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Indicators for evaluating municipal policies aimed at fighting racism and discrimination

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INDICATORS

FOR EVALUATING MUNICIPAL POLICIES AIMED

AT FIGHTING RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION

Report presented to

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by

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Introduction

Ethnocultural diversity increasingly constitutes an important characteristic of major cities around the world. As the primary centres for national, ethnic and cultural intermixing, cities are becoming laboratories for new ways of "living together" (UNESCO, 2004). However, when this diversity is accompanied by inequalities, racism and discrimination, it can increase the social divide. The social climate in urban environments then suffers the consequences of the social and economic inequalities affecting minority groups; in some cases this has been called the "racialization of poverty" (UNESCO). Inequalities, racism and discrimination persist through attitudes and social practices inherited from the past and are perpetuated within public institutions that are slow to evolve. Therefore, in order to benefit from the true advantages of the ethnocultural diversity that makes up the fabric of contemporary societies, it has become increasingly necessary to employ methods to correct social injustices, and to ensure the equality and the full exercise of citizens' rights.

While primary control of public policy lies with central governments, cities and metropolises do have a certain degree of autonomy in their decision making, and in the methods of intervention and support and solidarity networks that they set up; they have clearly sensed a need to develop their own policies in this way (Ray, 2003). Accordingly, the last few years have seen true efforts to conceptualize interventions by cities to manage ethnocultural diversity. These efforts rely on ideologies controlled by the state and on the values of equality, social justice, and respect for pluralism that are endorsed by different international organizations such as the UN and UNESCO, or by national organizations such as human rights commissions. They are also encouraged by the increased involvement of cities in questions relating to minority integration as a consequence of decentralisation and of crises or critical incidents that may arise in urban environments, as well as by the dynamics of municipal policy and internal political relationships (Labelle, Legault & Marhraoui, 1996, p. 71).

The more recent emergence of a discourse to fight racism and discrimination can be explained in part by the diversification of international migrant origins and the limitations of traditional models of integration. This new discourse also reveals an important change in perspective: the difficulties of integration are no longer exclusively attributed to members of various minority

groups, cultures or religions and their adaptation problems, but are also attributed to the way in which major areas of integration – the employment market, the educational environment, institutions and public services – operate.

As part of its activities to promote and reinforce municipal anti-discriminatory policies, UNESCO supported the launching of the *International Coalition of Cities Against Racism*[1]. The initial framework for this Coalition was the proposal of the Ten-Point Action Plan, which was adopted in December 2004 in Nuremburg. This Action Plan includes the following goals:

1. *To set up a monitoring, vigilance and solidarity network against racism at the city level.*
2. *To initiate or further develop the collection of data on racism and discrimination, establish achievable objectives and set common indicators in order to assess the impact of municipal policies.*
3. *To support victims of racism and discrimination and contribute to strengthening their capacity to defend themselves.*
4. *To ensure better information for city residents on their rights and obligations, on protection and legal options and on the penalties for racist acts or behaviour, by using a participatory approach, notably through consultations with service users and service providers.*
5. *To facilitate equal opportunities employment practices and support for diversity in the labour market through exercising the existing discretionary powers of the city authority.*
6. *The city commits itself to be an equal opportunity employer and equitable service provider, and to engage in monitoring, training and development to achieve this objective.*
7. *To take active steps to strengthen policies against housing discrimination within the city.*

[1] We also remind the reader of the signature of the *European Charter for the Safeguarding of Human Rights in the City* on May 10, 2000 in Saint-Denis (France).

8. *To strengthen measures against discrimination in access to, and enjoyment of, all forms of education; and to promote the provision of education in mutual tolerance and understanding, and intercultural dialogue.*

9. *To ensure fair representation and promotion for the diverse range of cultural expression and heritage of city residents in the cultural programmes, collective memory and public space of the municipality and promote interculturality in city life.*

10. *To support or establish mechanisms for dealing with hate crimes and conflict management* (UNESCO, *Call for a European Coalition of Cities Against Racism*, 2004).

The present research report relating to the development of a series of indicators for evaluating municipal policies to fight racism and discrimination should be situated in this context. It was carried out with the goal of assisting cities that want to adopt public policies of diversity management and to fight racism and discrimination, and to evaluate the impact of such policies. The goal is to equip cities with tools that make it possible to evaluate, in quantitative and/or qualitative terms, whether their actions produce results that correspond to the major goals of adopted policies.

Defining racism and discrimination raises important theoretical issues. One pitfall is to adopt an overly expansive vision of racism (ex. anti-youth racism, anti-female racism, anti-employer racism, etc.) or an overly restrictive one, or even to define racism with reference to race, without distancing oneself from this notion which is itself a product of racist ideology. We will return to the question of racism's specificity in the second part of this report. Furthermore, when speaking of discrimination in the context of this study, we refer to discrimination based on racist motivations. The issue of the intersectoriality of discriminations (based on gender, language, etc.) is an important one, but we are not able to further address it in the context of this report.

Certain methodological questions also need to be raised. For example, should we analyse the administrative measures and policies implemented by cities, or rather their impact on situations observed within the relevant zone? Should we measure all types of inequalities and discriminations observed in a city or only those which fall within that city's range of

competencies? Do the ranges of competencies of cities differ from one country to another? In other words, do the indicators measure the same social realities? There are numerous measures and public policies, but relatively few tools to evaluate such measures. Some cities are currently working on this issue, but unfortunately the results of several of these studies are not yet available.

In addition, not all differences, however significant, can automatically be attributed to racism and discrimination. For example, low levels of members of certain minority or racial groups within a public institution's workforce must be compared to the percentage of these groups in the general population, and more specifically, to the percentage of men and women within these groups who are likely to qualify for available jobs in such an institution. Certain types of employment require an intimate understanding of the host society's dominant culture and raise the factor of time; no matter what the candidate's educational qualifications are, some jobs are not immediately accessible upon arrival. How can this constraint be taken into consideration? How can we determine the time required to acquire these "social skills" which are not necessary for some jobs (to suggest otherwise would be discriminatory), but which are important for others?

This research aims to be exploratory. Its first goal is to examine several municipal policies on ethnocultural diversity management and on fighting racism and discrimination, the tools for evaluating these policies, and their indicators, if any. It then broadens the reflection to study new indicators that take into account the consequences of racism and discrimination on racial groups, the manifestations of which can be detected within a city's own territory.

We want to stress that this tool is, above all, made available to cities to allow them to evaluate their own performance. Cases vary greatly and an indicator that is pertinent in one context may not be in another. It is therefore up to cities themselves to adapt this tool in accordance with their individual context.

The first part of the report examines the methods implemented by six cities (Montreal, Toronto, Saskatoon, Vancouver, Boston and Stockholm), as well as the indicators that these cities used to evaluate their own policies. The second part of the report examines the conceptual and methodological difficulties related to constructing new indicators that aim to evaluate the state of socio-economic inequalities within a city's territory. Cities must therefore try to play a role in

preventing the problems that result from these inequalities. The report raises the issue of the methodological problems that result from using such indicators. Another difficulty relates to the fact that the socio-economic disparities affecting minority and racial groups are often the result of historical processes, economic structures and global policies that far exceed a city or local government's realm of action and responsibility. Accordingly, even if the actions of cities are very efficient from an administrative point of view, they would not directly result in eliminating these inequalities. This, however, does not change the long-term, ultimate criterion for measuring the efficiency of policies against racism and discrimination: the elimination or at least the considerable reduction of the inequalities in question.

This study puts forward two complementary approaches.

The first approach evaluates the means implemented by a municipality: is there an ombudsman's office? Does it efficiently handle complaints? Is there an equal opportunity employment program? Are there programs to raise awareness among law enforcement officials about the diversity of racial groups? This approach proposes a scale to analyze initiatives that cities undertake to fight racism and discrimination, based on their principle functions (the city as an organisation, a community, or as guarantor of public order). The scale is general enough to be applicable in highly variable situations. An alternative proposal, presented in an appendix, categorizes the different types of actions that a city can employ (symbolic actions, policy implementation actions, and actions to correct inequalities).

The second approach, which is meant to complete the first, is based primarily on the measurement of socio-economic inequalities affecting racial groups in diverse societies and which result from racism and discrimination and contribute to their recurrence. The aim here is to identify indicators that evaluate poverty, education, residential segregation, real participation in the city's administrative structure and protection by the city. These indicators are summarized in Table 3. Lastly, an overall table combines Tables 2 and 3.

The indicators determined by this approach must be interpreted with precaution, since the situations of inequality that they strive to measure result from social, economic, national and global processes that exceed the city's range of competencies. Furthermore, the overall table is not a model to be imitated, but rather an example of the type of tool that each city could procure

to track and evaluate its policies to fight racism, while still taking into account its own particularities and specificities. We hope that this study will contribute to furthering reflection on this issue.

PART ONE:
CASE STUDIES

The first four cities studied are located in Canada. They are followed by the study of a European city, Stockholm, and an American city, Boston.

Canada is a multinational and multiethnic society. According to the 2001 census, 3.3% of the total population claimed an aboriginal identity, whereas five years earlier only 2.8% did. People born outside of Canada represented 18.4% of the Canadian population. People identified as being members of "visible minorities" made up 13.4% of the population, as compared to 4.7% in 1981. It is estimated that "visible minorities" will make up 20% of the population in 2016.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Canada undertook significant legal, institutional and political measures to promote diversity and fight discrimination. In 1971, the Canadian government announced the implementation of a multiculturalism policy that recognized Canada's diverse composition as a distinctive, fundamental characteristic of the nation. This policy was clarified in 1998 by the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*. In 1982, the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* was included in the Constitution adopted that same year. The Charter includes clauses that aim to preserve and promote Canada's multicultural heritage, and to protect the two official languages and the rights of aboriginal groups.

The provincial governments are responsible for municipalities, and several areas of competencies fall at least partially under provincial jurisdiction. Consequently, the provincial governments have their own public policies. Dialogue between the different levels of government, as well as with the business and non-profit sectors is therefore critical.

At the national level, the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, which is made up of municipalities and provincial and territorial municipal associations, adopted a declaration on *Improving Interracial Relations in Canadian Municipalities* in 1986 and a *Policy Statement on Interracial Relations* in 1993. The latter focuses on the fight against discrimination and racism in employment and services, and on equality of citizens and their rights to participate in the municipal administration. Along the same lines, the Federation established a municipal program of interracial relations in partnership

with the Secretary of State for Multiculturalism. In essence, this program provided directives concerning employment equity, intercultural education, access to the municipal level for ethnocultural and racial minorities, partnerships relating to innovative employment programs, etc. Such programs are identified as innovative when they apply economic development models and strategies in a highly localised dynamic, such that they incorporate diversity – used here in the broad sense – into the organization of human resources (handicapped individuals, women, members of minority groups, individuals from disadvantaged socio-economic groups, etc.), continued education and advanced training of employees in order to take into account technological innovation, and the involvement of community groups in project conception and implementation (in Labelle, Legault and Marhraoui, 1996, p. 53).

The Federation of Canadian Municipalities noted as early as 1992 that local, provincial and national economies needed to adapt themselves to five major trends in the evolution of the Canadian workforce: a decrease in the number of workers, the aging of the working population, the diversification of the work force (in 2000, 70% of new arrivals on the employment market would be women, handicapped individuals, members of indigenous groups or members of ethnocultural minorities), the need for immigrant labour and the increasing demands for professional skills. The Federation noted that in order to adapt to these demographic and socio-economic changes, certain major Canadian (Montreal, North York, Ottawa, Saskatoon, Toronto, Winnipeg) and American (Atlanta, New York, San Diego, San Francisco, Washington) cities were actively participating in the creation and support of so-called innovative employment programmes (Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 1992, p. 3-4).

In December 2002, the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) asked its members to implement policies to fight racism, to reinforce community initiatives and to work with other levels of government (FCM 2003).

According to the 2001 census data, 80% of Canadians live in an urban environment. This urban environment is increasingly diverse and is characterised by:

- a growing population of immigrants, and in particular of "visible minorities" [2], in the three largest Canadian cities, and notably in Toronto;

[2] The Canadian federal government defines visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in color and who identify themselves as such to their employer" (Canadian

- a significant Aboriginal population that is growing in certain Western Canadian cities and that is often confronted with social and economic marginalisation;

- an increase in poor – or even difficult – neighbourhoods in certain cities, and particularly in Quebec (Seidle, 2002, p. 7-8).

Some analysts highlight the growing social divide in a certain number of cities (idem, p.7).

A study carried out for the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) in April 2003 confirmed this diagnostic, and noted that all Canadian urban communities are faced with significant social changes at the dawn of the 21st century:

- every year, over 220,000 people arrive in Canada from all parts of the world. Three-quarters of them (nearly 75%) settle in the three major urban regions (Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver);

- in recent decades, there has been significant migration of Aboriginals towards cities;

- the disengagement of upper levels of government on issues of low-income housing has created clear itinerant patters in Canadian cities;

- high levels of poverty have contributed to the development of disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods without hope;

- with few opportunities to escape this situation, the alienated youth turns to crime and drugs, which in turn increases the sentiment of insecurity in cities;

- the signs of social disparity are increasingly racialized, leading to dangerous divisions within cities (Clutterbuck and Novick, 2003, p. 2).

Employment and Immigration). “Groups identified by law as visible minorities are Black and/or West Indian, Chinese, South Asian, Arab, West Asian, Southeast Asian, Latin American and Pacific Islander” (Canada,

In June 2003 and with the *Policy Statement on Interracial Relations*, the FCM agreed to work with municipal governments to:

- develop and implement a plan based on results (targets/plans/success indicators) and to carry out an annual evaluation of successes and progress made in terms of diversity;
- develop, adopt and implement a comprehensive group of policies relating to equity and access: employment equity; fight against racism, hate and prejudice; human rights; harassment in the work environment; access to services; multilingual services; etc.;
- increase representation of diverse communities on municipal boards, commissions and committees;
- request that commissions and municipal police departments watch over the continual improvement of their staff's skills to combat racism in order to be more efficient and to better serve diverse communities (FCM, June 2003).

1. The City of Toronto

1.1. The context

Toronto has about two and a half million inhabitants and is one of the most multiethnic cities in the world. Nearly half of the city's residents were born outside of Canada. Racial groups (defined in the Canadian context as "visible minorities") currently make up 43 percent of the population. They went from 3% in 1961 to 30% in 1991 and to 43% in 2001. In Canada, Toronto is the principal destination for immigrants and refugees (approximately 75,000 annually). Toronto also has more Aboriginals that in any other Canadian city or reservation (see Annex 1).

Multiculturalism and Citizenship. *Les minorités visibles au Canada en 1986. Présentation graphique*, 1989 [*Visible Minorities in Canada in 1986. Graphic presentation*, 1989]).

Throughout the years, the City of Toronto has adopted a series of measures in response to the challenges raised by the increasing diversity of its population: a diversity advocate was nominated on the City Council, consultative committees and working groups were established, a policy to eliminate hate activities was adopted, a policy of employment equity was adopted, a program of access and equity in funding was maintained, various awareness and educational campaigns regarding all types of intolerance were supported, stances regarding propositions to amend Immigration Law were clarified, and many other measures.

In 1998, the six municipalities of the urban community of Toronto joined together to form the new city of Toronto which adopted the motto: *Diversity our Strength*. On March 4, 1998 the new City Council established a Task Force on access and equity. Following broad consultations and various studies, the Task Force presented a report in July 1999 entitled *Diversity Our Strength, Access and Equity Our Goal; Framework and Roadmap to Embrace the City's Diversity*, which made 89 recommendations. The City Council approved the report in December 1999. Eleven recommendations were modified and eight were added. The acceptance of the report and its 97 recommendations marked the end of the Task Force's activities.

The report was structured according to the following guiding principles:

- Strengthening civil society: allocation of resources to community organisations and establishment of seven advisory committees.

- Civic leadership: advocating to the private sector and other levels of government, and shaping public opinion.

- Equitable, accessible and accountable governance: diversification of municipal workforce, diversification in the allocation of contracts and subsidies.

- Aboriginal self-determination (City of Toronto, 1999).

In December 2001, the City adopted a Social Development Strategy with five underlying principles: equity, equality, access, participation and cohesion; and three major strategic

directions: strengthening communities, investing in a comprehensive social infrastructure, and strengthening municipal leadership and partnerships.

Following a request made by the Advisory Committee on Ethnic and Race Relations for a report on the status of preparations for the *United Nations World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance* in Durban, the City Council decided to develop a *Plan of Action for the Elimination of Racism and Discrimination* in April 2001. The Council primarily based its work on a study of "ethno-racial" inequalities that it had previously commissioned. This study revealed in particular that:

- for "ethno-racial" minorities, a certain level of education did not guarantee stable employment or a higher salary;
- the unemployment rate of individuals with non-European ancestry was nearly twice that of individuals with European ancestry;
- the poverty level of families with non-European ancestry was nearly twice that of families with European ancestry (Ornstein, 2000).

Other studies also revealed direct and systemic racism and discrimination, and notably highlighted racial stereotypes in the media, hate crimes and systemic racism in the criminal justice system. The City Council decided to adopt a holistic approach and included racism and all forms of discrimination. It set up a Council Reference Group that involved all City advisory boards and working groups affected by these questions. This Reference Group invited residents, organisations and community groups to give their opinions on the Plan of Action. Over one thousand people participated in the consultations. The report of the consultations was submitted in November 2002 [3] and the Plan of Action was adopted in April 2003.

[3] City of Toronto (2002). *Just Do It*, Report of the Community Consultations on the Plan of Action for the Elimination of Racism and Discrimination. Toronto, November.

1.2. Municipal policies to fight discrimination and concrete measures to combat racism

The *Plan of Action* adopted in 2003 consisted of eight points:

2. Applying the 97 recommendations of the final report of the Task Force on access and equity.

3. Continuing measures that strive to build a city administration capable of responding to the diversity of its residents: employment equity, reasonable accommodation of religious diversity, educational programs, etc.

4. Taking into account demographic changes in the population (publishing an annual report on diversity, establishing indicators to track the socio-economic status of groups, carrying out specific studies, holding biannual seminars on the most successful practices).

5. Encouraging stronger economic participation from minority groups through partnerships with aboriginal community organisations, greater dialogue with other relevant authorities and levels of government, mentoring programs and a greater effort to work with ethnic businesses.

6. Offering better support to organisations that support minority groups in order to help them built strong communities.

7. Educating the public.

8. Advocating activities (adequate financing of affordable housing, childcare services, programmes regarding entry into the job market, teaching official languages, improving literacy, recognizing equivalence of diplomas and work experience, participation in the electoral process, education, etc.)

9. Follow-up on the application of the Plan of Action (City of Toronto, 2003).

1.3. Tools to evaluate such policies and their indicators

We will now consider the follow-up measures retained in both action plans. For access and equity, these measures are explained under the heading “Monitoring and Evaluation”, which includes the following recommendations:

- that City staff modify the report template for all City reports to include a statement on the impact on access, equity and human rights;

- that the City administration prepare comprehensive demographic profiles of all wards to guide policy development, program planning and services;

- that in order to guarantee an external view on progress made in the areas of access, equity and human rights, the City will organize an annual consultation on these issues, the results of which will be taken into account in the planning and development of future policies and programs;

- that each department, agency, board or *ad hoc* body submit an Access, Equity and Human Rights Plan of Action to the City Council.

- that each department evaluate its policies, programs and services in order to identify barriers encountered by designated groups, and that measurement tools be developed for this purpose;

- that City Council request that all groups answering to it provide an annual report on how they implemented measures to increase employment equity, equality, access and human rights;

- that the annual employment equity report to City Council on the status of designated groups include data on its workforce as a whole and by departments regarding representation, occupations, promotions, compensation, training, benefits, departures and opportunities;

- that the City produce an annual consolidated report of access and equity measures in a report card format [4] (City of Toronto, 1999).

Under the heading "Implementation and Follow-up" the following is recommended:

- that each term the City Auditor oversee an internal assessment of the performance of the administration in achieving its goals relating to access, equity and human rights;
- that the City's Chief Administrative Officer provide a status report on the implementation of recommendations, twelve months after approval of the report by City Council (idem).

As far as the Plan of Action for the Elimination of Racism and Discrimination is concerned, the follow-up on its implementation is carried out by the City Council Reference Group that meets each trimester for this purpose. Internally, the interdepartmental access and equity team coordinates the implementation of the Plan of Action.

2. The City of Montreal

During the last three decades, the government of Quebec has equipped itself with several legal, political and consultative measures to assert its national identity and acknowledge the diversity of the Quebecois people. These include the francization of public space with The Charter of the French Language (Law 101) and the implementation of a legal framework to fight discrimination, promote equality and guarantee cultural rights (joining international conventions and pacts on human rights,

[4] The City of Toronto is currently developing guidelines for this report card, which would cover seven areas.

the Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms in 1975, the Declaration on Ethnic and Race Relations, etc.). These measures have been completed by programs of employment equity, intercultural training and adaptation of public services, by reasonable measures of compromise, and by the commitment to international solidarity.

The Quebec government's Plan of Action for 1991-1994 recommended that the entire governmental system implement specific measures to develop consultations with Quebecois municipality unions and groupings, in order to encourage administrations and municipal services to adapt. Having public institutions and municipalities adapt to diversity has been a leitmotiv of public discourse since the 1980s.

2.1. The Context

Montreal has a unique position in North America, situated at the intersection of French-speaking and English-speaking cultures. As the principal economic force in Quebec, Montreal attracts the great majority of immigrants who arrive in the province. Approximately one quarter of the city's population was born outside of Canada and so-called "visible minorities" make up a proportional part of the population (Statistics Canada, 2001 census) (see Annex 2).

Since the mid-1980s, the City of Montreal has increasingly taken into account this diversity through measures that include creating the *Montreal Intercultural Office* in 1998, adopting an *Access and Employment Equity for Minorities Program*, adopting a *Montreal Declaration Against Racial Discrimination* (1989), developing communication strategies through ethnic media, implementing economic development and housing measures, creating an Inter-services Committee and a Consultative Committee on Intercultural Relations, launching *Black History Month* in February 1992, and holding the *Year of Intercultural and Interracial Harmony* in 1993.

The City of Montreal's ethnocultural diversity management principles are grounded in the *Montreal Declaration Against Racial Discrimination* adopted by City Council in 1989 (Montreal, 1994, p.18). The administration's preferred model for intervention and management is based on the so-called interculturalism approach, which aims to "respect the expression and the influence of every culture and deliberately seek reciprocity among all cultures. The concept of

interculturalism seeks to foster encounters among all cultures, using French as the favoured language for communication and exchange" (idem.) This model also recognizes the "pluralistic nature of values in our society, our city and their institutions." Another principle concerns "the equity and equality of all citizens". In accordance with this principle, the City strives to improve access to services and to adapt them to the needs of members of different cultural communities, thereby encouraging active participation in municipal life and avoiding marginalisation (City of Montreal, 1994, p.18). Finally, another principle concerns "recognizing the role of community organisations as privileged partners of municipal action" (ibid). Partnerships and consultations with public, parapublic and private institutions are also favoured.

Subsequent years have also seen numerous developments in Montreal's municipal action.

A distinction must be made between the City of Montreal, the Island of Montreal, and the Greater Montreal Region (Island of Montreal, North- and South-Shore). Until 2002, the municipalities of the Island of Montreal were grouped together in the Urban Community of Montreal (CUM), which was primarily responsible for public transportation and police services. Diversity was a concern for the CUM, however, awareness about diversity varied greatly among the Island's different municipalities.

On January 1, 2002, the 28 municipalities of the Island of Montreal merged and a new city with 1.8 million inhabitants was born, having grown from 9 boroughs to 27. In February 2002, the new mayor announced that the *Montreal Summit* would be held as "the first step in a move to implant a true participatory democracy in this new unified city" (City of Montreal, 2002a). The following four-step process was to be followed in order to do so:

- holding borough-level and sector-based summits;
- integrating the propositions made during the borough-level and sector-based summits;
- integrating priorities of action into a strategic plan during the actual Summit;
- achieving this plan; this will be assigned to working groups responsible for setting up the essential conditions for achieving these orientations (idem).

During the *Montreal Summit* which was held in June 2002, the work on equity, accessibility and diversity was based on the following proposition: “In order for the development of a city to equally benefit all inhabitants, public decisions must be made in accordance with the diverse characteristics of its population. Equality and accessibility are principles that must be applied to the organisation of the new city and its boroughs from the very start” (City of Montreal, 2002b[5])

These were the major orientations of this workshop:

- To adopt a transversal approach based on human rights.
- To understand each problematic using an approach that differentiates between genders.
- To recognize the richness that ethnocultural diversity represents and ensure that this reality is reflected when determining issues and strategies.
- To fight discrimination and foster harmonious intercultural relations based on respect and understanding.
- To take into consideration the problems and the human resources that are unique to certain social groups, such as young people, elderly people, handicapped people, “visible minorities”, gays and lesbians, and to strive for inclusion and social cohesion.
- To guarantee true citizen participation in all decision making, and notably among the most underprivileged (idem).

A plan was submitted in September 2002. In the spring of 2003, the *Montreal Intercultural Council* was set up.

However, the City was otherwise preoccupied. The election of a new government in Quebec, one that was not in favour of the process of municipal mergers, created an unstable climate that delayed the implementation of certain policies. Following a referendum held on June 20, 2004, 15 former cities chose to separate. Even though 90% of the inhabitants of the Island of Montreal

[5] http://www2.ville.montreal.qc.ca/ldvdm/jsp/sommet/index.htm

chose to remain part of the new city, the referendum result had revealed a linguistic and social divide between the wealthy and the poor, whereas social justice was precisely one of the goals of the Island of Montreal unification project. Other problems also delayed the implementation of the orientations adopted at the *Montreal Summit*, notably the question of the boroughs' true autonomy and the fact that the various issues had such unequal influence.

2.2. Municipal policies to fight discrimination and concrete measures to combat racism

On March 21, 2002, the new City of Montreal declared March 21st as the *International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination*.

An ombudsman's position was created on September 10, 2002 and on December 10, 2003, the City presented a proposal for the *Montreal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities*, a direct result of work done on democracy during the *Montreal Summit*. This draft of the Montreal Charter designated the ombudsman as being responsible for its application, thereby placing the Montreal Charter in a different category than other municipal instruments relating to human rights, even internationally.

In particular, the proposal for the *Montreal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities* sets out that Montreal, in a joint effort with all of its citizens, must pay close attention to the quality of its democratic, economic, social and cultural life, to the environment and sustainable development, to the security of its citizens and to the quality of the municipal services it offers.

On March 22, 2004, the City presented the *Montreal Declaration on Cultural Diversity and Inclusion* which was to replace the *Montreal Declaration against Racial Discrimination* of March 21, 1989. In this Declaration, the City agrees:

- to instate employment access and equity programs as a way of welcoming into its midst a more representative portion of its population;

- to implement a vigorous administrative policy to ensure framework imputability and "zero tolerance where racism is concerned" [6];

- to take measures in order to guarantee equality of dignity and human rights – for individuals and groups – wherever necessary within its territory. Particular attention is granted to housing, employment and services in the proximity (public security; fire safety; sports and entertainment; environment and sustainable development; cultural, social and community development; and transportation);

- to promote non-violence and inclusion through programs and through its institutions in their respective areas of competence, and in particular on scientific teams, in its network of cultural centres, in its libraries and in different areas of direct citizen services;

- to solemnly proclaim its participation in *International Day of Tolerance* on November 16, and to highlight it each year;

- to develop its institutional training program, an essential tool for guaranteeing the transmission of a culture of diversity within the administration, in order to raise awareness among staff and provide practical means, including intercultural competencies, for staff members to appropriate modes of diversity management in daily life (City of Montreal, 2004 [7]).

As regards intercultural relations and the promotion of diversity, the *Montreal Summit* essentially proposed to "Make the ethnocultural diversity of the population a central element of the economic, cultural and social planning of the new city and its partners" (City of Montreal, 2002c, p.9).

To achieve this, the following was proposed:

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[6] The merger cancelled the former City of Montreal's Access to Equality Program. The new city therefore had to recreate it.

[7] http://interculturel.ville.montreal.qc.ca

- Implementation of measures to guarantee equity, accessibility and diversity management.
- Equitable participation of under-represented groups within decision-making proceedings and consultations in Montreal.
- Implementation of a *Montreal Plan of Action for Intercultural Relations*.
- The socio-economic inclusion of groups living in exclusion.

The necessity for a new partnership framework with the Quebec government was also highlighted.

2.3. Tools to evaluate such policies and their indicators

The work plan described anticipated results, which could be considered as embryonic indicators.

With regard to equitable participation of under-represented groups within decision-making proceedings and consultations in Montreal, we note the following indicators:

- an increase in the number of nominees from under-represented groups;
- the number of contributors and young people aware of human rights and diversity.
-

With regard to the implementation of the *Montreal Plan of Action for Intercultural Relations*, the indicators will be:

- the number of local action plans implemented at the borough level;
- the number of new projects created locally;
- the quantity of appropriate services, by borough;

- the number of employees trained in interculturalism;
- the number of new cultural projects that reflect diversity and that are supported in each borough.

For the socio-economic inclusion of groups suffering from exclusion the indicators could be:

- the number of projects supported annually by the *Reference Centre for the Support of Visible Minority Projects*;
- the increase in the number of scholarships granted by the *Mayor's Youth Foundation*;
- the annual number of internships created by companies for "visible minorities";
- the annual number of companies and organisations made aware of "visible minority" hiring policies (City of Montreal, 2002 c).

We remind the reader that the *Montreal Plan of Action for Intercultural Relations* is not yet completed. In fact, it depends upon the plans of action adopted by each borough, and the majority have not yet adopted one. Furthermore, it seems that there is a certain lack of clarity regarding the role of each body responsible for monitoring these policies, i.e. the Working Group Monitoring Committee, the *Montreal Intercultural Council* and the *Division of Intercultural Affairs*.

3. The City of Vancouver

3.1. The Context

Ethnocultural diversity has long been a reality in Vancouver, but this diversity has increased since the mid-1980s because of international immigration and inter-provincial migration. In terms of percentages and as compared with other Canadian cities, Vancouver has the second

largest population of immigrants, i.e. persons born outside of Canada (45% in 2001), and of members of "visible minorities" (49% in 2001). In the last few years, immigrants who settle in Vancouver are primarily of Chinese, Filipino and Indian ancestry. In the 2001 census, 50.6% of Vancouver's population identified a language other than English as their native language. 26.6% of the population speaks Chinese at home. French is far behind at just under 2% (Statistics Canada, 2001 census) (see Annex 3).

Recent Chinese immigration to Vancouver has a particularity that must be highlighted. In 1984, mainland China and Great Britain officially announced that Hong Kong would be returned to China in 1997. Numerous Hong Kong residents immigrated to Canada as immigrant-investors and primarily established themselves in Vancouver, the largest Canadian city on the Pacific Ocean. They made significant investments in real estate, hotels, catering services, manufacturing, and the media. Towards the end of the 1980s they were followed by immigrants from Taiwan and this tendency has been sustained throughout the 1990s. Thanks to this flood of capital, Vancouver was able to avoid the recession that affected Canadian cities throughout the 1980s.

3.2. Municipal policies to fight discrimination and concrete measures to combat racism

In a document published in 1980 and entitled *Goals for Vancouver*, the *Vancouver Planning Commission* highlighted ethnic diversity as one of the fundamental aspects of the city's unique character.

In 1988, the City Council adopted a *Civic Policy on Multicultural Relations*[8]. This Policy dealt with the necessity of recognizing diversity as a strength, of providing access to services for all the city's inhabitants, regardless of their background and including those who face linguistic barriers, and of the possibility to live free of all prejudice. It requested that all City staff respect these principles in their work and encouraged efforts undertaken to ensure quality services for residents whose native language is not English.

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[8] City of Vancouver website: http://vancouver.ca/commsvcs/socialplanning/initiatives/multicult/civicpolicy.htm

During the 1980s and 1990s, the City of Vancouver undertook a series of measures to take into account the growing diversity of its population. The Hastings Institute was created in 1989 to offer diversity training programs to City staff. The Institute is open to staff from other municipalities and provincial government ministries. A program for employment equity was also established. In 1993, the City hosted a community conference entitled *From Barriers to Bridges* and reaffirmed its civic policy on multicultural relations. In 1995, a Communication Strategy that took diversity into account was adopted. The City set up a multi-lingual information and reference service (in four languages) and took an inventory of staff members who spoke a second language. Directives on interpretation and translation needs were drawn up. Special efforts were made to consult members of diverse "cultural communities" during the drafting of the City Plan in 1993-1995, as well as during municipal elections. The City's *Special Advisory Committee on Cultural Communities* was also made responsible for the annual *Cultural Harmony Award* and the celebration of the *International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination* on March 21st [9]. In 2001, a Newcomer's Guide was published in five languages (idem).

The City Police Department also undertook several initiatives and set up a Diversity Relations Unit, whose mandate is to: a) work to maintain and build positive relations with the community in all of its diversity, b) guarantee that every individual receives respectful and equal treatment in discrimination or harassment cases, c) guarantee that the entire community has access to police services and, equally, that polices services have access to the different communities, d) work to eliminate any obstacles that might make cooperation between police services and the community difficult. Since 1994, a position for an agent in charge of relations with aboriginal communities exists (ibid.).

At the administrative level, the Social Planning Department handles community and social issues that affect underprivileged groups. It must make sure that issues related to multiculturalism and diversity remain one of the administration's priorities; it also assists the City Council, other departments and community organisations in handling such issues. The staff members of this Department are responsible for:

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[9] The AMSSA (Affiliation of Multicultural Societies and Service Agencies of BC) plays an active role in the March

- recommending inclusive policies and strategies to City Council and other authorities concerned with such questions;

- working with the Special Advisory Committee and other levels of government to identify emergent issues and needs of cultural communities, and recommending appropriate actions and responses;

- liaising or working with other departments on questions relating to cultural diversity and the challenges it creates;

- liaising with different communities and organisations and, when necessary, assisting them with existing or emergent needs and problems in these areas;

- recommending financing or seeking out resources to respond to critical or emergent issues concerning different communities.

The *Funding Program for Community Services* grants support to over one hundred non-profit organisations. The City encourages and expects all organisations to offer services to all residents. Priority is given to eliminating obstacles that prevent members of different communities from accessing existing services and to supporting the integration of newcomers into community life. Developing these capacities is also a priority for newly-arrived groups who are faced with serious problems, but who do not have sufficient resources to deal with them.

3.3. Tools to evaluate such policies and their indicators

We were not able to obtain information on the tools used to evaluate these policies.

4. The City of Saskatoon

Saskatoon is the largest city in Saskatchewan; it has a population of 231,203 people, is located in the heart of the Canadian prairies and was originally inhabited by aboriginal peoples.

21st celebration.

Saskatchewan and its neighbouring province, Manitoba, have the highest populations of Aboriginals, who make up approximately 14% of the population. The aboriginal population is growing in Canada, and rose from 3.8% of the total population in 1996 to 4.4% in 2001[10]. Saskatchewan was the first Canadian province to include aboriginal peoples in its definition of multiculturalism (in fact, this definition includes everyone, whereas standard multiculturalism policy is geared primarily towards communities of more recent immigration, see Annex 4).

Another unique aspect of Saskatchewan is that descendants of the French and the English do not make up the majority of its population. The population is very diverse. Many citizens in this province are descendants of immigrants who came in waves from the Ukraine, Russia and Scandinavia to develop agriculture at the beginning of the 20th century.

4.1. The Context

According to the 2001 census data, Saskatoon has the highest proportion of Aboriginals of any Canadian city: 7.5% of the total population. This is a very young population and 40% are under the age of 14, which weighs heavily on the school system, but which also represents a future work force in an aging population.

In 1989, the City of Saskatoon created a *Race Relations Committee*, in response to a request from ethnocultural groups, schools, police services, social services and non-governmental organisations (City of Saskatoon, 2000). The activities of this Committee included the creation of a *Race Relations Division* in the municipal administration, the celebration of March 21st, a "Living in Harmony" award, a training program for municipal employees, and the adoption by City Council of an *Equity and Anti-Racism Policy* on December 1, 1997. A sub-committee for relations with aboriginal groups was set up in June 1992. Members of this sub-committee were consulted on the issue of relations between police services and young Aboriginals (1993), and they organised a seminar on Aboriginals in the business sector for the Federation of Canadian Municipalities in 1996. The City hired an individual to encourage and facilitate participation in municipal elections among Aboriginals.

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[10] For information, this percentage is 2.2% in Australia, 1.5% in the United States and 14% in New Zealand.

The mandate of the Race Relations Committee included reviewing City policies, practices and programs. The related reports mostly focused on creating appropriate services and eliminating obstacles in access to these services. The Committee also published a certain number of brochures and worked in partnership with various relevant organisations.

In May 2001, external experts evaluated the City of Saskatoon's race relations program. They concluded that the prerequisite for any future decision was the need to mobilise the entire community on a long-term project. The year 2002 was devoted to major consultations and a new *Cultural Diversity and Race Relations Policy* with a plan of action came into effect on February 9, 2004 (City of Saskatoon, 2004).

The City of Saskatoon also took innovate steps when it finalised agreements on land use and services with the First Nations in order to create "urban reserves", the goal of which was to facilitate the development of First Nation economic and business projects. The first agreement was signed in 1988. It was so successful that agreements have been signed for five similar projects and negotiations are under way for other initiatives. These "urban reserves" have become the symbol of the First Nations' contribution to the city's development (Sully and Emmonds, 2004). In September 2002 and as part of its urban strategy in favour of Aboriginals, the Canadian Government announced a joint program with cities and provinces to reduce the high poverty rate among Aboriginals living in urban environments. The first funds were allocated the following year.

4.2. Municipal policies to fight discrimination and concrete measures to combat racism

We will briefly outline the major axes of the policies and the *Plan of Action* adopted by the City of Saskatoon in February 2004 (City of Saskatoon, 2004). Sections 4.2 and 4.3 are condensed versions of official city documents, as they appear on the city's website[11]:

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[11] City of Saskatoon website: www.city.saskatoon.sk.ca/org/leisure/race_relations/

> The City of Saskatoon recognizes that Saskatoon has always been a society composed of people from many different backgrounds and that this diversity will continue. The participation and contribution of all citizens in the development of our community is vital to meeting the challenges of the future.

The City of Saskatoon will work with community organisations, the business and working sectors, other levels of government and other relevant authorities to create an inclusive society, where ethnocultural diversity is welcomed and valued, and where all citizens can live with dignity and be fulfilled without having to face racism and discrimination.

The community will work together to achieve the following objectives:

- The workforce will be representative of the population of Saskatoon.
- There will be zero tolerance of racism and discrimination.
- Community decision-making bodies will be representative of the entire population of Saskatoon.
- The community will foster awareness and understanding of issues regarding the different cultures that make up Saskatoon, and the acceptance of these cultures.

The City of Saskatoon will continue to play its role in employment equity and in the fight against racism. In order to carry out its Strategic Plan and satisfy the needs of the citizens of Saskatoon, the City will play a central role in promoting harmonious race relations in the community. Other implicated authorities will also have to define their role in order to achieve the stated goals.

The City of Saskatoon will be a community leader by spreading its vision and expanding its role through an inclusive communication strategy. In order to do so, it will have to review its communication methods to make sure that the information is accessible to the entire population.

The City will be a community leader by achieving the stated goals within its own administration, through employment equity and staff training. The Employment Equity Program is supervised by the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission. The Policy on Harassment in the Workplace provides support to all employees. A program of intercultural training will be offered to all staff members, including managers, in order to work towards eliminating systemic obstacles and creating a work environment that welcomes all.

The City will take the initiative to bring together other authorities in order to work together to achieve the stated goals, through cooperation and partnerships. The first step will be to set up a committee or a coalition of agencies in order to develop strategies and action plans.

The City will centralise information-sharing and the development of joint training programs in order to increase intercultural comprehension and reduce discriminatory acts.

It will also be a sponsor by allocating funds to existing funding programs in order to include activities relating to race relations and by increasing awareness of such programs.

Existing City strategies and action plans, like the Employment Equity Program and the Housing Program, complete this Policy. These programs will be reviewed in the context of the City's initiatives on cultural diversity and the fight against discrimination. The Cultural Diversity and Race Relations Policy that the City of Saskatoon adopted must be periodically reviewed and evaluated in order to determine its success.

4.3. Tools to evaluate such policies and their indicators

The Plan of Action also identifies the evaluation tools and principal indicators for the four major axes of this policy:

- The presence of ethnocultural groups in the Saskatoon workforce and municipal administration will be representative of their proportion in the demographics of the city.

Evaluation tools: data from Statistics Canada and the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, labour force surveys.

Indicators: employment rates of ethnocultural groups, underemployment of ethnocultural groups based on work done in jobs below skills and training level, long-term retention of members of ethnocultural groups by employers.

- Zero tolerance of racism and discrimination.

Evaluation tools: statistics from police and other organizations, such as the Human Rights Commission, of incidents of racism.

Indicator: decrease in the number of reported incidents of racism. (Systems of reporting must be coordinated and a user friendly and non-intimidating system must be developed.)

- Community decision-making bodies will be representative of the entire population of Saskatoon.

Evaluation tools: the composition of City Council and committees by ethnic background, followed by an increased participation in neighbourhood decision-making bodies based on neighbourhood demographics, estimation of the City of Saskatoon's success in achieving these goals within its own administration

Indicator: increase in the number of people from a variety of ethnocultural backgrounds who participate in local government such as City Council, advisory committees, community associations, school boards, etc.

- The community will foster awareness and understanding of the different cultures that make up Saskatoon, and will understand related issues.

Evaluation tools: surveys, evaluating the effect of City awareness programs, monitoring best practices from various agencies and other cities.

Indicators: There are no indicators for this tool (idem).

The Cultural Diversity and Race Relations Office was made responsible for implementing this policy, which was officially launched on October 6, 2004 and which could make the City of Saskatoon a true model.

5. The City of Stockholm

Quite quickly, Sweden went from a relatively homogenous society to a multiethnic and multicultural one. After World War II, and particularly during the 1960s, Sweden received an important wave of labour migration. The 1970s was a decade of reuniting families and in 1975, the first official policy based on equality, liberty of cultural choice, cooperation and solidarity was adopted (Jederlund, 1998).

During the 1980s and the early 1990s, most people arriving in Sweden were refugees. As of 1986, non-European refugees outnumbered European refugees. Immigration reached a peak in 1994, the year when 78,987 new arrivals were counted, 80% of them coming from non-Nordic countries (see Annex 5).

In 1995, Sweden joined the European Union and the Maastricht Treaty. Accordingly, members of the Union enjoyed more freedom to circulate, but people coming from outside the European Union faced major restrictions. Nonetheless, Sweden continued to reunite families of refugees who had already been accepted.

Today, nearly 11% of Sweden's population was born outside of Sweden and if one includes children born in Sweden to at least one immigrant parent, nearly 20% of the population has ancestry different from that of the majority. This diversity is mainly concentrated in large cities, and primarily in Stockholm and Malmö.

5.1. The Context

The end of the 1980s in Stockholm saw the beginnings of a certain residential segregation. Dormitory towns, built in the 1970s and badly designed, lacking public services and set in poor physical environments, housed a concentration of impoverished people and immigrants. The economic recession of the 1990s saw a rise in xenophobia and racism. A relatively high

unemployment rate among minorities and the need to rely on social assistance laid the foundations for social problems and for a sentiment of exclusion among young minorities.

In 1997, the Swedish government adopted a new policy entitled: *Sweden, the future and diversity: from immigration policy to integration policy*. From then on, general policy would be based on the ethnic and cultural diversity of the society and integration policy would have the following major objectives:

- Equal rights, obligations and opportunities for all, regardless of ethnic or cultural background.
- A community founded on diversity.
- A society characterised by mutual respect and tolerance, in which each individual can have an active and responsible role, regardless of his/her background (Government of Sweden, 1997).

In 1998, the National Integration Office was made responsible for tracking advances made on the integration policy's goals, for developing procedures to improve the arrival of new refugees and to promote integration. The goals were to reduce unemployment and the number of social assistance beneficiaries, raise awareness among different organisations and adopt an attitude of understanding towards difference in society.

5.2. Municipal policies to fight discrimination and concrete measures to combat racism

In February 1997, the Stockholm City Council adopted its Integration Program: *An Integration Programme: Promoting Free Choice and Cooperation in the City of Stockholm*. Revised in May 1998 and in October 2001, this program essentially aims to stop the tendency towards social and ethnic segregation and it is based on the following principles:

- Everyone is needed, everyone has a job and everyone enjoys the same rights and obligations (better employment opportunities).

- Everyone shares a common rule of law, has access to a common language and has common meeting places (crime prevention).
- A City that is free of racism and discrimination, in its role as employer and as service provider.
- All children and young people can enjoy a good childhood with good care, meaningful leisure activities and equal opportunities for education and future employment.
- Everyone can live in a safe, attractive neighbourhood.

The procedure that was followed consisted of depicting the current situation, analysing that situation and defining a strategy, striving for continuity, facilitating the coordination of measures adopted in different areas, sharing experiences with neighbouring cities and other municipalities, developing competencies in schools and kindergartens, obtaining a consensus within the municipal administration and, finally, ensuring that this commitment did not stifle creativity.

The key factors identified as being critical to the success of this policy were a) a long-term perspective, b) taking into consideration the perspectives of the base and c) result-oriented management and periodic evaluations.

In December 1998, the government presented a unified municipal policy: *Development and Justice: A Policy for Metropolitan Areas* (City of Stockholm, 2001).

With this policy, the government launched a consultation of all participants in order to lay down the foundations for sustainable development in metropolitan regions, put a stop to social and ethnic segregation, and work to create comparable living conditions and to guarantee gender equality among city residents. The *Commission on Metropolitan Areas* gave priority to the second objective and proceeded to sign agreements with major cities, including Stockholm. These agreements are valid for periods of three to six years, but are revised annually.

5.3. Tools to evaluate such policies and their indicators

Since April 1999, the *National Integration Office* has ensured the coordination and evaluation at a national level.

At the beginning of December 2004, the City of Stockholm was to acquire new policies and new indicators on integration, discrimination and diversity. However, the Integration Program already contained objectives and key figures. The following documents have been taken from the official City of Stockholm document (City of Stockholm, 2001):

A— No individual should be permanently shut out of the labour market; all users should receive information on possible options.

Key figures	**Responsible authority**
Percentage of people in the population aged 20-64 gainfully employed in each district	District Councils
Percentage of households in each district that were dependant on income support for 10 months or more during the year	Social Services Committee and District Councils
Number of evictions per 1,000 households in each district	District Councils
Participation in municipal elections	District Councils
Median income for residents aged 20-64 in each district	District Councils
Highest educational level achieved as a percentage of the population aged 16-64 in each district	District Councils

B— A common language, common meeting places, a safe city for all.

Key figures	**Responsible authority**
Percentage of the population within each district brought up on charges for penal code or drug offences	District Councils
Number of residents per local police officer	District Councils
Number and percentage of students who successfully complete the Swedish Language for Immigrants course	Education Board

C— To the extent possible, City administration employees should reflect the composition of society, and there should be no discrimination in City activities.

Key figures	Responsible authority
Percentages of managers and officers with non-Swedish ethnic or cultural background	Integration Committee
Number of unlawful discrimination judgements annually in the City of Stockholm	Integration Committee

D— All young people should leave school with an approved level of competency in the Swedish language; all young people with a native language other than Swedish should be given an opportunity to develop active bilingualism.

Key figures	Responsible authority
Percentage of students who receive instruction in Swedish as a second language who pass the « Stockholm test » for year three students	Education Board
National tests: percentage of passing marks in Swedish, English and mathematics	District Councils
Number and percentage of ninth-year students who receive passing marks in Swedish (or Swedish as a second language), English and mathematics	District Councils

E— All districts should be functioning social units, with access to housing, transportation, businesses, public authorities, and various services and democratic institutions.

Key figures	Responsible authority
Percentage of citizens who consider their district to be clean, safe and well-kept	District Councils
Local services as measured by the number of banks, post offices, convenience stores, special housing for the elderly, recreation centres, schools, child-care centres and after-school leisure centres	District Councils

The Integration Committee of the City of Stockholm is responsible for coordinating, monitoring and evaluating the City’s efforts.

6. The City of Boston

The genocide of indigenous peoples, slavery and decades of institutionalised discrimination have made racism one of the fundamental characteristics of American society, and have made inequality based on skin colour one of the biggest challenges for the United States of America. However, from the resistance of indigenous peoples to the struggle of slaves with African origins, from the Civil War to the Civil Rights Movement, this country's history is also filled with initiatives to fight discrimination. For African Americans and minorities of more recent immigration, these problems are raised with particular acuity in the urban environment.

The *National League of Cities* has made the fight against racism and discrimination a priority for the past fifteen years. It has published several documents destined to help American cities face this challenge, by focusing as much on individual attitudes and behaviours as on policies and institutional frameworks. While it acknowledges that each city's situation is very different and that initiatives must be taken with consideration of local realities, the League recommends that cities go beyond the denial stage, adopt a vision and take action. It recommends that cities face up to reality and portray their situation with the help of objective and subjective indicators, that municipal administrations become a part of the solution by setting examples and by adopting and implementing plans of action, and that cities seek and obtain the cooperation of other implicated bodies, both governmental and non-governmental.

6.1. The Context

Boston, with its numerous elite universities, is very proud of its image as a liberal enclave and it sees itself as the birthplace of the American nation. It was here that the idea of American independence was born and that the key strides in this direction were made as early as 1773. Slavery was abolished in Boston in 1783.

Boston is the city that created the American public education system, but also the first city to establish segregation in schools. Boston was the first city to abolish segregation in its public schools, but it was also the city where, one century later, the fight to end segregation in the entire educational system was one of the most difficult and violent. This happened in 1974 and resulted

in the exodus of citizens qualified as “white” (Hill, 1981). Even today, the city of Boston has a reputation in the United States for being rather unwelcoming to persons of colour, and the metropolitan region of Boston comes in third among the most “white” metropolitan regions in the United States.

After the incidents in the 1970s, numerous community and business leaders, NGOs and residents worked to revitalize Boston, hoping to create a new solidarity among residents and to guarantee a better future for the city. They succeeded in revitalizing real estate and commercial neighbourhoods, in building new institutions and in creating a new community spirit.

Today, the City of Boston is one of the most diverse cities in the world: nearly 50% of its residents belong to a racial group. This diversity is strongest in younger age groups: according to the 2000 census, 75% of young Bostonians between the ages of 14 and 17 are classified as being “of colour”. More than one quarter of Bostonians were born outside of the United States. However, while Boston is becoming a city of minority and racial groups, most political positions are held by individuals with Irish or Italian backgrounds; power is still “white” in this city of double standards. It must be specified that the Boston suburbs are 90% “white” [12] (see Annex 6). In 2000, Boston had two of the wealthiest neighbourhoods in the United States, but 70% of students in its public school system qualified for free or reduced-rate meals. More than 84% of young people in Boston public schools belong to a racial minority. The disparities are great between ethnic and racial groups in regards to education, revenue, health, and access to information technology. In 1990, the per capita revenue of “whites” was twice that of “blacks” and Asians, and more than twice that of Latinos.

The Boston region must face quite a few challenges: lack of accessibly priced housing, lack of English language skills among newcomers, problems relating to the legal status of many immigrants, etc. In the Boston Metro, residential segregation is high and racial groups are concentrated in a dozen communities.

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[12] City of Boston: Office of Civil Rights: http://www.cityofboston.gov/civilrights/.

6.2. Municipal policies to fight discrimination and concrete measures to combat racism

The *Office of Civil Rights* was created in 1995. It is an umbrella organisation in charge of implementing and coordinating all policies and measures to fight discrimination and racism in the City of Boston[13]. Its mission is to eliminate discrimination and to guarantee equal access to housing, public services and participation in city activities. It strives to reduce barriers in communication, attitudes and procedures for all people living and working in the city. It offers its services to develop a vision of understanding, accessibility and mutual respect among the city's residents.

The Office of Civil Rights is made up of three main sectors: the Boston Fair Housing Commission, the Boston Human Rights Commission and the Commission for Persons with Disabilities.

The Boston Fair Housing Commission works to eliminate discrimination and ensure better access to housing by coordinating among agencies, using positive marketing, conducting surveys and implementing decisions. It centralises a computer-based list of housing possibilities in the region aimed at low income households.

In 1998, it analyzed barriers to achieving equity in the dynamics of the housing market. The principal recommendations detailed actions to take to overcome obstacles in low-rent government housing, private housing, housing for handicapped individuals, insurance policies and mortgages. The study also examined discrimination, zoning, lead paint issues and real estate agency practices. It strongly recommended measures to facilitate equitable access to housing since this is such a fundamental condition for ensuring equity in education, the workplace and many other areas. The Commission also made reference to other agencies offering resources likely to favour autonomy, such as those relating to diploma equivalencies, continued education and job searches.

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[13] City of Boston, Office of Civil Rights: http://www.cityofboston.gov/civilrights/

The *Boston Human Rights Commission* works to ensure public accessibility to City services. It receives and investigates reported complaints, resolves cases through mediation or hearings, and carries out advocating activities relating to human rights questions in close collaboration with agencies at other levels of government.

The *Commission for Persons with Disabilities* facilitates the participation of persons with disabilities in all City of Boston activities. It strives to reduce any obstacle related to architecture, procedures, attitudes or communication that may affect such persons. It ensures that the City of Boston respects all laws and regulations relating to persons with disabilities.

6.3. Tools to evaluate such policies and their indicators

At the beginning of 1997, the City of Boston and the *Boston Foundation's Community Building Network,* with the support of the *National Neighborhood Indicators Partnership* of the *Urban Institute* in Washington, set up a project to develop indicators for the City, furthering a 1996 proposal on indicators of sustainability that the City had drafted. The idea was to create a widespread tool to collect data, analyses and the resulting reports in order to guide and measure changes.

Accordingly, an entire series of indicators was developed, making it possible to measure:

- civic involvement;
- social and racial confidence;
- representation of minorities in top-level positions of large companies;
- representation of minorities within the City Council and State Legislature;
- representation of minorities in top-level positions of cultural organisations;
- hate crimes;
- residential segregation;

- multilingualism in large public institutions;
- training and the capacity to speak English;
- revenue according to race;
- educational level according to residential neighbourhood;
- unemployment according to race and educational level;
- participation in higher education according to race and ethnic background;
- the waiting list for English classes and adult education;
- access to mortgage credit according to race;
- percentage of residents without health insurance according to gender and race;
- presence of interpreters in large hospitals and health centres;
- infant mortality and infant birth weight according to race and ethnic background;
- rate of hospitalisation for asthma according to race, ethnic background, age and residential neighbourhood;
- rate of hospitalisation and death rate according to race and ethnic background;
- obesity according to race, age, gender and ethnic background;
- access to a computer and to Internet at home;
- duration of the home-workplace commute according to race, revenue, age and reliance on public transportation;
- user-friendliness of bus services. (Boston Foundation, 2000)

This series of indicators is currently being reworked in order to create a civic agenda.

In the second part of this study, we will use these examples to propose a system of indicators in the form of an analytical grid, which could serve as the point of departure for members of the *European Coalition of Cities against Racism* to adopt measures.

PART II
PROPOSALS FOR A COMMON APPROACH

1. The suggested approach

On the basis of the city experiences illustrated in the first part of this paper, as well as of our own previous research, we wish here to offer some tools to enable cities to assess their own effectiveness in the struggle against racism and discrimination. A common approach is valuable in two respects. First, it will enable major cities, which have already set up such programmes, to profit from other cities' experience in the area. Secondly, it will give cities without research and policy development resources the benefit of tools that they can adapt to their needs.

The suggested method first requires the development of a *analytical framework* to address city action, based on the city's role as an organization, as a community and as the guardian of public order (see section 4). *Implementation indicators* will make it possible to specify whether or not a city has developed initiatives in each of these three areas. Subsequently, the discussion can turn to *results indicators*, which assess the impact of measures on the ground. Before getting to the heart of the matter, however, we shall start with some theoretical and methodological considerations.

2. Theoretical considerations and issues

2.1. The idea of an indicator

Indicators are observable measurements that make it possible to assess an aspect of a complex situation by dividing up into its constituent parts, which are easier to grasp. As shown by Nancy Thede in her reflections on human rights indicators, indicators entail two major difficulties. On the one hand, they are not objective measurements, but rather reflect values and perceptions that

form their conceptual basis. On the other hand, the attempt to measure a rich and complex concept with a series of observable indicators runs the risk of impoverishing the concept and narrowing its meanings (Thede, 2002, p. 11). When discussing indicators, these methodological limitations should be kept in mind. Above all, it should be remembered that what is meaningful is the whole set of indicators relating to a situation or a concept, and not the indicators singly, however important they may be. Naila Kabeer summarizes the situation as follows: “indicators may be regarded as highly condensed summaries of data, meanings and values. They combine explicit empirical data with implicit assumptions on the meaning of the data… the indicators also embody certain values regarding the kinds of data that ‘matter’ in grasping the phenomenon measured.” (Kabeer, in Thede, 2000, p.11).

Indicator development must therefore be based on a clear and explicit conceptual approach. This is a crucial stage, since “the aim of such a framework is to shape and justify the choice of the dimensions and indicators measured. Since one of the requirements of indicators is reference to societal objectives and to their political relevance, the conceptual framework should specify the aims, dimensions and political aspects to be measured by the system of indicators.” (Berger-Smith and Noll, 2000, p. 6). With this in mind, we need to clarify the notion of racism and its relation to discrimination, for these are the issues that will give meaning to the proposed indicators.

2.2. The notion of racism and its relation to discrimination

This leads us to clarify the issue of racism. As emphasized in the introduction, the definition of racism and discrimination raises major theoretical issues. The trap to avoid is an excessively broad view of racism (e.g. anti-youth racism, anti-women racism, anti-employer racism, and so on) or an excessively narrow one (confusing all manifestations of ethnocentrism with racism), or again to define racism by reference to the idea of “race”, with no critical distance from a notion that is in fact precisely an offshoot of racist ideology.

The definition of racism proposed by Albert Memmi fully retains its relevance: “Racism gives generalized and definitive value to real or imaginary differences, for the benefit of an accuser and to the detriment of its victim, in order to justify aggression or privilege.” (Memmi, 1982). Article 1(1) of the Convention on the Elimination of Racism and Discrimination (CERD) defines

racial discrimination as « Toute distinction, exclusion, restriction ou préférence fondée sur la race, la couleur, l'ascendance ou l'origine nationale ou ethnique, qui a pour but ou pour effet de détruire ou de compromettre la reconnaissance, la jouissance ou l'exercice, dans des conditions d'égalité, des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales dans les domaines politique, économique, social et culturel ou dans tout autre domaine de la vie publique ». Racism should be distinguished from ethnocentrism, which aims at the removal or reduction of cultural distance by means of assimilation, unlike racism, which aims at distancing, while maintaining oppression and domination.

The notion of "race" should be challenged. The categories of ethnicity and "race" are central in the contemporary politics of identity. Like other major forms of social cleavage, they are social and political constructions that take on different meanings according to historical and national context. They are connected to the status of minorities, particularly those that stem from involuntary migration (such as slavery) or voluntary migration. Group self-definition is based on representations of shared markers, such as history, language, religion, traditions, social experience and territoriality. Other-definition derives from the propensity to impose representations and definitions on socially subordinate groups. The markers used may be phenotypical traits denoting supposed "race", culture, religion, or national origin. Negative definitions of the Other lead to ethnicization or racialization of social relations: the differences in the economic, political or cultural position of particular groups are attributed to ethnic or racialized characteristics (following the logic of racist ideology, which works by essentialization and generalization) rather than to current or historical power relations.

The process of racialization in particular, considered ideologically, refers to "the extension of racial meaning to relations that were not classified or categorized in racial terms in an earlier phase." (Omi and Winant, 1986; Miles, 1989, in Labelle 2001, p.302). Such a process endows human biological traits with meaning and, thereby, constructs distinct and hierarchically ordered social collectivities, which are then called "races" (Omi and Winant, 1986; Miles, 1989). For example, peoples that had had a specific ethnic identity before slavery or forced emigration (Ibo, Yoruba, Fulani, etc.) were brought together within the category "Negroes", and later "Blacks"; those with a particular indigenous identity (Innu, Abenaqui, Inuit, etc.) were lumped together as Indians or of "red race", etc. (Labelle, 2004, p.4). Apartheid operated in the same way in South

Africa. No doubt racialization is an ideological and historical process that can give rise to the mobilization of resistance on the basis of the socially constructed identity and can be used by its victims to strike back. Nonetheless, we have used the term "racialized groups" in this document in order to keep well clear of the notion of "race".

According to the proponents of the "1492 school" (Colette Guillaumin, Michel Leiris, Pierre-Jean Simon, *et al.*), racism is an inheritance, a lasting injury of colonialism and slavery, a source of iniquity and social injustice, the enduring effect of which is still perceptible.[14] This thesis, however, does not enjoy unanimous support among specialists of racism; rather, there are two or more opposing schools of thought. According to Wieviorka, "In order for one to be able to speak of racism, the idea needs to be present, in one way or another, that there is a link between the attributes or the (physical, genetic or biological) inheritance and the intellectual or moral character of an individual" (Wieviorka, 1991, p.15). Manifestations of racism vary and may be classified in four categories: (1) prejudice, attitude, epithets, terminology (as in late 19th-century censuses, which referred to savages, *métis*, Negroes, and so on), mockery and racist jokes ("chocolate", "Bougalou", "nigger", "yellow filth", "darned Indian", etc.); (2) discriminatory social practices; (3) residential segregation, which keeps the racialized group at a distance and confines it to its own spaces (ghettoes, *banlieues*); (4) individual or collective racist violence (lynching, hate crimes, "bashing", etc.) (Wieviorka, 1991, p.15).

The discrimination entailed by racism subjects the racialized group to differentiated treatment in various areas of social life, in which it participates in a fashion that renders it inferior. It involves denial or negation of equal opportunities and rights to individuals or groups because of prejudice or other arbitrary reasons (Schaefer, 1995, p.57). It refers to social practices in the labour market, housing, the judicial system and the media that impact negatively on a particular group (e.g. lower pay for equal educational attainment and skills, large-scale refusal to hire people with a "foreign" name or face, etc.). A number of authors distinguish between direct and indirect or institutional discrimination. Michel Wieviorka further distinguishes levels of racism: "infra-" or

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[14] See article 14 of the *Declaration of the UN World Conference against Racism, racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance*, Durban, September 2001.

“pre-racism” (where the phenomenon is minor or weakly articulated), fragmented racism, political racism (which becomes a principle of political action and a political force, based on far-right parties), and state racism (where racism is total, as under apartheid) (Wieviorka, 1991, 1998).

In many countries, prejudice and discriminatory practices, whether direct or systemic, have been integrated in an entirely routine way in a range of bureaucratic processes, and thus in the very operational structure of the various institutions. Discrimination based on racism thus produces economic, social and political inequalities that overlap with phenotypical cleavages or presumed belonging to a “racial group”. The groups thus racialized find themselves disadvantaged compared to majority groups.

Finally, the distinction between classical racism and neo-racism has been prominent in recent years, focusing on the meaning of attacks against the category “immigration”. The claim that these are functional substitutes for racism draws on Memmi’s distinction between colonial and cultural racism. Racism is not a static phenomenon, and classical racism based on biological grounds corresponds to a phase of colonialism. Modern racism (which may be termed neo-racism, symbolic racism or differentialist racism, depending on the country and the authors) corresponds to the phase of post-colonialism. The core of neo-racism relies on a new “theory of human nature” according to which it is “natural” to live with one’s kin and to form a national community protected against otherness. Cultures are equal, but each should flourish in its own milieu (Labelle, Legault et Marhraoui, 1996, p.57). In this view, differences between cultures are regarded as incapable of assimilation. The supposed incompatibility of the values and cultures of immigrants or racialized groups provides the basis for neo-racist argument, whether it operates in the European or the North American context. The difficulty is that manifestations of differentialist racism remain hard to grasp and to distinguish from ethnocentrism, to the extent that it is unacknowledged and that the values of equality promoted by international bodies and by national policies hamper the open expression of discredited traditional racism.

This distinction is an issue for states and local authorities to understand in their action plans against racism. The post-9/11 context has only heightened the expression of neo-racism, which,

nonetheless, has not has not entirely taken the place of classic racism based on biological considerations.

Our approach is based on three theoretical premises. The first relates to the mutually reinforcing relation between racism and inequality (Borillo, 2003). Major socio-economic inequalities between groups from different origins provide racism with fertile ground. The struggle against racism presupposes and demands struggle against socio-economic inequalities.

The second premise relates to the indirect or systemic aspect of racism, which shields racism from scrutiny and enables it to continue to operate even in the absence of any intentional or conscious dimension, and above all without being visible as a factor structuring social relations (Noblet, 1993; Schaefer, 1995).

The third theoretical premise is that not all inequality necessarily stems from discrimination based on racism. The struggle against racist discrimination thus represents a deepening of the struggle against inequality but also responds to a different logic. It follows that it calls for different tools (Chevalier, 2003).

Any initiative at city level must first identify racism in its territory and call it by its name. A decision must be made on the precise place of the struggle against racism in an overall policy of “diversity management”. A system of indicators should make it possible, first, to ascertain the efficiency of action undertaken by cities to counter racism and discrimination based on racism, whether systemic or direct, along with its effects, and secondly to assess the impact of such action on concrete situations of racism and discrimination, on the understanding that discrimination is neither always nor entirely attributable to racism.

3. Methodological considerations and issues

3.1. The terminology and categories used by the state and by cities

The terminology used in the public documents of the local authorities studied shows the legacy of the historical process of racialization, as discussed earlier, and deserves particular attention.

Vocabulary can sometimes "reproduce the cognitive foundations of racist thinking while purporting to combat it…" (Labelle, Legault, Cloutier, Lavoie et Marhraoui, 1997), just as it can provide information on the issues that are perceived to have priority. Cities' terminological choices are influenced by the classifications used by states (Kobayashi, 1992). Thus, it is hardly surprising that US cities refer to "races" in so far as this classification is regarded as reflecting ontological reality and is used in the national census.

In order to compare city terminologies, we propose to group them into three types:

- Terminology based on phenotypes (skin colour, appearance), in which case the term "race" is used: Black, Asian, etc. The United States use this classification.
- Terminology based on cultural traits (ethnicity, language, culture, religion), in which case the terms used are cultural communities, ethnic minorities, religious or linguistic groups. Some cities use such categories to discuss diversity.
- Terminology based on the passage of time (recent versus long-standing immigration), which can also include reference to geographical regions: European versus non-European immigrants, Nordic versus non-Nordic, etc.

Illustration

Documents from the City of **Toronto** use the terms *ethno-racial relations, visible minorities* (a term widely used by the Canadian Federal government), *indigenous people* and *non-Europeans.* The city has adopted a *Policy to Eliminate Racism and Discrimination.* The City of Saskatoon also has a *Policy on Cultural Diversity and Race Relations* that refers to the struggle against racism and to promotion of harmonious race relations. It has adopted a *Race Relations Program* and established a *Race Relations Committee.*

By contrast, **Montreal** and **Vancouver** use a somewhat different lexicon. Montreal mainly emphasizes *ethnocultural diversity* and *intercultural* skills and relations. One document refers to *zero tolerance for racism* and the documents from the Montreal Summit refer to *visible minorities,* or occasionally to *groups exposed to exclusion*, but there is a clearly perceptible reluctance to speak of *racialized groups*. There is also a risk of confusion between intercultural and interracial relations. The case of the City of Vancouver is similar. The language there is mainly that of *multicultural relations*, of *cultural communities* and of *diversity*, with no specific reference to racism and discrimination.

The City of **Stockholm** refers primarily to *non-Nordics* and to *non-Europeans* in its documents. Its Integration Programme aims at a city free from *racism and discrimination* and announces the struggle against *social and ethnic segregation*. **Boston** commonly uses the terms *minorities*, *segregation* and *ethnic group*. It is also the only city in the sample to use the term *races*.

The target groups of anti-racist and anti-discrimination policies thus vary from one society to another. In some cases, they are national minorities, such as indigenous people in North America or racialized groups descended from slavery such as African Americans in the United States. The target groups can also be racialized minorities stemming from recent immigration (from Latin America, the Maghreb, etc.). In addition, city discourse does not always distinguish between the various grounds for discrimination: colour or phenotype, nationality, language, religion, etc.

The question is, then, as follows: should cities adopt the same categories to formulate their anti-racist policies? Should a uniform terminology also be adopted to identify and distinguish ethnic groups and/or racialized groups? We do not think so, given the complexity of the diverse historical, political and social contexts of the various cities.

The simplest categories to start with, at least in Europe and North America, could be: *persons of European origin* and *persons of non-European origin*. These categories have already been used by the cities of Toronto and Stockholm and is congruent with the theoretical approach of the "1492 school" which regards contemporary racism as a legacy of the conquest of the Americas by Europe. This categorization would need refinement, et should target particularly the groups that suffer from racism in the various cities. For example, although not composed of descendants of Europeans, the majority of the Chinese community of Vancouver now perceives itself as facing ethnocentrism rather than racism. Subgroups thus need to be created within the two major starting categories, and it will subsequently be possible to rearrange the groups and to adopt a new set of categories. Nonetheless, the distinction between *persons of European origin* and *persons of non-European origin* can provide a starting point and give an overview of a situation, after an exploratory qualitative study conducted with relevant groups within the city.

3.2. Sources of statistical data

The socio-economic data that make it possible to assess or infer the overall direct racism and institutional discrimination suffered by a racialized group are generally collected by national statistical agencies. It should be noted that in countries that do not regard themselves as countries of immigration, collection of “ethnic data” is not part of administrative tradition, and faces political and institutional obstacles that are however not insuperable.

It is generally beyond the means of a city to compile such data. Nonetheless, the data exist. Using them calls for the creation, within municipal services, of institutional capacity to monitor such data and their interpretation, according to the city’s policy objectives.

Census data, which are often the most complete and reliable, are collected by a body responsible to a higher level of government, which decides which categories to use. Censuses in the various countries are based on different categorizations and methodologies, which complicates data comparison. Generally speaking, the least costly approach is always to use the information that is already available from census sources (if necessary by ordering special compilations) or from administrative bodies and to format such data.

The various ministries and agencies of the upper echelons of government are another invaluable source of data, which are often broken down by city and by region. Administrative agreements enable access.

The administrative statistics of cities and municipal agencies are another important source of targeted data. The condition for their usefulness is that such bodies should agree to include in their data collection the categories that make it possible to break the data down and that they should agree to share the information they have. The crucial issue in this respect is inter-agency coordination, and the main difficulty is data comparability. For example, Canada has no official definition of poverty. The measure used by Statistics Canada, which conducts annual surveys on the poverty rate, is widely referred to, but there are several others. Furthermore, the definition of poverty is relative, and to a certain extent subjective. However, “Because poverty is based on the deficit of income compared to essential expenditures, disagreements over how poverty should be defined can be reduced conceptually to two questions. First, how is income defined? Second,

what are legitimate necessary expenditures – and necessary for what purpose? Of course, the answers to these questions depend on place, time, and household circumstances" (Canadian Council on Social Development, 2000, p.14).

No doubt one could add, among possible data sources, specially conducted surveys designed to meet the needs of cities in this area. Qualitative surveys can considerably enhance statistical data, since an adequate account of social practices requires description and analysis of several interconnected information sources. We therefore recommend that various data sources be used. The most promising research strategies are comfortable with combining statistical analysis, legal analysis, documentary analysis, in-depth interviews and consultation or exchange of focal points with state and civil society political actors that are closely linked to the formulation of grassroots demands and/or policies. The analytical approach underpinning this viewpoint is based on the conviction that analysis and understanding of social and political practices are maximized by relating data from several different information sources (triangulation of data and documentary sources). Data processing tools should be designed so as to establish thematic, event-based on situational correspondences between the various oral and documentary materials (Grawitz, 2001).

Documentary analysis can focus on various textual collections presenting policies relating to diversity management with respect to the target groups. In-depth interviews based on qualitative methods can be conducted with samples that are theoretically constructed, i.e. derived from the relevant social practices of the social and political actors (voluntary sector leaders concerned by the issues under study, informal leaders, academics, and others). The approach should incorporate gender-differentiated analysis.

4. Proposal for an analytical framework

In order to analyze such policies in a comparative fashion, we propose to group city initiatives under three headings identified by Labelle, Legault, Cloutier, Lavoie et Marhraoui (1997, p.266):

- the city as an **organization;**

- the city as a **community;**
- the city as the **guardian of public order**.

4.1. The city as an organization

Under this heading, the following five main issues are taken into account:

- employment equity programmes in municipal organization and contractual obligations;
- staff training in diversity and action against racism;
- municipal services (including translation services and hiring of multilingual persons);
- institutional services provided to counter manifestations of racism: for example the existence of a racial harassment complaints committee;
- the make-up of the city council and participation of members of racialized groups in the various decision-making and executive bodies, whether in their individual capacity as member of such groups or as more or less official representatives of associations stemming from such groups.

4.2. The city as a community

A city is also a life environment, a community. City administration can support such community life by a range of mechanisms such as:

- establishment of liaison mechanisms such as advisory committees;
- funding of community and voluntary initiatives;
- support for or promotion of public events (e.g. an anti-racism week);
- prizes and distinctions to emphasize the outstanding contributions of citizens or organizations from racialized groups;
- partnerships with public and private groups as well as with the voluntary sector.

4.3. The city and public order

Maintenance of public order is above all a matter of ensuring individual security, especially for persons liable to be victims of racially motivated attacks or aggression in the context of discriminatory situations. Under this heading, we might therefore find such initiatives as:

- protection for victims of hate crimes (physical or symbolic aggression) based on their origin or physical appearance;
- protection for individuals against “racial profiling”, a task that been rendered more complex by the “security logic” that has become dominant since the events of September 11 2001;
- police education;
- formulation of ethical good practice principles and codes designed to counter discriminatory behaviour within law enforcement agencies;
- adoption of programmes and policies to enhance police efficiency in the struggle against behaviour inspired by hatred and racism;
- devoting resources to prevention as well as punishment of behaviour inspired by hatred and racism.

This framework can be illustrated at least in part by the actions of the six cities studied in part I.

Illustrations

1. The city as an organization

The city of Toronto has committed itself to further adoption of measures designed to establish an administration that can respond to the diversity of its population, which means in practical terms:

- continuance of employment equity programmes, of the search for reasonable accommodation for religious diversity and of training programmes;

- fair, accessible and transparent governance in contracting and subsidies and diversification of city staff;

- advocacy for adequate funding of affordable housing, improvement of child care services, labour market access programmes, learning of the official languages, literacy classes, qualification equivalence and recognition of experience, participation in the electoral process, and education. These areas are within the jurisdiction of higher echelons of government.

One innovative measure that deserves mention under this heading is the appointment of a *diversity advocate* in the city council. Within the scope of this study, we were not able to study the make-up of the city councils of the various cities surveyed. However, the presence of Toronto's diversity advocate shows the concern that someone should be seen to be the bearer of such preoccupations within the city council.

The city of Montreal, in the context of the follow-up to the Montreal Summit of 2002, seems to be focusing on implementation of general measures aiming at equity and respect for human rights, and above all equitable participation of under-represented groups within Montreal decision-making and consultative bodies. The means are (a) development of a pool of candidates from under-represented social groups that the city and its partners should use in appointments to consultative councils, boards and external partners' committees, including a policy of financial support for participation; (b) the creation of a civic consultation and participation programme involving awareness raising, information, training and support). Also worthy of mention is the appointment of an ombudsman to ensure implementation of the Charter of Rights and Responsibilities, once adopted.

For the city of Vancouver, items under this heading include the establishment of an employment equity programme, diversity training programmes for municipal staff, the multilingual information and reference service (in four languages) along with the directory of staff members who speak a second language, a diversity-sensitive communication strategy and the special efforts undertaken to reach members of the various cultural communities in the course of the development of the city plan and on the occasion of the municipal elections.

As for the city of Saskatoon, it is committed to playing its part in employment equity and anti-racism, adopting an intercultural and political training programme against workplace harassment as well as an inclusive communication strategy to disseminate its vision and role with respect to these issues and, finally, to conducting a housing programme.

The city of Stockholm has set three main organizational objectives:

1. To be a city free from racism and discrimination, both as an employer and as a service provider.

2. To be a city where everyone can live in a safe and attractive residential area.

3. To conduct lobby-advocacy activity in order to be a city where all children and young people can grow up receiving good quality care, enjoying stimulating leisure activities, with the same training and employment opportunities in the future and the best work employment opportunities.

We did not study the make-up of the municipal council, but some documents refer to a bottom-up perspective in the development of the Integration Plan, which points to a concern to take account of grassroots views.

In Boston, the Office of Civil Rights has the mission to eliminate discrimination and ensure fair access to housing, public services and participation in city activities. It seeks to reduce communication, attitudinal and procedural barriers for the citizens of the city. Various documents or newspaper articles suggest that, in spite of the demographic make-up of the city, municipal politics in Boston is still very largely dominated by citizens of Irish and Italian origin.

The need for employment equity and staff training seems to be the point of consensus in the programmes of all the cities. On the other hand, the need to adapt such services seems to be more variously felt. The city of Stockholm is particularly sensitive to this aspect of its mission. The requirement to lobby higher echelons of government is not always made explicit, although it does appear to us to be an unavoidable activity. The importance of advocacy should make it an element to be added to the framework for analysis of the city as an organization.

2. The city as a community

The city of Toronto has a very distinctive profile in terms of liaison mechanisms, with the establishment of no fewer than seven advisory committees and of a Reference Group bringing together all the advisory committees and working groups in the city concerned by such issues. The city also has a programme to allocate resources to community associations in order to build stronger communities and awards a number of prizes and distinctions each year. It also supports public events. The *Caribana*, the Toronto Caribbean carnival is a major festival attracting 1 million visitors.

In Montreal, there is an Intercultural Committee, alongside the Diversity Project Follow-Up Committee of the Montreal Summit. The city is actively involved in the organization of various events such as the celebration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (March 21), Tolerance Day (November 16) and Black History Month. The Division of Intercultural Affairs has established service to help community organizations to attract funding for their activities. At the partnership level, there are agreements with higher echelons of government and the city supports internships and awareness raising projects developed by corporations and unions.

The city of Vancouver can rely on its Advisory Committee on Cultural Communities. It celebrates some events such as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and provides funding to community organizations. The Social Planning Division coordinates all measures taken with respect to such issues. It awards an annual prize for intercultural harmony and has diversity training partnership agreements with private institutions, in particular the Hasting Institute.

The City of Saskatoon works with a coalition of agencies that is more than a liaison mechanism and extends to a true partnership. The city has affirmed its desire to work with community bodies, business and labour sectors, as well as other echelons of government and other concerned bodies. The city sees itself as having a hub role and wishes to affirm its leadership by setting an example and widely disseminating its vision and role. It funds programmes and activities bearing on race relations in the context of existing programmes.

The main point we gathered from the city of Stockholm is partnership, principally the agreement with the Commission on Metropolitan Areas, the desire to facilitate coordination of measures from the various areas and experience sharing. The concern to adapt services, in particular to

struggle against stereotypes and to break down segregation, also shows how any analytical framework can hide the city dynamic and make an arbitrary distinction within the activities of the city administration.

From the city of Boston, we can note the single structure in charge of anti-discrimination programmes which, furthermore, serves as a reference centre for newly arrived migrants and has the mission to conduct advocacy on these issues. The partnership of the city with a private foundation to develop indicators should also be emphasized. Finally, it should be noted that a citizen movement was the basis of recent developments in the city of Boston. Partnership with the community sector is therefore indispensable.

In all the cities studied, the importance given to advisory committees seems to be a way to compensate for the lack of power granted to racialized minorities. To this extent, they appear to be effective liaison and advocacy mechanisms. Funding of community activities and support for public events also seem to be important means to facilitate the community dynamic. The need for partnership should also be emphasized.

However, the framework chosen for this study does not really make it possible to take account of residential segregation (or integration), which is a fundamental factor in community dynamics. This question will be dealt with subsequently in the section on indicators of socio-economic inequality.

3. The city as the guardian of public order

There is relatively little information in the documents we have referred to on public order issues, which is one of the functions of the city administration. Vancouver and Saskatoon make little reference to it, and it is hardly mentioned at all in the Stockholm documents. It is nonetheless an important concern, especially as there has been much talk in recent years, particularly since the tragic events of September 11 2001, of racial profiling, which is the practice of using "stereotypes rather than probable cause to conduct security related actions".[15] The practice is observable in a range of contexts such as "law enforcement, education, private security, services, the judiciary, border control, housing, etc." (*ibid.*). All the cities covered certainly have a strategy on this issue,

[15] *Bulletin de l'observatoire international sur le racisme et les discriminations*, volume 1, n° 1, account of the intervention by François Larson, Ontario Human Rights Commission, at the conference organized on June 6 2003 by the *Centre de recherche-action sur le racisme (CRARR)*, Montréal.

but it is nonetheless largely run autonomously. This is doubtless in part due to the very nature of law enforcement work.

In this area, the sign that police work is efficient is citizens' feeling of being safe, which is understandable. However, it would be a delusion to think that integration into society operates without clashes or tensions, which exist even between generations from the same ethnocultural group. Such difficulties are only to be expected, along with genuine cultural misunderstandings when people with different knowledge and ways of being and acting are brought in contact. It would be important to be able to take account of these issues for two fundamental reasons. First, it is imperative to detect the trend towards judicialization of adaptation and poverty programmes. Then, it is necessary to examine the importance of the funds granted to repression activities compared to prevention. This would be an opportunity to achieve at least a rough assessment of a part of the cost of discrimination for a society.

Comparative analysis makes it possible to see the variability of municipal strategies, discourse and terminology in taking account of diversity and action against racism. This is a major issue with respect to cities' commitment to the UNESCO 10 point action plan.

5. Implementation indicators

By *implementation indicators* we mean assessments of the results achieved by the implementation of tool, programmes, policies, and various action measures designed to combat racism and discrimination. We distinguish such indicators from *results indicators* (see section 6), which measure the concrete impact of such measures, i.e. their effect on the state of discrimination attributable to racism. To a certain extent, results indicators inform us about the match between the major objectives of the programme to combat racism and discrimination and the resources committed to achieving them.

Table 1 provides a general grid for analysis of anti-racism and anti-discrimination policies implemented by a city administration, of the range of measures implemented to counter the inertia of the historical situations that produced racism in the first place and to prevent the reproduction of inequalities. It could be a check list to ensure that a city has mobilized all its

major functions in the struggle against racism. The full set of items mentioned also makes it possible to define precise efficiency indicators. Thus, the presence or lack of an ombudsman or mediation service to receive complaints relating to racial discrimination is a first criterion for evaluation of a city's efforts, but one could also calculate the number of complaints received, and the proportion of complaints that led to penalties, as indicators of the ombudsman's efficiency. Clearly, each city needs to adopt such implementation indicators, either for internal evaluation purposes, or in order to account for its performance in the case of contracts with higher echelons of government.

However, presentation of the indicators for all city actions would produce a grid too expansive to be easily useable. Furthermore, efficiency measurements for a particular action vary considerably from city to city, and it would be extremely difficult to have common indicators. On the other hand, the analytical grid could include, pour each of the general indicators, a description of the particular form of the measurement in a given city, along with contextualized success or efficiency criteria. This would make it possible to enrich the catalogue of best practices and to stimulate experience sharing.

Table 1. Grid for analysis of city initiatives based on the three city functions.

The city as an organization
Employment equity programmes
in the municipal organization
in contract compliance
Staff training in diversity and antiracism
Municipal services
translation services
hiring of multilingual personnel
Institutional services provided to counter manifestations of racism
existence of a harassment complaints committee
Participation of members of racialized groups in decision-making and executive bodies (such as the city council)
in their personal capacity, or
as representatives of associations deriving from such groups
The city as a community
Establishment of liaison mechanisms such as advisory committees
Funding for community initiatives
Support for or promotion of public events (e.g. anti-racism week)
Prizes and awards to highlight outstanding contributions
Partnerships
with private or public groups

with the voluntary sector
The city as a guardian of public order
Protection of hate crime victims (physical or symbolic assault)
Protection of individuals against racial profiling
Education of the police in these issues
Inclusion of principles in the ethical codes of law enforcement agencies
Adoption of programmes and policies aiming at enhanced police efficiency in the struggle against hate-inspired behaviour
Resource allocation
for the prevention of hate-inspired behaviour
for its punishment.

6. Results indicators

Socio-economic inequalities often stem from historical processes as well as from national or international economic policies which extend far beyond the competence of cities. Nonetheless, cities are called upon to deal with the results of these processes, of which the consequences are considerable for the urban social climate. For example, no municipal policy can eliminate social classes, especially when economic cleavages overlap with other kinds of cleavages (e.g. ethnic or racialized). However, cities do have options on the one hand to cushion the impact of inequalities by corrective measures and on the other hand to regulate, by means of norms, penalties and a range of other policies, behaviour that reproduces the inequalities while falling within their jurisdiction or being amenable to their influence. A city does not really have the power to counter the effects of globalization, but it can cushion them, for example by adopting a social housing policy, or equality access programmes, and by favouring firms with such policies in its contract tendering process.

These remarks indicate that it is not possible to specify indicators the *absolute* value of which might be interpreted as success or failure for city enacted measures. Changes in indicator values in connection with measures enacted by a city, should be interpreted with care as it is not possible to isolate the impact of city action from other factors. In addition, such indicators cannot automatically be used for comparative purposes. For example, the notion of a “poverty line” can be defined in many ways. It would therefore be difficult to compare the percentage of people living below the poverty line in the various cities. It is possible, on the other hand, to compare within a given city the percentage of people from various racialized groups living below the poverty line, and to determine if a municipal policy has or has not contributed to reducing the gaps. *Comparison* of socio-economic indicators across groups is thus the way to obtain indicators of the inequalities stemming from direct or systemic racism.

The number of potential indicators is very large, and it might be very tempting to include as many as possible. However, it seems preferable to adopt a small number that are accessible to all cities. The idea here is not to propose a lowest common denominator but to ensure that any city concerned enough to bother can use the same indicators without committing to an excessively costly operation. This provides some guarantee that the work will not be done only when the city

has budget surpluses but will in fact be quickly integrated into the routine of the municipal administration. For continuity of operations if what enables indicators to fulfil their potential and play their part. Richer cities, or cities that have progressed further in their thinking on these issues can, of course, adopt more sophisticated systems, as some have already done. However, in the context of setting up a coalition to bring together as many cities as possible, adoption of an over-elaborate system could be an obstacle preventing some potential members from signing up. Furthermore, indicators of socio-economic inequality are often highly correlated: therefore a small number of indicators can eloquently reveal a situation of racism-driven inequality. Finally, a simple system can always be improved at a later stage after an initial breaking-in period that serves precisely to highlight points needing improvement. We are talking here about a *system of indicators*: it follows that the key factor is the systemic relation between indicators, however simple, rather than the complexity of each indicator considered separately (United Nations, 2003).

Inequality indicators need to cover several areas, the first of which is poverty. There is an obvious link between poverty and racism: “the human poverty indicator is the best reflection of deprivation and discrimination, for it is concerned not with average progress but with the proportion of people failing to reach a minimum level” (UNDP, 2000, p. 96). This is because “The human poverty indicator focuses on the lack of basic economic and social capacities: long and healthy life, education, adequate means to enjoy decent living conditions, integration in social and community life” (*ibid.*, p.91). No doubt higher echelons of government have much more leverage than cities over these problems. Nonetheless, it is a vital issue for the democratic health and inclusive character of a city, and cities can therefore not ignore it.

With respect to poverty, the basic measurement is of course the poverty rate of minority and racialized groups, i.e. the percentage of households living below the poverty threshold. The European Union has adopted a standard poverty threshold (60% of median household income) that differs from the standard adopted by the United States. As noted earlier, Canada has no official standard, although the one used by Statistics Canada (70% of median household income) is the most commonly referred to. Adoption of a common standard, or conversion of the existing thresholds to one acceptable to all, could be useful within an international coalition.

Complementary indicators to the poverty rate might include the unemployment (or employment) rate compared to the whole working population and the income level, or under-employment, of minority and racialized groups, long with long-term retention of members of such groups by employers.

Such data are of particular interest if they can be correlated with rates of school attainment and controlled for them at the statistical level. The usefulness is again enhanced if they can be broken down by age and by sex. The gender perspective is now largely integrated within the full range of policies in Western countries, et it obviously should also be integrated into the measurement of inequality. As for the age perspective, it would make it possible to develop better targeted policies. In addition, problems do not have the same intensity at all ages, and finally the demographic weight of target populations is not constant across age groups.

Other statistics correlated with the poverty rate include infant mortality (i.e. of children below the age of 5), incidence of low birth weights, obesity rates and prevalence of hospitalization. Poverty is a major social determinant of health.

A second crucial area is *residential segregation*. The development of “urban ghettos” is typically the most visible sign of the racialization of poverty in large cities. It is also a sign of social rejection. It is important to distinguish between a “ghetto” and an ethnic enclave, but detailed discussion of this distinction would exceed the scope of this report. Let us say simply that a ghetto is the result of involuntary segregation and is branded by poverty – of people, of the environment and even of public services –, whereas an enclave is voluntary and not necessarily poor. Residential concentration statistics must therefore be cross-tabulated with poverty indicators in order to assess residential segregation. These data can influence labour-market access and the quality of education received.

This measurement can be complemented by data on mode of tenure according to the categories commonly used (owner-occupier, tenant of a private owner, tenant in public housing, squatter, homeless, etc.), mode of transport and duration of home-work commute.

A third sensitive area is *public order*, which should be looked at from two angles: first, racist acts, particularly hate crimes and racial profiling, where appropriate; and secondly offences committed and responses to them.

Two kinds of data need to be distinguished in this respect. On the one hand, some data relate directly to the struggle against racism and discrimination, including hate crimes, the number of reported racist incidents and the number of complaints about discrimination made and registered. The number of reported racist incidents raises particular difficulties with respect to coordination of complaints registration systems and to the establishment of a user-friendly and unintimidating system, as emphasized by the policy of the city of Saskatoon. On the other hand, it is also necessary to take account of criminal offending rates by neighbourhood, or the percentage of persons prosecuted for offences. Such data should of course be handled with care in view of systematic under-reporting in this area, of differences between categories of offences according to variables such as income and, finally, of the fact that law enforcement agencies may respond to sensitive neighbourhoods in two contradictory ways: increased surveillance, which increases reported crime rates, or, on the contrary, indifference, which heightens local residents' sense of insecurity. We have no definitive answer in this regard, but the question deserves to be raised since we believe this dimension requires consideration.

A fourth area is *education*. Formal education, which is the main integration tool for young people from racialized groups, is of fundamental significance in a long-term perspective. For the future of cities, it is therefore vital to reinforce action against discrimination in educational institutions. Schools are also ideal places for activities aimed at prevention, rights training and respect for diversity. Under this heading should also be included popular education and initiatives to encourage awareness of the city's ethnocultural diversity: memorials, cultural projects, celebrations, etc.

With respect to education, three data sets immediately appear indispensable, viz. levels of attainment, competence in the official language and graduation rates for young people from minority groups at the various levels of the education system. Participation in higher education and adult education is another important datum. In the Western world, access to a computer and home on-line access appear to be other data of interest, but it is questionable whether such

statistics are available in all countries and whether they can be broken down according to the various groups that make-up the city population.

A fifth area is *municipal administration* in the strict sense. No doubt “the struggle against racism is everyone’s business”. Nonetheless, cities, which are in the front line in this respect, can set an example by achieving the objectives defined within their own administrations, especially in terms of employment equity, staff training and representation of racialized groups within decision-making bodies. Cities would thus become true leaders within their communities and their action would be more likely to carry other public and private bodies with it.

The presence of members of racialized groups on the staff, in management functions, especially in cultural bodies, and their representation on the city council and its committees, are the objective data most likely to be accessible to cities.

Table 2 shows the kinds of indicators that might be developed. It is not intended to be a ready-to-use tool.

Table 2: System of indicators for the impact of city policies against racism and discrimination.

Poverty
Poverty rates among racialized groups
Unemployment rates among racialized groups (compared to the population as a whole)
Income levels by groups, age and sex
Long-term retention of members of racialized groups by employers
Residential segregation
Concentration of members of racialized groups in certain neighbourhoods (cross-tabulated with poverty rates)
Modes of tenure (ownership, tenancy) by neighbourhood and by group
Mode of transport and commute time, by neighbourhood and by group
Public order
Number and nature of hate crimes
Racist incidents reported
Number of discrimination complaints made and registered
Offence rates by neighbourhood
Percentage of persons indicted/tried for offences
Education
Attainment levels
Competence in official language
Success rate of young people from racialized groups
City administration
Representation rate of racialized groups in city personnel
Representation rate of racialized groups in management positions
Representation rate of racialized groups in cultural bodies
Participation rate in city council and its committees

According to the documents analyzed by us, two cities, Saskatoon and Boston, use results indicators to assess the impact of their policies on the ground. Two cities, Montreal and Toronto, make more use of implementation indicators, and one city (Stockholm) uses both kinds of indicators. We were not able to identify indicators in the case of the city of Vancouver. It should be noted that Toronto and Stockholm are planned to complete definition of their indicators by the end of the year; that in the case of Montreal a genuine action plan will first need to be adopted; and that Boston is engaged in simplification of its list of indicators.

7. Three stages in the development of policies against racism and discrimination

The various cities we have considered are at different stages in the development of policies against racism and discrimination. Each stage may require use of appropriate indicators. Thus, before defining a city policy, it appears important to obtain data in order to establish a diagnosis and to try to identify new angles on important aspects of the issues dealt with (stage 1). At the stage of policy development and implementation (stage 2), the indicators chosen will serve principally to set objectives, to make informed choices between competing options and to check the implementation of decisions made. Subsequently (stage 3), tools need to be designed to ensure follow-up of operations and evaluation of progress made.

Stage 1: At this stage, data collection is crucial since it will enable subsequent comparison for the purpose of city policy impact assessment. Data compiled before the establishment of a systematic anti-racist policy provide base line data for comparison. In this respect, what is crucial is to break down data according to the categorization of racialized groups. In spite of egalitarian and anti-differentialist objections, it is necessary to reveal the actual situation of minorities within the city, to collect empirical data that will make it possible to produce synthetic measurements of the economic, political and cultural shortfalls affecting certain vulnerable and racialized groups and categories in the population. We start from the assumption that cities considering adopting indicators to assess the efficiency of their anti-discrimination measures have already thought along these lines and have already accepted the principle of collecting and breaking down statistics according to the racialized categories of their populations. The Nuremberg Action Plan clearly states that the struggle against racism must operate at the level of observation and vigilance “by data collection and the development of relevant indicators in order to assess situations of discrimination and policy results” (UNESCO, 2004, p.3) It is a prerequisite for effective action not be afraid to call racism and racial discrimination by their name and to put the issues on the city administration’s priority list. Table 3 provides an overview of the data used by the cities surveyed.

Table 3: Overview of data used by the cities surveyed.

Economic data	Unemployment rate, income levels and poverty rates by ethnic or national origin, data to enable interpretation of the position of racialized groups (education level should be used as a control variable) Other data: employment rate of racialized groups, under-employment of such groups, long-term retention of members of such groups by employers
Housing data	Residential segregation, access to ownership, commute times and dependency on public transport, user-friendliness of bus services
Data on public safety	Hate crimes, number of reported racist incidents, number of discrimination complaints, percentage of persons indicted/tried for criminal offences, citizens' feelings of security
Education data	Official language training and competence, educational attainment, participation in higher education, home computer and on-line access, waiting time for English classes and adult education
Health data	Hospitalization and mortality rates, obesity rates, infant mortality and birth weights
Data on civic participation at municipal level	Representation of racialized groups within the city council and in management of local bodies

Stage 2 : This is the stage of design and implementation of systematic policies to counter racism and discrimination. According to the Nuremberg document, "the struggle against racism and discrimination is a long-term effort that requires regular updating of strategies and practices and consistency between the various international, regional, national and local policies" (UNESCO, 2004, p.2). In other words, strategies and practices may vary over time. Furthermore, the diversity of situations requires adoption of different strategies in different countries. Finally, differences in city size have a significant influence on the solutions adopted: a city of 50.000 inhabitants with limited recent immigration is unlikely to implement the same mechanisms as New York, for instance.

Stage 3: This is the stage of impact assessment for the policies implemented, with a view to their adjustment in light of identified weaknesses. This is the stage at which it is truly possible to talk of results indicators. For example, to evaluate a programme against unemployment, it will be necessary to measure the number of training or retraining internships, the number of people

benefiting from job placement, the amounts distributed under economic development assistance for racialized groups, etc. However, given that such policies may vary over time, and that the effort is a long-term one, it is also necessary to measure on an ongoing basis the unemployment rate among racialized groups and in the population as a whole. From a long-term perspective, these results indicators appear to us to be more appropriate for measurement of the practical effects of city policies. At this stage, it is important to review the main areas covered by municipal anti-racism policies.

Combining tables 1 and 2 produces the following overview table (table 4). This is a tool designed to help cities that so wish to adopt a monitoring system to guide them in establishing and following up anti-racist policies, on the basis of the information previously obtained using table 1. This overview table should also facilitate the adoption not of individual indicators but of a *system* of indicators. At a later stage, the system will need fine-tuning in order to keep only a fairly small number of indicators (around thirty). These, because they fit into an overall plan and are carefully selected (for example by the saturation method), will make it possible to develop a tool available to any city that wishes to use it.

Table 4: Overview table

4-a : The city as an organization

Sector	***Action***	***Results indicators (examples)***
Diversification of administrative personnel	Employment equity programme and contract compliance	% of racialized groups in municipal administration % of racialized groups in suppliers' workforces
Staff training and services	Diversity and anti-racism training Translation services Hiring of multilingual personnel	Take-up of municipal services by racialized groups, accessibility and adaptation of the services
Participation of members of racialized groups in decision-making and executive bodies	Recruitment and training of potential applicants	% of racialized groups in management positions % participation of racialized groups in the city council and its committees % of racialized groups in cultural bodies
Institutional services to counter manifestations of racism	Harassment complaints committee or ombudsman	Number of complaints received and dealt with Percentage of situations corrected

4-b: The city as a community

Sector	*Action*	*Results indicators (examples)*
Participation of racialized groups in city life	Liaison mechanisms on "advisory committee" lines Funding for community initiatives Support for or promotion of public events Prizes or distinctions to highlight outstanding contributions	Feeling of belonging as measured by surveys Existence or lack of "headline figures" from racialized groups
Education	Partnership with relevant bodies (Ministry of Education, Schools Commissions, etc.)	Educational attainment among racialized groups Ability of racialized groups to speak official language(s) success rate of young people from racialized groups at the various levels of the education system Participation of racialized groups in higher education Participation of racialized groups in adult education Internet access
Poverty and residential segregation	Partnership with higher echelons of government and relevant NGOs (e.g. Chamber of Commerce), targeted programmes	Poverty rate among racialized groups Unemployment and underemployment rates among racialized groups Average and median income of racialized groups (data cross-tabulated with school attendance, broken down by sex and age group) Measures of residential concentration (cross-tabulated with poverty indicators), modes of tenure

4-c: The city as the guardian of public order

Sector	*Action*	*Indicators (examples)*
Police organization	Hiring from racialized groups Training of law enforcement agents Updating of codes of ethics Adoption of appropriate programmes and policies (e.g. against racial profiling and hate crimes)	Make-up of police forces Number and nature of hate crimes Number of cases of racial profiling Offence rates by neighbourhood
Judicial resources	Existence of bodies to receive complaints about discrimination	Reported racist incidents Number of discrimination complaints (made and heard)

Conclusion

Our starting point was that two kinds of indicators were possible: indicators to assess the *effectiveness of polices implemented* by a city to combat racism and discrimination within its jurisdiction, and statistical indicators to evaluate *inequality and discrimination as observed* in the same geographical area. Our conclusion is that, ultimately, the best indication of the effectiveness of anti-racist policies is the reduction of inequality and discrimination in the relevant territory. Such inequality stems from global factors over which city authorities have little direct control. They can only cushion their effects but this role, however limited, is extremely important. In other words, analysis of the resources mobilized by municipal policies and of indicators of their administrative efficiency should not disguise the final goal – reduction of inequality on the ground –, which can be reached only by constant and sustained effort.

One conceptual difficulty with an approach to discrimination based on statistical indicators of socio-economic inequalities is the importance necessarily given to areas that fall outside the direct competence of city authorities – poverty and education in particular – but are nonetheless of fundamental significance in any anti-racist strategy. Cities have the difficult job of dealing on a day-to-day basis with the consequences of global situations, which, as a result, they cannot ignore. They have leverage to cushion the effects of such variables, but their role as a representative and lobbying body vis-à-vis other echelons of government and other bodies is crucial. In this regard, cities need to emphasize the economic benefits of such an approach. Discrimination has a high economic as well as social cost. Prevention is not just a matter of charity, but also offers societies major cost savings. Economic costs are too often pleaded to reject the establishment of anti-discrimination programmes, whereas their absence undoubtedly costs society far more. Furthermore, more detailed analysis must make it possible to estimate the real impact of discrimination on observable inequalities.

It should be remembered that this is an exploratory study. Its aim is to provide not a ready-to-use and fully worked out grid, but rather a model: an example to inspire the creation of such tools. Each city can then develop, according to its own situation and specific problems, and following its own dynamic, policies and measures suited to its own needs. While racism is a unitary phenomenon, it can be actualized only in quite specific social and historical contexts. It is a good

thing to draw inspiration from successful experiments elsewhere, but the best results will most likely be achieved by adopting policies adapted to each particular situation.

In so far as we have chosen to offer an analytical framework for city initiatives on the basis of their three major functions and to emphasize indicators of socio-economic inequality in assessing the effectiveness of city policies, we have necessarily set aside other approaches. For example, we considered testing (which involves sending researchers with a range of background into real-life situations in order to observe whether the behaviour of employers or lessors varies according to the ethnic origin of applicants) to be inappropriate, on the whole, although it is recognized by the courts in some countries and can have genuine scientific value. The method would be more appropriate at the diagnostic level and could be used occasionally as an additional source of information.

We also rejected more qualitative approaches, such as content analysis. We hope that cities, one by one, will be concerned to supplement statistical data by such methods in order to build up a fuller and more accurate picture of the situation within their boundaries. For example, while it is important to take account of offences committed by members of racialized groups, it is equally important to consider the way the media deal with them. No doubt city authorities have no competence with regard to the media. Nonetheless the influence of media discourse on social representations, and as a consequence on discriminatory practices, is so powerful that it can hardly be ignored. Indeed, such discourse, when positive, can be equally effectiveness in favouring good community relations. The issue is to determine which media should be included in such analyses. Content analysis could be all the more valuable that it would add a qualitative dimension to statistical data.

The qualitative dimension could also be achieved by periodic surveys of small numbers of interviewees agreeing to engage in in-depth interviews on their experiences. Thematic content analysis would make it possible to set facts and perceptions, as recorded, within their overall social and economic context, on the basis of secondary data (Labelle, Salée & Frenette, 2001).

Academic research on these issues is currently in a process of renewal and it may be hoped that, in the very near future, current work will lead to more effective and not too costly tools. As things stand now, we consider that the key issue remains cities' commitment in this area, and

their vigilance and determination to equip themselves with relevant tools. This is already a major step forward.

APPENDICES : Population of the cities surveyed

Appendix 1 : Population of the city of Toronto

Total	Male	Female	Total
Total – all persons	2 456 805	1 186 865	1 269 940
Characteristics of immigrant population			
Population born in Canada	1 198 815	591 500	607 315
Population born abroad	1 214 630	574 160	640 465
Entry before 1991	697 995	327 630	370 365
Entry between 1991 and 2001	516 630	246 530	270 100
Non-permanent residents	43 360	21 205	22 160
Indigenous population	11 370	5 235	6 135
Visible minority population	1 051 125	505 155	545 970
Chinese	259 710	126 305	133 410
South Asian	253 920	128 785	125 135
Black	204 075	91 950	112 125
Filipino	86 460	36 160	50 300
Latin American	54 350	26 590	27 760
South East Asian	33 870	16 655	17 215
Arab	22 355	12 350	10 005
West Asian	37 205	19 570	17 630
Korean	29 755	14 355	15 400
Japanese	11 595	5 210	6 390
Non specified group	37 985	17 410	20 575
Multiple group membership	19 855	9 815	10 035

Source : Statistics Canada, Community Profile, 2001 Census.
http://www12.statcan.ca/English/Profil01/PlaceSearchForm1_f.cfm .

Appendix 2 : Population of the city of Montreal (as formerly defined)

Caracteristics	Montreal			Quebec		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total - All persons	1 019 735	494 695	525 040	7 125 575	3 491 685	3 633 895
Characteristics of immigrant population						
Population born in Canada	714 870	342 905	371 960	6 378 420	3 121 855	3 256 560
Population born abroad	281 380	138 915	142 460	706 965	348 290	358 675
Entry before 1991	163 105	79 590	83 515	462 060	229 300	232 755
Entry between 1991 and 2001	118 280	59 325	58 945	244 910	118 990	125 920
Non-permanent residents	23 485	12 870	10 615	40 195	21 535	18 655
Indigenous population	3 555	1 735	1 820	79 400	38 995	40 410
Visible minority population	231 760	116 045	115 720	497 975	246 490	251 485
Chinese	23 270	11 145	12 125	56 830	26 195	30 630
South Asian	33 310	18 105	15 200	59 510	31 625	27 885
Black	68 245	32 420	35 825	152 195	72 525	79 670
Filipino	11 685	4 645	7 040	18 550	7 325	11 230
Latin American	31 190	15 240	15 945	59 520	28 935	30 585
South East Asian	21 820	11 005	10 820	44 115	22 095	22 015
Arab	29 755	16 990	12 765	73 345	40 470	32 875
West Asian	4 280	2 510	1 770	12 425	6 775	5 645
Korean	1 345	630	715	4 410	2 120	2 285
Japanese	1 195	460	735	2 830	1 125	1 705
Non specified group	2 670	1 340	1 325	7 555	3 940	3 615
Multiple group membership	3 005	1 550	1 455	6 705	3 355	3 350

Source : Statistics Canada, Community Profile, 2001 Census.
http://www12.statcan.ca/English/Profil01/PlaceSearchForm1_f.cfm .

Appendix 3 : Population of the city of Vancouver

Characteristics	Vancouver		
	Total	Male	Female
Total – all persons	539 625	265 675	273 960
Characteristics of immigrant population			
Population born in Canada	279 510	143 065	136 445
Population born abroad	247 635	116 805	130 835
Entry before 1991	141 395	67 365	74 025
Entry between 1991 and 2001	106 245	49 440	56 805
Non-permanent residents	12 480	5 800	6 680
Indigenous population	10 440	5 260	5 185
Visible minority population	264 495	126 315	138 185
Chinese	161 110	77 255	83 860
South Asian	30 655	15 255	15 400
Black	4 780	2 715	2 070
Filipino	22 085	9 080	13 005
Latin American	6 490	3 135	3 355
South East Asian	14 670	7 180	7 490
Arab	1 465	910	555
West Asian	3 160	1 815	1 345
Korean	6 130	2 715	3 425
Japanese	8 280	3 320	4 960
Non specified group	1 115	620	495
Multiple group membership	4 550	2 315	2 235

Source : Statistics Canada, Community Profile, 2001Census.
http://www12.statcan.ca/English/Profil01/PlaceSearchForm1_f.cfm .

Appendix 4 : Population of the city of Saskatoon

Characteristics	Saskatoon			Saskatchewan		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total – All persons	193 665	93 315	100 350	963 150	475 025	488 130
Characteristics of immigrant population						
Population born in Canada	176 335	84 640	91 700	912 220	450 875	461 350
Population born abroad	15 970	7 910	8 055	47 825	22 530	25 295
Entry before 1991	11 020	5 425	5 590	36 460	17 195	19 265
Entry between 1991 and 2001	4 950	2 490	2 465	11 370	5 335	6 030
Non-permanent residents	1 355	760	595	3 105	1 625	1 485
Indigenous population	19 020	8 715	10 300	130 190	63 290	66 895
Visible minority population	12 185	6 225	5 960	27 580	14 170	13 410
Chinese	3 935	2 025	1 905	8 085	4 115	3 970
South Asian	1 820	1 025	790	4 090	2 305	1 785
Black	1 480	775	700	4 165	2 195	1 970
Filipino	1 425	560	865	3 030	1 260	1 765
Latin American	835	410	430	2 010	990	1 020
South East Asian	1 120	555	565	2 600	1 365	1 235
Arab	475	240	230	900	475	425
West Asian	355	225	130	575	355	220
Korean	185	95	90	635	295	345
Japanese	100	50	50	435	210	230
Non specified group	170	105	70	420	250	170
Multiple group membership	300	160	130	640	365	275

Source : Statistics Canada, Community Profile, 2001Census.
http://www12.statcan.ca/English/Profil01/PlaceSearchForm1_f.cfm .

Appendix 5 : Population of the city of Boston

	1990		2000		
	Number	**%**	**Number**	**%**	**% change**
POPULATION					
Total Population	574,282	100.0 %	589,141	100.0 %	2.6 %
% of MA Population		9.5 %		9.3 %	
RACE & ETHNICITY					
Non-Hispanic					
White	338,736	59.0 %	291,561	49.5 %	-13.9 %
Black or Afro American	136,889	23.8 %	140,305	23.8 %	2.5 %
Asian or Pacific Islander	29,643	5.2 %	44,280	7.5 %	49.4 %
Native American	1,532	0.3 %	1,517	0.3 %	-1.0 %
Some Other Race	5,537	1.0 %	8,215	1.4 %	48.4 %
Two or More Races	na	na	18,174	3.1 %	na
Hispanic	61,955	10.8 %	85,089	14.4 %	37.3 %
INCOME & POVERTY					
Median Household Income	$39,101		$39,629		1.4 %
Per Capita Income	$20,879		$23,353		11.8 %
Individuals in Poverty	102,092	18.7 %	109,128	19.5 %	6.9 %

Source : The Boston Redevelopment Authority and The City of Boston's Department of Neighborhood Development., Report # 554, April 2002. : http://www.ci.boston.ma.us/bra/PDF/Publications//pdr_554.pdf

Annexe 6 : Population of the city of Stockholm (2000)

Municipality	Population	Of which women,	Percentage of regional population	Non-Swedish origin	Percentage of municipal population
Stockholm region	1 823 210	51	100	351 327	19
Stockholm	750 348	52	41,2	151 674	20
Sweden	8 882 792 51				

Source: Stockholm County Council (2001). *Statistics of the Stockholm Region.* 2001/2002. Stockholm, Office of Regional Planning and Urban Transportation.

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