has changed within the last quarter-century is that immigration settlement is no longer aimed so intensively on the inner-city. Immigration settlement patterns are spreading the impact of immigration, and its resulting multiculturalism, to all parts of cities — urban and suburban alike. While some of this is due to increasing numbers of well-educated, professional and financially stable immigrants entering Canada,

immigrants from all parts of the economic spectrum are arriving in Canadian urban and suburban centres.

This immigration is having a qualitatively different impact on Canadian cities than in the past. Not only do the populations of Canada's largest cities include increasing proportions of immigrants, but there is also an increased ethnic, racial, and class diversity in Canada's suburban immigrant population. Qadeer articulates what these new challenges mean for planning practice:

> These changes mean that the new multiculturalism is not limited to the poor and to downtown core areas. It has spread to the suburbs, creating... ethnic enclaves. It has spawned new spatial and architectural forms (Qadeer, 1997: 485).

The impact of shifting immigration patterns and some of the challenges they present for urban and suburban communities in the Toronto metropolitan area is illuminated by the comparison of Kensington and Markham in this dissertation.

Diversity is widely considered by planners to be a source of strength and vibrancy for cities (Leung, 1994), and the impacts of ethnocultural diversity are spreading into new areas of urban and suburban planning. Yet are planners in Canada's diverse cities engaging in "multicultural planning"? On a most basic level, ethnocultural diversity is important because demographic analysis (such as population projections) is often the basis upon which planners make decisions about economic and physical growth. More significant are the challenges of facilitating citizen participation in planning and local decision-making. Although an issue in some ways inseparable from larger debates over the role of citizens in local decision- and policy-making (Qadeer, 1994: 190), traditional

means of involving the public have undoubtedly been put into question where social norms, language barriers and a mistrust of the process itself on the part of newcomers can conspire to make planning tools like the public meeting especially ineffective. Especially in cities (like Toronto) where minority groups are large enough or visible enough to present a political force,[2] efforts have been made to solicit their participation through translation services and multi-lingual documentation. Recognizing that a diverse population requires diversity in the way services are delivered is an important first step for the planning profession, and this has been where planners have been most successful in accommodating ethnocultural diversity within the planning process.

Beyond the participatory aspects of the planning process, ethnocultural diversity is also challenging the way communities are defined and understood by planners. Arguing that we must "...give up the search for a safe place, a homogeneous community, and to embrace difference and diversity," Sandercock suggests that "We could call this the need to plan for multiple publics and for diversity, rather than for the (myth of the) public interest and homogeneity" (Sandercock, 1995: 85-86). Such an approach demands that structural changes to planning processes and policies be made -- critically examining how plans are written, what assumptions underlie their application, who sits at the decision-making table, and who the planners themselves are.

As examples from planning practice illustrate,[3] meeting these challenges of ethnocultural diversity is not an easy or natural extension of the planning profession.

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[2] In a recent report by Toronto's Access and Equity Centre, it was found that by the year 2000 54 per cent of Toronto's population will be non-white -- making visible minority groups the majority (Carey, 1998).
[3] A pioneering piece on the impact of multiculturalism on planning in Canada, Qadeer's article offers an overview of a number of interesting examples from Canadian planning practice (Qadeer, 1997). While

Rooted in a tradition of the universal application of plans and policies, most planners work within a structure that assumes some degree of homogeneity in terms of the community or public interest. The national professional body, the Canadian Institute of Planners, has paid some attention to issues of diversity in its Statement of Values. Planners are encouraged to "respect diversity" and to foster "meaningful public participation by all individuals and groups and seek to articulate the needs of those whose interests have not been represented" (Canadian Institute of Planners, 1994). Despite this pluralistic language, the Statement is only a collection of guidelines for action, rather than enforceable codes. In Ontario's planning legislation[4], by contrast, people are described as generic and undifferentiated:

> References to 'persons' or 'the public' are found throughout. The only
>
> collectivities mentioned that fall between the scale of the individual and the entire
>
> 'public' are 'public bodies', and these refer to a very limited range of civic
>
> collectivities such as school boards and public utilities. The parties affected by
>
> planning decisions are therefore assumed to be the individual, or the public as a
>
> whole, described as an aggregate (Wallace and Moore Milroy, 1998: 67).

What this means in practice is that diversity is addressed as an exceptional circumstance to be accommodated in planning processes. As multiculturalism collides with planning on a case-by-case basis, planners struggle to deal with the impacts of diversity while at the

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other examples do exist (such as those focused on in this dissertation research) these planning stories are only beginning to be written about in academic literature.

[4] The Ontario *Planning Act* has been singled out here because the two case studies in this research are located within its purview.

same time holding onto "formal policies [that] remain 'blind' to [the] ethnic and cultural characteristics of a proposal" (Qadeer, 1994: 192).

This is not to suggest that the planners at work in such diverse communities are not sensitive and aware of the challenges diversity poses for local decision-making and the planning process in particular.[5] As this dissertation revealed, some planners do acknowledge that ethnocultural diversity is changing the urban and suburban environments they operate within and is challenging the tools and assumptions their profession has traditionally depended on.

In the Kensington case study, ethnocultural diversity was recognized as a strength of the neighbourhood by both the City and the community. Public participation in the formal and informal aspects of the planning process attempted to include the diverse groups through translation services, multi-lingual documentation, and, to a limited degree, in the varied representation of groups. Despite these efforts, though, much of the community's diversity was not evident in the faces of those who held positions of power or influence in regards to the planning example at issue.

In the Markham case study, by contrast, the community's diversity was not directly addressed in the planning process, yet it was conflicts arising out of this diversity that politicized the issue of retail condominium development. Moreover, it was the distinctive impact of culture on this new commercial development form that contributed to local planners' uncertainty. They wanted to encourage alternatives but found their existing tools inadequate to deal with the numerous concerns these malls brought with them.

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[5] One expression of this sensitivity is the fact that a few municipalities (such as Vancouver and Richmond, B.C.) are beginning to corporate statements about diversity into their planning statements.

While some planners are dealing with the challenges of ethnocultural diversity within the context of planning processes out of necessity, at most there has been an increased awareness in the planning profession that it must adapt to the needs of diverse groups. The planning process has been altered to incorporate diversity through creative public participation mechanisms, especially in those Canadian cities where multiculturalism is most present and visible. Yet the more structural changes required to engage in multicultural planning -- that is, planning that acknowledges "the cultural biases embedded in the so-called universal standards" (Qadeer, 1997: 491) -- are far from a reality.

Importantly, "multicultural planning" does not demand the conceptualization of another substantive area of planning like "social planning" or "environmental planning". Rather, multicultural planning necessitates a new consciousness among planners about the very perceivable force of change immigration continues to bring into Canadian communities, and the challenges the resulting ethnocultural diversity poses within the planning process. Furthermore, in acknowledging the impact of ethnocultural diversity, planners need not assume that the *outcome* of their efforts will necessarily be different. What will and should change is the *process* of local decision-making, so that the varied ways in which people participate and belong in their communities is legitimately reflected through the evolution of pluralistic visions of plans and policies. As Hodge explains:

> This [multiculturalism] raises new challenges for planners to broaden their social perceptions and the perceptions of those whom they are advising. The issues that emerge with expanding cultural diversity cover the spectrum from housing and transportation to employment and community services... In other words, the

content of the planning agenda is much the same as for other members of the

community. What differs is the need for planners to be able to cross cultural

boundaries in seeking to understand ethnic community concerns, as well as

expectations of the planning process (Hodge, 1998: 339-40).

Sandercock is more critical of current planning practice, and the distance that has to be

travelled before ethnocultural diversity truly informs planning practice:

> Difference must become a category of analysis within planning theory, just as class
>
> and gender have already begun to be acknowledged as such. Difference already
>
> informs the politics of planning. If we want to achieve social justice and respect
>
> for cultural diversity in multicultural cities, then we need to theorize a productive
>
> politics of difference. And if we want to foster a more democratic, inclusionary
>
> process for planning, then we need to start listening to the voices of difference
>
> (Sandercock, 1998: 109).

Immigration and the resulting ethnocultural diversity have had, and will continue to

have, an unavoidable impact on Canadian cities and by extension the way they are planned,

governed and function. As this research illustrated, the challenges this creates within

heterogeneous communities have not been resolved -- especially within the suburban

communities such as Markham where diversity is a relatively recent phenomenon. The

challenges will be resolved by addressing the unequal and varied ways in which people

participate and belong in their communities. Recognizing the "multiple publics" that

inhabit our multicultural cities is a first step. The solutions, however, go beyond

recognition and tolerance of diversity. What is necessary is that the institutions and

structures of local decision-making must be accepted as legitimate by all groups. The goal of multicultural planning, then, is not so much to create a more tolerant, accepting, and accommodating planning process as it is to ensure that the decision-making process is one all community members see as legitimate.

CHAPTER NINE: Multicultural Planning and Citizenship

Canada's Urban Immigration: The Themes of this Dissertation

Immigrants represent 17.4 per cent of Canada's total population, and a much higher percentage in many cities. In Toronto, for example, immigrants account for 42 per cent of the population (Statistics Canada, 1997). Choosing to settle in cities for a variety of reasons (including employment, access to services, and cultural/ family ties), immigrants are changing Canada's urban landscape. Their impact, however, is not simply the result of growing numbers. Changes to federal immigration policy have contributed to a growing ethnocultural diversity in Canadian cities. Moreover, immigrant settlement is changing, with some newcomers not entering Canadian society through more traditional inner-city areas. The result is that Canada's urban and suburban communities are experiencing similar demographic changes -- albeit in different ways, and to varying degrees. These changes require adjustment on the part of both newcomers and residents alike.

In this dissertation, two case studies were used to examine how ethnocultural diversity challenges the way citizens participate and belong in their communities. Using urban and suburban planning processes as a lens through which to explore these challenges, land use planning case studies were used to examine the link between immigration and cities in general, and the impact of ethnocultural diversity on participation and belonging as seen through local decision-making in particular. What emerged can be addressed in terms of three inter-related themes: diversity, planning and citizenship.

Diversity

As was described in Chapter Three, the ethnocultural diversity that characterizes Canada's cities is the product of the evolution of Canadian immigration policy. Beginning with overtly racist policies and regulations in the first half of this century, significant revisions were made to the *Immigration Act* in 1976, with an aim to creating a fairer, universal immigration policy. While the motives for this shift, and the degree to which discrimination was removed from Canada's immigration system are disputed (Hawkins, 1988; Troper, 1993; Satzewich, 1989), these revisions mark a discernible change in Canadian immigration. Canadian immigration has shifted from a domination of European immigrants in favour of Asian newcomers over the last 25 years. In fact, Canadian society is now extremely diverse, with immigrants arriving from all over the globe. This reality is evident in Canada's cities, especially Toronto and Vancouver.

Although most Canadian cities, and all of the largest ones, are experiencing the effects of ethnocultural diversity resulting from immigration, their experiences are not uniform or universal. Toronto is an interesting location to explore the impact of diversity, because beyond the large number of immigrants that settle in the Toronto area -- it is home to one-third of Canada's total immigration, and attracts 42 per cent of new arrivals (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997; Statistics Canada, 1997) -- it is also a metropolitan region with both multicultural urban and suburban communities contained within its boundaries. As was discussed at length in Chapter Three, this is a reflection of changing settlement patterns as the socio-economic status of Canada's immigrants has shifted.

Kensington, a long-time immigrant reception area in the urban inner-core of Toronto and the subject of Chapters Four and Five, is a good example of traditional immigration settlement patterns. As Canadian immigration policy has evolved and the source countries of immigration have changed over the last century, layers of ethnocultural diversity have taken hold, evidenced in the community's architecture, businesses and residents. Given its long history with immigration, ethnocultural diversity is a distinct part of life in Kensington for those who live, work and visit the community. Diversity has also wrought a series of cleavages and tensions between groups and individuals. Yet when presented with an issue of community-wide concern in the George Brown College redevelopment (discussed in Chapter Five), Kensington was able to overcome these divisions. Not everyone in the community agreed on what should be done with the site, or the role they should play in the decision-making process. Through the work of a core group of individuals who formed the Working Group, however, an ultimately successful community planning process was undertaken that strove for consensus amongst Kensington's internal divisions.

Chapter Six introduced Markham: a dynamic, economically-thriving suburban community that has undergone rapid demographic changes over the past decade. Markham is a good example of the new immigration settlement patterns that are being facilitated by Canada's business immigration programs, and federal policy-makers' preference for economically self-sufficient immigrants. This new diversity poses a challenge for local decision-makers who face a community straining to adjust to rapid demographic changes. Economic immigrants settling in suburban communities may not

need the traditional settlement services of employment and language training, yet as Markham's political tensions over Asian immigrants and the development of Asian malls reveal (discussed in Chapter Seven), these newcomers are not automatically integrating into their new suburban community. In Markham, the political battle that erupted out of a local politician's statements over the impacts of Asian immigration was a symptom of rapid demographic changes. While local planners see retail condominiums as an innovative development alternative, to many in the community they are a striking example of growing Asian immigration and the visible impact this immigration is having on the social and economic life of Markham.

Planning

Immigration is an area of federal jurisdiction, but not an area of exclusive federal policy activity. The federal government is mandated to consult with the provinces over its annual immigration plan, although in practice the priority assigned to provincial involvement has been at the discretion of individual federal ministers (Vineberg, 1987: 316). Beyond federal planning of immigration inflows, provinces have actual interests in immigration settlement, particularly in the areas of education, health and welfare. With some flexibility in the role of provinces in immigration policy and implementation, "provinces [have] as much or as little responsibility in immigration as they want and are capable of assuming" (Dalon, 1976: 80). As a result, some provinces (most notably Quebec) have chosen to take a more active role in immigration than others.[1]

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[1] The *Constitution Act, 1867* (s. 95) grants provinces the right to pass laws in immigration (so long as they do not conflict with federal laws) and therefore opens the door for immigration to be treated as an area of joint responsibility. Quebec has used this to develop a strong role, including the creation of its own *Immigration Act* (see Vaillancourt, 1988; Young, 1992).

At the local level, the nonprofit sector plays a large role in immigrant settlement, often the primary source of service delivery for both federal and provincial immigration programs. Municipalities have a much less defined interest in immigration, yet given the increasingly visible ethnocultural diversity found in Canadian cities, this may change. Local governments with the longest history of diversity have understandably done the most in addressing urban immigration and multiculturalism, with efforts such as targeted grants, race relations, translation services and equity or access programs (Frisken and Wallace, 1998).

In cities like Toronto, where immigrants represent a sizable portion of the population (42 per cent), the impacts of immigration and ethnocultural diversity reach beyond these specific areas, and into the general functioning of municipal government. In particular, the reality of multiculturalism is colliding with established assumptions in everyday planning practice. Planners often use demographic analysis to make decisions about economic and physical growth, so an understanding of how their community is changing is undoubtedly useful to the practice of planning. More significant are the challenges planners face in facilitating public participation in local decision-making. Traditional planning tools and practices that assume a homogeneous public or neglect language barriers and ethnocultural differences can prove ineffective in multicultural communities. Planners in these communities are forced to recognize that a diverse population not only requires diversity in the way services are delivered, but also structural changes to the process of planning so that diversity may be reflected at the decision-making tables and in the policies and plans created.

In Kensington, both the informal and formal planning process attempted to solicit participation from the community's ethnoculturally diverse population with translation services and multilingual documentation. Despite these efforts, some of those involved acknowledged that the newest immigrants and those most marginalized from sources of power and influence were absent. Alternatively, in Markham, ethnocultural diversity was never directly addressed in the planning process. Yet the new development form of retail condominiums originated in the community's demographic changes, and a neutral planning approach to ethnocultural diversity did not avoid messy political battles, as the "Carole Bell incident" clearly showed.

As was argued in Chapter Eight, planning is a profession rooted in the neutral application of plans and policies, where diversity is treated as an exceptional circumstance to be accommodated. Urban and suburban multiculturalism, however, is not a passing trend in Canada. If planners are to be successful in creating and maintaining communities where all inhabitants feel comfortable, the reality of ethnocultural diversity must be reflected in the process of local decision-making and the evolution of pluralistic visions of plans and policies. This requires a recognition that ethnocultural diversity is already imbedded in the social, economic and political construction of the city, and is not something that can be adequately addressed through periodic accommodation when tensions arise.

Citizenship

Involvement in local decision-making can be an active expression of community membership. Frequently described in this dissertation in terms of the challenges posed by

diversity to "participation" and "belonging", conceptually what has been explored is citizenship in the two communities. Citizenship in this sense goes beyond formal rights and obligations, and encompasses the active practices of decision-making in local communities. Thus the planning process offers a way to explore how citizens participate and belong in their communities.

In this dissertation, "community" was used in both a sociological and spatial sense, and was the level of analysis for the case study research. As explained in Chapter Two, Markham and Kensington are communities of obvious unequal size, yet both evoke a mental and physical boundary of belonging for residents. The character of their bounded spaces, however, is strikingly different.

Both Kensington and Markham are ethnoculturally diverse communities, but are distinguished by their distinct quality of life. Discussed in terms of community solidarity, Chapter Eight noted that urban/ suburban differences go a long way in explaining what is different between Markham and Kensington. Patterns of communication, sources of ethnocultural diversity, expectations of the planning process, and the values of residents differed greatly between the two case studies, and reflect the urban or suburban context in which local decision-making occurred. Although the planning process in each case study was identical -- developer brings a proposal to the planning department, planners make recommendations and report to Council -- how that process worked in practice, and in particular the level and location of influence members in each community had was very different (see Figure 9.1).

In the Markham case study, the community had influence over local decision-making to a very limited degree. One avenue was through the traditional planning venue of the public meeting. Community members in this particular case had additional access to Council through the presentations made at the Mayor's Advisory Council, and through the concerns they brought to their elected representatives. Community influence over developers was marginal. It is worth noting, however, the community's demographics was a primary motive for developers bringing the development proposals to Council.

By contrast, in the Kensington case study the community had greater influence over local decision-making due to their proactive approach. The planning department played a hands-off role for much of the process, but the community was able to exert influence upon both Council and prospective developers through their intensive lobbying efforts.

As was explained in the beginning of Chapter Eight, these two communities are not generic examples of urban and suburban planning. For example, an interest in protecting Kensington's unique ethnoculturally diverse character was in part what made the redevelopment of a significant plot of land a community concern, and influenced efforts on the part of community leaders and the City's planning department to reach out and develop an inclusive planning process. In Markham, ethnocultural differences contributed to an alternative development form spawning widespread political tensions. Planners approached the community's planning concerns with a technical and neutral perspective, leaving it to the politicians to address diversity and the problems of community solidarity.

**Figure 9.1: Community Influence over Local Decision-making:
Kensington and Markham Case Studies**
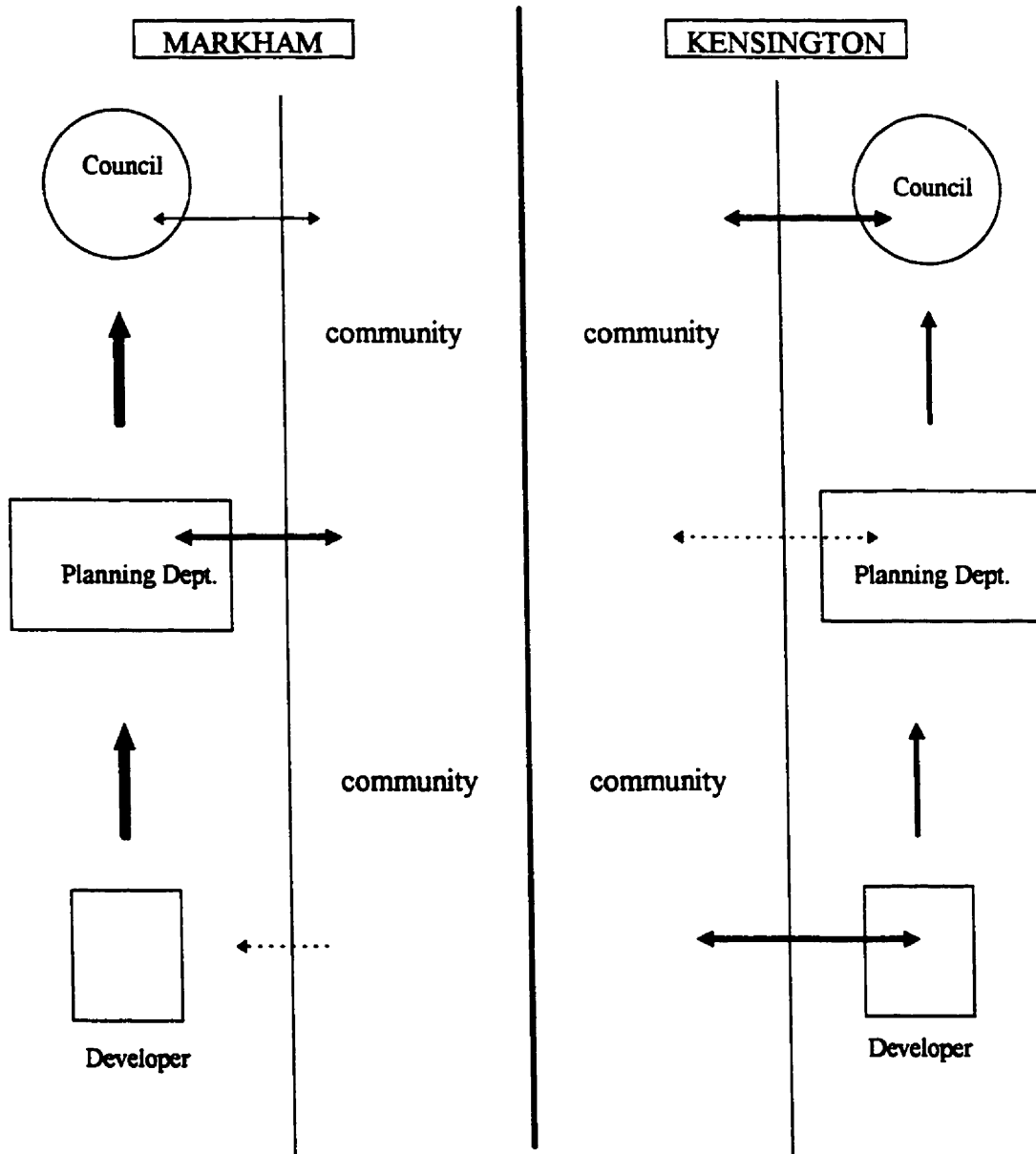
NOTES:
- arrow lines indicate the direction of influence, with the thickness of the line reflecting the relative influence
- Developer → Planning Department → Council chain represents the formal planning process

Multicultural Planning and Citizenship

Incorporating the multicultural reality of Canadian society into a substantive understanding of citizenship remains a challenge not only for national decision-makers, but also for local decision-makers. How members of multicultural local communities, often in Canada's larger urban centres, may actively participate in their community is not at all clear to urban and suburban planners. Yet as was evident in this research, ethnocultural diversity does in fact enter the realm of urban and suburban planning. As Canadian cities become increasingly diverse places, the practice of planning must recognize and reflect this reality.

Ethnocultural diversity, in combination with urban or suburban concerns, presents a challenge for planners. A reality that is changing Canadian cities, ethnocultural diversity does not fit well with the neutral language of planning legislation, or the tendency within traditional planning frameworks to see difference as something to be accommodated as an exceptional circumstance. For those planners who recognize the challenges ethnocultural diversity poses and seek to develop inclusionary participation strategies and even alternative planning practices (as was posited at the end of Chapter Eight), they will be entering the terrain of the practice of local citizenship. That is, in adapting the process of local decision-making and addressing the importance of participation, planners will be working towards improving the quality of community membership, or achieving substantive local citizenship. While this would require a noticeable shift away from traditional planning assumptions of a "public interest" and the neutrality of technical planning decision-making, it need not necessarily demand wholly new planning outcomes.

Nor, for that matter, is the suggestion being made that planners in and of themselves have the means to ensure substantive citizenship for community members. What needs to be addressed in planning practice, however, is that planning decisions are not neutral, and that the process of planning is an important venue for the practice of substantive local citizenship within communities.

Within the context of this dissertation, the two case studies illustrated the challenges for both belonging and participation in ethnoculturally diverse communities. Interview participants readily identified Markham as a vibrant, suburban community that was different from the more urban Toronto. Many expressed a very conscious decision to locate in Markham. A sense of belonging to a shared community, however, was not present among the participants. While some referred to Markham's historic roots as a point of identity, the reality of a population composed 40 per cent of immigrants makes shared history an unlikely source of solidarity. Despite Markham representing a social and geographic boundary that residents identified with, a substantive community membership (or citizenship) beyond their shared status as Markham residents was not evident. Clear cleavages exist within the community, cleavages that emerged as divisive political tension, as was described in Chapter Seven. Moreover, participation in decision-making was not universally achieved in Markham. In fact, ethnicity, length of time in the community, and the particular issue at hand all combined to create variable local participation. Home to a newly multicultural population, Markham offered a shared suburban status, but there is very little evidence that the practice of such a status translates into anything resembling substantive local citizenship. That is, that people took meaning from their collective

membership, and expressed their shared status as local citizens through active participation in local decision-making.

In Kensington, a strong identification with the community existed among residents and business people. Kensington represents identifiable social and geographic boundaries that encompass a shared sense of belonging and membership. While interview participants did not agree on the meaning of "community" in Kensington, it was generally acknowledged that people who chose to live and work in the community were part of something beyond their individual situation. Public participation was a valued and important part of local decision-making, for both the City's planning department, and local community leaders. Local planning was more participatory in Kensington than in Markham (due in large part to the parallel informal planning process, see Chapter Five). Given the widespread interest the redevelopment of George Brown College engendered in the community, the successful outcome for the community was generally attributed to public participation and could be interpreted as a positive example of the active practice of local citizenship. There is some evidence that substantive citizenship does exist in Kensington, although it is not without problems. Participation in this case study was not universal among community members, with the majority choosing to be informed of the planning progress over direct participation. Moreover, the representative nature of the participation achieved was a concern for some interview participants. Despite the community's ethnocultural diversity, many ethnic groups present in Kensington, and especially the newer immigrant groups, were not found in positions of influence within local decision-making structures.

Most appropriately understood in a practical context, substantive citizenship is not a goal or ideal, but rather a messy reality. People in Kensington were willing to address local planning concerns collectively, and in fact have a long history of doing so. More importantly, however, community members engaged in active participation in local decision-making. This was obvious in the informal planning process the Working Group spearheaded, but also in a multiplicity of local associations and the coalescing of interests around influential local leaders. Much more so than in the Markham case study, in Kensington residents and business people shared a status in their urban identity which in practice translated into active community participation. Granted, this substantive citizenship was only achieved because the issue at hand was considered serious enough, and the participation that did occur was not uniform or consistent at all times, or extend across all parts of the community. The Kensington case illustrates both the challenges of securing substantive citizenship, and the benefits that can be achieved through the practice of citizenship.

Planning Amidst Diversity

Citizenship is ultimately defined by the individual. It exists where the citizen feels a sense of belonging. For some, citizenship is most accurately understood at a global scale -- we are citizens of this planet, we share rights and obligations as a result of our shared humanity. For others, citizenship is tied to the nation-state -- we share membership in a political enterprise, and our citizenship is invested with a legal status and guaranteed political rights. Still others see citizenship as a concept relevant at a local level -- it is within communities that we take meaning from common membership, and participate in

decisions that affect our daily lives. In this dissertation it has been the latter expression, local citizenship, that has been of interest.

Recognizing local citizenship does not negate the existence of national citizenship beyond legal status in Canada, or the importance that citizenship may hold for the Canadian-born and immigrants alike. What this dissertation addresses, however, is that the substantive elements of citizenship are being negotiated in practice within communities. Localities, then, become an increasingly important arena where citizens seek meaning in collective membership and participate in decisions that impact their daily lives.

By looking for what we have in common, we also see what distinguishes us from one another. This dissertation focused on the impact of ethnocultural diversity upon Canadian cities, and revealed a dynamic and challenging context in which local decision-making or planning occurs today. Contrary to the way issues of difference are sometimes addressed in the literature, this research found that ethnocultural diversity cannot be addressed in isolation.[2] Despite the readily identifiable diversity found in both Markham and Kensington, and the fact that in the planning examples explored here diversity had an impact on the way participation worked in the two communities, neither case could be understood within the context of ethnocultural differences alone. This research illustrated the complexity and messy nature of local participation, as ethnocultural diversity combines with other aspects of a person's life such as citizenship, period of immigration, age, income, and interests. The practice of local citizenship within this context is complex.

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[2] In order to draw attention to the importance of difference, it is sometimes viewed in isolation, or as the primary factor in identity politics. Within a legal context, Iyer makes a similar argument to what is being made here, arguing for the importance of addressing "the whole person." She states: "There is virtually no consideration of the complex interactions of race, sex and the various other grounds of discrimination that are so much a part of the lived experience." (Iyer, 1997: 252).

If it is true that localities are an arena where citizenship is being negotiated, and planning provides a lens from which to examine how people participate in decisions and seek meaning in their community membership, then what are the implications for planning practice? Reflecting on the criteria employed in this dissertation, this research points to some interesting policy implications.

The most obvious place for planners to address the challenges of multiculturalism is participation in public decision-making. As was stated in Chapter Eight, planners seem most comfortable with adjusting their participation strategies to meet a diverse public through such measures as translation services and multi-lingual documentation. These are important efforts -- facilitating access to local decision-making.

As the case study research revealed, however, these measures do not seem to address inequities in the distribution of power within a community. With power concentrated in local leaders (as in the Kensington case study), or vested in a strong, formal planning process (as in the Markham case study), influence over decision-making and planning outcomes is invariably unequal. What this means for planning practice is that structural changes to the process of decision-making have to be made by planners. Questioning who is making decisions, and who is framing the context of the options considered, needs to occur. For example, planners might offer their expertise, access or limited resources to residents to help them take some control over the future of their communities, as City of Toronto planning department did in Kensington in support of the Working Group, and more recently with the Revitalization Plan.

In terms of social structure and associations, planners working in ethnoculturally diverse communities would do well to question the authority of local associations and to identify who they represent. With communities differentiated along a variety of intersecting axes (such as ethnicity, culture, period of immigration, citizenship, and/or interest), planning disputes or community conflicts are rarely simple or dualistic. This was most evident with the Markham case study, where tensions that erupted over the development of retail condominiums was inaccurately simplified as an ethnic clash between Anglo-Saxons and Chinese in the media, when in fact the situation was much more complex.

As the aim of this research was not to identify what community meant to the residents in the case studies, it did not (nor did it attempt to) uncover any ideal of community shared values, or a single common purpose amidst ethnocultural diversity. While planners may agree that their job is to help articulate a community's collective vision of itself, and regulate and manage with plans and policy to implement that vision, they are not responsible for fostering community solidarity. Planners are, however, in a position to identify possible areas of tension, and work with other professions and actors in urban politics to identify a community's strengths. In comparing Markham and Kensington, this research revealed that accepting ethnocultural diversity and seeing it as a source of strength is a long, and perhaps unending challenge.

Future Directions for Research

Predictably, this dissertation raises many new questions that could be addressed through further research. Working in an area that continues to need good case study data,

this research could be replicated in other contexts. Subsequent studies that move beyond the most often studied cities of Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal, and examine the varied ways in which immigration impacts other Canadian urban centres would be a useful addition to this field. In particular, cities such as Hamilton, Calgary, Victoria, London, Edmonton and Winnipeg all have significant, and in many cases growing, immigrant populations (see Figure 1.1) that could be better understood with further research.

The experiences that various cities in Canada are currently making to reach out to their multicultural populations needs to be shared more widely among those interested in planning practice. While the cultural biases in a universal planning approach are far from acknowledged through broad structural changes at the local level, there are instances, especially in the three largest cities of Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal, where urban planners have stepped into the uncharted territory of multicultural planning. Although beyond the scope of this dissertation, uncovering and documenting both the successes and failures with multicultural planning could help inform those interested in planning amidst diversity.

This research could also be extended to examine different variables. For example, the two case studies used in this dissertation were chosen in part for their ability to function well as communities in order to facilitate an examination of citizenship. An interesting corollary to this work would be to examine relatively unsuccessful communities -- communities with high immigrant populations where ethnocultural diversity has proven to be socially, politically and/or economically divisive. Alternatively, another context of decision-making besides planning could be examined. From a political perspective, for

example, the impact of ethnocultural diversity on a community could be looked at through the process of elections or local political activism.

Beyond the realm of planning practice, the exploratory research done in this dissertation also opens interesting avenues for further study in planning theory. As case studies highlighting the intersection of planning and ethnocultural diversity in Canadian cities become more widely known, they provide support for Sandercock's call for difference as a category of analysis in planning theory. Academic planners struggling to understand the multicultural city as it develops in many North American cities, should use ethnocultural diversity as a tool of analysis, just as class or gender is currently being used.

The idea of substantive local citizenship also offers potential for future planning theory. This dissertation made the argument that planning can be a lens to examine local citizenship, and that planners need to move beyond accommodating ethnocultural diversity and instead plan for "multiple publics". As academic and professional planners search for a way to articulate the social responsibility planners have that avoids the problems of "the public interest", the connection between planning and citizenship may prove useful. Issues of membership and participation (citizenship) must inevitably be addressed when the reality of multiple publics is acknowledged.

What this dissertation offers is an exploration of the practice of planning in multicultural urban and suburban communities, and the broader implications of that ethnocultural diversity for participation and belonging in such communities. Further research addressing these issues would aid in both an academic and practical

understanding of the challenges of urban and suburban immigration and multiculturalism in
Canadian cities.

APPENDIX A: Interview participants

Kensington Case Study (Chapters 4 and 5)

business interest A-K: (1997) May 1
- a resident and business owner in the Market area. Was actively involved in the Kensington Market Business Association.

business interest B-K: (1997) April 15
- long time merchant in the Market, former resident of Kensington.

developer interest A-K: (1997) May 29
- a partner in the developer group that has taken on the redevelopment of the George Brown College site.

elected official A-K: (1997) May 20
- politician in Kensington.

elected official B-K: (1997) April 16
- politician in Kensington.

interested party A-K: (1997) April 15
- a professional architect who has a history of working on projects at George Brown College's Kensington campus. Was involved in the Working Group's George Brown Steering Committee.

interested party B-K: (1997) April 21
- a community worker with an organization active in the Kensington area, this person has taken an observer/facilitator role in the Kensington Market Working Group and the City's Action Plan.

planner A-K: (1996a) April 1
                        (1996b) October 28
- a City of Toronto planner working with the Kensington area.

resident A-K: (1996) November 1
- a resident of Kensington and a professional architect, this person was one of the original Working Group members and was heavily involved in the Working Group's George Brown Steering Committee.

resident B-K: (1997) April 14
- long time resident of Kensington, and was active in community efforts to prevent bulldozer-renewal plans in the 1960s.

resident C-K: (1997) April 23
- a resident of Kensington, and continued member of the Working Group.

resident D-K: (1996a) November 13
                       (1996b) February 20
- a resident of Kensington who was involved in George Brown Steering Committee. Also
involved in Kensington's local newspaper, the Drum.

Markham Case Study (Chapters 6 and 7)

business interest A-M: (1997) April 24
- a recent immigrant from Hong Kong, currently managing a mall in Markham that has
predominately Asian tenants.

developer interest A-M: (1997) April 14
- a partner in one of the most active firms in retail condominium developments. Has Asian
malls in Markham and neighbouring Richmond Hill.

developer interest B-M: (1997) May 15
- has a planning background and works with a development group backed by Asian
investors. This firm's Asian mall development is considered in Markham to be one of the
premier examples of retail condominiums.

developer interest C-M: (1997) April 13
- an architect hired by the first development firm to propose an Asian mall in Markham.

elected official A-M: (1997) April 14
- politician in Markham.

elected official B-M: (1997) April 21
- politician in Markham.

interested party A-M: (1996) December 20
- a spokesperson for the Town of Markham, works in the Economic Development Office.

interested party B-M: (1997) April 9
- a resident of Markham active in local politics. Was involved in a ratepayers group,
Markham's Race Relations Committee, and the Mayor's Advisory Committee.

interested party C-M: (1997) May 10
- an architect who has done a lot of work with clients interested in the Asian market in
general, and retail condominiums in particular. Client base in regional, and includes
Markham, Richmond Hill and Scarborough.

planner A-M: (1996) March 31
- a planner with the Town of Markham.

planner B-M: (1996a) April 17
                              (1996b) November 15
                              (1996c) December 19
                              (1997) March 20
- a planner with the Town of Markham, major responsibility has been to process retail condominium applications.

resident A-M: (1997) May 12
- a resident of Markham, president of a ratepayers group for a neighbourhood located adjacent to a conglomeration of Asian malls on the Markham / Richmond Hill border.

resident B-M: (1997) May 26
- a resident of Markham, president of a large ratepayers group representing the neighbourhoods where the first Asian mall was built in Markham, and others have subsequently been built.

resident C-M: (1997) April 30
- a resident of Markham, president of an umbrella organization of ratepayer groups in Markham.

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