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Newcomer Integration Programs and London, Ontario's Diversity Agenda: Views from within and without

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Abstract

London, Ontario presents itself as a multicultural city with a strong emphasis on diversity and inclusion. My thesis examines London's diversity agenda through the everyday practices of the work of immigrant integration which are situated against the historical trajectory of Canada and Ontario's immigration policies. Based on personal interviews, participation in events hosted by immigrant-serving organizations, and visits to related offices at City Hall, my research investigates the framework applied to realize the social inclusion of immigrants in London. A look at the work of governing and the impact of neoliberal policies shows that responsibility for successful integration falls on immigrants themselves. This work tends to be supported by the same group of institutional and individual actors who are already connected by overlapping networks. Even though London actively pursues a diversity agenda, a disconnect exists between official policies and their actual implementation that particularly impacts how visible and religious minority immigrants perceive London as a welcoming community.

Keywords

Summary for Lay Audience

Canada relies on immigration for its social and economic success. Since Canada embraces the value of multiculturalism, many cities (such as London, Ontario) have adopted policies to help welcome and include newcomers. The need for such strategies is intensified because of the low birth rate in Canada, meaning the future of the country depends strongly upon the successful integration of immigrants.

My research focuses on the diversity agenda of London, Ontario, by looking at the everyday practices of immigrant integration and diversity work carried out in the city. This is done through personal interviews, participating in immigrant-centered events, and visiting City Hall. My research finds that in general the work of integration is done by immigrants themselves, as well as by the same circle of agencies and individuals who are already involved in and dedicated to doing this work. London's diversity agenda is not always effectively implemented, meaning that the City and the wider community need to use better strategies to reach newcomers, especially visible and religious minority immigrants, in welcoming and including them in the community.

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Chapter 1

1 Introduction

Immigrants, most prominently visible and religious minorities, take on the bulk of integration and diversity work to combat inequality in London, Ontario. Initially, my research was designed to examine the differing perspectives of newcomers and institutional actors on the benefits of participating in leadership and mentorship programs facilitated by the London & Middlesex Local Immigration Partnership (LMLIP). LMLIP's "Inclusion and Civic Engagement" (ICE) sub council has been actively engaged in several initiatives that reach out to newcomers through workshops on leadership. However, the limited response among newcomers emerged as a concern for the sub council, thus spurring an interest in the exploration of the reasons that could explain this phenomenon. My intent, therefore, was to examine the unknown barriers that may inhibit immigrants from engaging with these opportunities to become a visible presence in volunteer and leadership work, including their own past experiences and current constraints, but also the institutional framework itself through which these programs are offered. As I became involved in the research process, the information I received from my research participants led me to conclude that newcomers, and immigrants in general, put less emphasis on becoming leaders, choosing instead to focus their efforts on engaging meaningfully with their neighbourhoods and the community at large, and, particularly, with groups and causes that relate in some way to their

immigration experience and the topic of diversity and inclusion.[1] The question of leadership, or the desire to establish themselves through officially recognized leadership positions, is a minor concern for them as, in their daily lives, immigrants still struggle with prejudice and discrimination based on their ethnic and cultural backgrounds, religion and race. Hiding behind positive municipal statistics that point toward an increase in diversity among the population remains a conservative, even racist attitude toward newcomers, that appears to flare up periodically. In August of 2017, London Mayor Matt Brown issued an emergency motion at council, speaking out against a planned rally by an anti-Islamic organization with additional support by other nationalist and white supremacist groups. Considering the planned event to be a confirmation that racism does exist in the city, Brown voiced his determination that "we will not let voices of hate divide us as we work together to make our community better" (Butler, CBC News, 2017).

Since it was important to me to prioritize the lived experience of newcomers and immigrants over any preconceived notion of what they should be concerned with (e.g., leadership), I revised my approach accordingly to accommodate the more pressing topics of diversity, inclusion and social integration of newcomers in all aspects of life while at the same time highlighting the crucial role that immigrants themselves play in the immigration and settlement sector and the overall field of diversity and inclusion work. Throughout my research it became more and more clear to me that the individuals who volunteer or work in immigrant-serving agencies are also immigrants who are working as "leaders" toward the goal of integration and acceptance of diversity, even though their

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[1] In this thesis I refer to "newcomers" as those who have been in the country for up to two years and are still engaged in the settlement process, while the term "immigrants" is used more generally to describe persons who have moved from their native country to reside permanently in Canada/London.

positions are usually not that of the high-paying or prestige-laden character associated with official leadership-style power-positions. Most conspicuous is the observation that in Canadian society, particularly in London, Ontario, the burden of immigrant settlement and inclusion is placed and carried out to a large degree by immigrants themselves who actively labour towards the socio-economic and political integration of newcomers. Visible or religious minority immigrants stand at the forefront of this work and volunteer force, contributing heavily not only to their own integration, but to fight inequality based on ethnic, racial, or religious discrimination.

My thesis therefore examines Canada's transition from a white settler society to one that is increasingly guided by the policy of multiculturalism, with a particular focus on the institutional framework that has been set in place in London, Ontario to accomplish the vision of a diverse and welcoming community. These institutions both engage with immigrants as the targets of their programs, and as my research revealed, employ and are often led by those with lived experience of migration. My approach incorporates paying special attention to the activities of a selected group of organizations and agencies that I consider to be key players in London's institutional matrix tasked with the work of realizing the successful integration of immigrants. Due to my participation in a variety of immigrant-focused events and the input that my research participants provided, the importance of networks in the organization of and the attendance at such events will be discussed, including the limitations that the reliance on such systems necessarily entails. Drawing on perspectives from the anthropology of the state, part of my analysis is devoted to the different forms of labour that are involved in the "work of governing" (using John Clarke's elaboration of Foucault's concept of governmentality)

and how these processes apply to the realization of London's diversity agenda. Incorporated in this analysis is an examination of the neoliberal concepts that inform LMLIP's "I Am London" campaign as well as the delivery of immigrant services in general. As representatives of institutional actors, that is, those who are professionally involved in newcomer settlement and integration, institutional participants had the opportunity to critically reflect on their institutional policies regarding diversity and the viability of programs offered, and to consider adjusting these programs to anticipate and better accommodate the needs of newcomers. Nonetheless, these actors are working within institutional parameters that channel and frame their practices in particular ways.

The final chapter of the thesis will allow newcomer research participants to voice their opinions and concerns regarding their lived experience within a 'welcoming' community and to express their self-identified needs as newcomers to London. As I am an active member of LMLIP and recently took on the position of co-chair of its ICE sub council, it is my hope that this study will also contribute to more appropriate programming in relation to LMLIP's work and the implementation of London's Community Diversity and Inclusion Strategy (CDIS). By gathering information from immigrants that serve as institutional actors or identify as newcomers to London, the study also aims to highlight the potential shortcomings of a city that identifies as a welcoming community. As Canada subscribes to the values of a multi-cultural society that embraces the inclusion of newcomers, the results of this study should at least serve as food for thought regarding future policies and programs that are based on the assumption that diversity is a shared value that finds its expression in the successful implementation of a variety of municipal policies, as well as in the attitudes of local populations.

1.1 Positionality and Methodology

While I myself immigrated to Canada from Germany in 1996, I became interested in the topic of diversity during my participation in a course taught by Professor Andrew Walsh at the Anthropology Department at Western University in June 2016. During this community-engaged learning experience, I worked collaboratively with other students and the LMLIP's ICE sub council to produce a resource list on developing and communicating leadership programming for newcomers. After completion of this project, the sub council expressed interest in continuing this collaboration, therefore I took the opportunity to stay involved with the project and since have compiled a resource list on leadership and mentorship programs that are available in London, both for immigrants and those who are Canadian-born. I also started attending meetings of the Integration and Civic Engagement sub council, in the beginning as a guest, later as an official member. Due to my ongoing involvement with the sub council and its various activities surrounding newcomer integration, I have been able to participate in a variety of events that promote diversity and the active engagement of newcomers in building and sustaining a welcoming community for all Londoners, including the development of London's Community Diversity and Inclusion Strategy (CDIS) 2017. I attended both the 2018 and 2019 "Welcoming Communities" day-long events and two celebrations that honoured the candidates of LMLIP's annual "I Am London" campaign. I also went to civic engagement fairs, the "Life as a Refugee" (LAAR) conference and became a member of LMLIP. In short, I myself had to become civically engaged in order to get a better understanding of how immigrants engage with the community and of the issues that newcomers and immigrants face. Interestingly, the research process was

accompanied by my own transformation from researcher to activist, in which my personal experience as an immigrant played an important role. In many ways the trajectory of this process that led to my own civic engagement is mirrored in the lived experience of the immigrants I interviewed. However, as a white European immigrant, my integration journey into London's socio-political and economic fabric differs widely from those newcomers who are labeled or self-identify as visible and religious minorities.

In order to investigate the different aspects that affect how newcomers position themselves within London's community and the degree to which they consider their integration as successful, I am applying a two-pronged strategy that considers both the institutional aspects of immigration settlement and integration and the lived experience of newcomers. After receiving approval from Western University's Research Ethics Board in May of 2018, I spent the following summer conducting 28 semi-structured interviews by talking to either 'institutional actors', that is, those who work for institutions and organizations that provide services to newcomers/ immigrants, or newcomers and immigrants themselves. While I initially considered them as two separate groups, I realized as the research progressed that a considerable number of my participants could reasonably be considered as belonging to both groups. In Appendix A I have included a general description of those participants who I quote directly in the thesis. My intent was, on the one hand, to investigate the parameters of agencies such as the London and Middlesex Local Immigration Partnership (LMLIP) and the Cross Cultural Learner Centre (CCLC) within their institutional context as federally-funded agencies for the integration of immigrants, and the orienting vision that supports their implementation on a local level. To accomplish this task, I spoke with members of various immigrant-

serving organizations and explored the nature of the networks that link agencies in London and are set in place to coordinate efforts regarding the successful integration of immigrants into the wider London Community. As a consequence, I was able to reflect critically on how networking practices impact attendance at the various events sponsored by these institutions and whether these connections may prove advantageous or off-putting from the perspectives of immigrants and those who support their cause. This was complemented by interviews with representatives of several offices at City Hall who, either directly or indirectly, pursue the implementation of diversity policies among its departments and programs to promote this value within the community. Additionally, I engaged with immigrants who have either participated in volunteer activities or have been featured in LMLIP's "I Am London" campaign, a social media event that showcases and honors the accomplishments of successful immigrants. The input that newcomers and immigrants provided to me, either in their roles as institutional actors or as private individuals, guided my research process as well as the structure of this thesis by pointing me towards the necessity of examining Canada's and Ontario's immigration policies to provide a reference point for the analysis of London's "diversity agenda". In turn this prompted my interest in the "work of governing" (Clarke, 2012) and the impact of neoliberal policies on the administration of immigrant services. This led me to investigate whether LMLIP's "I am London" campaign should be identified as a neoliberal project, incorporating neoliberal concepts such as meritocracy, competitiveness and socio-economic success. Lastly, by bringing back attention to the lived experience of newcomers/immigrants themselves, this thesis also serves as a medium of expression for those who have chosen to call London their (new) home. The opportunity to reflect on the

local status quo of diversity and inclusion may provide immigrants with a means to express their agency, as discriminatory institutional practices and commonplace attitudes continue to silence their voices.

To gather the needed information, this study employed two standard anthropological methods: participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Participant observation involved attending public workshops and meetings organized by the City of London and the Local Immigration Partnership, as well as those advertised by any other public organization dedicated to the successful integration of newcomers. This qualitative methodology involved me as both researcher and immigrant in exploring: a) the interests and concerns that newcomers bring forward as they actively participate in these activities, and b) the institutional framework within which the topics of diversity and inclusion are being articulated. My previous involvement in these activities and workshops has informed my research questions, and, as the research proceeded, continued participation allowed me to engage in conversations arising from these activities with those individuals who consented to participate in the study.

To conduct semi-structured interviews, I engaged with immigrants with diverse backgrounds (by gender, age, ethnicity, and professional or private interests in community development), and with institutional actors who inhabit various positions in the newcomer settlement system and with different backgrounds themselves. To begin, I made my contact information available to interested parties by posting recruitment posters at the offices of the South London Neighbourhood Community Centre, the Cross Cultural Learner Center, and by notifying selected offices within the City of London administration that have been engaged in the development of London's Community

Diversity and Inclusion Strategy (CDIS) about my research. Through my contacts at

LMLIP I was able to alert former candidates of the "I Am London" campaign of my

interest in interviewing them if they chose to make themselves available. Prospective

participants were invited to contact me if they were interested in participating in the

study. Prior to conducting my research, I provided potential interviewees with a letter of

information outlining the purpose of the study. The location of the interviews was

determined in cooperation with the participants to ensure confidentiality and a

comfortable setting. In one case, a participant was interviewed in multiple sessions, while

generally the time commitment consisted of 60-90 minutes per participant. Since these

procedures were based on voluntary participation, I did not encounter any conflicts as by

their involvement both target groups had expressed their willingness to engage with the

research topic. All participants were asked to provide written consent in order to be

interviewed, however the option of withdrawing from either activity and at any point

during the study was also clearly conveyed in the Letter of Information. None of the

participants made use of this option, which communicated to me that my informants felt

comfortable with the interviewing process and the way the interviews themselves were

conducted. As I progressed with my analysis, I also checked back with some participants

to re-confirm their willingness for me to include direct quotes in the thesis.

1.2 Theoretical Approach

By examining the complex issues surrounding the topic of diversity and

integration of newcomers, this research project problematizes what it means to live in a

culturally diverse city and how meaningful inclusion may be achieved. The theoretical

approach to this study draws on Benedict Anderson's concept of the "imagined

community" in which nations are imagined in the sense that their members will never meet most of their fellow members, "yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 2006 [1983]: 6). This approach brings analytical attention to the ways that national communities are imagined by their members. These imaginings fuel and shape cultural and political institutions, as people 'imagine' their shared collective beliefs and practices. Of particular interest for this research is the anthropology of governance, in particular John Clarke's understanding of the "work of governing" as outlined in his contribution to the edited volume "Governing Cultures" (Coulter and Schumann, 2012). Rejecting a functional understanding of the "machinery of government", Clarke highlights the importance of examining the forms of labour that might be needed to govern, especially in relation to political projects. In his perspective, political projects not only involve parties or coalitions, but also other agents and agencies within and beyond the state, that perform the "imagined purposes of ruling: the ideas, ideals, and desires that provide a sort of coherence and sense of direction for political action and the work of governing" (Clarke, 2012: 211). These agents, as Clarke notes, and who in my research are represented by the institutional actors who engage in the work of newcomer integration at the City of London, LMLIP, and related organizations, reflect the "heterogeneous sources, resources, desires, and aspirations" (ibid) that contribute to the realization of a project. As these agents also have social characters that inform their labour of enacting government, the importance of examining not only their professional or vocational involvement in volunteer and leadership projects, but also their personal backgrounds and interests should be noted.

Of special concern to me in this regard are what political geographer Joe Painter

(2006) calls the prosaic practices of governing, namely the "myriad ways in which everyday life is permeated by the social relations of stateness, and vice versa" (2006: 752). In this conceptualization of the state "as a social relation" (ibid) rather than as an institutional realm divorced from civil society, the aspirations of service providers as both community resources and federally funded agencies may become coopted by what has been conventionally considered to be the government or "the state". As a possible outcome, the orienting vision behind the City's diversity agenda and the work of immigrant serving organizations, such as the Local Immigration Partnership, to provide a welcoming community and to empower newcomers might be turned into the labour of producing "good" immigrants or Canadian citizens. As Canada prides itself on its commitment to multiculturalism instead of assimilation, newcomers might regard the entanglement of these various social relations as competing with their own cultural values and therefore as barriers to becoming a visible presence in community affairs. I am also considering what Dorothy E. Smith calls 'Institutional Ethnography', a method of inquiry that addresses questions of how everyday life is organized and how social relations are coordinated across time and distance yet at the same time are mostly invisible within the everyday and everynight worlds of people's experience. In accordance with Smith, I understand the researcher's task to be one that makes use of the actualities of people's lives in order to "produce a kind of knowledge that makes visible to activists or others directly involved the order they both participate in and confront" (Smith, 2005: 32). The lived experience of immigrants and Canadian-born participants will therefore provide a lens through which we can attempt to examine the social relations and social institutions within the London wider and immigrant-serving community. In conjunction with the

exploration of governmentality as an array of distributed, local, everyday practices that also represent shifting alliances, contested spaces are revealed and processes questioned that impede immigrants' integration process and the successful implementation of diversity-focused strategies. From an anthropological perspective, this focus on the everyday brings to the foreground otherwise hidden practices and actualities that might go unnoticed if we were to just apply a black box model of in- and output in which the inner workings of the immigration, settlement, and inclusion go unexplained.

To contextualize the experiences of newcomers to London and Canada, I am drawing on literature that explores the parameters of community, such as Victoria Esses' examination of the characteristics of a welcoming community (2010), Bradford and Andrew's (2011) study on Local Immigration Partnership Councils, and other works that explore the social, cultural, economic, and political integration of newcomers and minorities (Frideres et al, 2008; Biles and Andrew, 2012; Grant, 2016). In addition, I want to acknowledge the influence of publications that address Canada's transformation from white settler society to a nation increasingly guided at the policy level by multiculturalism and a focus on diversity (Razack, 2002; Perry, 2004), publications on leadership (Johnson, 2007; Dow, 2014) or the civic engagement of newcomers (Scott et al, 2006), and similar publications dealing with the complex issues of newcomer integration. This approach is complemented by the study of grey literature in the form of government documents and community reports that focus on the topics of immigration, multiculturalism, and inclusion.

1.3   A Short History of Immigration to London, Ontario

I conducted my research in the mid-sized city of London, located in southwestern

Ontario. The city is located on the traditional territory of the Anishinaabe,

Haudenosaunee, Huron-Wendt, Attawandaron and Lenape Indigenous peoples. This

territory is covered by the Upper Canada Treaties, including Treaty 6, the London

Township Treaty (City of London, 2016). London initially was settled by Europeans in

the early 1800s, with most of its population consisting of Scots, New Englanders, and

Irish Protestants (Bradford and Esses, 2012: 87). After the foundation of a British

garrison in 1838, a significant number of British soldiers, their families and support

workers were introduced to this location. In 1847, London was incorporated as a town

and, as it continued to grow, also attracted other settlers, specifically Irish Catholics and

Blacks, the latter for the most part escaping slavery in the United States (ibid).

Interestingly, these new arrivals tended to settle in different areas of the town. Whereas

the Irish Catholic population typically inhabited a district in the northern area of the town

called the "Tipperary Flats" (an area north of Victoria Street and west of Richmond

Street), the Black settlers occupied a section in the southwest of the town known for

many decades as "Nigger Hollow" (south of York Street and west of Ridout) (Miller et

al., 1992: 44). Even though there is no definite evidence of wide-spread and active

prejudice against Blacks during this time period, the British are reported to have brought

some "strange ideas" from the old country with them as they settled in this region (ibid).

As a result of the discomfort that some Whites expressed towards having their children

attend school together with Black children, a separate mixed-race school operated in

London for five years, yet closed its doors after an announcement was made that from

this point forward, all schools were open to both White and Black children without prejudice (Bradford and Esses, 2012: 87). When London incorporated as a city in 1855 (City of London, 2018a), the Catholic Church gained a strong influence in the area, and since 1858 has operated a separate Roman Catholic School Board. During its growth period London established itself as a "rather conservative, wealthy, socially insular city" (Bradford and Esses, 2012: 87), a reputation that has preserved itself until today. For example, among the several clubs and local institutions that sprang up as London grew, the London Club and the London Hunt and Country Club excluded Jewish people as well as women from gaining membership until relatively recently (ibid), even though Jewish people (and, obviously women, too) have been present in London since its beginnings. Reflecting an almost global stereotype, Jewish economic and business success seem to have evoked resentment among some of the local population. In the 1870s the city diversified to an extent, as a few Asian immigrants arrived, and the city received a significant influx of Italian immigrants with some capital to invest, this time settling in the downtown area known as "Latin Quarter" (ibid). During the late 1800s and early 1900s, another round of newcomers arrived in the area, mostly from Britain, the United States, and Europe, settling in the southeastern "workmen's area" of London (ibid). The Black community maintained its presence in the city, and it was here that Canada's only Black newspaper, "The Dawn of Tomorrow", was published from the 1920s until the 1990s (see Figure 1).

The next considerable influx of immigrants to London occurred in the 1960s, adding diversity to the long-established White Anglo-Saxon majority within the city. Black immigrants of African and Caribbean descent, East Indians, Sikhs, and a growing

Muslim community joined the local population, followed by refugees from Hungary,

Czechoslovakia, and Vietnam in the following years. By 1980, the ethnic composition of

London had shifted so that 25-30 percent of London's population was of non-British

Figure 1: The Dawn of Tomorrow

Photo credit: The Dawn of Tomorrow, October 8, 1927, p. 1, Archives Box #380, Ivey
Family London Room, Central Library, London Public Library, 251 Dundas Street,
London, Ontario

origin (Miller et al., 1992). The largest minority ethnic groups represented were,

however, still predominantly European — Germans, Dutch, Italians, and Portuguese —

but the population of refugees from Central and South America, Poland, Africa, and

Southeast Asia was growing (Bradford and Esses, 2012: 88).

Following a trajectory similar to the national, and in particular the provincial,

community, London's population continued to diversify due to a steady influx of

immigrants. Census data show that in 2001, 19 percent of London's population was

foreign born, while 9 percent was comprised of visible minorities and 1 percent identified as Indigenous. Blacks represented 20 percent and the largest group within the visible minorities' category, followed by Arabs (16 percent), South Asians (13 percent), and equal percentages of Chinese and Latin Americans (both 12 percent; Statistics Canada 2005). Protestants made up 44 percent of the population, while Catholics were 28 percent, however, London's Muslim community had also grown to 3 percent (ibid). Interestingly, with its doors opening in 1964, the London Muslim Mosque is hailed as the first mosque in Ontario and the second mosque built in Canada (London Muslim Mosque, 1964-2018). The 2006 Census confirms this increase in diversity, listing the growth of the population within the London Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) at about 450,000 residents of whom about 19 percent are immigrants. About half of these immigrants were born outside of Europe, with a significant number from Asia and the Middle East (most notably Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, China, Korea, Philippines, Vietnam, India, and Pakistan) and the Americas (most notably the United States, Colombia, and El Salvador; Bradford and Esses, 2012: 88). Even though English remained the dominant mother tongue spoken in London, Spanish and Arabic were the most frequent languages spoken in the groups of London's population that list a different language than English as their first language (ibid). The most frequently reported ethnic origins still pointed to the British Isles, European, and North American (mostly Canadian), however London also contained a significant number of residents that identified their ethnic origins as French, Indigenous, East and Southeast Asian, and Arab (ibid), illustrating the increasing diversity in the city. Due to the growing number of the visible minority population (comprising 11 percent of the residents in 2006), the continued presence of Blacks (16 percent of visible

minorities), and the increase in Latin Americans and Arabs (each 16 percent), London had indeed become less white and conservative. However, whether the numbers also reflect the lived experience of the local population remains an open question.

Since 1980, 58,075 immigrants have settled in the city of London. The most recent 2016 Census provides evidence that, in regard to numbers, London continues to diversify. According to Statistics Canada, the city had a total population of 383,822 in 2016, with immigrants making up 22 percent of London's residents, a lower number overall than the total percentage of immigrants in Ontario (29 percent). Almost 14 percent (11,595) of London's immigrants are recent arrivals, having moved to the city between 2011 and 2016 (City of London, 2018b). Table 1 reveals that the top three immigrant places of birth in London overall are the United Kingdom, Poland, and China compared to the top ten immigrant places of birth of recent arrivals.

Among the countries of origin of recent arrivals, Syria stands out, reflecting the large number of refugees that London has received in recent years. The increase in the percentage of the visible minority population in London (2006 to 2016) aligns with Ontario and Canada, while London's increase between the years 2011 and 2016 was slightly higher than that recorded for Ontario and the total of Canada during this time period. The top three visible minority groups in London were identified as Arab (18 percent), South Asian (16 percent), and Black (15 percent). In 2016, over 140 different languages were listed as mother tongues in the City of London, with 20.6 percent of Londoners (78,325) speaking a language other than English or French. In comparison, this number is lower than the overall percentage in Ontario (26.7 percent) and the total of Canada (21.1 percent). Arabic, Spanish, Mandarin, Portuguese, Italian, German and

Cantonese appear in the top ten non-official languages, reflecting similar tendencies to

Ontario and Canada. In 2016, Arabic replaced Spanish as the non-official language with

the highest number of speakers in London, whereas Chinese languages experienced the

Table 1: Top Ten Immigrant Places of Birth, London, Ontario 2016 versus Top Ten Immigrant Places of Birth (Recent Arrivals) 2011-2016

Sources: City of London. 2017. 2016 Census: Immigration and Ethno- Cultural Diversity and Statistics Canada. 2017. Canada Census Profile. 2016 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001. Ottawa.

highest absolute growth (2,900) at a growth rate of 53.5 percent between 2011 and 2016

(ibid). In regard to admission categories, almost 45 percent of recent immigrants were

admitted as economic immigrants, 20 percent were sponsored by family, and 33.5%

arrived as refugees (see Table 2). Bradford and Esses see this influx of immigrants as a

sign that London can no longer remain the insular "small town" that it once was

(Bradford and Esses, 2012: 89), suggesting that in order to prosper, its diversity "must be

embraced and harnessed" (ibid). My research, however, points toward the conclusion that

even though progress has been made, immigrants are still more valued for their economic

contributions than their cultural impact on Canada's mosaic.

Table 2: Immigrant Population by Admission Categories
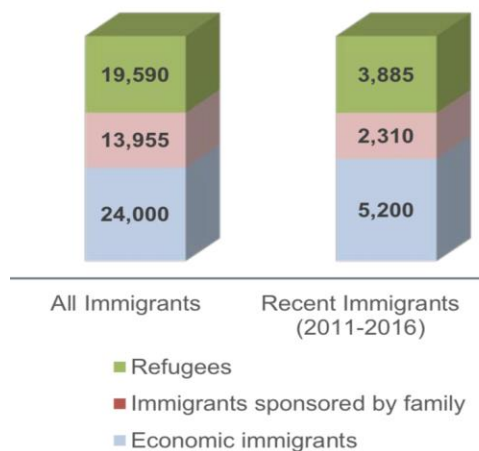
Sources: City of London. 2017. 2016 Census: Immigration and Ethno-Cultural Diversity
and Statistics Canada. 2017. Canada Census Profile. 2016 Census. Statistics Canada
Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001. Ottawa.

1.4   Thesis Outline/Structure of Thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters, each composed of several subsections.

For the purpose of providing background information and situating my research within its

historical, sociocultural and political context, chapter two describes Canada's

transformation from a white settler society with restrictive and racist immigration policies

to a nation that is increasingly guided by a focus on multiculturalism and immigrant

integration. Special attention is given to the changes in immigration policies and the

resulting efforts by the federal, provincial, and municipal governments to attract and retain newcomers through specific settlement programs and regulations. After elaborating on the structures put in place to by the Canadian government, I introduce some of the most important programs and immigration policies specific to Ontario.

In chapter three, I focus on what I consider to be key players in London's institutional matrix of immigrant-serving organizations and present their different approaches to settlement and inclusion. In particular, I explore the use of overlapping networks that connect individuals and organizations and examine whether these connections prove to be advantageous or could also have unintended consequences that lead to negative outcomes. This is complemented by a discussion of my observations gathered at the various diversity and immigration-focused events I participated in.

Chapter four addresses London's 'diversity agenda' and its impact on the city's aspiration to become a more welcoming community. This includes a case study, featuring City Hall's Diversity and Inclusion specialist, investigating the structural context of this position and the personal challenges that result from it. This chapter then discusses the effects of neoliberal policies on the settlement sector, paying special attention to LMLIP's "I Am London" campaign. Leaning on a theoretical framework based on the anthropology of the state, I conclude this section by investigating London's 'diversity agenda' using the insights of authors that deal with the "work of governing" based on Foucault's concept of 'governmentality'.

My final chapter is devoted to immigrants themselves and provides insight into their lived experiences in London, Ontario. Topics include general impressions of the city as a "welcoming community", the issue of microaggressions, and comments on

institutional practices regarding diversity and the social inclusion of newcomers. This

chapter foregrounds immigrants' perspectives and feedback on the effectiveness of

London's diversity agenda.

Chapter 2

2 Immigration Policies in Canada and Ontario

This chapter begins with an examination of key immigration policies and their impact on Canada's nation-building project by tracing the country's transformation from a white settler society with restrictive and racist immigration policies to a nation that is increasingly guided by a focus on multiculturalism and immigrant integration. After a description of the various changes in federal law, I will introduce some of the most important programs and immigration policies specific to Ontario, some of which are implemented via municipal-level initiatives. This chapter therefore aims to situate my research within its historical, sociocultural and political context and to provide the necessary background to the themes of diversity and inclusion on a federal and provincial level.

2.1 Canada's Immigration Policies

Despite Canada's official multiculturalism policy and the current socio-political focus on diversity, it is important to examine Canada's most prominent immigration policies and challenge the assumption of "the racelessness of the law and the amnesia that allows white subjects to be produced as innocent, entitled, rational, and legitimate" (Perry, 2004: 189). As a nation that originally was based on the principles of European imperialism, Razeck (2002) considers Canada to stand as an example of how place becomes race through the law in a white settler society. Additionally, Perry explicitly notes that the dominant ideology of settler imperialism consigns Aboriginal peoples

forever to an earlier space and time, positions people of colour as terminal 'late arrivals,' and attributes both agency and innocence to European settlers (Perry, 2004).

The process of immigration can and should be seen as part of the process of state formation and governance. As Satzewich and Liodakis explain, there seems to exist an inherent tension within immigration policy "between seeing and using immigrants as a convenient means of solving short-term labour market problems and seeing them as individuals and members of families and larger communities who will contribute to the reproduction of wider social and political relations in our society" (2017: 74). As a consequence, "race" and ethnicity have been a critical factor in Canadian immigration policies. During the first half of the 20th century the Canadian government made deliberate efforts to control the immigration of people defined as "unsuitable" for life in Canada because of their "race", ethnicity, or country of origin. Within a frame of institutional racism and a hierarchy of desirability, British, white Americans, and northern Europeans were the preferred "newcomers", while African Americans were actively discouraged by Canadian officials from moving up north. J.S. Woodsworth, an early 20th century influential commentator on the topic of immigration and author of the 1909 book "Strangers within our Gates," expressed the widely held attitude that there existed a chain of racial being that organized immigrant groups in a "descending metaphysical order" (Walker, 2008: 178). Of the preferred groups of immigrants, those from Great Britain were the most desirable, followed by those hailing from the US, and lastly by Scandinavians. German immigrants formed the next group, especially if they were Protestant, after which came those who were listed under the "non-preferred" categories, such as people from Austria-Hungary, the Balkan states, Jews, and Italians.

The "Levantine races" which included the Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Syrians, and Persians inhabited another non-preferred category, just short of the "most alien" of all, "the Orientals" and the "Negro and [East] Indian" (2008: 179). Since in Woodsworth's view "assimilability and desirability of various European ethnic groups declined as one moved through Europe from north to south" (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010: 137), it is of no surprise that a policy of Selective Admission Exclusions targeted British immigrants from predominantly non-white dominions such as the West Indies and certain African countries. As Fleras (2015: 84) points out, the 1869 Immigration Act and its Amendment in 1910 upheld a "white Canada policy" by excluding "undesirables", such as criminals, the destitute, the morally disreputable, city dwellers, and, most importantly, nationalities who were deemed unlikely to assimilate. Clifford Sifton, who held the position of Minister of Interior at that time, sought to people the prairies with agricultural immigrants, preferably from the US, Britain, or northern Europe (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2000). In the early twentieth century, restrictions of citizenship rights under contract labour schemes and head taxes imposed strict limitations on racialized minorities such as Japanese, Chinese, and people of African descent. The dominant perceptions of Canada as a "white man's country" supported the entry of immigrants from the so-called superior stock of North-Western Europe, while Blacks and Asians, whom many considered as inherently inferior, not able to assimilate, or unsuited for the Canadian climate, were trapped at the bottom of this racialized hierarchy.

Since these early notions of who should gain admission into Canada and therefore be allowed to shape the country's ethno-cultural composition, immigration policy was repeatedly adapted to reflect shifting priorities, largely focused on basing selection

criteria on immigrants' ability to contribute to the nation's economic development (see

Table 3).

Table 3: Immigration to Canada, 1867 to Present

Dimension	1867-1914	1915-45	1946-85	1986-Present
Objective	Settle the land	Limit immigration, particularly during World Wars and Great Depression	Fill labor shortages	Address skills shortages and aging population
Sectors of Focus	Agriculture	Agriculture and manufacturing	Industrial production	Highly skilled
Countries of Origin	Initially, United Kingdom and United States; from 1896 onward, Northern, Central, and Eastern Europe (with restrictions on Chinese, Indian, Jewish, and Black immigration)		Racial limits and criteria removed, replaced with more neutral points system in 1960s, resulting in shift from European to non-European immigrants	
Responsibility for Selection and Integration	Mainly federal			Greatly expanded provincial role (i.e., devolution of economic selection and all settlement services to Quebec, the Provincial Nominee Program, and the Atlantic Canada Immigration Plan)
Integration Services	Extensive; subsidized travel, free land, Immigration Halls, and Aid Societies		Focus on employment transition, orientation, language learning	Increased funding, overseas predeparture services, credential recognition
Refugee Resettlement	Largely closed, but Mennonites and some Jews admitted		Postwar resettlement of Hungarians, Czech, Ismailis, and Vietnamese	Further expansion; Immigrant and Refugee Board makes protection decisions; safe third-country agreements with United States, European Union

Sources: Information based on Valerie Knowles, Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian
Immigration and Immigration Policy 1540-2015 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2016); and
Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, The Making of the Mosaic: A History of
Canadian Immigration Policy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), as cited in
Griffith, Andrew, 2017. Building a Mosaic: The Evolution of Canada's Approach to
Immigrant Integration. Migration Policy Institute.

A portfolio for the Department of Citizenship and Immigration was established in

1950, followed by the introduction of the Bill of Rights in 1960. Then Minister of

Citizenship and Immigration, Ellen Fairclough, implemented new immigration

regulations in 1962 in which most racially biased and discriminatory controls were

removed, even though Europeans still enjoyed the right to sponsor a wider range of kin

relations compared to others. However, as Andrew Griffith, former Director General of the Citizenship and Multiculturalism Branch within the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada observes, a general shift in Canadian immigration policy became notable as policies "moved toward greater skills-based immigration, diversification and removal of racial restrictions, expansion of the role of provincial governments, increased focus on integration services, and greater refugee resettlement" (Griffith, 2017). With the establishment of the point system in 1967 as a way to make the selection process fairer and more transparent (Satzewich, 2015: 65), a "neutral" assessment of potential immigrants' ability to integrate quickly and successfully into the Canadian workforce was created, based on criteria such as language abilities, years of education, work experience, skills, and pre-existing job offers. These changes are considered to have paved the way to Canada's current diversity, along with the arrival of a greater number of non-European immigrants (Griffith, 2017). In addition to the shift in countries of origin, the composition of arrivals to Canada according to the three classes of immigrants that are based on employment, family reunification, and refugee settlement, also changed over the last fifty years, depending on the specific socio-political climate both within the country and from a geopolitical perspective, including economic priorities. Table 4 shows how the composition of newcomers has evolved in the time span of 1980 to 2016, with those admitted under the category of economic immigrants making up more than half of the arrivals since the mid-1990s. From a perspective of admission categories, this clearly demonstrates that Canada puts a heavy focus on the perceived human capital these newcomers represent, especially in light of their potential contribution to the nation's economic development.

Table 4: Admission of Permanent Residents by Immigration Category
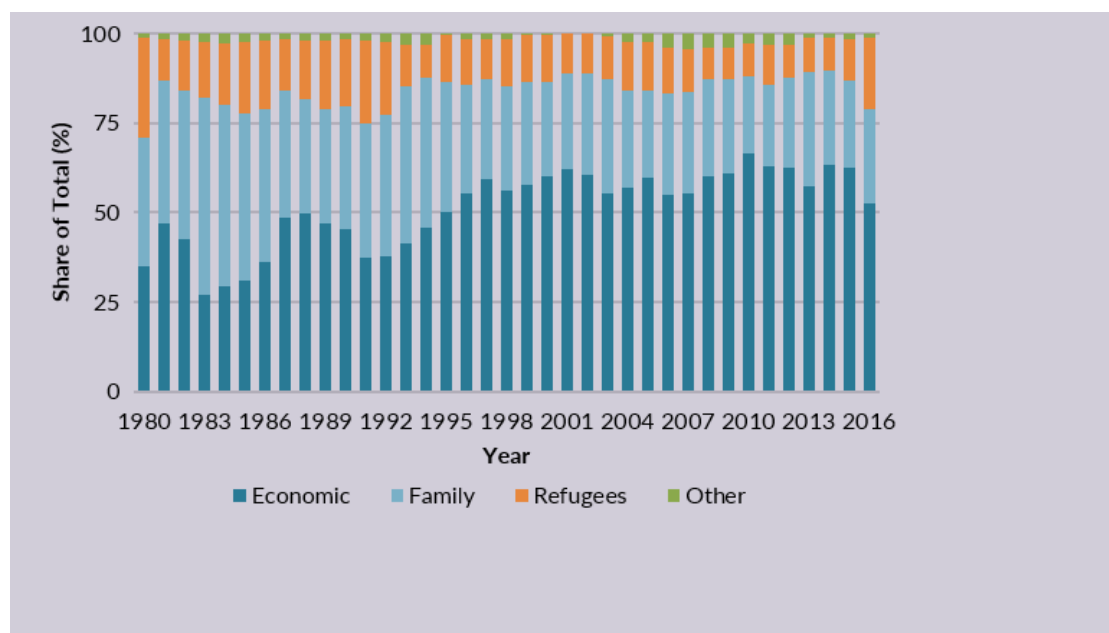
Source: Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). Admission of Permanent Residents by Immigration Category. As cited in Griffith, Andrew, 2017. Building a Mosaic: The Evolution of Canada's Approach to Immigrant Integration. Migration Policy Institute.

It is clear that Canadian immigration policies have been guided by "the twin exigencies of economic development and social reproduction" (Satzewich, 2015: 60). Recognizing that immigration not only serves economic development but contributes significantly to social reproduction by helping to "sustain the wider set of political and social relationships that prevail in Canada" (2015: 61) aids our understanding of the overarching objectives of Canadian immigration and refugee policy. On October 8, 1971, then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced multiculturalism as an official Canadian government policy (Government of Canada, 2012). Multiculturalism was intended to preserve the cultural freedom of all individuals and provide recognition of the cultural contributions of diverse ethnic groups to Canadian society. In 1988 the Multiculturalism

Act was passed under Brian Mulroney, expanding the 1971 policy. Consequently, Canada became the first country to pass a national law on multiculturalism, and in Anderson's sense, ratified its aspiration as an imagined community that prides itself at home and abroad as a country made up of a cultural mosaic rather than a cultural melting pot. With the adoption of the Multiculturalism Act, Canada seemed to officially distance itself from the colonial history that had enabled Canada to become the nation it is today. Yet, contrary to the contemporary notion of the Canadian cultural mosaic, and despite this policy of imagining a more inclusive Canadian society, the perspectives of my research participants presented in chapters four and five of this thesis indicate that London, Ontario still struggles with a legacy of discrimination and white privilege that represent barriers to the full acceptance of immigrants and the human capital they bring to the nation.

Before we look at the concept of multiculturalism in more detail, there is another set of policies that help situate the act within the nation's political framework: the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms as well as human rights acts and codes of the federal, provincial, and territorial governments (Garcea and Hibbert, 2011). All the above can be applied to facilitate the integration and inclusion of immigrants and minorities, as they echo the key principles of what came to be known as the International Bill of Human Rights. This bill includes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, signed by Canada in 1948, as well as the International Covenants on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, that came into force in 1976. As these documents effect a moral obligation on member states of the United Nations to "protect and preserve a wide range of rights and freedoms of citizens and various

categories of permanent and temporary residents" (2011: 52), including immigrants and refugees (ibid), the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms can be seen as a formal acknowledgement of the shared humanity of the Canadian population. Most important in regarding to immigration the Charter bestows upon all immigrants with permanent resident status fundamental freedoms, among them freedom of thought and religion, belief, expression, peaceful assembly and association, and protects their legal rights. For immigrants and minorities, equality rights and benefits received through equity programs are established, and equality before the law guaranteed. Section 27 of the Charter is especially interesting, as it reinforces special rights and protections for immigrants and minorities in its declaration that the "Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians" (Garcea and Hibbert, 2011: 52). It goes beyond the scope of this research project to assess whether the policy of multiculturalism was the result of the Canadian government's dedication to a human rights framework, but it seems fair to assume that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, now part of the Constitution Act of 1982, laid the groundwork for this policy.

The Multiculturalism Act of 1988 outlined a legislative framework for the official policy of multiculturalism adopted by the federal government in 1971. With a focus on diversity, the new act was established to "protect the cultural heritage of Canadians, reduce discrimination and encourage the implementation of multicultural programs and activities within institutions and organizations" (Elliot and Fleras, 1990). While the earlier version had focused on "cultural preservation", primarily reflecting the interests of European-born immigrants, the new act recognized that the source countries for

immigration had gradually shifted away from Europe with increasing numbers of

immigrants now hailing from Asia, Africa and the Middle East. New priorities had

emerged, as in addition to cultural and linguistic retention, newcomers expressed

concerns about employment, housing, education and discrimination (Fleras and Eliott,

1992). As a consequence, the 1988 Act acknowledged multiculturalism as a fundamental

characteristic of Canadian society and integral in shaping Canada's future (see table 5).

Table 5: The Evolution of Canadian Multiculturalism by Era

	Ethnicity (1970s)	Equity (1980s)	Civic (1990s)	Integrative (2000s)	Cohesion (2006-15)	Inclusion (2016-Present)
Focus	Celebrating differences	Managing diversity	Constructive engagement	Inclusive citizenship	Social cohesion	Social inclusion
Reference Point	Culture	Structure	Society building	Canadian identity	Canadian values	Inclusive citizenship
Mandate	Ethnicity	Race relations	Citizenship	Integration	Cohesion	Inclusion
Magnitude	Individual adjustment	Equal access	Participation	Rights and responsibilities	Responsibilities and rights	Diversity as strength
Problem	Prejudice	Systemic discrimination	Exclusion	"Clash" of cultures	Faith and culture clashes	Barriers
Solution	Cultural sensitivity	Employment equity	Inclusivity	Dialogue, mutual understanding	Shared values anchored in history	Shared values, universalist
Metaphor	Mosaic	Level playing field	Belonging	Harmony/jazz	Conforming	Embracing

Source: Adapted from Augie Fleras and Jean Lock Kunz, Media and Minorities:
Representing Diversity in a Multicultural Canada (Toronto: Thompson Education
Publishing, 2001). As cited in Griffith, Andrew, 2017. Building a Mosaic: The Evolution
of Canada's Approach to Immigrant Integration. Migration Policy Institute.

The new measures emphasized the right of all individuals to preserve and share their

cultural heritage while simultaneously retaining their right to full and equitable

participation in Canadian society. In addition, the act sought to remove any barriers

preventing full participation in society and declared the government's commitment to

assist individuals in eliminating and overcoming discrimination. As a goal, deeper

appreciation and awareness of Canada's cultural diversity was hoped to be achieved by

encouraging intercultural exchange and interaction (Canadian Museum of Immigration at

Pier 21, 2019), as well as recognizing the cultural contributions of various ethnic groups.

Celebrating difference and diversity, the focus however was on what was then still called

"the host society" (a term which has now been replaced among immigrant-serving

organizations with "receiving" society to highlight the inclusive aspect of their mandate

in contrast to the aspect of continued separation that the term "host" implies) and the

ways it could contribute to the reduction of prejudice and discrimination by promoting

greater cultural sensitivity (Griffith, 2017).

It remains important to keep in mind that despite the government's official

proclamation that multiculturalism "enabled the nation's self-presentation on the global

stage as urbane, cosmopolitan, and at the cutting-edge of promoting racial and ethnic

tolerance among western nations" (Thobani, 2007: 144), visible minorities still find

themselves at disadvantage. The redefinition of Canadian national identity seemingly

communicated the nation-state's commitment to celebrating cultural diversity and is still

lauded as one of Canada's 'finest achievements', while helping to bring international

recognition and opportunity (ibid). Scholars like Thobani note, however, that as an

official policy multiculturalism was meant to set Canada apart from the assimilationist

tendencies of the American 'melting pot' and boosted the popular perception that the nation had successfully made the transition from "a white settler colony to a multiracial, multi-ethnic, liberal-democratic society" (ibid). In Anderson's sense, imagined now as a welcoming community that values diverse immigrants and their cultural attributes, the nation-state was believed to be particularly willing and capable of negotiating ethnic and cultural division. However, as critics have observed, even though multiculturalism's aim to establish a distinct Canadian identity was clearly formulated, it was unable to balance the foundational claims of the French and the British with the demands for inclusion of multiple other and diverse cultural groups (ibid). In its inability to resolve the contradiction between the nation's self-definition as bilingual and bicultural and the actual heterogeneity of the population, the policy has been criticized as inherently ambiguous and internally contradictory, thus rendering the act ineffective. Most importantly, "anti-racist scholars have argued that despite the adoption of multiculturalism, the definition of the nation as primarily bilingual and bicultural reproduced the racialized constructs of the British and French as its real subjects" (Thobani, 2007: 145).

Apart from the Multiculturalism Act, and most notable among the legal provisions that led to important changes in Canadian immigration policies, were three acts that regulated admission: The Immigration Act of 1976, the 1994 Department of Citizenship and Immigration Act, and the 2001 Immigration and Refugee Protection Act. The 1976 Immigration Act clearly outlined the fundamental principles and objectives of a Canadian non-discriminatory immigration policy, including the promotion of Canada's demographic, economic, cultural and social goals, and fulfilled Canada's international

obligation regarding the 1967 protocol of the United Nations' Refugee Convention

(1951) by defining refugees as a distinct class of immigrants. Among other important

innovations, the new act included a focus on cooperation between all levels of

government and the voluntary sector in the settlement process of immigrants in Canadian

society and placed on the government the mandatory responsibility to plan for the future

of immigration (Knowles, 2016). The latter represented a deviation from most other

federal statuses, as it required the minister to consult with the provinces in regard to the

management and planning of Canadian immigration (ibid). The Department of

Citizenship and Immigration Act of 1994 established the Department of Citizenship and

Immigration and allowed for amendments to other Acts (Government of Canada, 2019a).

In the years prior to 1994 the immigration portfolio had been first under the Minister of

Manpower and Immigration, and later under the Minister of Employment and

Immigration. After the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act was created in 2001,

replacing the 1976 Immigration Act, the department was renamed Immigration,

Refugees, and Citizenship Canada in 2015. The new act overhauled previous immigration

policy by "streamlining and improving the immigration system, taking into account the

changing character of the Canadian labour market, anticipated demographic changes in

Canadian society, and the security and safety of the country" (Knowles, 2016: 256). One

of the most conspicuous amendments to the 2001 bill before it came into force in 2002

was the inclusion of a reference to multiculturalism which the Standing Committee on

Citizenship and Immigration deemed to be intrinsically linked to immigration and thus a

defining characteristic of Canadian society (ibid).

With the creation of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) in 2015, a link was set up between immigration services and citizenship registration. Next to its mandate of promoting "the unique ideals all Canadians share" and to "help build a stronger Canada" (Government of Canada, 2018), the department of IRCC has the responsibility to facilitate the arrival of immigrants, provide protection to refugees, and offer programming to help newcomers settle in Canada. Its mandate stems from the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Act with added accountability towards the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA). In light of data presented by the IRCC, the number of permanent residents that have been admitted in 2016 (see Table 6).

Table 6: Permanent Residents Admitted in 2016, by Top 10 Source Countries

Rank	Country	Number	Percentage	Females	Males
1	Philippines	41,791	14	22,631	19,158
2	India	39,789	13	19,511	20,276
3	Syria	34,925	12	17,123	17,802
4	China, People's Republic of	26,852	9	14,864	11,988
5	Pakistan	11,337	4	5,811	5,525
6	United States of America	8,409	3	4,251	4,156
7	Iran	6,483	2	3,345	3,138
8	France	6,348	2	2,996	3,352
9	United Kingdom and Colonies	5,812	2	2,392	3,419
10	Eritrea	4,629	2	2,009	2,620
Total Top 10		186,375	63	94,933	91,434
All Other Source Countries		109,971	37	57,098	52,868
TOTAL		296,346	100	152,031	144,302

Source: IRCC, Permanent Resident Data as of May 2017.

demonstrates the diversity of immigrants, which stands in stark contrast to the policies regarding newcomer selection in the earlier stages of Confederation. Most interesting is

the influx of persons from what used to be seen as "non-preferred" groups that had previously been assigned to the category of "Asians" or "Orientals".

In a report released by Statistics Canada under the topic of Immigration and Diversity (2017), population projections for Canada and its regions for the years 2011 to 2036 anticipate that immigrants will represent between 24.5 and 30 percent of Canada's population in 2036, compared to 20.7 percent in 2011, thus indicating the highest proportions of newcomers since 1871. Furthermore, it is estimated that by 2036 between 55.7 and 57.9 percent of Canada's immigrant population will have been born in Asia, which is up from an estimated 44.8 percent in 2011. Newcomers from Europe should amount to between 15.4 and 17.8 percent, representing a decrease from 31.6 percent in 2011. The proportion of the second-generation population within the total Canadian population, that is, non-immigrants with at least one parent born abroad, will also increase. It is estimated that in 2036 nearly one in five people will be second generation Canadians, compared with 17.5 percent in 2011. Combined, immigrants and second-generation individuals could represent nearly half of the population (between 44.2 and 49.7 percent) in 2036, an increase from 38.2 percent in 2011. In regard to visible minority status, and of special interest for the application of the Employment Equity Act of 1995 that requires federal jurisdiction employers to engage in proactive employment practices to increase the representation of the four designated groups (women, people with disabilities, Aboriginal peoples, and visible minorities; Government of Canada, 2019b), in 2036, between 34.7 and 39.9 percent could belong to a visible minority group among the working-age population (15 to 64 years), compared with 19.6 percent in 2011. In all the projection scenarios, South Asians would remain the main visible minority group in

2036, followed by the Chinese. "However, the most rapidly growing groups would be the Arab, Filipino and West Asian groups, given that they represent a higher proportion in the immigrant population than in the population as a whole" (Statistics Canada, 2017a). It is therefore not difficult to see that Canadian multiculturalism needs to work as a civic integration approach, and that federal and provincial immigration policies reflect this priority.

According to a study published in 2016, popular opinion seems to indicate a generally positive attitude towards immigration (see table 7), particularly in regard to the economic impact of newcomers. Whether this pro-immigration stance will hold in prospect of the anticipated population changes will have to be seen, however. In a report by the Conference Board of Canada it is predicted that by 2034, immigration will account for 100 percent of population growth as the number of deaths in Canada is expected to exceed births. The report also states that without immigration, Canada's potential economic growth would slow from 1.9 percent to an average of 1.3 percent annually, highlighting the need for a better understanding of how newcomers contribute to Canada's economy as "the combination of Canada's aging population and low birth rate is hindering labour force and economic growth" (The Conference Board of Canada, 2018).

Within an anti-racism framework, the Canadian Government released Canada's Action Plan against Racism (CAPAR) in 2005, coordinated by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration (CIC) as a federal strategy to address social policy issues such as, for example, social cohesion and systemic barriers to inclusion (CIC, 2010a). CAPAR provides for anti-racism initiatives within and beyond federal departments and

agencies, funding their own anti-racism programming, and distributing some of these

allocations to provinces that have bilateral immigration agreements with the federal

Table 7: Public Attitudes on Immigration in Canada, 2016
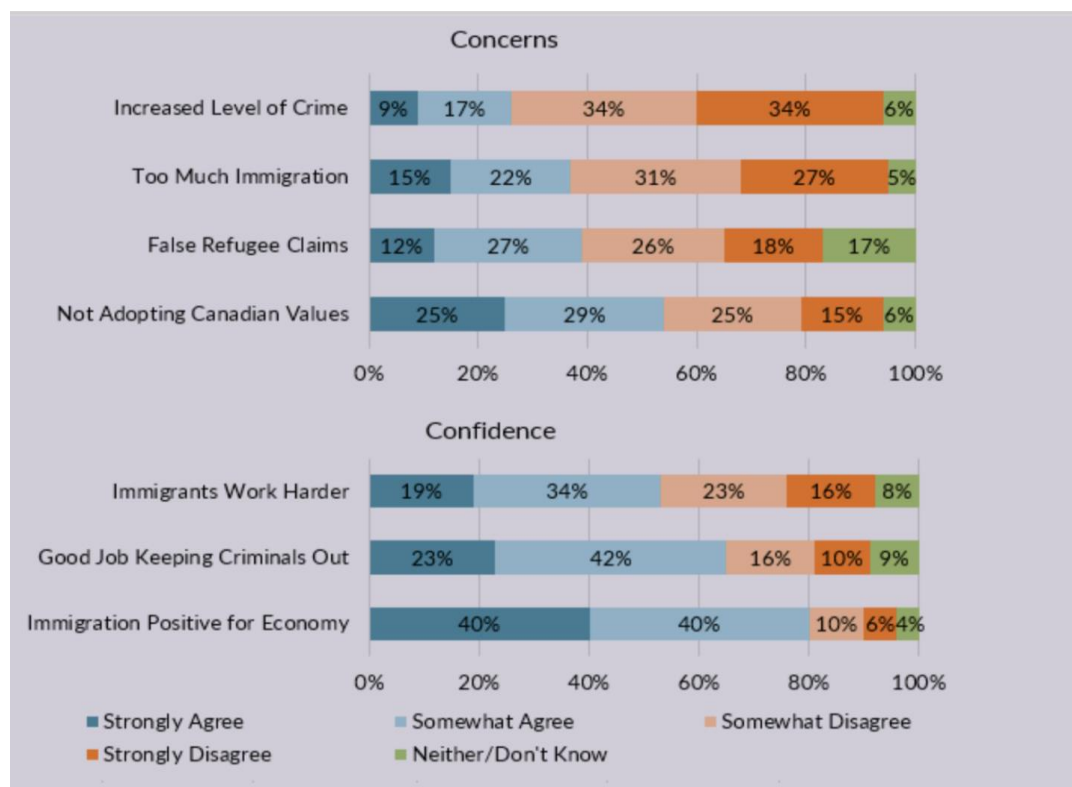
Source: Environics Institute for Survey Research. Canadian Public Opinion About
Immigration and Citizenship (Toronto: Environics Institute for Survey Research and
Canadian Race Relations Foundation, 2016)

government. Support is also provided in the form of grants to specific agencies and

community groups that engage in projects or have programming that aims for the

elimination of racism and race-based barriers to inclusion and participation. Interestingly,

CAPAR also offers grants to university-based researchers involved in building up a

knowledge base regarding the complex issues surrounding racism and anti-racism

resources (Garcea and Hibbert, 2011: 56). As one of CIC's strategic goals is the

successful integration of newcomers to Canada to optimize the economic, social and

cultural benefits of immigration, the Department pledged support for the development of programs and initiatives that encourage Canadians' active involvement in integration, including contributions to anti-racism strategies (CIC, 2010b). To achieve this objective, the Welcoming Communities Initiative (WCI) was established as CIC's contribution to Canada's Action Plan Against Racism, representing a combined federal, provincial, and municipal effort that includes a variety of initiatives and strategies across 20 federal departments and agencies, including nine funded initiatives under the Action Plan (ibid). Acknowledging the increasing diversity of Canada's population, the WCI uses a three-pronged approach with special emphasis towards establishing connections between newcomers and Canadians, eliminating barriers to integration by creating welcoming communities, and providing educational resources to combat racism. In particular, the initiative supports current anti-racism activities, including programs that aim to raise awareness, provide outreach, tools, resource development, and direct services aimed at newcomers, youth and communities (ibid).

2.2 Ontario's Immigration and Integration Policies

Immigration to Canada is also regulated by provincial legislation. In addition to federal policies guiding immigration, Ontario signed a letter of intent in 2004, stating that the Government of Canada and the Government of Ontario "believe that immigrants make significant contributions to the economic, social and cultural well-being of the province and the country" while recognizing that within Canada, Ontario "receives the majority share of immigrants to Canada and that Ontario is integral to the success of Canada's immigration goals" (Government of Canada, 2004) (see table 8).

Acknowledging that new and innovative partnerships and mechanisms are needed to help immigrants maximize their full potential, successful outcomes are envisioned by "engaging a range of partners, including municipal governments, foundations, the non-

Table 8: Provincial Distribution of Immigrants to Canada
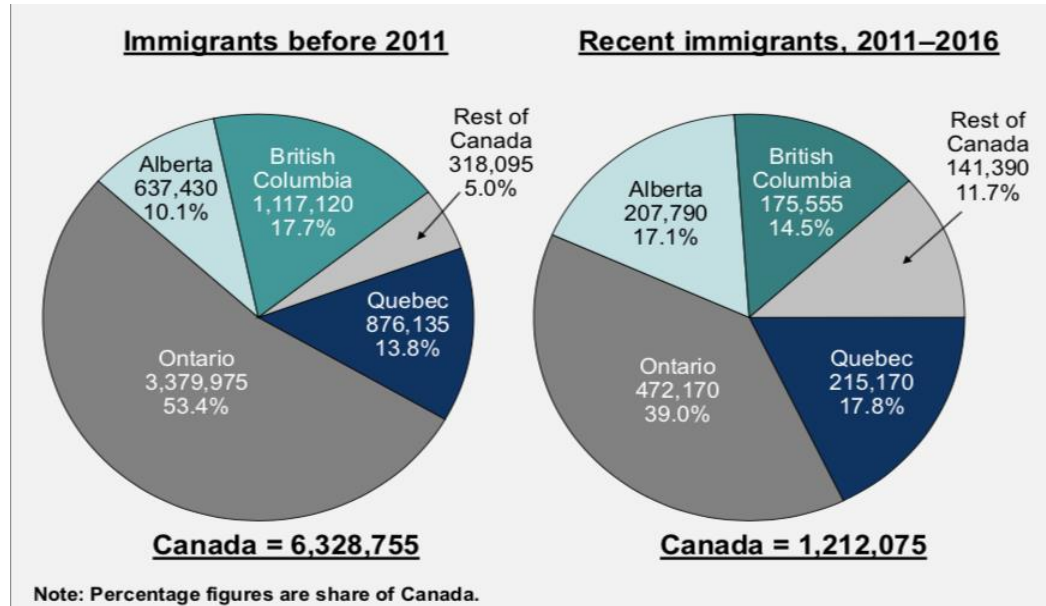
Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 Census

profit sector, educational and training institutions, regulatory bodies, business, labour, and ethno-cultural organisations" (ibid). First signed in 2005, the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA) was created between the federal and provincial governments, particularly Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the Ministry of Citizenship, Immigration and International Trade (MCI) in Ontario. COIA was designed to establish partnerships between all levels of government and community groups and individuals to improve the settlement and integration process of immigrants and refugees, and the economic opportunities associated with immigration (Pero, 2017). As a

consequence, the Municipal Immigration Committee (MIC), initially co-chaired by CIC, the now dissolved Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration, and the Association of Municipalities of Ontario, was established under COIA and charged with the task to explore municipal interests in immigration. Due to the work done by MIC, municipalities across the province identified attraction and retention as well as settlement and integration as key municipal priorities. Further, the MIC highlighted the need for new strategies and structures to address complex social issues and service gaps, which led to the introduction of Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs) through COIA. Local Immigration Partnerships originated from two calls for proposals in early 2008, one of which focused on communities throughout Ontario, while the other was specifically directed at neighbourhoods in Toronto. The calls issued by CIC in partnership with its provincial counterpart were aimed at establishing strategic partnerships that, with funding by CIC for all agreements, would co-ordinate and enhance services and programs. These calls for proposals were flexible in regard to applicants, recognizing that local leadership in immigration can vary depending on the specific location. As a result, municipal or regional governments lead some LIPs, while community organizations lead others (Burr, 2011). LIPs represent an integral part of Citizenship and Immigration Canada's modernized Settlement Program, known as Community Connections. Community Connections applies a two-pronged strategy, embodying the government's understanding of integration as a "two-way street" that requires accommodations, adjustments, and obligations on both sides, that is, on the part of newcomers and Canadians alike (Government of Canada, 2011). The ultimate aim is to support newcomers in becoming fully engaged in the social, economic, political, and cultural life of Canada. As noted and

with reference to the principles of acceptance and respect, a welcoming community

should: "openly receive newcomers and create an inclusive environment; strive to

understand the needs of newcomers and provide access to a full range of services and

programs; ensure newcomers are able to participate fully in all aspects of community life

and Canadian society" (ibid). In turn, newcomers are expected "to act on opportunities

for participation; strive to contribute to community life within the context of Canadian

laws and customs; and help others in the community" (ibid). Research by Esses et al.

(2010) at Western University defines further characteristics that should allow

communities to attract and retain newcomers[2].

In 2012 the provincial government released A New Direction strategy, this time

responding specifically to the need for an innovative approach regarding the attraction

and selection of immigrants, and the support that new arrivals require (Ministry of

Children, Community and Social Services, 2019). The strategy established three priorities

for immigration in Ontario: attracting a skilled workforce and building a stronger

economy, helping newcomers and their families achieve success, and leveraging the

global connections of Ontario's diverse communities (ibid). The 2017 Canada-Ontario

Immigration Agreement (COIA) and the Ontario Immigration Act (2018) build on these

objectives, while highlighting the need for partnership between federal and provincial

governments. Special attention is given to the elevated position the province demands in

terms of immigration selection that is aimed at attracting more economic immigrants

(Ministry of Children, Community and Social Services, 2019). To put this act into

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[2] Esses et al. identified 17 characteristics of a Welcoming Community, accessible at
http://p2pcanada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/Characteristics-of-a-Welcoming-Community-11.pdf

context, table 9 shows the share of foreign-born population in Ontario seen from the perspective of the last 100 years. Even though the percentage of immigrants has fluctuated over the decades, the graph points towards a steady increase in influx of foreign-born people to the province since the early 1990s.

Table 9: Share of Foreign-born Population in Ontario
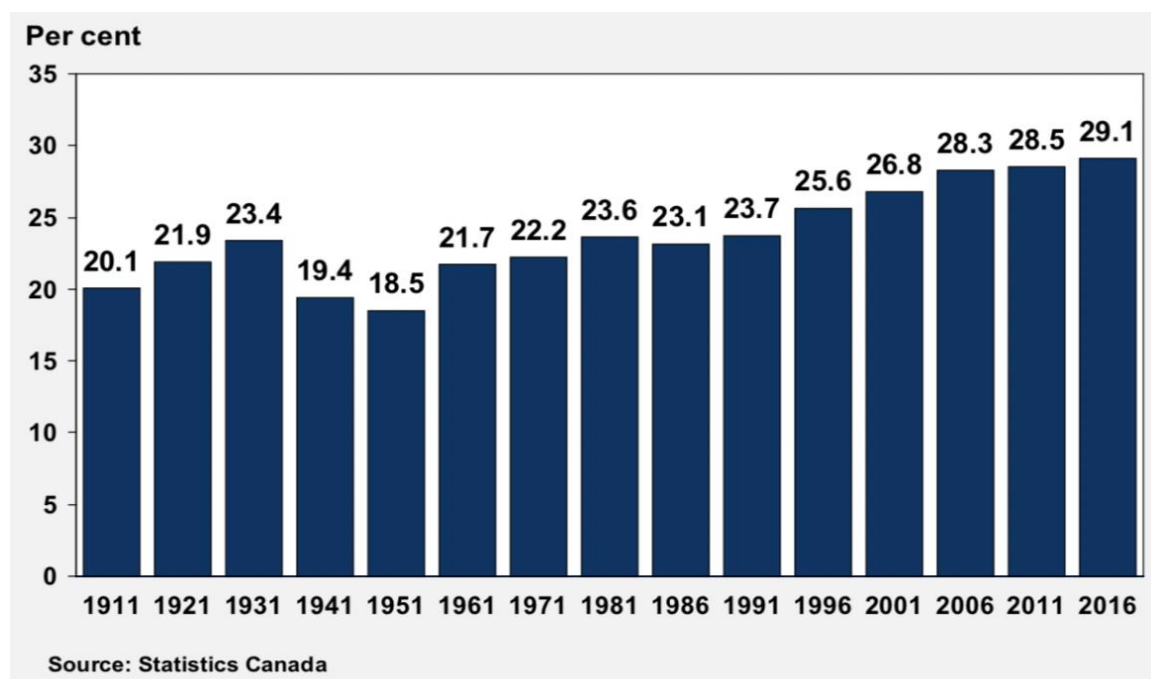
Source: Government of Ontario, Ministry of Finance. 2017. 2016 Census Highlights: Factsheet 8

It seems evident that both from a federal and provincial standpoint immigration is needed to achieve economic prosperity. In Ontario's Immigration Strategy 2017 Progress Report, the need for shared responsibility between federal and provincial jurisdiction is again highlighted, and effective cooperation between the two levels of government seen as integral to a successful immigration strategy. One of several strategies to attract and retain immigrants is the Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program (OINP), through which the

province nominates individuals and their families for permanent residence, most notably

skilled workers, entrepreneurs, key staff of established foreign corporations, and

international students (Ministry of Children, Community and Social Services, 2019). In

addition, Ontario's Newcomer Settlement Program provides support to agencies that

assist newcomers in their settlement process by providing orientation, settlement

information and community supports, and support for programming "designed to address

the needs of vulnerable newcomer youth, including mentoring, academic upgrading,

leadership and skills development, cultural and recreational activities and integration

supports" (ibid).

In 2015, the Government of Ontario introduced a Refugee Resettlement Plan to

co-ordinate efforts to resettle, support, and integrate refugees from Syria, leading to a

total of 20,673 resettled Syrian refugees, in addition to about 8,430 resettled refugees

from other areas around the world (ibid). According to the 2017 Ministry's progress

report, Ontario invests more than $100 million annually in newcomer settlement and

integration services, and, in the period between 2015 to 2017, provided $30 million in

additional targeted funding to respond to the complex social and economic integration

needs of refugees, refugee claimants and other vulnerable newcomers. With a nod to

multiculturalism, the 2017 provincial budget also included the Multicultural Community

Capacity Grant Program established to allow newcomers "to participate fully in the civic,

cultural, social and economic life of Ontario", and help build diverse and inclusive

communities "by working with local organizations to remove barriers through increased

intercultural awareness, strengthened social connections and improved integration of

newcomers" (ibid). The report also states that among the projects that have already

received funding are those that connect people with employers, cultural and recreational programming, mentoring and tutoring for children and youth, and parenting support groups for newcomer women. As discussed above, on a municipal level, the Welcoming Communities Initiative supports a series of anti-racism and multiculturalism efforts with the goal of fostering more welcoming and inclusive communities (CIC, 2010b), as well as the previously mentioned Local Immigration Partnerships that help facilitate the successful integration of newcomers.

From the standpoint of official policy, Canada has undergone a significant transformation from white settler society to one that has opened its borders to a more diverse group of immigrants within the last 60 years. The groundwork for this change in policy was laid by new immigration regulations in the 1960s, when most racially biased and discriminatory controls were removed. Notable among the policies and acts that set Canada on this new trajectory, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the Immigration Act of 1976, the 1994 Department of Citizenship and Immigration Act, and the 2001 Immigration and Refugee Protection Act allowed for a less restrictive immigration regime. In the midst of this overhaul of earlier policies, the Multiculturalism Act of 1988 with its expansion of the 1971 version, certainly had a groundbreaking effect, despite criticism that it was designed to support bi-culturalism (French and English) rather than multi-culturalism. Moving away from a system that focused on social reproduction (i.e., the preference for immigrants from Europe), the newly introduced point-system as an immigration criterion and the humanitarian duty to respond to various global refugee crises significantly changed the demography of those who are admitted into Canada. It should, however, not go unnoticed that the current focus on the

attraction and retention of immigrants is heavily motivated by economic concerns, as the

predicted decline in Canadian birth rates threatens to destabilize the nation's economic

welfare. The Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA) of 2005 follows a similar

logic, expressed in its mandate to establish partnerships between all levels of government,

community groups and individuals, with the goal of enhancing the settlement and

integration process of immigrants and refugees, and the economic opportunities

associated with immigration. As local immigrant-serving organizations are heavily

involved in the settlement and integration of newcomers, the next chapter will introduce

key players in London's institutional matrix, and the way they realize their directive of

newcomer integration.

Chapter 3

3   London's Institutional Matrix and the Use of Networks

This chapter will introduce and describe key agencies and organizations in London's institutional matrix, followed by an analysis of how the existence of overlapping networks that link these groups to each other enables ease of communication and project planning, while at the same constraining the access of newcomers to immigration and diversity themed events. Starting with the London & Middlesex Local Immigration Partnership (LMLIP) and its Integration and Civic Engagement (ICE) sub council in its role as facilitator, the listed organizations are all in some form connected to LMLIP and dedicated to its vision of making London a more welcoming community, although using different approaches to accomplish this goal.

3.1   London & Middlesex Local Immigration Partnership

LMLIP, established in 2009, is a collaborative community initiative designed to strengthen the role of the local community in serving and integrating immigrants. As one of about 45 Local Immigration Partnerships across Ontario, it is funded by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, and, until the ministry was dissolved by Ontario's conservative government in 2018, was supported by the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration. (The former ministry now has been given a portfolio within the Ministry of Children, Community and Social Services, which raises the question of where among the list of priorities the welfare of both immigrant and receiving population actually ranks.) LMLIP is also supported by the Association of Municipalities of Ontario and co-led by the City of London. As a collaborative community initiative designed to

facilitate the successful integration of immigrants LMLIP strives to create a more welcoming community in the region. It currently consists of a Central Council and five sub councils that are dealing with issues concerning education, employment, health & wellbeing, inclusion & civic engagement, and settlement, while a sixth sub council, addressing justice & protection services, was disbanded in 2019.

The topics of leadership and civic engagement of newcomers/immigrants are among the focus points of LMLIP's ICE sub council. Under the overarching slogan "Working Together for a Welcoming Community", this sub council "focuses on raising awareness of newcomers in the community and exploring opportunities for newcomers' participation in civic life to create a greater sense of belonging to the community" (LMLIP, 2018a). In order to enhance the integration of newcomers into London and Canadian society, the ICE sub council seeks to encourage immigrants to demonstrate civic leadership, defined as "contributing one's time, skills, and enthusiasm to improve the quality of life of individuals and communities" (LMLIP, 2018b), by taking on leadership positions in the wider London community. This includes attendance at diversity and immigration-focused events, becoming board members among London-based non-profit organizations, speaking up on behalf of ethnic and cultural groups including visible minorities, or volunteering for any other events that serve the successful integration of newcomers in light of London's aspiration to be a "welcoming community." Over the years, LMLIP has engaged more than 500 individuals and volunteers from ethno-cultural groups, service providers, government and others with an interest in immigrant integration issues and acts as a "leader of projects, catalyst for new relationships and contributor to existing community efforts" (LMLIP, 2018a). As one of

the most prominent projects of the ICE sub council, the annual social media campaign "I Am London" showcases diversity and celebrates successful and engaged immigrants who have chosen to call London their home and are willing to share their inspirational stories with other Londoners (LMLIP, 2018b). LMLIP draws its membership for the Central Council and its five sub councils from a variety of professional and personal backgrounds, including, but not limited to, the City's Cultural Office, the Cross Cultural Learner Centre (CCLC), London's Public Libraries (and their settlement program), WIL Employment Connections, the two main district school boards, Western University, the provincial government, and a diverse array of other community organizations. As a facilitator of services, LMLIP is involved in many of the city's activities pertaining to London's 'diversity agenda' with a focus on informing and educating the public about the complex issues concerning immigration and the successful integration of newcomers into London's community.

3.2   The London Cross Cultural Learner Centre (CCLC)

The London Cross Cultural Learner Centre (CCLC) is a "community organization that exists to provide integration services and support to newcomers and promotes intercultural awareness and understanding" (CCLC, 2018a). CCLC's vision statement is "to build a more welcoming community where newcomers can succeed based on our values of Accountability, Advocacy, Compassion, Diversity, Empowerment and Ethics" (ibid). The CCLC has been active in London since 1968, and, during the first 12 years of its operation, was originally part of the University of Western Ontario (now "Western University") in collaboration with Canadian University Students Overseas (CUSO), providing education and information on global and international development issues to

the community (Cross Cultural Learner Centre, 2018b). Incidentally, the CCLC constituted the first Global Education Centre in Canada, funded through the Public Participation Program of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

Due to the resettlement of Vietnamese refugees to London in the mid-1970s, the CCLC extended its support and linkages in the community in order to address the needs of refugees. Having already contributed to the education of London's community regarding global issues, the CCLC found itself in a privileged position to connect refugees with a relatively informed community, "ready and willing to provide a helping hand." In cooperation with its faith communities, London has since been credited with building its strengths as a refugee reception centre, while the CCLC launched its expansion into settlement services. As of 1980, the London Cross Cultural Learner Centre severed its ties with the University of Western Ontario and incorporated as a non-profit, charitable organization that, according to its own assessment, is well known locally and nationally as a "one-stop, multi-service support network for newcomers", while "simultaneously maintaining its reputation in the global education field" (CCLC, 2018a). The CCLC considers its history to also reflect changes in Canada's political priorities since, as a charitable non-profit organization, the centre relies heavily on government subsidies and grants that eventually spurred its transformation from "learner centre" to "resettlement service provider" (CCLC, 2018b). However, it should be noted that the CCLC played an integral role in the creation of other community organizations such as the London Inter-Community Health Centre and WIL Employment Connections. As of today, the CCLC offers multiple services and programs that represent its role as an intermediary between newcomers and the London community, such as the Resettlement

Assistance Program (RAP), Orientation Services for Newcomers (OSN), Language

Assessment and Referral Services (LARS), Job Search Workshops (JSW), Client Support

Services (CSS), Community Connections (CC), as well as the Settlement Workers in

Schools (SWIS) and the Intercultural Competency Advantage (ICA) programs. The

CCLC continues to work with refugees, most recently Syrian refugees and members of

the Yazidi community (CCLC, 2017), and collaborates with over 100 organizations to

facilitate the successful integration of newcomers into London's community (CCLC,

2018b). In its 2017-2018 Annual Report, CCLC's Executive Director notes that:

> We want our clients to be successful, to become independent, and to integrate into the Canadian economy and society. We will assume leadership as needed and we will collaborate to support the leadership of other organizations when in the best interest of our customers. We will build new partnerships and strengthen existing partnerships in recognition of the interdependence of social services work in our community. We cannot do this alone, but in collaboration with other providers of services to newcomers and with support from the community.

As several of the staff of the CCLC are also active members of LMLIP, its close

connection with the Partnership is evident, while, interestingly, some of these staff and

volunteers are also immigrants themselves. This fact highlights not only the point that

professional and personal interests often converge in these arenas, but also that

immigrants themselves choose to apply their own lived experience by paying it forward

to the receiving community and the newly-arrived either in the form of professional

service or in volunteer hours.

3.3 WIL Employment Connections

WIL was founded in 1984 under the name of Women Immigrants of London

Resource Service Centre operating as a non-profit community organization dedicated to

facilitating the social integration needs of immigrant women within London's community

(WIL, 2018a). Over time it grew into WIL Counselling and Training for Employment and WIL Employment and Learning Resources Corporation, consolidated as WIL Employment Connections, and has expanded its services to include the social and economic integration of immigrant men and women, as well as that of their Canadian counterparts, into the wider London community and area. WIL has received government funding since 1985, originally from the federal government, later on from the provincial government through Employment Ontario, and has a Purchase of Service Agreement with Ontario Works. Additional support is provided by the City of London, Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC), Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (MCI), the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities (MTCU), and United Way of London & Middlesex. It should be noted that WIL has a no-fee policy for the services it provides for the unemployed, which is an important aspect for the whole clientele, but especially important in regard to the employment supports for immigrants and newcomers in which WIL specializes. WIL offers a wide array of programs and services tailored to meet the needs of immigrants and newcomers, helping them to prepare for work in Canada and teaching the needed skills for effective job searches (WIL, 2018c). Demonstrating the diversity of its clients, WIL assisted individuals originating from 105 different countries, including Canada, during the period of 2009 to 2010. In 2015-16, 76% of WIL's clientele were Canadian newcomers or internationally born, 24% born in Canada, and 533 individuals secured paid employment at 134 companies. Among the general services that WIL provides are information, referral, assessment, employment counselling and preparation, and facilitation of volunteer work experience placements, all backed by WIL's expertise in

managing and sponsoring municipal, provincial and federally funded community projects and services. Some of the current services and programs offered are: Workshops for Immigrant Professionals, Volunteer Work Experience Placements, Help Finding a Job, Internationally Trained Worker Loan Program, Links and Resources for Newcomers, Access Centre for Regulated Employment, Immploy Mentorship, and the Foreign Credential Recognition Loan Programs across Canada (WIL, 2018c). From a perspective of inclusiveness, Immploy's Mentorship program stands out as it connects internationally trained individuals with local mentors in order to help them understand the current job market in their field or occupation, enables them to establish valuable networking contacts, and to learn more about sector-specific language and professional practice in Canada (ibid). Among WIL's staff are also immigrants who, at one point in their settlement journey, themselves used the services that the organization offers, have been featured in LMLIP's "I Am London" campaign, or acted as panel members at diverse immigration-themed events that usually have at least some connection to the Partnership if they are not directly facilitated by its Integration and Civic Engagement sub council. Since the offices of WIL Employment Connections and of the London & Middlesex Local Immigration Partnership are hosted in the same building, the ease of face to face, next to online, communication between these two organization is almost guaranteed.

Table 10: WIL Clientele's First Language

First Language
INTERNATIONAL CLIENTS

Language	%	Language	%	Language	%	Language	%
Arabic	31%	Hindi	6%	Persian	2%	Telugu	1%
Bengali;Bangla	2%	Korean	1%	Portuguese	3%	Turkish	1%
Cantonese	1%	Kurdish	1%	Punjabi	1%	Urdu	3%
English	2%	Malayalam	3%	Russian	1%	Yoruba	2%
Farsi	2%	Mandarin	5%	Spanish	15%	No Data	7%
French	1%	Marathi	1%	Swahili	1%	Other	7%
Gujarati	1%	Nepali	1%	Tamil	1%		

Source: WIL Employment Connections, Annual Report 2017-2018

Table 11: WIL Clientele's Region of Origin
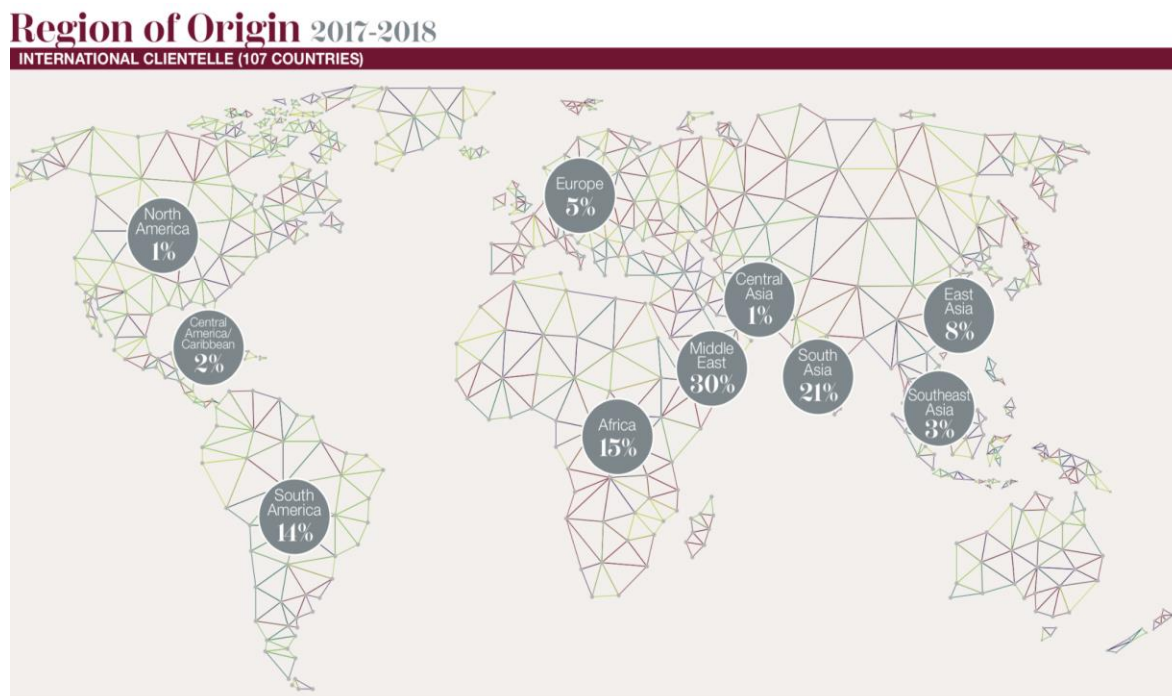
Source: WIL Employment Connections, Annual Report 2017-2018

3.4   South London Neighbourhood Resource Centre (SLNRC)

Under the motto "Everyone Is Welcome Here", the South London Neighbourhood

Resource Centre (SLNRC) operates as South London's community space for all

(SLNRC, 2019a). In 1987, the Community Council of White Oaks, a neighbourhood

association, sponsored the centre as a neighbourhood resource for the residents of this

area and welcomed families to enroll in preschool programs and to learn English. At the

same time, it began to establish itself as a youth centre, led by an active youth council

(SLNRC, 2017). When the South London area was acknowledged as a settlement area for

newcomers in 1991, the increase in the population of the neighbourhood also necessitated

an expansion of services to address the needs of families living in poverty in the area, including the need to provide opportunities for continued learning at all ages (SLNRC 2019b). Due to this increase in demand and as a consequence of the termination of funding of neighbourhood resource centres in London by the Ministry of Community and Social Services (COMSOC) in 1995, the South London Neighbourhood Resource Centre was created as a formal not for profit charity, operating since 2000 with an expanded set of services by applying an explicit community development approach to service delivery that centers on the residents themselves as participants, learners and volunteers (SLNRC, 2017). This focus on community development considers residents to be integral to its successful implementation and relies on service providers to embrace the input of residents by adjusting their ways of operating based on the feedback residents provide (Pathways to Prosperity, 2017). SLNRC now supports several areas throughout London, taking on a self-designated leadership role in regard to service collaboration and community capacity building in multiple neighbourhoods.

In regard to newcomers, the SLNRC offers four settlement services funded by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). On-site Settlement Counsellors provide the formal assessment of client needs, guide them to make informed settlement decisions, and connect them and their families to available supports (SLNRC, 2019c). By offering additional one-on-one, family and group information sessions, these services are meant to further the integration of newcomers into London's community (ibid). Clients can also meet with Library Settlement Workers (LSPs) at Jalna Branch Public Library, situated within the same building, in order to identify other needs and to set individual priorities. Additionally, members of the library staff offer library tours as well as group

information sessions including Citizenship Information Sessions to prepare newcomers for citizenship tests. In partnership with the London District Catholic School Board (LDCSB), the Thames Valley District School Board (TVDSB) and the Settlement Workers in Schools (SWIS) program, the SLNRC assists newcomer students and their families to adjust to their new environments. To further support newcomers in their settlement journey and to foster a sense of belonging, the Community Connections program exists to encourage social, cultural and professional interactions between newcomers and their community by offering programs such as Sewing Art, Chit Chat, Knitting Club, and Computer Skills (ibid). All settlement services are free of charge in addition to the Centre providing free access to fax, phone, internet and photocopying.

The SLNRC partners with numerous other organizations, including LMLIP, WIL Employment Connections, the CCLC, LUSO Community Services, Networking for an Inclusive Community (NIC), Pathways to Prosperity (P2P), and the London Muslim Mosque to name just a few members of this network. Additional funding has been provided by Tim Hortons, Starbucks, Optimist International and other corporations and community organizations with an interest in integrating newcomers into Canadian society (and economy). Staff members continue to be involved in LMLIP-facilitated events, with attendance at, for example, consultation meetings that address agencies, programs, and initiatives funded by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) and are held in preparation for the next fiscal year when a new call for proposals will be issued. The SLNRC also provides meeting spaces for the various LMLIP sub councils, hosts events such as the 2019 celebration of the "I Am London" campaign and accommodated LMLIP by arranging for space for an information booth at the 2018 Canada Day celebration. As

in the case of the CCLC and WIL Employment Connections, the SLNRC is also

represented on the Central Council of the Local Immigration Partnership, highlighting the

interconnection between service providers and organizations and the importance of

networking and the pooling of resources in immigration-focused arenas.

3.5 Pillar Nonprofit Network

Pillar Nonprofit Network traces its origins back to a Community Volunteer

Summit held in the London area in 2001, where major stakeholders in the nonprofit and

public sector acknowledged the need for partnerships in order to ensure that all members

of society are welcome in the nonprofit sector, and to enhance its visibility, credibility,

capacity and professionalism (Krishna, 2012). This prompted the creation of Pillar–

Voluntary Sector Network as a result of a partnership between Human Resources

Development Canada and the United Way of London & Middlesex (Pillar, 2018a).

Within the next eight years, the network incorporated as a nonprofit organization (2003),

received official Canadian charity status (2004), hosted the first London Leadership

Conference (2004), launched its redesigned website under www.pillarnonprofit.ca (2008)

and was officially renamed "Pillar Nonprofit Network" in 2009 (ibid). According to its

founding Board Chair Willy Van Klooster, the inspiration for the network's name stems

from a distinct vision for London's community:

> We dream of that day when every person in our community will know an
> energized London is created and supported equally by 3 pillars. Without a strong,
> stable and reliable public sector, we cannot be a community. Without an
> innovative, responsive and vibrant private sector, we cannot be a community.
> Without a caring, creative and compassionate voluntary sector, we cannot be a
> community. Without any of these 3 pillars, the community collapses. When these
> 3 pillars work in collaboration, harmony and mutual respect, the sky will be the
> limit (ibid).

Van Klooster considered the voluntary sector to be the middle pillar and crucial for a civic and just society (ibid). Pillar's Executive Director Michelle Baldwin carries on this sentiment by valuing collaboration as a conspicuous part of leadership (Krishna, 2012). In order to strengthen individuals, organizations and enterprises invested in positive community impact, Pillar supports more than 610 non-profits, social enterprises and social innovators by sharing resources, exchanging knowledge, and striving to establish meaningful connections across the three pillars of nonprofit, business and government (Information London, 2018). However, Pillar's role in municipal public policy relates most to the topic of Diversity & Inclusion in London's community. According to information provided by the network and supported by my own acquaintance with the individual in charge of the Pillar's diversity approach, the network expanded its knowledge base by hiring a Diversity Program Manager with more than 20 years of experience in London's non-profit sector. This individual acts as a Certified Inter-Cultural Competency Trainer for the Cross Cultural Learner Centre, and previously worked as a Diversity Consultant for Pillar Nonprofit Network by assisting the Pillar Board and other nonprofit boards in evaluating their organizations, acquiring the necessary skills in inter-cultural competency and devising action plans to develop more inclusive practices within their board recruitment, board policy, strategic planning and Executive Director accountabilities (Pillar, 2018b). The Director of Diversity & Governance is an active member of the London & Middlesex Local Immigration Partnership's Inclusion and Civic Engagement Sub-Council and shares their expertise as a Champion and participant for London's Diversity & Inclusion Community Strategy, by sitting on several committees such as the Diverse Voices 4 Change Advisory Committee,

the Planning Committee for the Life as a Refugee Conference, the Steering Committee
for the Network for an Inclusive Community (NIC), and serving as Co-Chair for Age
Friendly London and its Respect and Social Inclusion Task Force.

As Pillar acknowledges, while London has become a diverse city, its own
leadership is not as diverse as the city's population might suggest. To address this
problem, Pillar Nonprofit Network publicly launched the DiverseCity onBoard[3] program,
funded by the Ontario Trillium Foundation, in September of 2015 to help nonprofit and
charitable organizations find qualified leaders from under-represented immigrant and
minority communities. Executive Director Michelle Baldwin explains the reasoning
behind this decision: "A board that reflects the diversity of the people it serves is seen as
more authentic and responsive to community needs" (Londoner, 2015). Pillar has also
established a partnership with Mitacs, a national, not-for-profit organization that links
academia and industry, and collaborates with the Pathways to Prosperity Partnership and
the Centre for Research on Migration and Ethnic Relations at Western University. Dr.
Victoria Esses, the Centre's Director, describes this partnership with Pillar as a promising
endeavour: "By taking stock of who leads various organizations, we hope that our
research will encourage these organizations to reach their full potential through the
inclusion of immigrants and visible minorities in their most senior decision-making
positions" (ibid).

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[3] Since 2019, *DiverseCity onBoard* operates under the new name *onBoard Canada.*

3.6 Muslim Resource Centre for Social Support and Integration (MRCSSI)

The Muslim Resource Centre for Social Support and Integration acts as a not-for-profit, charitable anti-violence and social support agency that promotes family safety and wellbeing within London's diverse Muslim communities. The Centre provides culturally integrative services that assist individuals, families and communities in overcoming challenges and managing conflict (MRCSSI, 2018a). Founded in 2009, the Centre's origins trace back to 2002 when MRCSSI's executive director Dr. Mohammed Baobaid conducted research that identified gaps and barriers to accessing support services for Muslim families impacted by domestic violence. These findings prompted the first conversation between London Muslim community leaders and mainstream anti-violence and social service providers, a dialogue that was facilitated in collaboration with Changing Ways and the London Coordinating Committee to End Woman Abuse and led to the introduction of the Muslim Family Safety Project (MFSP) at the London Muslim Mosque in 2004 (ibid). The goal of the MFSP itself was twofold: to raise awareness of domestic violence within the Muslim community, and simultaneously, to help service providers respond adequately to the needs of Muslim families impacted by domestic violence by promoting collaboration, dialogue, and understanding. In 2005, the MFSP became re-introduced as the Muslim Family Support Services (MFSS) designed to help Muslim individuals and families dealing with personal and interpersonal difficulties. As a consequence, the MFSS took on the role of service provider and intermediary between the different partner organizations, resulting in an increase in the number of Muslim families requesting assistance from culturally meaningful services. Finally, in 2009, Dr. Baobaid established the MRCSSI with the support of a group of Muslim professionals

and business people and other individuals from mainstream sectors that acknowledge the need to develop more culturally meaningful responses to domestic violence.

Client services include support services for individuals and families in regard to short-term intervention and response, system navigation and referrals, as well as counselling services that provide assessment and the development of service plans, long term intervention and support. In addition, the MRCSSI arranges for meetings with mainstream service providers both in the community and in the family home. The Centre therefore assists in the coordination of service supports, with a focus on family violence and the creation and enhancement of safe environments, and overall acts as a link to ensure that social services are culturally appropriate in meeting the needs of individuals impacted by violence. In light of the necessity for culturally integrative response for families with collectivist values, and particularly Muslim families within the London community, the MRCSSI hopes to enhance the ability of other organizations and agencies to better understand families from ethnocultural communities so as to respond to family safety issues in the most appropriate manner (MRCSSI, 2018b).

The MRCSSI stands somewhat apart from other settlement services and immigrant-serving organizations, as its main objective is to develop more culturally meaningful responses to domestic violence. Even though it partners with other mainstream anti-violence and social service providers, it does not have an immigrant specific focus, yet newcomers have the potential to belong to its clientele. As an example, funding by the Ontario Trillium Foundation and the Victims Fund of the Ministry of the Attorney General contributes to preventing and responding to domestic violence by helping immigrant families deal with the effects of pre-migration (e.g., potentially

traumatic experiences prior to migration, but also during the migration journey). It also allows for the enhancement of the cultural competency of mainstream anti-violence agencies, so that Muslim women can receive appropriate support (Faculty of Education at Western University, 2010). A look at the composition of its Board of Directors reveals a diverse group of individuals from a variety of professional and personal backgrounds that include, among others, links to Western University, the City of London's Diversity and Race Relations Advisory Committee, the Human Rights Committee of the National Council of Canadian Muslims (NCCM), and specialists in the field of leadership and diversity, such as the City's first diversity and inclusion specialist. As the Board's membership consists of both representatives from the broader Canadian society and the Muslim community, personal affiliations with some of London's initiatives and partnerships dedicated to the inclusion and integration of immigrants are part of the networking process that characterize not only the MRCSSI, but generally inform the institutional matrix of London's settlement and integration services. On a side note, this aspect of professional and personal networking is also represented in the case of MRCSSI's executive director Dr. Baobaid and Pillar Nonprofit's Michelle Baldwin. After having shared his ideas, that is, to develop an opportunity for the transfer and mobilization of the knowledge gained during his years of working with London's ethno-cultural communities and the providers of mainstream services, Dr. Baobaid took on a flex desk at Innovation Works by Pillar Nonprofit Network, where he could focus on working on his social enterprise and capacity-building project (Innovation Works, 2019).

3.7 The Use of Networks

The service providers mentioned above are some of the key agencies working in the field of newcomer settlement and integration in London. Through observation and participation in the activities of some of these agencies, I was able to trace connections among them and better understand some of the everyday practices that contribute to their functioning. In London, immigrant services are delivered by three main institutional streams: the London municipality and its various agencies, boards, and commissions; mainstream organizations such as the United Way of London and Middlesex and district school boards; and various specialized organizations that deliver services to newcomers in general, or in the case of the MRCSSI, to particular immigrant population groups (Bradford and Esses, 2012:95). The settlement services provided by designated agencies can be conceptualized as programs and supports designed to assist immigrants in their specific settlement process and to help them make the necessary adjustments for a life in their receiving society (Shields et al., 2016). This goal of enabling immigrants to make the smooth transition necessary for gaining the ability to participate fully in the economy and society is usually articulated in the stated mandates of these programs (ibid). Additionally, Western University, specifically the Centre for Migration and Ethnic Relations, contributes to knowledge accumulation and transfer regarding immigrant experiences.

As indicated in the description of some of the players in London's institutional matrix, representatives of these institutions and organizations are often involved in overlapping networks concerning the planning of and the attendance at events and programs put forward by their respective organizations. Table 12 provides examples

drawn from among my research participants of how institutional actors support these

endeavours, either by actively contributing to their organization and/or by participating in

them.

Table 11: Examples of Institutional Actors/Volunteers Engaged in Overlapping Networks

Informant	Primary Institution or Volunteer Position	Additional Involvement and/or Participation in Events
Informant #1	LMLIP	CDIS; "Life As A Refugee" conference; Pathways to Prosperity; CCLC; "All Are Welcome Here" campaign and events; "Welcoming Communities" work group; collaboration with Migration and Ethnic Relations (MER) program
Informant #2	Pillar Nonprofit Network	LMLIP; CDIS; "Life As A Refugee" conference; "All Are Welcome Here" events; "I Am London" campaign
Informant #3	CCLC	LMLIP; "Welcoming Communities" work group
Informant #4	WIL Employment Connections	LMLIP; "I Am London" campaign; "Facing Fear With Facts" by N.E.C.C. (Networking and Empowering Communities through Conversations)
Informant #5	Western University	LMLIP; CCLC
Informant #6	City of London	LMLIP; "Welcoming Communities" work group; CDIS
Informant #7	City of London	LMLIP; CDIS; MRSSI
Informant #8	YMCA London Chapter	LMLIP; "Welcoming Communities" work group; "All Are Welcome Here" campaign

As LMLIP in its function as a community collaboration stands at the core of most events that deal with the topic of diversity and inclusion, it serves as a perfect example of how professional and private networks are being employed to assist with the functioning of the organization itself and the planning and implementation of its projects. As an example, the graphic design for the posters surrounding the 2019 "I Am London" campaign was developed by a relative of one of the LMLIP members, underscoring the importance of drawing resources from private connections to further the Partnership's causes. Membership, particularly in the five sub councils, usually depends on an application process, in which one of the qualifications is listed as the ability to "represent and have some influence over the different levels of professional/life experience" related to LMLIP priorities (versus representing the organizations with which they are affiliated). However, from what I was able to observe during my own engagement with the ICE sub council, a majority of its members (or guests) are usually well connected to institutions that in some capacity support the goals of LMLIP or even provide the means to further its agenda. Information regarding upcoming events is usually shared via email (including reminders), and members are encouraged to spread this information or requests for individuals of a specific skill set (such as language, web design or other abilities as they come up) among their private and professional networks. Confirming my observation concerning the engagement of immigrants as institutional actors at diversity-focused events, it is significant that a large portion of LMLIP's sub council members are immigrants themselves. Having started their own integration journey by looking for volunteer positions, some of these individuals now add to the total of represented organizations such as the City of London, the CCLC, the YMCA, the former Ontario

Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration, Collège Boréal, le Centre Communautaire Régional de London (CCRC), and London's leading postsecondary institutions, all of which have a stake in and are actively involved in promoting the values of diversity, equity, and inclusion.

As the participation of newcomers plays a vital role in this context, their civic engagement and career choices strongly contradict a statement issued by the Centre for Immigration Policy Reform, which was launched in 2010 as an ultra-conservative think-tank that pushed for a federal review of immigration policy and the multicultural paradigm that informs the Canadian social contract. The Centre suggests that "greater effort should be made to ensure that immigrants to Canada are willing and able to integrate fully into the Canadian economy and society within a reasonable timeframe" (Centre for Immigration Policy Reform, 2011), something that the participants in my study had in fact moved quickly to do. Consistent with its vision that somehow newcomers do not embrace Canadian values and perhaps pose a danger to them, this Centre insisted that newcomers should have an "unequivocal commitment to basic Canadian values and a strong loyalty to Canada" (Tolley et al., 2011: 3). My research results did not find any supporting evidence for these assumptions and concerns.

Even though LMLIP is supported by the Association of Municipalities of Ontario and co-led by City of London, its funding by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (and its former support by the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration) is not sufficient to provide, for example, the financial means to sponsor projects like the "All Are Welcome Here" social media campaign. As a resource, existing liaisons, such as

with the CCLC, had to be drawn on to pay for the supply of free lawn signs connected to this enterprise.

Apart from the specific services these agencies and actors provide, they also play a role in community events that are the result of collaborations between the various governmental and non-profit agencies on the local level. Many of these can be understood either as celebratory events, such as LMLIP's "I Am London" 2018 and 2019 campaigns, the "All Are Welcome Here" events facilitated by the Welcoming Communities Initiative and LMLIP's Integration and Civic Engagement sub council, or 'consultation meetings' such as, for the City's Community Diversity and Inclusion Strategy (CDIS), as well as other endeavors undertaken by the municipal government and immigrant serving organizations. These activities are meant to highlight the value of newcomer/immigrant economic, socio-political, and cultural integration for the flourishing of a mid-sized and diverse city.

During my research I attended and actively participated in these events and the working groups associated with them, resulting in the following observations. Firstly, events repeatedly attract the same individuals. This does not just indicate that attendees are usually like-minded in their concern with making London a more welcoming community, but one can literally observe the same individuals showing up to these events, whereas members of the wider London community largely remain away. Secondly, the use of professional and semi-private networks is crucial for the general functioning of these organizations and during all the stages of event management, including initiating, planning, executing, performance/monitoring and closing. Thirdly, the heavy reliance on networks can have the unintended consequence of excluding those

who stand outside of the institutional matrix, that is newcomers and members of the public who have not yet actively participated in previous events or programs, potentially preventing them from gaining timely access to events that are promoted within and between immigrant-serving organizations. And lastly, members of organizations that are professionally involved in the immigrant-serving sector are often also privately engaged in the non-profit sector dedicated to issues surrounding diversity, inclusion, and other equity focused initiatives.

As I have indicated above, events organized by immigrant-serving agencies tend to repeatedly attract the same individuals. This occurrence, which is usually downplayed by organizers or even celebrated as a success in keeping people motivated to attend diversity-focused events, is often privately discussed among event participants themselves, and has repeatedly been a topic in the interviews I conducted with institutional actors, as well as during the internal meetings of LMLIP, especially its Integration and Civic Engagement sub council (ICE). One reason for this phenomenon might lie in the fact that these events require a certain amount of flexibility, as they are often held during the work day. This means that in order to participate, prospective attendees need to be in a position of privilege to be able to leave their work place and be present at these occasions or they need to take advantage of Professional Development Days (in case this applies). If their occupation does not warrant attendance at these events, participants have to take time off work or arrange for the supervision of their children and need to be financially stable to be able to afford both.

Events usually take place either after a public call for attendance has been issued on social media, through invitations by Eventbrite, and circulated via internal email

notifications within and between relevant organizations such as the London & Middlesex Local Immigration Partnership (LMLIP), the Cross Cultural Learner Centre (CCLC), the City of London, and other important players in the institutional matrix of the city's immigrant-serving organizations. Additional promotion may be provided by the nation-wide institution Evergreen, which is a cross between charity and information hub that organizes projects with the goal of turning Canadian cities into flourishing communities.

During the process of my research I continued to attend and actively participate in these events and concluded that the heavy use and reliance on networks by these actors may not only provide a means of inclusion and tool for planning and implementing projects, but paradoxically, could lead to the exclusion of potential new allies among established Londoners and newcomers alike. During the planning stage of new events, emails are usually sent out to people who are professionally engaged in this area, being forwarded to other individuals in their respective networks in the professional or voluntary sector, all of which happens with the intent to receive well-balanced input and to pool resources. However, there is also an unintended consequence to this reliance on existing networks that turns the inclusive aspect of said networks into a disqualifying criterion for those who stand outside these interconnected systems of communication and engagement. In respect to the attendance at events that are meant to bring immigrant-serving organizations, concerned citizens, and immigrants themselves together, those who are connected by email and other networking social media will usually be the first to be informed about upcoming meetings. This necessarily means that, for example, organizations such as the CCLC, WIL Employment Centre, settlement agencies, neighbourhood community centres, LMLIP's membership, and relevant departments

within the City of London, will be among those who gain early access to this information, not least because they may have been part of planning and organizing these events in the first place. Since the various organizations are linked to each other and share information regarding news and events electronically, attendance at the various diversity, inclusion and immigrant-focused occasions has become almost required, even if it is just to stay informed on what is happening in the community or to keep updated on new developments. As these events are also usually promoted as possibilities to make new connections and extend existing ones, the importance of networks in combining resources and information is especially highlighted. Participation usually requires registration on Eventbrite, an online event-planning site where one can create an event page, register attendees, track attendance, and sell tickets online. Potential attendees are commonly considered on a 'first come, first served' basis. Depending on the venue, registration is limited, meaning that those who learn about these events at a later date might find themselves excluded as registration has already closed or reached its capacity. Even though this potential exclusion is at the moment still speculative on my part, it remains a concrete possibility that networking proves to be advantageous to those who are already part of the hub, while it inadvertently may put potential attendees from the wider London community who are not members of these professional or semi-professional networks, and therefore do not receive electronic reminders to register, at a disadvantage, or even may exclude them from gaining access to such venues. This merits additional research or reflection on the part of organizations to ensure their inclusive intentions are not unintentionally undermined by their organizational processes.

Additionally, my research has alerted me to the fact that members of organizations that are professionally involved in the immigrant-serving sector are often also privately engaged in the non-profit sector dedicated to issues surrounding diversity, inclusion, and other equity focused initiatives. This twin-engagement has been described to me as almost a necessity or as an implied assumption by the employer, yet, at the same time, it should be noted that the attendance at public social occasions does represent the existence of shared beliefs and practices concerning the importance of strengthening the role of London's community in "serving and integrating immigrants". This includes the use of a distinct language of equity and inclusion, including an accompanying lexicon of acronyms for the institutions and organizations with which LMLIP collaborates.

As I mentioned in the introduction, initially my research focus was to get a better understanding of how diversity, leadership, and civic engagement of newcomers and immigrants are being promoted and received here in London, ON, by exploring the experience of those who offer related programs and opportunities, in comparison to the experiences of those who are meant to take advantage of them. My assumption therefore was that this two-pronged approach would neatly divide my research participants into the distinct categories of 'institutional actors' and 'newcomers/immigrants' themselves. However, during the process of recruiting and interviewing these individuals, I soon realized that out of the 28 semi-structured interviews that I conducted, 25 were with institutional actors and only three with immigrants who did not align themselves with an immigrant-serving organization. Even though this, at first glance, seemed to indicate that I had failed to establish an adequate and representative research basis for the topic I wanted to pursue, the fact that out of the 25 individuals who in some capacity serve the

immigrant population or contribute to the integration of newcomers into London's

community, 15 were immigrants themselves while only 10 were Canadian-born, not only

provided me with a more balanced picture, but also underscored my later findings that

immigrants are a driving force in the city's striving towards diversity and inclusion even

though they might not identify as "leaders" in the conventional sense.

      Since a majority of the institutional actors that I interviewed on matters of

diversity are immigrants who, at some point, have been newcomers themselves, the

combination of professional interest and advocacy due to their own lived experience does

not come as a surprise. Given the trajectory of their own integration journey, the

transition from newcomer to institutional actor does show that settled and therefore more

established immigrants take on an active responsibility that can compare to what a

"leader" has to demonstrate, even though most of my interviewees do not identify as

such. It does not escape my notice that I myself am an immigrant, at one time a

newcomer to Canada and to London, now doing research on immigrants/newcomers.

However, the presence of immigrants as institutional actors and the latter's twin

engagement as professional and private individuals does serve as evidence that those who

are working in the field of diversity demonstrate an explicit dedication to the goal of the

successful integration of all immigrants. As a consequence, these actors are over-

represented among the attendees at events, contributing to the impression that the pool of

interested and engaged Londoners remains stagnant. Since these individuals can easily

justify leaving their place of employment during the workday to attend these events, often

by taking advantage of Professional Development days, it remains a privilege that many

other community members lack and provides another explanation as for why we can

observe the reappearance of familiar faces at these proceedings. This may not only contribute to the perception that these events are focused on a group of insiders or specialists on questions of diversity and immigration, but also creates for others a sense of not being qualified enough to meaningfully participate in these events.

I can attest to this uneasiness, as during some of my earlier participation in these kinds of venues, I was repeatedly asked which organization or institution I represented. Since I had started to attend these events even before I actively pursued my research, the feeling of being or being seen by others as an outsider remained a constant impression. In addition, the tendency of attendees to sit together according to the groups or networks they represent highlights this semblance of an 'in-group' versus those who are not part of an organization, especially new immigrants. As a consequence, 'newcomers' to these affairs might paradoxically not feel as welcome or valued at these meetings, even though the thematic focus of these events centers around the lives of immigrants and the challenges they face. This is not to say that immigrants or members of the mainstream London population do not attend these meetings, however the perception of remaining an outsider in these discussions might, at its best, provoke and motivate people to become officially part of these professional or semi-professional networks, or, at its worst, intimidate those at the margins and discourage future engagement. Unfortunately, the latter would represent a failure to fully integrate newcomers/immigrants into London's, and ultimately, Canada's vision of an inclusionary 'imagined community' in Anderson's sense, specifically a community that values multiculturalism and diversity and appreciates the knowledge and skills immigrants bring to the table. As a consequence, the goal of attracting a more diverse audience and the pursuit of leadership among

newcomers that LMLIP and others want to address and cultivate by facilitating or
providing support for these events, may not be achieved.

Another aspect that might be seen as threatening or discouraging from the point of
view of newcomers to London is the presence of uniformed security officers at LMLIP's
"I AM London" celebrations. These events are meant to showcase the successful
integration of newcomers into London's socio-economic fabric and to demonstrate an
appreciation of the effort that the individual has made to contribute positively to the
community. These "Faces of London", as they are also called, receive a certificate at the
event, honouring their involvement. However, in the midst of these diversity-themed
celebrations, past candidates have received violent threats, including death threats,
unfortunately confirming London's reputation as a still very conservative (white) city
where some residents, albeit only a few, continue to resist the vision of diversity,
especially in regard to visible and religious minorities gaining a public profile. These
incidents forced the Partnership to introduce precautionary safety measures by stationing
security personnel at these events. As uniformed officers are less costly than plain-
clothed ones and LMLIP functions on a tight budget, their visible presence can have a
rather unsettling effect on the participants. Given the fact that within the pool of
candidates and their accompanying families are also Government-Assisted Refugees
(GAR) and Privately-Sponsored Refugees (PSR), the unexplained presence of armed
security personnel may provoke an association with the traumatic experiences suffered in
their country of origin and/or during their migration journey. Since these security officers
do not represent the London Police Services who I have witnessed on several other
occasions mingling freely with attendees (in particular London's Diversity Officer), their

uniforms and serious demeanor creates an atmosphere of surveillance that can be seen as a threat rather than an attempt to create a safe space for all. I have brought this concern to the attention of LMLIP in the hope that it will be addressed before future events are staged.

It should also be noted that despite the intense social media campaign that culminates in this celebratory event, the attendance of members of the wider London community remains elusive. Whether this is caused by the reasons elaborated above or due to a lack of interest and active commitment to the value of diversity and multiculturalism of a still very conservative-minded city, remains a difficult question to answer, while it seems plausible that the use of networks and the combination of professional and private engagement enables institutional actors to take part in these events. In order to achieve a more balanced ratio between representatives of agencies, newcomers, and especially immigrants belonging to visible minorities, reducing the number of attendees per organization would be advisable. This would also open up room for fresh ideas and up-to-date information regarding the status quo of immigrant life, even though this is still hinged to greater participation of newcomers themselves.

With this being said, it should be noted that towards the end of my research period, one event drew a much more diverse attendance than any of the previous meetings I had participated in. I am referring here to the City's Community Diversity and Inclusion Strategy (CDIS), which is now in its second phase. At the three original meetings held in 2017, about 200 participants were selected based on their representative percentage within London's demography (among other selection criteria). In addition, institutional actors still provided a significant number of attendees. The second phase,

which consists of new working groups tasked with implementing the strategies decided on during phase one, reveals lower numbers (about 110 participants), yet draws its participants from a wider variety of backgrounds, including a higher percentage of immigrants and visible minorities. As this is a fairly recent development and I lack more concrete information on how applicants were chosen for this two-year engagement (other than filling out an application form online), I cannot determine whether this is a sign that the various immigration and diversity themed events held during previous years are finally paying off, or whether this is due to different parameters that the City has applied regarding registration. Nevertheless, I consider this development to be encouraging and a confirmation that immigrants and visible minorities among London's population are not only recognizing their right to be heard, but, most importantly, are taking advantage of an opportunity to actively contribute to and shape city policies towards a more welcoming community.

Newcomers to London can take advantage of a variety of immigrant-serving organizations dedicated to the successful integration of immigrants in all aspects of life. A main characteristic of this institutional matrix is the reliance on networks that enables the pooling of human resources needed to organize and coordinate events meant to highlight the importance of diversity and the positive contribution that immigrants bring to the table. At the same time these networks may run the danger of excluding those who should be targeted to attend these events, namely Londoners who are still trapped in conservative thinking and resist the idea of a diverse city, and newcomers themselves. The following chapter will therefore take a more detailed look at London's 'diversity

agenda', while attempting to analyze the various efforts to implement this agenda through the lens of governmentality and the influence of neoliberal policies.

Chapter 4

4 London's Diversity Agenda

What makes the case of London so interesting is its 'diversity agenda' and the importance of the socio-economic and political context in which immigration and settlement policy and programming are situated and the extent to which they contribute to shaping societal attitudes towards newcomers and immigrant integration. It was as recent as 2005 that the City and its wider community began their efforts to develop and implement a distinct 'diversity agenda'. London's diversity agenda evolved in part from the Creative City Task Force report (2005) that stated the need for attracting and retaining immigrants for economic and socio-cultural reasons. The report observes,

> While in the past many immigrants needed Canada, today Canada and London need immigrants. Our city also needs the excitement, the fun, the cultural diversity, the new tastes and sounds, the skills and expertise and the community enhancements that come with a diverse community. The creative class and creative industries thrive in such an environment (CCTF, 2005:23).

In 2006, London's Welcoming Cultural Diversity (WCD) Steering Committee developed an Action Plan in which policy development, community building, and public education were combined in order to coordinate actions addressing the various obstacles to immigrant attraction, settlement, and retention (WCD, 2006:93). The five priorities identified encompass the themes of income, neighbourhoods, social inclusion and civic engagement, services and supports, and systemic change, for all of which the WCD Steering Committee designated lead organizations and outlined specific activities to be undertaken. In this context, special emphasis was placed on engaging newcomers themselves, applying a grassroots community development approach that emphasized the City's aspiration to "be welcoming" (ibid). The establishment of the position of the City's

Diversity and Inclusion specialist can be seen as an outgrowth of the effort to address the changes in demographics that global migration has brought about (and will continue to do) within London's local population.

These efforts represented London's first integrated framework for collaborations between local and upper-level governments, community organizations, private sector representatives, researchers, and newcomers themselves (Bradford and Esses, 2012: 93-94). Intensified by the "national wake-up call" delivered by Statistics Canada (2007) and its projection that "net immigration may become the country's only source of population growth by about 2030 and could account for virtually all net labour force growth by 2011" (Bradford and Esses, 2012:91), this collaboration continues today in the form of the City's Community Diversity and Inclusion Strategy (CDIS), the formation of LMLIP and its "I Am London" campaign, the Welcoming Communities Initiative, the "Life As A Refugee" conference, and a multitude of other small-scale projects and programs meant to highlight the value of diversity and the positive contributions that immigrants make to establishing London as a diverse and flourishing city.

In this chapter I will address London's 'diversity agenda' that inspires the City's move towards a more welcoming community, developing two case studies of specific initiatives. A focus on City Hall's Diversity and Inclusion specialist highlights the limitations posed by the structural context of this position, and the personal challenges that result from it. I then present London and LMLIP's "I Am London" campaign in the context of the effects of neoliberal policies on immigrant integration. This sets the stage for my analysis of the 'work of governing' carried out in the context of London's 'diversity agenda', drawing on the concept of governmentality.

4.1 The Lack of Leadership Positions among Immigrants and Visible Minorities

My research process was in part motivated by LMLIP's concern with the lack of immigrants holding leadership positions within the public and private sector, and to get a sense whether diversity-focused events encourage or discourage the civic engagement of newcomers. Many of the people who work to implement London's diversity agenda through either City Hall programs or other agencies are women from racialized groups. And yet LMLIP's liaison with Western University Professor Victoria Esses had already confirmed the relevance of LMLIP's concern in a 2016 report that showed that in London, only 7.9 percent of senior leaders in the nonprofit and municipal public sectors were identified as visible minorities even though they make up 13.1 percent of the general London population. In addition, 3.1 percent of senior leaders in the nonprofit and municipal public sectors were visible minority women compared to 6.5 percent of the London population. At the provincial level, visible minorities and visible minority women were also underrepresented in senior leadership positions in Ontario's agencies, boards, and commissions. According to Esses, these results "demonstrate that there is still much work to do to ensure that the voices of visible minorities, and particularly visible minority women, are heard through their representation in the most senior leadership positions in the nonprofit and public sectors" (Pillar Nonprofit, 2016). Conversely, these findings give some validity to the often part serious and part flippant remark that I encountered on several occasions during my research process, namely that we are still living in a society ruled by 'old white men'. As I have spoken to several individuals that work for the City of London in various positions, I can attest that Esses' research statement was unfortunately still based in reality in 2018 and continues to remain a

problem. Despite London's aspiration to become known as a multicultural and welcoming community, senior leadership within its own corporate ranks remains largely the domain of white men (and some white women). At this point, I cannot determine whether this is based on a lack of awareness of how engrained white privilege still is when it comes to filling positions of power, or whether there exists active resistance to meaningful change that would embrace the contributions of women of colour and visible minorities in general.

Even attempts by the City to demonstrate accountability regarding its own commitment to diversity need to be approached with caution. I am basing my concern on the multiple conversations I had with the City's first Diversity and Inclusion specialist, who in her work and in her own lived experience as an immigrant and woman of colour knows first-hand the barriers that visible minorities encounter in their struggle to secure the high-ranking positions they are qualified for and the respect they deserve. Interestingly, this specialist is also the only interviewee who gave me explicit permission to identify her position in my thesis.

4.2   Case Study: London's Diversity and Inclusion Specialist

Leila was hired in 2016 as City Hall's first official job designate as Diversity and Inclusion Specialist. She found the then existing culture of resistance turning all attempts at bringing systemic change into uphill battles. As I spoke with her, she made it clear that she refuses to stand in as a token for the City's aspiration towards representing a welcoming corporation and community:

> When I took the job on, I made it known that I am not going to be a window dressing. That we will actually be trying to make a difference. We're going to bring about a shift in the culture. We're going to bring about a change in how

people say things, see things, do things, and hopefully feel about them. We are sorely lacking when it comes to the representation from the community. And even the awareness as to why that representation is even significant or important? This is public service. If we do not have people from the community working within us, amongst us, we will not be able to understand the challenges they face. We will not be able to acknowledge and recognize the impact of oppression and the impact of racism, the impact of sexism, the impact of ableism, the impact of homophobia and transphobia. All of those things have a huge adverse effect on how services are going to be provided, how this community is actually going to be seen as "welcoming" in the first place.

When I asked whether her work allows her to reach out to newcomers to London, Leila gave me an interesting response that explains how the specific set-up of her position limits the opportunity for and the amount of outreach she can pursue:

The challenge is, and you can quote me on this one, the challenge then becomes with a position like mine, the diversity and inclusion specialist, where is it situated. If it is situated under the human resources and corporate services where it is, and there is a historical reason why it was situated here because the previous management wanted to have this position under their control. In fact, in any other municipality wherever the position exists, if anything that has to do with diversity and inclusion and equity and inclusion, those positions are always situated with the city manager's office and under the city manager's purview, and the reason being that this has to be more often [a] corporate plus above corporate position. Right now, what I'm being reminded of constantly is that you're situated in HR, so you have to work for HR. Which means, and again I would have done it regardless, even if I was with the city manager's office, because I would have a responsibility to develop the internal atmosphere, environment, climate, culture before I can … support bringing people (in) from the external area. Because you need to create that safe and welcoming environment before you can introduce another entity within the mix. So obviously I would have still done that work. But what's happening right now for me is that I'm being constantly reminded that I'm not to connect with the external groups, but I cannot do my job effectively until I connect with the external groups, until I hear from the external stakeholders what their expectations are, what their requirements are, what their challenges are, what are the opportunities they're looking for, so I can help create those opportunities here internally. So, I can make that path easier for those who are working here, who are representative of those communities that are asking to be included and those that haven't been included yet.

As for her own positioning she explains:

And in terms of the positioning of this job or situating it deep under and inside and within Human Resources, it's a very effective way of controlling it and limiting the impact of what can be done. This being a specialist position, it gives

me not much in leverage. What happens is, if I put something to them, it is then dealt with an attitude that gives me the clear message "OK sure, yeah whatever, you know, because we, the management, will still do what we want to do, and we the management don't understand why we have to do things differently". And so, I as the specialist can stand there, I can talk to them about the need and the impact, and I can implore them, and I can tell them about the Business Standard…, but until they make the decision to apply it, it's not going to move forward. And I have no sort of authority to say this is how we need to do things, this is how we need to move forward.

This point of contention regarding the power of authority to effect corporate change has not failed to catch the attention of others familiar with the political climate at the City of London. Another of my research participants was very adamant in his critique of the lack of managerial power Leila's position contained. Even though he felt that this circumstance does not render the position of diversity and inclusion specialist an act of tokenism, the lack of adequate support for and the missing aspect of managerial power of the person inhabiting this position leaves doubt as to how serious the City takes its approach to diversity:

It is not tokenism. It was dictated by council. Council decided that they needed to do something about the diversity policy and the hiring of visible minorities. So the suggestion was that they should hire a diversity specialist. So they had a competition and she got the job. Quite a few people applied for the job, and very highly qualified people, but she got it. But it was not tokenism. I mean it was tokenism only from the perspective that they had to be forced into it. But my problem is that it's not enough. Why isn't that enough? Her position should be of a different, higher level. Because she has absolutely no authority. Everything that she produces has to go by somebody else who could rip it apart. Do they do it? I don't know. But I keep saying that she should be a manager and she's not a manager just because she's a specialist. I was surprised that that's not a management position. And I complained about that. But they should have more than one, because one in the voice of many doesn't mean anything. And the fact that she's got to go through so many different positions before something gets to us. She may not tell you this, but I think her hands are tied. But she will not tell you this, and rightfully so, because her position could be in jeopardy. That's just my opinion. I have spoken to the managers about it, not to her about it. Because I'm the voice in the wilderness (Richard, interview, August 25, 2018).

In addition to the fact that her position is situated within Human Resources, and the position itself does not provide her with the same executive power that a managerial position would allow for, the physical location of her office is also grounds for concern. After visitors have reported to the reception desk upon entering the department, they need to pass by numerous desks and offices to reach the door of the Diversity and Inclusion Specialist. For visitors or fellow employees at City Hall who want to discuss any problems or concerns that fall within Leila's area of expertise, this arrangement makes it almost impossible to avoid drawing attention to themselves and diminishes the chance of consulting with the specialist discretely.

Another area of concern that came up during my conversations with Leila is about employee engagement, that is, whether staff members feel that they are actually connected and engaged with the organization. She reported that there has been a fair share of challenges around harassment and discrimination[4], around the sense of belonging and fitting in, and the question whether executives are doing whatever they can to ensure that the workplace is a safe and welcoming space. This took us to the question of who defines what welcoming is, which led to the topic of London's reputation as a conservative city. She reflected:

> It's very much focused on tradition. More than conservative, I think they're very traditional in terms of 'we've done this in London for the last 180 years and will continue to do this'. There is this whole notion around really holding onto that tradition, whatever that tradition could be. And again of course the tradition is extremely English and Eurocentric, … it's not Eurocentric as in coming in from Spain or coming in from France or coming from Germany or coming in from Eastern Europe, no, it's very very English centric….

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[4] These allegations are not a secret and there have been a number of situations widely-reported in the media of harassment and discrimination within municipal departments.

The question of who defines 'welcoming', and how to celebrate diversity, are topics that remain controversial, as Leila explains:

> We have been celebrating diversity and multiculturalism for the last 40 years and where has it exactly gotten us. It is not real. We're not celebrating. This is to me another way of exotifying. It's like 'oh look at that person dressed in that really exotic ethnic costume!'. Those are not ethnic costumes. Those are their regalia. Those are their clothes. This is who they are. They wear it with pride.

And yet, she relates her own negative experience with wearing traditional and religious garb by referring to her decision to give up her hijab, a decision she had made in her previous employment and long before she started work at the City of London:

> I just really became tired. There was a constant targeting that happened, and it just became challenging. I'm not proud of that and I'm not proud of losing that part of me. I'm not proud of hiding that part of me and I have kind of struggled with it. I kind of struggled with, if I put it back on, if I start wearing that hijab, what is that going to look like for the people that work with me? Am I going to be seen with a different eye? So, I hesitate about that. I became less visible. I'm never going to be invisible because of the color of my skin, I'm never going to be invisible because of my hair or my face. You know, the way I talk, who I am, even the way I dress…, because yes, I'm not wearing hijab but... the way I dress myself is still very much in tune with wearing hijab. I mean the one thing that I'm not doing is, I'm not wearing a scarf, I'm not covering my hair. But it's been challenging for me as well. Just to kind of look at that, to say what kind of message is it that I'm giving to my kids that it's okay for you to hide your identity, it's okay for you to do this. I've absolutely struggled with that.

The decision to become less visible by hiding this distinct part of her identity as a Muslim woman still wears heavily on her conscience, as she felt she disappointed herself and the people whose opinion she values deeply:

> I feel that my kids and family would look at me and say, 'we thought that you would hold on to that identity and that you were proud of that'. I'm proud to be a Muslim. I'm not hiding, I'm not ashamed of it. But I was just exhausted. It was this constant, absolutely constant barrage of negativity that came my way. And I just got to the point where it's like I can't handle it and I broke. And that is what it was, I really broke.

The topic of religion and having a safe place to practice such, coincidentally emerged during one of my visits with Leila. As I was conducting my interview, a request

for a prayer room by a Muslim woman was relayed to her, to which she responded by offering up her own office space to accommodate the caller. This demonstrates Leila's commitment to diversity and inclusion that goes beyond her job description, at the same time as it highlights the lack of facilities at City Hall to meet these needs. I have also noticed that Leila is the 'go-to' person for a variety of visitors, as our interviews were regularly interrupted by individuals that were seeking her advice or just came by for a chat.

As an example of the specific work she is doing for the City, Leila mentioned the intercultural competency training that has been developed for the entire organization; it follows a three-tiered approach that distinguishes between senior leadership and executives; those in middle management and supervisory positions; and the frontline workers. Even though the main content regarding the values, vision, and mission of the organization stays the same for each group, the need to tailor the knowledge presented towards the specific skill-set that these different positions require is especially highlighted. Where intercultural competency training also becomes relevant is in the City's 2017 Community Diversity Inclusion Strategy (CDIS), in which she played an advisory role. She particularly praises this strategy as a unique approach taken by the City of London as a municipality, as the call went out into the community, asking the public to provide input in how to "build a diverse, inclusive and welcoming community" by "supporting all Londoners to feel engaged and involved in our community" (CDIS, 2017). As she elaborates, her task is now to consider the expectations and recommendations that were put forward by looking for ways to embed them in existing programs or to create new strategies.

During our conversation it became more than clear that Leila takes her position within the City of London very seriously, as she again reflects on her responsibility as the diversity and inclusion specialist whose appointment has not only been council driven but also council approved, thus reflecting a public mandate that she is dedicated to fulfill. Additionally, it is also obvious that she herself defines her work in ways that go beyond the constraints established by her employer, the City of London as a corporation: she also connects with other organizations that want to learn from her expertise and build partnerships. As she explains,

> For example, when I am working with the employment and recruitment people here, building their capacity, helping them build their relationships, let's say with the Indigenous community, then what I did was I reached out to the Indigenous communities. I reached out to the Three Nations, I reached out to the different agencies locally and said, 'okay we need to have a sit and meet and get together and get to know each other'. So, for anybody who was specifically responsible for employment support within Indigenous communities, we brought them together and then we had our own recruitment people on staff, and so it was a very intimate, very small group. We got together, spent the day, talked about the challenges that each community has, talked about what is it that the City of London can do so that we can become an employer of choice for them as well.

Similar approaches have been taken to connect with agencies that serve foreign trained professionals, newcomers, or persons with disabilities. Another critical step is reaching out and connecting with the Black community, as there has been a strong commentary that they do not feel that the City of London as a corporation is an employer of choice for them as well:

> … if there is a black person who's going to apply for a position, they don't feel confident that they will even get an interview. I mean this is not something new, I'm not creating some stuff. This is something that's been talked about and it's been reported. So, for me, this was a very sticky point. I need to know why that perception is there, I need to know why that thought is there, I need to know what is going on, and then more than that, I need to know what it is that I can do in my capacity to alleviate this, to create that relationship of trust, strong enough and credible enough that people can have those honest conversations and say 'hey you know this is how I'm feeling and this is the reason why I'm feeling this'…. And at

the other end, that the staff here is not feeling that they're being attacked, or, you know, they're not feeling they're not being heard or that they're not being valued for the work that they do as well. So, there is definitely a fine line in the balance that we have to find.

However, Leila highlights that at this point in time, they are still standing at the beginning of a conversation that will address both the opportunities the City has to offer, as well as the challenges that need to be faced in relation to what is it that the City of London as an organization can do to support employment of people who identify as black and who want to become staff at the City of London. Additionally, the workforce census of February 2017 is being used to identify where the City is lacking in representation from the community. It therefore remains to be seen whether the City will be able to demonstrate leadership by implementing the necessary changes within its own ranks as a corporation to give credibility to its agenda that has "diversity' as a focal point.

These excerpts from my interview with London's Diversity and Inclusion specialist stand as examples of the complexity of personal and professional realities that make London's aspiration to becoming a welcoming community such a challenge. It is especially important to highlight the conflicting priorities that immigrants working in the field of diversity and inclusion, and in the immigration/settlement sector, are confronted with and have to find compromises for. Occupying a "leadership" position, but one whose potential is cut short is a difficult spot to be in, especially if the individual is devoted to the cause but must deal with multiple built-in checks.[5]

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[5] On an interesting side note, the individual occupying the position of Diversity and Inclusion specialist during my research period has meanwhile left the City of London and found new occupation elsewhere. Coincidence or a sign of the difficulties diversity advocates deal with?

Nevertheless, employees at City Hall working in a range of departments that deal with immigrant integration reflect a cautiously optimistic picture regarding the welcoming quality of the City. In general, the perception most commonly expressed recognizes that London has made great strides towards being more inclusive, while more work needs to be done so that London can truly claim to be 'welcoming'. It should be noted that my participants were not referring to the 17 characteristics of a welcoming community that Esses et al. established in their 2010 paper, but to a more generalized understanding that newcomers, and especially visible minorities, are still not as accepted and valued as any other (white) Londoner living in the community, and that systemic discrimination remains a factor. Since the majority of the institutional actors I interviewed are closely aligned with immigrant serving organizations and agencies and therefore can appreciate the efforts made by City Hall (both as an employer and in light of their own work within respective departments), they relate a more realistic understanding of how far London has come along in embracing diversity. The continued association with immigrant serving institutions and the attendance at diversity focused events (whether professionally motivated or on a volunteer basis) repeatedly confronts these actors with the lived experience of newcomers and the barriers they face regarding successful integration. Consequently, efforts have been made to accommodate and support visible minorities either by making themselves available, as in the case of the City's Diversity and Inclusion specialist, or by hiring international students for intern positions, as, for example, through the Cultural Office. These performances at City Hall and the simultaneous engagement with efforts that further the cause of immigrants can be taken as an indication that municipal policies regarding diversity and inclusion are crucial

but not sufficient, as long as the wider London community does not realize the importance of addressing white privilege in all areas of life.

   This aligns with my own observations regarding the attendance at events organized by the City of London, LMLIP or other immigrant serving organizations, and the only relative 'success' of the "All Are Welcome Here" campaign given the number of free lawn signs distributed and "Acts of Welcome" posted on its website. Despite the efforts made by City Hall and members of the institutional matrix of immigrant serving organizations, there seems to be a hesitance close to lethargy that prevents established Londoners from rallying around immigrants, specifically visible and religious minorities. Even though some Londoners have demonstrated their support for religious minorities, for example, by attending rallies at the London Mosque after shootings and acts of violence that targeted the Muslim community have been perpetrated around the world, these actions appear to be short-lived and very specific responses to extreme instances of violence and hate, while daily acts of discrimination go unnoticed or are wilfully ignored. One reason for this phenomenon might relate to the fact that there is no office or even telephone number that immigrants (or other members of the community) can call or report to. As of now, targeted individuals either have to involve the police if the incident meets the criteria of a criminal offence, or need to file a complaint with the Ontario Human Rights Commission. Neither option is appealing or convenient, as these bureaucratic measures usually require considerable time and effort, while involving the police might be met with reluctance by those who had traumatic experiences with uniformed officers or persons of authority in their home country or during the migration

process. Creating a more accessible process for reporting on these experiences would reduce the burden on affected individuals to seek redress.

During the several interviews that I conducted with Leila and other institutional actors and agents with immigrant and/or visible minority background it became obvious that representation alone is not a guarantee for being heard and taken seriously. As I have learned from my contacts within the municipal government, the professional and the nonprofit sector, immigrants and especially visible minorities are sometimes part of what I would call the "leadership table", yet their input is often more tolerated than taken under consideration. I was repeatedly alerted to the experience of feeling dismissed, up to the point of being "un-invited" from discussions around the topic of diversity, even though the person in question had brought the topic forward for discussion in the first place. To protect the identity of my informants, I will only refer here to City Hall (including the City Council), other workplace scenarios, and the academic life. Since I also wanted to get a sense of how institutional actors position themselves in London's quest of becoming a more diverse and welcoming community, including their lived experience as immigrants, a distinct concern with the topic of confidentiality became apparent.

As I was going through the letter of consent with my informants, the topic of guaranteed confidentiality came up a surprising number of times. I am not just referring here to the preference for remaining anonymous, but to a clearly stated concern with the possibility of being identified. This was especially relevant in regard to institutional actors, both Canadian-born and immigrant, however, less concern was voiced by private individuals. On several occasions I was asked how I could guarantee that the information they provided me with could not be traced back to them, so I made sure to add a special

note on the consent form. This told me right away that the topic I was pursuing was not only emotionally but also politically charged, and that people were afraid of repercussions at work or in their private lives.

In a political climate where politicians like Maxime Bernier tweet about the "cult of diversity" and the dangers of "radical multiculturalism", this kind of apprehension is quite understandable. The reasons for the concern with confidentiality that my informants displayed, thus became clearer to me, as I was given the context for this apprehension. However, these grievances have yet to signal an end to the involvement of these population groups in the fight against discrimination and inequality but can be better understood as proof of their resilience and the amount of trust they have that, as the more conservative and older individuals in leadership positions age out, their own engagement will act as an example for the next generation of leaders. As London and, in general, Canadian society will become more diverse, there is the hope that future generations of Londoner will implement policies of equity and inclusion and effect change in societal attitudes towards immigrants and visible minorities. With the City's Community Diversity Strategic Plan in its second phase, the next two years will be decisive in regard to whether progress is made.

4.3 London's Diversity Agenda and the Effects of Neoliberal Policies on LMLIP Programs

The observations that I made during my research also point to an increasing influence of neoliberal practices within the immigrant settlement sector and related organizations. When neoliberalism emerged as the hegemonic policy paradigm in industrialized countries in the 1980s, policies came into force that minimized government

planning in favour of those based on market mechanisms. As a result, services became

privatized, and many of its support and service functions were delegated from the central

government to sub-national jurisdictions and the nonprofit sector (Shields et al., 2016).

Due to the combination of austerity measures, aiming to reduce public sector debt, and

neoliberal practices, newcomer, immigrant and refugee services have become

increasingly the responsibility of nonprofit service providers and charitable agencies that,

even though funded and sponsored by Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada

(IRCC) through relevant grants, take over the role of what used to be conceptualized as

the 'government' in managing the population. In regard to immigrant integration, the

private-public partnership model that characterizes Canadian settlement services and

multiculturalism policy holds immigrants themselves responsible (albeit with government

support) for "a portion of their own integration" (Bloemraad, 2006: 244). By putting the

pressure on nonprofit organizations and immigrants themselves to identify and address

the barriers to immigrant integration and leadership, immigrants and their families can be

held responsible and accountable for their own settlement and integration process (Root,

et al., 2014). This approach therefore implies that if immigrants fail to integrate, it is due

to a lack of initiative and therefore their own fault. As Shields et al. note, this

development "directs attention away from the fact that newcomers have been actively

contributing to the development of their settlement countries without at the same time

benefiting in many instances from the same entitlements as citizens" (2016: 13).

In this context, it is especially important that organizations such as the Cross

Cultural Learner Centre and LMLIP need to apply regularly for funding of their specific

programs, yet in order to receive renewal by IRCC adequate numbers and statistics that

prove their effectiveness need to be provided. This phenomenon seems to indicate the presence of an increasingly dominant "audit culture", a term first introduced by Michael Power (1997) in his book *The Audit Society: Rituals of Verification* in which he explored the concept of audit as a principle of social organisation and control. In audit cultures, the use of regulatory mechanisms, designed to monitor and measure performance, is given priority over qualitative results. As a consequence, the different actors in London's institutional matrix are pressured to bring forward a multitude of similar events and programs, while a more streamlined approach that combines these efforts meaningfully without the loss of individual funding for these agencies is being prevented. At the same time, this enables government funders (such as IRCC) to maintain control of the services offered, while placing conditions on the funding for the next period of time to those agencies that, according to market rules, have been efficient and provided good results (Donhilow, 2005; Richmond & Shields, 2004; Baines, et. al., 2014; Shields et al., 2016:15). Consequently, these processes have become part of a system of regulations in which neoliberal values of competition and business market values are being promoted in the nonprofit sector (ibid).

Within LMLIP, the "I Am London" campaign, a social media campaign by the Partnership's Inclusion & Civic Engagement Sub-council, is meant to showcase diversity and to celebrate "successful" immigrants who have chosen to call London their home. Even though these "Faces of London" have been selected "based on a diverse representation of age, gender, profession and compelling success stories of settlement" in the city, and with a specific emphasis on "civic leadership" (LMLIP, 2018b), these individuals also qualify because of their financial and occupational stability. I have noted

on several occasions that the ability to integrate oneself into London's community is also measured based on the level of economic success immigrants can demonstrate and their (proven) determination to 'make it' in London as their new home. Even though a neoliberal emphasis on a one-dimensional focus on the economic aspect of integration is certainly not intended, well-educated and economically savvy immigrants are considered to be "ideal" immigrants and champions for diversity when they establish themselves as financially independent residents who have adapted and integrated into London's community and exemplify the Canadian value of volunteering. Ironically, despite the LMLIP's intention to celebrate diversity by showcasing the success of newcomers and the positive contribution they make to the local community, this campaign can also be interpreted as justifying an approach to integration in which the necessity of investment in settlement services is being minimized (as these immigrants display economic security and an overall proficiency in integrating themselves into London's socio-economic fabric), while the move towards the non-profit sector and reduced funding is promoted. Taken further, this could then rationalize shifting the responsibility of the receiving country for the support for settlement and integration towards immigrant newcomers themselves. As Shields et al. note, social welfare policy increasingly requires newcomers to be autonomous, responsible, hardworking, and to avoid dependency on the state (Root, et al., 2014; Murphy Kilbride, 2014: 329-330; Shields and al., 2016: 13). Even though there are no special rights or financial gains connected to being featured in this campaign, and I believe it to be meant as a true celebration of the accomplishments of newcomers, it is conspicuous that even in a sector that is devoted to the empowerment of

newcomers/immigrants, a mix of factors of "market rationality and ethnic governmentality" (Ong, 2006: 79) can be observed.

In my line of research, this necessarily brings up the question of who is seen as personifying the qualities of a leader and on what kind of relevant aspects this assessment is based. Beyond the "I am London" campaign, even to become a member of LMLIP, the applicant has to demonstrate individualistic qualifications, such as being "results-oriented" and "able to contribute to the direction and accomplishments in identified areas of priority" or "represent and have some influence over the different levels of professional/life experience related to LMLIP priorities". Being willing to donate one's time and energy to the Partnership is an important factor for qualification, yet as with any corporation or organization that relies on the skills and competence of its membership, the application process necessitates a rather competitive edge that is reminiscent of practices in the economic sector. In addition, it needs to be remembered that as an organization that has taken on some of the responsibilities of the municipal and federal government, this community cooperative could be seen as a neoliberal project in itself. However, in contrast to scholars who examine the impact of neoliberalism, such as Ong's work on ethnicized practices of labour mobilization and disciplining where neoliberal practices focus on the individual and especially those who are "judged to be socially, morally, and economically inferior'' (2006: 131), LMLIP tries to create safe spaces for those who are often at the margins of society, that is, visible minorities and new immigrants. As I can attest based on my own involvement with LMLIP's Integration and Civic Engagement sub council, the Partnership is guided by a sincere commitment to the values of diversity and multiculturalism and advocacy for all newcomers, including those

who have already established themselves in London's community. Therefore, we can also regard the "I Am London" campaign as an example of how LMLIP promotes diversity by "fighting back", using the same neoliberal strategies to its own advantage that guide public policy (such as an emphasis on self-reliance, economic stability, etc.) and that are recognized by the mainstream community. Nevertheless, the fact that organizations like LMLIP have to fall back on neoliberal practices demonstrates how pervasive the infiltration of market-driven truths and calculations really is and questions the vision of equity and inclusion even within the non-profit sector.

The processes put into motion by London's 2006 Action Plan, which among stakeholders have been considered to be a break-through and can be understood as having laid the groundwork for London's collective approach to becoming a 'welcoming community', highlight an approach in which the integration of newcomers is both seen as a societal endeavour (Biles, 2008), and a "two-way street". The 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act and the Immigrant and Refugee Protection Act (2001) suggest as much as especially the latter states that successful integration "involves mutual obligations for new immigrants and Canadian society", therefore underscoring the role that established Canadians have in facilitating newcomer immigration, integration, and inclusion (Biles 2008; Frideres 2008; Tolley, 2011; Winnemore and Biles, 2006), while simultaneously pushing newcomers to comply with the expectations of what being a 'good Canadian' implies. However, as Grey and Statham (2005) observe, integration is realistically not a "two-way" street, but a "one-way" street, as it focuses only on the immigrants' 'successful integration', often narrowly defined as being employed and hence not reliant on public support, while disregarding their broader needs and without

considering the adaptations that are necessary on the part of the receiving society as well.
In this respect the various programs, strategies, and meetings that are currently promoted
and taking place in London, Ontario can, once again, be regarded as attempts to turn
newcomers into "good" Canadian citizens as the responsibility for successful integration
is increasingly placed on immigrants themselves. This goes hand in hand with neoliberal
ideology that envisions not only newcomers, but all citizens as autonomous, self-
interested, and profit-maximizing individual selves that compete with one another not
only via the free market in order to contribute to a prosperous society, but also as
civically engaged citizens that drive our multicultural nation forward during a time of
heightened global migration. It also brings up the question whether neoliberalism, and
with that programs conceived to empower certain population groups by advocating a
stance that underlines, for example, the importance of diversity and equity, are in fact
part of a deliberate attempt by governments pursuing a neoliberal agenda to valorize only
those aspects that produce the administrative effects desired by those who rule
(O'Malley, 1998: 162). Even though there certainly exists a genuine concern with the
wellbeing and successful integration of immigrants, particularly within ethnocultural and
immigrant-serving organizations such as LMLIP, the CCLC and others, the danger of
putting market-driven national interest at the forefront and therefore seeing socio-cultural
and political integration as a secondary goal, needs to be kept in mind.

4.4   London's Diversity Agenda and the Work of Governing

As London's diversity agenda and the concerted effort of various organization
within the immigrant serving sector demonstrate, these collaborations bring together local
and upper-level governments, community organizations, private sector representatives,

researchers, and newcomers themselves. From the perspective of the anthropology of the state, we can examine this framework by applying the insights of authors that deal with the "work of governing" based on Foucault's concept of 'governmentality'.

As a theoretical term, governmentality combines the terms government and rationality, and relates to the "conduct of conduct", or the active process of shaping, guiding and affecting the conduct of people that permeates the whole of a society and operates through dispersed mechanisms of power (Gutting and Oksala, 2019). Leaning on the concept of governmentality and rejecting a functional understanding of the "machinery of government" as one that receives and processes ideas and then delivers the desired results, John Clarke highlights the importance of examining the forms of labour that might be needed to govern, especially in relation to political projects. In his perspective, political projects not only involve parties or coalitions, but also other agents and agencies within and beyond the state, that perform the "imagined purposes of ruling: the ideas, ideals, and desires that provide a sort of coherence and sense of direction for political action and the work of governing" (2012: 211). These agents and agencies, as Clarke notes and who in my research are represented by the various institutional actors that engage in the work of immigrant integration on a federal, provincial and municipal level or in the form of LMLIP and related organizations, reflect the "heterogeneous sources, resources, desires, and aspirations" (ibid) that contribute to the realization of a project. Whether it is in the form of their official work at settlement agencies, the municipal government, or through their mandate as immigrant-serving organizations (for example, the CCLC, LMLIP, WIL Employment Services, and others), London's focus on immigrant integration and diversity has become the responsibility of a variety of actors

and stakeholders that contribute to achieving the city's aspiration as a welcoming community. This includes the professional and civic engagement of immigrants who are called upon to demonstrate their commitment to 'successful' integration by becoming active and engaged citizens that invest their time and effort to bring London's aspiration as a 'diverse' city to fruition.

Of special concern here are what geographer Joe Painter calls the "prosaic practices of governing", namely the "myriad ways in which everyday life is permeated by the social relations of stateness, and vice versa" (2006: 752). In a similar vein to Clarke's rejection of theories that view the work of governing as being performed by a monolithic block, Painter criticizes concepts that uphold the "'separate spheres'" assumption, namely the idea that the state "constitutes or occupies a distinct and identifiable segment of the social whole ('the sphere of the state')", which then acts upon other distinct social spheres such as 'civil society', 'the economy', etc. (2006: 753). By problematizing the state in terms of mundane practices, Painter aims to deconstruct a reified understanding of the state in favour of one that highlights its "heterogeneous, constructed, porous, uneven, processual and relational character" (2006: 754).

Similar to Painter's description of the social relations of stateness, the immigrant experience of newcomers to Canada is permeated by rules and regulations that organize their daily experience. Depending on the way they entered Canada (e.g. as economic immigrants, state-assisted or privately sponsored refugees, etc.), they are or are not provided with housing or financial support or receive assistance through the Settlement Workers in Schools (SWIS) programs, just to name a few of what Painter would call the "prosaic manifestations of state processes" (2006: 753). Regulations and guidelines

dictate when and what kind of work they are allowed to carry out, whether they are given the right to leave the country for a period of time, when they are free to become politically involved, what kind of educational institutions they can access, or what kind of procedures they have to adhere to in order to get their academic or professional credentials accredited. In respect to the successful integration of newcomers, similar directives prescribe what kind of qualities a 'good' immigrant needs to display. I am referring here back to Shields et al. and my own observation that newcomers (and immigrants generally) are expected to be autonomous, responsible and hardworking, with the goal of avoiding dependency on the state (which in London means Ontario Works, a provincial social assistance program that provides unemployment insurance as financial support for basic needs coupled with searches for employment).

As I have discussed previously in the context of neoliberal strategies, immigrants, and especially those who belong to visible and religious minorities, are currently more than encouraged to take responsibility for their own integration by displaying the above-mentioned characteristics, albeit with the help of the non-profit sector that only receives a limited amount of government funding. An especially designed Civic Engagement Handbook (currently available in English, Arabic, and Spanish), put together by LMLIP's Inclusion and Civic Engagement sub council, not only explains how new immigrants can participate in social and political activities within the community (and country), but also highlights the importance of volunteering and joining the Board of Directors of non-profit and charitable organizations. These processes and the City's Community Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan point toward the reality that people are continuously "in relations

with state institutions and practices, often in ways that are so taken for granted they are

barely noticeable" (Painter, 2006: 753).

      To elaborate further, I will refer to my observations during my engagement as a

facilitator at a two-day consultation event that addressed agencies, programs, and

initiatives (such as the Local Immigration Partnerships) funded by Immigration, Refugees

and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). During separate brainstorming sessions for members of

London's wider community and those who represent IRCC funded agencies, attendees

discussed the needs of newcomers and proposed solutions for serving London's

immigrant population in more appropriate ways. The main objective of this consultation

was to prepare these agencies for 2019, when a new call for proposals will be issued,

while the themes highlighted in the discussions will serve as a template for IRCC when

decisions on the allocation of funds for specific projects need to be made. These

processes also speak to Clarke's proposal that a "whole variety of sites and practices have

grown up to meet the demands for more consultative, participatory, or coproduction

arrangements between government and citizens, involving new techniques and tools, as

well as new types of governmental worker" (Clarke, 2012: 214). As the example of the

IRCC event also shows, this even includes the services of a consulting firm that helps

"purpose-driven organizations to reach their highest potential" by working on "complex

multi-stakeholder initiatives that impact communities" (Kovacs Group INC., 2015). In

this regard it is also interesting to consider Clarke's notion of the "performance of

performance", meaning the impetus for governments to perform like governments whose

actions can be "measured, managed and evaluated" (2012: 213). Hinged on the idea that

the work of governing is not being accomplished by a "monolithic block", but rather

dispersed among a variety of governmental and non-governmental agents, the pressure to

perform affects these actors in different ways, as, for example, in the expectation that

service providers deliver high-quality results, or the demand that partnerships exemplify

the ideal of "joined up working" (ibid). The above-mentioned consultation definitely

contained this element of performance, both in its process and its expected results, as

members of the IRCC also participated in the activities, while another high-ranking

officer kept a critical eye and ear on the discussions arising from the activities of day two

of the event.

　　The circumstances surrounding the City's Community Diversity and Inclusion

Strategy (CDIS) have demonstrated that events, set up to capture the vision statement and

concerns of a representative group of about 200 Londoners regarding diversity and the

value of inclusivity in the city, do not necessarily translate into the successful

implementation of said strategy. During three meetings held in the period between

January and March 2017, selected community members worked on a vision statement to

help "build a diverse, inclusive and welcoming community" by "supporting all

Londoners to feel engaged and involved in our community" (CDIS, 2017:3). As a result

of these consultations, an aspirational document was created, listing five priorities that

need to be addressed if London is to achieve its vision: 1) take concrete steps toward

healing and reconciliation; 2) have zero tolerance for oppression, discrimination and

ignorance; 3) connect and engage Londoners; 4) remove accessibility barriers to services,

information and spaces; and 5) remove barriers to employment (CDIS, 2017:40). More

than a year after the initial consultations took place, City Hall still struggled to find

adequate ways to realize the goals that were outlined in the 54 pages of the draft. In the

antecedent of London's municipal election (2018), this strategic plan was called out by one of the candidates as both moving ahead at a "snail's pace" and as giving preference to some groups over others, and therefore as not being equitable. The allegations brought forward by this city councillor seem to confirm Clarke's understanding of the work of governing by showcasing that its processes do not represent a streamlined enterprise that successfully incorporates the interests of all stakeholders, no matter how well these processes are strategically planned or executed. In addition, events that are in line with the City's diversity agenda, even though meant to be empowering, need to be treated with caution as immigrants and visible minorities are encouraged to "speak up", yet do not necessarily feel that their voices are being heard or that true change will be accomplished as long as existing power relations that continue to favour white Canadians over newcomers are in place.

The circumstances surrounding the CDIS and other events represent a case in point for Clarke's understanding that idealist projects, even those initiated and supported by the (municipal) government, do not automatically translate into desired outcomes, reminding us that the work of governing does not represent a streamlined enterprise that successfully incorporates the interests of all stakeholders. As Clarke further points out, the political forms of labour that are required to govern necessarily entail the ability to build and stabilize alliances as "different identities and interests must be negotiated and reconciled into an apparent 'common interest'" (Clarke, 2012: 210).The criticism voiced by the city councillor regarding the CDIS and the combined effort of all stakeholders in London's diversity agenda can therefore be understood as the "both connective and disconnective" (ibid) quality of political labour, which underscores once more the danger

of using an analytical standpoint that clings to "black box models of government and governance" (2012: 209). As mentioned previously, the CDIS is now entering its second stage, by engaging a new set of Londoners (with some participants having been involved in the original phase) assigned with the task of implementing the strategies that the 2017 report outlines.

Clarke's focus on the heterogeneous sources that contribute to the realization of a project, and Painter's understanding that "non-state actors from the private and voluntary sectors are deeply involved in what appear at first glance to be purely state institutions" (2006: 756), are exemplified in the concept of LMLIP as a collaborative community initiative designed to strengthen the role of London's community in serving and facilitating the successful integration of immigrants. Even though LMLIP is funded by IRCC it relies in its activities on volunteers who themselves represent government agencies, are associated with other institutional organizations, or have a private interest in the cause of immigrants. However, it is important to point out that the forms of labour that its members perform are strictly on an unpaid volunteer basis, while at the same time the number of hours these actors procure are recorded and fed back to the granting institutions.

Despite the fact that LMLIP acts in many ways as a non-profit organization, the amalgam of what could be considered state actors, private individuals and their respective occupational and personal interests, leads to a realization of projects that, in the end, take over some of the work of governing. As an example, the Integration and Civic Engagement sub council has created a digital immigration portal for the City of London, that directs newcomers to various services that support their quest to integrate into

Canadian society. In addition, in my role as a volunteer for the same sub council, I have

compiled a list of organizations, both governmental and non-governmental, that provide

mentorship and leadership opportunities for immigrants who want to take up London

(and by extension, Canada) on its official commitment to diversity and become a visible

presence in the community. Once finalized, this list will be added to the portal, and

therefore receive a quasi-official status, although it is the product of private engagement.

The earlier discussed consultation event regarding IRCC sponsored programs contained

this element of complexity, as the participants came from different professional and

personal backgrounds and with different stakes in the success of this event, while at the

same time the responsibility of facilitating discussions and taking notes on the various

points that were brought forward, fell on the shoulders of a group of graduate students.

These students volunteered for this event, but were to a large extent unfamiliar with the

topics being discussed. As their notes will inform the final report compiled by the

consultant, Clarke's notion of the heterogeneous sources and resources implicated in the

realization of a political projects, as well as Painter's proposition of the involvement of

the private and voluntary sectors, are both exemplified, even though both authors

generally refer to a more systemic application of these concepts. Indeed, it lies in these

mundane practices of governing and the "frequently hidden, everyday world of state

officials, bureaucratic procedures, meetings, committees, report writing, decision making,

procrastination and filing" (Painter, 2006:770) that "stateness-as-effect" (2006: 755) is

being accomplished. In addition, Painter appreciates Poulantzas' conceptualization of the

state "as a social relation" (2006: 759) rather than as an institutional realm divorced from

civil society. As I consider these relations still to be institutionally mediated, I think it is

wise to consider the notion that the aspirations of service providers as both community resources and federally funded agencies may be coopted by what has been conventionally considered to be "the government".

It is a distinct possibility that, for example, the orienting vision behind the work of the Local Immigration Partnership to provide a welcoming community and to empower newcomers may be turned into the labour of producing "good" immigrants or Canadian citizens. This outcome is also reflected on in Sharma's (2006) examination of a women's "empowerment" program, initiated by the government of India. In regard to her research problematic, she contemplates "how state-initiated programs can potentially serve as vehicles for turning marginalized women into law-abiding, disciplined, and responsible citizen-subjects" (2006: 80). Likewise, it should be considered that the call for leadership among immigrants, and the various events highlighting the importance of civic engagement and economic success for integration, represent the concept of "stateness-as-effect" by attempting to groom newcomers into exemplary citizens who adhere to Canadian values and standards. In addition, Sharma explores "whether states should get involved in empowerment and whether feminists should get involved with state institutions and processes" (ibid), while I would argue that this mutual involvement is already set in place, especially in the 'modern' neoliberal state that, as Sharma herself notes, experiences a "blurring of the boundary between state and non-state" (ibid). This "blurring" also relates back to both Clarke's and Painter's views on how the work of governing and the processes of state-as-effect are being accomplished.

Sharma's observation of the women's empowerment program as vacillating between the status of a nongovernmental organization (NGO) and that of a government

program, does underscore the mixture of different actors and agencies involved in the performance of governing. What I take from her approach as especially important is the attention she pays to the trajectory of neoliberal governmentality in highlighting "the emergence of new mechanisms of rule and a proliferation of innovative institutional forms that take on governance functions formerly assigned to the state" (2006: 61). Another important point to consider is Sharma's comment that in the course of the women's program she studied, subaltern women were enabled to "negotiate a broader, if contingent, notion of empowerment that is not so much about changing women's individual or collective gendered situations but about understanding and confronting the overlapping structural inequalities… that shape individual and collective realities" (2006: 81). City Hall's Diversity and Inclusion specialist, LMLIP's work on newcomer integration, the CDIS, and other immigrant serving organizations and initiatives are also striving if not to overcome, at least to point to the instances in which structural racism and white privilege are at work.

Current diversity strategies and programs pursued by the City, the community of immigrant-serving institutions, and ethnocultural groups continue to reflect the work of governing. As the agents involved in these processes also have social characters that inform their labour of enacting government, their professional or vocational involvement in volunteer and leadership projects, but also their personal backgrounds and interests contribute to the complexity of the different sources and resources to which Clarke refers. In this context, the fact that immigrants make use of their personal settlement journey and lived experience as newcomers by applying their knowledge in the volunteer and professional sector can be highlighted. Conversely, the absence of these voices in regard

to leadership positions points towards the continued exclusion of these actors on a systemic level yet can also be seen as a form of resistance to be taken as tokens in a political climate that still ascribes more value to the input provided by white (male) Canadian citizens or that further the city's economic interests.

Within the theoretical approach of the anthropology of the state, governmental 'concern' with the welfare of a territory's population, particularly with those who stand at the margins of society is being discussed. This includes the question of "development", the issue of "surveillance", as well as whether challenges and resistance arising during the implementation period of a specific project should be interpreted as "failure" or as a "compromise" that is actually needed to turn a specific program into a success. As a consequence, it is productive to examine how and to what degree the processes set in place by these governmental programs aim to ensure regulation and accountability in order to establish compliance and measure the achievement of the programs' objectives, and to what extent acts of resistance by those who are at the receiving end of related programs inform and translate these instances into particular forms of governmentality.

Blom Hansen and Stepputat summarize in the introductory chapter of the edited volume *States of Imagination* that it is crucial to examine existing forms of governance by dis-aggregating the state into "the multitude of discrete operations, procedures, and representations in which it appears in the everyday life of ordinary people" (2001: 14). By "treating the state as a dispersed ensemble of institutional practices and techniques of governance" (ibid), governmentality does not represent a one-way street following a top-down approach but rather is characterized by a confluence of the sometimes-contradictory interests of various agents on both sides of this equation, especially of those

who are supposed to benefit from governmental programs by being properly "managed".

For development programs that operate under the guise of improving the quality of a

population, or a specific segment of it, "mechanisms for intervening into the affairs of

communities and individuals are necessary" (Gupta, 2001:73).

These instances of community intervention and the process of transformation that

follows in their wake are also embodied in the work of LMLIP and in the constellation of

its membership. As the Partnership draws on a diverse pool of community

representatives, professionals, and people with lived immigrant experience, but also

works in cooperation with the municipal and federal government, the goals set by LMLIP

need to align with those of all stakeholders. This is formally indicated in the positions of

the two co-chairs who lead its central council, one representing the City of London, while

the other stands in for the wider community. As an example of the degree to which these

two dimensions are intertwined, the need for examining the City's CDIS in order to

identify strategies that LMLIP could possibly align with or use as a spring board for

further actions regarding the integration of newcomers has been discussed by the

Integration and Civic Engagement sub council. Even though the City and LMLIP share

several overlapping interests, particularly in the attempt to establish London as a

welcoming community, there are also some discrepancies that can be identified. The

municipal government assumes the value of diversity to be generally supported both

within its own corporate ranks and among the wider community and therefore

concentrates on implementing immigrant friendly policies, especially in the economic

sector. The Partnership responds by facilitating language training and other support

services to help newcomers prepare for making the transition into becoming active

members of the London community. While the City seems to push for immigrants to take advantage of the various immigrant-serving organizations and relies on immigrant-friendly policies to bring them into the community's fold, the ICE sub council however realizes that, for example, settlement services for newcomers, inter-cultural competence training for employers and the promotion of the value of diversity are not sufficient in preparing London to embrace the value of immigrants as long as systemic racism and white privilege are still factoring into the relationship between the Canadian-born and immigrants, particularly for those who have been assigned the slot of "visible minorities". As a consequence, the sub council has recognized the need to inquire into anti-oppression resources, first to educate the Partnership's own membership, but with the final goal of spreading the message to its stakeholders and the different sectors that make up London's community. As a significant part of LMLIP's membership consists of immigrants themselves, I regard this as an instance of "pushing back," as the members' personal experience plus the input they have received from newcomers during their volunteer experience has informed their understanding that immigrants still represent the "other" in Canadian society and that immigrant-friendly policies do not reach deep enough to effect social change. In the spirit of neoliberal policy, this trajectory also exemplifies how the responsibility for preparing newcomers and their Canadian counterparts for this process of successful integration has become the domain of immigrant-serving organizations such as the LMLIP, the Cross Cultural Learner Centre or similar non-profit organizations.

Since LMLIP works within the parameters of its institutional context as a federally funded agency for the integration of immigrants and its orienting vision as a community cooperative with the welfare of newcomers as a focal point, there are

necessarily some internal tensions regarding the implementation of its goals, notable in the effort to serve the interest of all its stakeholders while at the same time advocating on behalf of immigrants. The Partnership acknowledges this insofar as the formal procedures that inform the structure of its meetings routinely involve the question of a possible conflict of interest that the diverse group of attendees may want to express. With this being said, a concrete example of how actions regarding the integration of immigrants are differently motivated can be seen in the focus on "accent reduction" observed in the context of ESL classes, as well as the pressure put on immigrants to "speak English" at home instead of maintaining their native language. In a consultation meeting with the community, this insistence has been identified as destructive to the self-worth of immigrants, as it heightens their sense of being judged not only based on the colour of their skin or cultural background, but also on the way they speak and very personal elements of their identity. LMLIP recognizes the negative outcome of this policy and will address this issue by reaching out to settlement services and those who coordinate ESL classes, highlighting the importance of the need to teach correct pronunciation instead of eradicating accents that form an important part of newcomers' self-identification. Moreover as one of my research participants points out in Chapter 5, speaking with an accent is usually a direct result of speaking more than one language, which should be seen as a skill and advantage rather than a shortcoming.

In his work Gupta (2001) brings to the forefront the way in which state efforts to "alter, regulate, monitor, measure, record and reward the conduct of politically disempowered groups" (2001:92) are being transformed by the interaction with target populations and the way these groups "imbued the state with their own agendas,

interpretations, and actions" (ibid). In my own research project, 15 out of the 25 interviewees that fall under the category of "institutional actors" are immigrants themselves, while a high percentage of those who volunteer their time on behalf of LMLIP have similar backgrounds. As a consequence, these individuals share experiences comparable to those that are being targeted by governmental and non-governmental programs intended to further the successful integration of newcomers into London's community. I would argue that this mixture of personal, state and non-state concerns gives way to a particular expression of governmentality that is most notable in their active engagement and identification with issues concerning newcomers/immigrants, professionally or as volunteers. Yet there is undeniably a common understanding that despite official claims regarding the commitment to the value of diversity within the London community, white privilege is still present on a systemic level and informs everyday practices and encounters. The very fact that immigrants themselves have chosen to seek employment or volunteer positions in this sector is not only a sign of "giving back" to a society that has given them a second chance to a new life, but also indicates that there remains a mismatch between declarations of equity and equality for all of London's population, including those hailing from a variety diverse backgrounds, and the barriers that especially visible minorities still face.

However, some newcomers have chosen to avoid the public (and maybe even governmental) gaze by excusing themselves from events meant to celebrate their accomplishments and, indirectly, that of LMLIP's and the municipal government's effort to establish London as a welcoming community. Another example is that of the Muslim Resource Centre, a local non-profit, charitable organization supporting Muslim families,

that prefers to work internally with newcomer families instead of getting consolidated in the "All Are Welcome Here" initiative. This decision has been informed by the refusal to become part of a, what one of my informants referred to as "fancy" approach to the social support and integration of Muslim newcomers and may also be interpreted as an attempt to keep the struggles of this part of the population shielded from external scrutiny and the potentially negative consequences resulting from it. Another example of non-compliance can be observed in the fact that the call for leadership by the City and LMLIP seems to have been met with some resistance by the immigrant community, at least in regard to those I was able to interview for my own research project. Although some of my interviewees see themselves as leaders and are committed to playing a more prominent role in community affairs, other have rejected this idea as a path for themselves. The comment by a former city councillor, an immigrant and representative of London's visible minorities himself, expresses his point of view quite eloquently by stating that he considers leadership not to be a position but an action. Given his background, and in light of the information I received regarding the above-mentioned Muslim-serving organization, I can interpret both examples as prioritizing an aspect of civic engagement that is grounded in a more collectivist stance than with an identification with neoliberal ideology that encourages a more market-driven, individualistic and competitive approach to citizenship and social participation.

The concern with the welfare of particular segments of society, most prominently observed in regard to marginalized groups, finds its expression, among other permutations of the official goal and in its de facto realization, in a bureaucratic preoccupation with numbers and statistics, and thus, as Gupta expands on in his analysis,

effectively brings the segments previously "insulated from the apparatus of state surveillance… under the gaze of the state" (2001: 93). Whether this is a by-product of governmental development programs that allegedly entail a humanitarian concern and are aimed at improving the quality of a population, or whether they are specifically designed to enable a measure of control, should be examined further.

Both Gupta and Kipnis (2008) point out a focus on measures of evaluation, accountability and performance audits. I have already noted that there is a growing interest in establishing measurable outcomes for the programs that are designed to integrate and empower newcomers/immigrants. This is a topic that has been discussed during the two consultation events that I mentioned before as well as in the CDIS by the City of London. Even though I am not inclined to see this interest as an example of a more sinister understanding of governmentality, there is certainly a concern with the surveillance of those who offer and of those who take advantage of resources meant to serve immigrants. Bureaucratic techniques can be understood as a by-product if not a mainstay of the modern state, and form the basis on which funds for specific projects, including their needed human capital, are allocated. This may take the form of documenting volunteer hours, the number of attendees at certain events, the total of participants in particular programs, or even the click rates for online services, as outcomes must be measurable in order to make (informed) decisions regarding the continuation or cancellation of immigrant-serving programs. Although these measures of evaluation can be regarded as a means to monitor the behavior of both immigrants and those who administer to them, I can also interpret them as a way to gain positive attention. The numerous statistics that trail the movement of immigrants and keep track

of their special characteristics (education, language, professional credits, etc.) can in turn be used to apply for funding by pointing out newcomers' potential as assets to the Canadian economy, or to demonstrate a commitment to the value of multiculturalism and diversity.

These bureaucratic measures do also represent an opportunity for organizations like LMLIP to evaluate whether the goals set out by strategies similar to CDIS have been met or even require countermeasures. I liken this possibility to Gupta's statement on the transformative quality of governmentality as an array of processes that have a reciprocal effect on all agents involved in the work of governing. Whether these procedures, or what Clarke would call "the performance of performance", sometimes contain a certain degree of manipulation could be argued as the liberal ideology of meritocracy so prominent in modern society almost necessitates a kind of maneuvering, What I mean by that is the, often innocuous, effort to use numbers as measures of success, regardless of how arbitrarily they have been conceived. I am referring here to LMLIP's "1000 Acts of Welcome" initiative, in which the target number allegedly signifies the success of the Partnership's campaign to raise awareness in connection to the issues surrounding immigration and the city's aspiration as a welcoming community. However, there is a little twist to this, as the targeted population group is in this case not that of the newcomers themselves, but that of the already established London community. Similarly, the "All Are Welcome Here" project with its lawn signs is aimed at the wider community, where the number of distributed signs (which in the summer of 2019 amounted to about 1300) is accepted as proof that the campaign has been successful. What is especially significant in this respect is the fact that LMLIP keeps track of the

postal codes of the areas in which these signs are being displayed, thus turning this statistic into data that can be infused with meaning either to demonstrate success or the need for further action by both the municipal government and the Partnership itself. It is also important to keep in mind who exactly it is that puts out the request for a bureaucratic analysis of specific programs, that is, government, non-profits or other immigrant-serving organizations. Numbers, statistics, and other form of performance audits cannot be trusted as objective measurements of the success or failure of specific programs but need to be examined based on the contingent nature of their specific context. To portray the statistics gathered as a rationale that enables an objectively informed decision regarding continued funding or termination of specific programs means ignoring the human factor and social relationships that play a considerable role in these evaluations.

Governmentality rarely describes a top-down approach but one that evokes reactions and strategies by state actors, non-governmental workers and target populations alike, and that eventually can become mutually constitutive. It is therefore necessary to keep in mind the confluence of different interests of the various stakeholders in the processes of 'successful integration' and to remain critical when considering the question of how benevolent and appropriate the programs and events aiming to further the successful integration of immigrants into the London community really are. As the lived experience of newcomers can serve as a measure for the degree to which London's diversity agenda has translated into establishing a welcoming community, the next, and final, chapter will give a voice to those who are supposedly benefiting from these developments, that, is, immigrants themselves.

Chapter 5

5 The Lived Experiences of Immigrants in London, Ontario

As my research progressed, the institutional actors (many of them immigrants themselves) and the agencies they work for took an increasingly central role in my analysis. However, it is still helpful to include some of the perspectives of the 'target population' of their services, to see to what extent London's diversity agenda is realized in everyday life in the city. The reminders these other research participants provide of the work that still needs to be done may provide useful information for the organizations tasked with supporting their integration.

Immigrants themselves are quite discerning in their evaluation of the welcoming quality of the London community, regardless of their specific migration journey. Overall, my informants came from counties such as Bahrain, Belize, Colombia, Egypt, India, Jamaica, Pakistan, the Philippines, Poland, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, and Yemen. This includes one second generation Canadian with visible minority status whose engagement both as a professional and as an advocate in matters of diversity and inclusion provided significant insight regarding the complex issues surrounding marginalized groups and individuals. It should be noted that my own status as an immigrant helped me considerably with establishing rapport with my interviewees, yet my white European background might have prevented some from speaking more freely, as the relationship between interviewer (who could be regarded as fitting Canada's historical profile of a 'preferred' immigrant) and interviewee could be seen as reminiscent of the power differential between white Canadian citizens and visible minority immigrants who feel (and in fact are) still

racialized and marginalized. The information given was in part a response to direct

questions, yet also includes topics that the participants themselves introduced. Starting

with some general impressions of London as the city they have chosen as their new

home, this chapter will then introduce the various forms of microaggressions that

immigrants are confronted with on a regular basis and their own responses to such

behaviour. This will be followed by selected topics that emerged during my interviews as

most significant to immigrants, such as the perceived status of Canada as a country built

on immigration, the importance of volunteering as a means of integration, and the value

of sharing their journey of integration to communicate a realistic picture of what

newcomers are to expect after settling in London, Ontario. Comments on institutional

practices regarding diversity and integration will form the middle part of this chapter,

with a focus on City Hall, the position of London's Diversity and Inclusion specialist, and

the difficulties that newcomers experience in terms of gaining a voice at the 'leadership

table". The chapter will conclude with suggestions for moving forward, all of which were

proposed by immigrants themselves.

5.1 General Impressions

On the most general level, initial reactions described by my informants show

some differentiation among those who arrived as economic immigrants, Privately

Sponsored Refugees (PSR) or Government Assisted Refugees (GAR). Refugees usually

related their gratitude for being able to escape the often life-threatening conditions in

their home country and getting a second chance at building a meaningful life in a stable

and safe environment.

> I love London. I'm very thankful to Canada and London and Londoners, and I won't give up. And I won't rest until I can give my best to this community, not only the immigrant community, but also to Londoners. To find a way we can say thank you and give back to Londoners who were born here (Andrea, interview, August 21, 2018).

For GARs, the provision of specialized settlement services was seen as a sign that their arrival was "welcomed' to a certain degree, while PSRs usually had relatives or friends that made the transition to their new country and its unfamiliar surroundings and customs less stressful. Since all of the refugees who I was able to interview belong to visible minorities, first impressions of London as a mostly white city in which their own skin colour, hair, or religious associations deviate from the norm were commonly stated:

> For me it's different, because of my black hair, and I want to keep it. Some of my friends, they have black hair and they want to dye it…. No! And they ask me "Why don't you change your colours?", and I say no. Because that's me. Very Latina, and I love to be Latina. This is my personality, and this is my background. And this is how I'm different than others. And I love my black hair. And I love to dress up very colourfully. Because that's me. I don't have to be another person, just me (Gabriela, interview, July 23, 2018).

However, several newcomers noted that they received initial gestures of welcome, either by being invited to dinner by neighbours or by already established immigrants they had met through Church or the ethnocultural groups with which they connected. For economic migrants who belong to visible or religious minorities the same first impressions apply, since London's demographic necessarily represents a major change from the environment familiar to these immigrant groups. However, for those who actively chose London as their new home, specific characteristics of the city were seen as attractive, as the following comment illustrates:

> We came directly to London. We wanted somewhere which is cozy. We have two daughters. So London is a nice place, first you've got the university around you and we were hoping that the children will go to university, because that's why we came here. And the school system is good and you can commute easily in London

and you could raise your children in London. That's what we thought. It's a smaller city, not very big, not very small. Good size and commutable (Fatima, Interview, June 18, 2018).

5.2   Themes in People's Experience

5.2.1   Microaggressions

Sue et al. define racial microaggressions as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of colour. Perpetrators of microaggressions are often unaware that they engage in such communications when they interact with racial/ethnic minorities" (2007: 271). Despite the often covert nature of discriminatory behavior, incidents described to me were neither subtle nor unintentional, and tend to be communicated both verbally and through non-verbal behavior such as body language and attitude:

> People can be racist only with attitude, it's not necessarily saying words. That happened here. It's not that she said 'Go back, you are an immigrant'. No. It's the body language. 'What? Could you please repeat?' No. It's like the attitude, the posture, body language. 'What? I cannot understand…'. The exaggeration. You know what I mean. It's that. When I go to different places, for example the hospital... people are different, because maybe they are training in customer service and they know that there are many immigrants here. So maybe at the beginning, maybe they don't understand, but they ask you nicely. They say 'okay' and they are re-wording and say 'okay, what you are saying is this…'. But I've found people who are not just [using] words, it's attitude…. And you feel discriminated or intimidated sometimes by attitude. You can say nice words: 'Hi' or 'You're welcome'. But if your body is showing another thing, you don't feel like it's sincere. That happened. There have been people trying to avoid saying worse yet because of the racist thing. But, still in your body, you can see. It's not sincere, it's not from the heart (Gabriela, interview, July 23, 2018).

Even though there is an overall appreciation for getting a second chance at building a new life in Canada (especially on the part of refugees), and regardless of the explicitly stated need for immigrants to establish London as a diverse and flourishing

city, immigrants continue to encounter negative attitudes, especially when they fall under the category of "visible minority". In London, more publicized incidents of hate and discrimination have included unprovoked verbal and physical attacks on Muslims, the infamous incident at Budweiser Gardens where a banana was thrown on the ice when a Black NHL player was in a shoot-out, and when the N-word was yelled at two Black Grand Theatre actors just attending to their daily business.

Hostile behaviours, as they were described by my informants, also come in various forms. Immigrants are met with ridicule or exasperation as their accents are deemed too difficult to understand or are taken as proof of a lack of education or unwillingness to adapt to a predominantly English-speaking environment. This was considered by some immigrants as especially ironic given their observation that (white) Canadian-born Londoners often speak only one language (English), despite living in an officially bilingual country:

> I was working in a bakery and I was taking care of my customer and the lady was like "I don't understand what you say". And I told her "Okay, so maybe my English is not clear enough. Do you want me to explain it in Spanish or French?" And then the lady got mad at me…. If you have an accent, it's because you speak another language, right? Maybe she wasn't bilingual. And she got mad and turned around and left. I try not to allow anybody to make me feel down because I have a certain accent or my English is not perfect…. They have prejudices and they use language as an excuse to make us feel down. But I don't allow them to affect my self-esteem and self-confidence. So yes, it is like I am like a fish. I don't allow anybody to affect that. And I give the option if my English is not so good, what about [Spanish or French]. I give another two options. So then I return the feeling (Andrea, interview, August, 21, 2018).

Immigrants have been told to go home, received phone calls during which they were accused of taking away jobs meant for Canadians, and even were confronted with death threats via phone and email. Children of Muslim families have been compared to living suicide vests, or, in another instance, a whole family belonging to a visible

minority group was told that the bathrooms were closed as they entered a restaurant, indicating that as people of colour they were not "welcome" here. As in the case of London's Diversity and Inclusion specialist, Muslim women wearing the hijab are often the target of harassment. I also learned from one woman of African descent that she was the only customer at a Walmart store here in London who suffered the indignity of getting patted down by a male security officer as she and her young son attempted to leave the store during an electricity outage.

How microaggressions operate on a covert level and can be expressed through seemingly "harmless" remarks that poke fun at the cultural practices of visible and religious minorities, is demonstrated in the following comment:

> We have our fasting month, Ramadan. So it didn't happen with me, but in some neighbourhoods my friends were putting lights on their doors, and it happened that some of the neighbours tore these lights off. And then they said, 'it's not Christmas time yet' (Nour, interview, September 12, 2018).

Unfortunately, stereotypes about specific ethnic groups that some Londoners seem to hold on to contribute to a feeling of un-ease among immigrants. Whether these are leftovers from colonial times and remnants of Canada's nation-building project that considered white Europeans to be ideal immigrants is difficult to ascertain. Despite the policy of multiculturalism and the commitment to diversity that put an end to de jure discrimination, bias and microaggressions continue to impact immigrants that do not hail from European countries. London's own history (see chapter 1) has certainly mirrored this conservative attitude towards newcomers, and the city is not immune to the influence of world politics, xenophobia and anti-Muslim sentiments propagated by our neighbour to the south. In response to this misinformation about the alleged agenda of Muslim immigrants, one interviewee pointed out:

Maybe [with] what has been happening lately all over the world, certain sectors of immigrants are more labelled as violent, terrorists, you know what, at different levels. Whenever we read or hear in the news about an attack that happened, an assault, an accident, we actually put our hands on our hearts and we pray to God that this person will not be a Muslim or Arab. But you know what? Many incidents happen by different people of different colour, different faith, and they are not defined as Christian, Jews, or whatever. But whenever a person who would be of this religion does this, it will be labeled…. People do bad things just because of who they are. It's not because of their beliefs, because I don't believe that any religion in the world would encourage violent actions. So if we [keep] this in mind, any bad person has to be judged because of who he is and not because of his faith or ethnicity (Nour, interview, September 12, 2018).

For newcomers from Latin America (especially Brazil or Colombia) stereotypes about their home country's association with drug cartels, even in the realm of higher education, illuminate that bias and microaggressions act on a covert level, yet are easily detected and evoke feelings of frustration and anger:

I was coming to Western to practice my French. But one of the volunteers or the teachers who were leading these speaking practices, she mentioned something about my country, my culture. I said that even through all the war and suffering, we were the happiest country in the world. And she just said "I understand because of the cocaine thing".... And I just wanted to stand up and punch her.... So I didn't come back. I didn't come back and never talked to anyone. I didn't want to. I think she was so stupid. I think the other volunteer let her know (Andrea, interview, August, 21, 2018).

Among the immigrants I interviewed, only two individuals came from a European background, while the rest fell under the category of "visible minority". Based on the information I received and the observations I made during my engagement with immigrant-focused events and in work groups, it became evident that there still seems to exists a hierarchy of preferred immigrants that is reminiscent of the historical aspect of Canada's nation-building project and exceeds the city's limits. As a consequence, the process of integration is generally not only experienced as less painful by immigrants of white European background, but, in some instances, can lead to an attitude of entitlement

that identifies the white immigrant as one whose right to join Canadian society should not

be questioned, especially in comparison to those with visible minority status. One of my

participants highlighted this in the following comment:

> I was at a family friend's place maybe six or seven years ago for dinner…. There was a gentleman from Israel there with his wife and we were sitting having dinner and getting along.... So then he turned to me: So when are you going back? So I pause for a minute… and I my friend is here. I'm at his house. I really don't want to start a war, but I can't let this go. So I sat down and said: How about you? When are you going back? He was outraged, completely outraged to the point where he was ready to get up and leave. "What do you mean? Why should I go back?" Well you're an immigrant just like me, aren't you? How is it OK if you ask me when I'm going back, and how come I cannot ask you that? He couldn't see it (Vijay, interview, July 18, 2018).

5.2.2　Canada: A Country Built on Immigration?

Given Canada's history as a country built on immigration, some of the visible

minority immigrants I interviewed voiced their bewilderment regarding hostile attitudes

towards newcomers. However, under the motto "knowledge is power", immigrants

demonstrate their resilience in face of discriminatory comments and acts:

> Canada is a land of immigration. Everybody came from somewhere except for the First Nations. We have to take that into consideration because this is a fact, you cannot change a fact. Everybody came from somewhere except for the First Nations. We all are settlers, we came in different boats, at different times, in different modes of transportation. So if you have that in mind, keep at it and you can do well. Ignore those groups who try to belittle us, who try to belittle the immigrants or the visible minorities, ignore them but give them the facts. If they are still living in myths, give them the facts… this is the reality. And please continue to not be discouraged by such behaviour. I would have been discouraged a long time ago when someone called over the phone and said 'You came to take my job'. I said if you have anything to say, come and talk to me in person, but don't yell at me on the phone here. And I'm sorry I have to hang up now. 'No, but you have come. Canada is only for Christians'. I said again, if you want to talk to me come here. 'You have an accent'. Yes, I do have an accent and I'm proud, because this is who I am. If you want to talk to me come to the center and we can talk. I will hang up now if you don't mind. She never showed up. No, she never showed up. She was just yelling on the phone. Does that discourage me? No. I will feel bad for some time that people like that still exist in the twenty-first century (Fatima, interview, June 18, 2018).

Despite London's reputation as a conservative city, visible minority newcomers described their impression of London in a way that can only be termed 'matter-of-fact'. Xenophobia and discrimination against people who inhabit the margins of mainstream society were therefore seen not as problems unique to London, but as part of a general characteristic of contemporary life:

> London is, I understand, in North America the hardest city to live, [and to] find your spot in terms of society, culture. So, somebody told me that when they want to try a product in the market in North America, even in the U.S. they come to London. If it is successful in London, it's going to be successful anywhere North America. So it is the hardest place for you to find a spot in terms of like… people are not open minded. Yes, I've spoken with some communities here, like I was speaking with a hairdresser… he's gay. And he said 'I'm getting out of London, I'm going to Windsor just because people are more open minded'. However, even though it's a very traditional city, society, I love it. I wouldn't move from London…. It's been hard to find my pathway professionally. But the fact I've found my church as soon as I arrived…. And I felt like I had a family, a church family and true friends. It was a very helpful variable for me to feel at home (Andrea, interview, August 21, 2018).

> I feel that [it] is like everywhere. So you can find excellent people, and in general I have been connected to the right people and there have been so supportive. But you can find people who [are] still racist.... So here we are in the office, 13 people. I can find one lady who is not nice, who will always say: Can you repeat? I don't understand you. Can you say it again? But in general, like 90 percent of the people here are very, very supportive. I thank God because my boss is an immigrant. So for me…[it] has been four years now and I feel safe and I feel like I'm motivated to come [in] every single day. I feel so motivated, but I think it's because of that. Because he understands. Because his parents experienced the same as I'm doing now. He came here from India when he was 16. So when you are young it's very different [from] when you arrive and you are like more than 30, or more than 40. It is different, it is part of your muscles, part of your culture... [it] is different than for your kids. My kids, both, they learn English very fast. But for us it was very, very frustrating… because you have to start from the bottom (Gabriela, interview, July 23, 2018).

These last two passages address two of the factors that contribute to the feeling of being welcomed and support the social integration of newcomers: mainstream Churches or other religious institutions that encourage relationships between people regardless of

their skin colour or language abilities, and mentorship by immigrant employers who

convey a sense of understanding of the specific challenges that immigrants, in particular

visible minorities, need to overcome and who can provide, at least, moral support. At the

same time, London was experienced as a city in which the general population does not

commit to embracing immigrants to the degree that a "welcoming community" would

call for:

> In general, I will say that we try to make it [a welcoming community]. And this is where I always say we don't walk the talk, because the few people who talk about welcoming [and] the welcoming community, they have good intentions, but the masses don't make it a welcoming community. I have to say to you that on a one to one basis initially they make it welcoming. For example, if you just walk in, they'll do it. But on a day to day basis, continuously, they drop you like hot bodies very, very fast. 'I don't care about you.' They just show that little bit on the surface. And what that tells me is that this not in the hearts, it's just in the mind. They know that they're supposed to do this, but it doesn't come from the heart (Richard, interview, July 25, 2018).

5.2.3   Volunteering

In terms of social integration and adjusting to the "Canadian way of life",

immigrants pointed out volunteering (as recommended by settlement services and other

immigrant-serving institutions) as both a way to make connections and to lay the

groundwork for employment:

> I just needed to get involved and to find a job. So I knew the first step was volunteering. It's something you have to learn when you arrive, the importance of volunteering in Canada (Andrea, interview, August 21, 2018).

Volunteering was also seen as a way to give back to the community and to support other

newcomers by letting them know that they are not alone in their journey:

> When you go to Cross Cultural [Learner Centre] they are very welcoming, when you go to WIL, LUSO community services…. So I found that London has so many institutions ready to help you as an immigrant, as a newcomer. You can find some people who maybe are having a bad day, but most of them are really, really

nice. Even City Hall. And now that I received a lot of support… I said, 'Okay, I need to give back to the community here as they helped me when I came'. Now I need to help the newcomers. So I decided to register with the mentorship program at Immploy. And my husband has been volunteering with them for more than one year. So far I have worked with four immigrants, two of them already got a job, the other one decided to go to Fanshawe to take courses. And I am working with a fourth one. So I hope she can get a job soon. She applied to Cross Cultural [and said] I don't know anyone here; can you be my reference? Of course. And I like this because I felt the same way when I came. I'm alone. And I want to support them. That's my volunteering now. I feel so useful when I can say, 'Hey, have you gone to this place? They can help you with this…. Do this, this worked for me, don't go there'. So I try to advise them…. I like to share my story because I don't want people to feel they are alone.... Yes [if] I can do it, you can do it. Keep doing it, keep trying. You are not alone. There are so many people here feeling that way, and you are not the only one (Gabriela, interview, July 23, 2018).

However, it was also felt that volunteering has its own disappointments, especially when

it comes to turning the volunteer experience into a secure work position:

So I was volunteering in a place, I don't want to mention the name. I volunteered for months, full time, and I was doing very well. And there was an opening and I applied, and I really thought I was going to get it. And they give it to somebody else, and the excuse, the perfect excuse to support that decision was that the person had an administrative diploma that I didn't [have]. Yeah, but my teaching implies administrative… besides what I was doing demanded teaching skills, and I was doing it very well. So I had the feeling like they wanted to give the opportunity to this Canadian instead of the immigrant. I didn't feel [it was] because she's white and I am not. But more that I have the feeling [they] wanted to give the opportunity to a born Canadian than this new immigrant (Andrea, interview, August 21, 2018).

The discrepancy between work opportunities for Canadian-born and immigrants turned

out to be a major point of dissatisfaction and led in some cases not only to discomfort but

periods of illness such as depression:

I've thought about committing suicide, because I don't have a life here…. I didn't know what to do. I was praying. I want[ed] to die, because there is nothing I have to do in Canada. So I was one of those who reached the point there is no hope for me in this country. So I was like… I just want to see my son…. I want to die, because I can't live a life without a purpose, not me…. I was praying, I was crying. I got no money. My immune system went down because I was depressed (Andrea, interview, August 21, 2018).

5.2.4   Sharing Their Stories

Interestingly, the negative experiences that visible minority immigrants encountered during their ongoing integration journeys seem to have motivated them to share their stories with the general public and other newcomers. Even though several of my interviewees have been featured in LMLIP's "I Am London" campaign that celebrates the successful integration of newcomers into London's community, the value of communicating both positive and negative experiences was appreciated as a means to encourage other immigrants to "not give up":

> I feel like it was really good to share my experience, because there are so many, many immigrants feeling alone at home, feeling that they cannot receive any support from organizations here. So I needed to show them that even if we have 5 percent of the people or 10 percent of the people who are telling you to go back, that we still have 90 percent.… We have so many institutions here that are there for you. I wanted to show them that the most important thing is that you go outside. You can't get connection at home or going to the same events with your community. No, you need to go out make connections and try to give back to the community. And try to understand the culture…. I love to share my story and my feelings. And it's very good because I used to feel like also depression. I have been spending time, hours at the hospital because of depression and feeling discriminated…. But I cannot judge and say it's everyone, because it's not true. There are a few of them, but not all of them (Gabriela, interview, July 23, 2018).

5.3   Comments on Institutional Practices

Immigrants who have insight into the institutional aspect of London's quest for diversity, either through their employment at the City, the more informal manner of volunteering for immigrant-serving institutions, or as part of their professions, added some specific points of concerns that highlight the challenges that need to be overcome before London can truly promote itself as a welcoming community that values diversity and the contributions of immigrants.

The degree to which visible minority immigrants are represented at City Hall turned out to be of special interest among research participants. Moving beyond their personal integration story by questioning the internal policies at City Hall, the lack of diversity among staff prompted some criticism and was seen as proof that, as a corporation, the City does not practice what it preaches. In regard to the question of how welcoming the City of London really is, one of my interviewees, with extensive experience in local politics as a visible minority individual, shared his thoughts in the following way:

> Well, I would like to say that the heart is willing but the flesh is weak, if I may put it that way. So what I mean by that is that people talk it, but I don't think that they fully act it. And sadly to say, this is not just a white versus colour thing. All people are the same, we are all the same…. And I will tell you right now that the Blacks face it more than anyone else. So here's an example. I would say to you that we have 20 percent visible minorities. But that visible minority is made up of Blacks, Arabs, Hispanics, East Indians, Orientals, not First Nations. First Nations is a different number. But when it comes to employment, accessibility, inclusion and embracing…, the black people are at the bottom of the totem pole. This is not conscious or unconscious. It's just that the prejudice is still there based on the colour. I make a statement here: if you're white, you're right. And the other statement that I used to hear is that if you're black, stay back; if you're brown, stick around; if you're white, you're right. But in the white there is also prejudice…, in a name, in the accent, and where you're from. And I would never believe you if you tell me that you have never experienced some kind of prejudice because of your accent and the way you spell your name.... So when the City says to me that 14 percent of the staff are visible minority, when this should be 20 percent by the way, I still say 'but how many are Blacks'? And if they could tell me that 3 percent are Blacks, I might accept that. But most time they don't have 3 percent…. I'm just using the Blacks because the Blacks are the ones who suffer the most. I'm talking about black people in general. Some of them who are highly educated…. So what I'm trying to say is that the majority of the people don't pay any attention to them, but they don't embrace them either, because they don't say 'hey let's give the 20 percent of the people opportunities'. And you know I fully understand this can't be an individual thing because individually we're each looking after our lives. And we're each looking after our own opportunities. So we have to look at the masses. And therefore I blame the human resources organizations for not embracing this (Richard, interview, July 25, 2018).

Elaborating on the challenges he encountered as city councillor with visible

minority status, one individual responded by sharing his struggles to be heard during his

long career at City Hall. Unfortunately, the negative experience of feeling not as accepted

and valued as fellow, yet white, councillors contributed to the evaluation that diversity

remains accepted and practiced on a level that can only be described as political

correctness rather than an internalized and deeply felt conviction:

> I've been here 18 years and I've been crying about this. In fact, before that, I was chair of the Race Relations Advisory Committee which is now known as DIAC [Diversity, Inclusion and Anti-Oppression Advisory Committee]. That's where I started. And that's where I used to shout about it. And so I got elected over that as a city councillor, and when I first came here, I will use the word that I felt that I was bullied by some of the more, I use the word 'more conservative'. What I mean by that, some of the 'more white' councilors, they didn't like when I used the word diversity. No, they didn't like that. They said "he's always using 'diversity'". But you know, to me this is important that I nudge them and let them realize that this is a diverse community, and they have that diverse nation. And I couldn't get ahead with that. And I still feel that way to some extent. I feel that even the staff blocked, and when I say 'blocked', I mean they resisted. If the staff had paid more attention to my concerns in this area, I think we would have been much, much further ahead. But I think that the staff covertly resisted it. On the surface they make it felt as though they were embracing it. But underneath I don't think that there were, and I felt that. And what happened is that my colleagues in council were not giving the appropriate support to my concerns. And granted, you know, I was the only one throwing it out there. The others didn't really care. But I don't know, I think that the staff as we have today are a little bit more acceptable to making that change (Richard, interview, July 25, 2018).

Other immigrants have also voiced their apprehension and doubts about their

chances of becoming part of the leadership table at City Hall. The existence of language

barriers, and the status as visible minority, was especially highlighted:

> I sometimes feel… this is very close[d] group. I know that in the council, there is [name of councilor]. I have been talking to him and he's very, very supportive to the immigrants and very close to the Colombian community. But he's leaving, so I don't know who is going to replace him. And he was thinking about a woman, right? I feel that we need that. I don't feel like that person because of my English. I feel like my English is not really good. And you know why? Because even though he has, my boss, all the time giving me support and said you are the best,

you can, you can, you can, that lady [in my office] is saying I cannot understand you…. And there are people around here saying she's not going to do anything because of her English. So I feel like, some days I wake up and say 'Okay I see myself in a better position and I can keep growing', but some days, when I have that kind of experience, no, I keep being the immigrant, [my] accent is never going to go. [People think] 'she is going to be in that position all of her life because of her accent, because she cannot express [herself] correctly'. So it's kind of, one day you feel okay, I can do it. And some day you'll find [these] kinds of moments with people and you say, 'No I'm not going to do that anymore'. And I think that [the talk about diversity], it is more like blah blah blah. 'Okay, we need you. We know diversity at the City of London'. But at the moment of interviews, at the moment of campaigns, [it is] going to be the same people. Because they can express [themselves] better than us…. The day that an immigrant will be in leadership in London is going to be, I don't know how many years [away]. Because the leaders are always going to be white (Gabriela, interview, July 23, 2018).

Covert discrimination is a problem that immigrants are faced with in many areas of their lives but was seen as an especially difficult barrier to overcome in the employment context as it lessens the chances of immigrants to become part of the City's staff. The question of how "blind" the so-called blind application process really is emerged as one area of concern for immigrants:

I think they could do more. They've done a really good job with, if you've seen the 'Start Something' campaign on the immigration portal. But in terms of recruitment they can definitely do better, because there just isn't enough immigrant representation. I know they do have a HR person that is looking into that. But it was also quite interesting because from what we've gathered, they have this sort of software for the résumés, which sort of blocks out the names and it gives you all the other [information]. But to me as an immigrant, it would be interesting as to how that works, because for me it's not so much the name as the qualifications, because that's what would set you apart right away. For me, that's still not a blind system. It would be a truly blind system if I couldn't see that they had obtained their educational qualifications outside.... So I don't know, it would work for say someone who either has come here young or has got all the qualifications here even if they're immigrants, and all second generation person, that would work. But, say, for someone like me, whose qualifications are not from here, it would still not be a blind system. So I definitely feel like they can [do better], because you walk in there, and you look at City Hall, or if you go and pay a fee, any sort of interaction, you see no immigrant representation whatsoever (Paula, interview, June 18, 2018).

Ethno-cultural groups that provide services to their specific clientele are in danger

of getting ignored by the municipal government, based on their religious affiliation. A

spokesperson for one of these organizations (who requested anonymity because of the

delicate nature of the topic) described the situation as follows:

> From my personal experience establishing [name of organization] until now… for many years the City didn't acknowledge our presence.... And not only this, because really I was actually surprised because just philosophically and principally, they don't really believe [that when] you talk about empowerment and leadership that a culturally based organization can be a good idea. They really think the City can do everything. You talk about leadership, so if you don't encourage people also to really build their own responses it's not really [enough], because we're not replicating what is there. If you can't directly reach out to newcomers, maybe you can do that through some kind of culturally based organizations or clubs (Hassan, interview, August 27, 2018).

5.4 Immigrant Focused Events, Campaigns, and Celebrations

Events organized by the City or in partnership with immigrant-serving

organizations such as LMLIP (see chapter 3), that highlight the value of diversity and the

positive impact that immigrants have on London's economic and socio-cultural wellbeing

were seen as useful, yet limited in their potential to reach the target population of the

wider London community:

> It's always the same people. I think we are all educating ourselves to that extent, but the masses of the people who should really be getting some education they are not [attending]. First of all, I don't think they are invited. They don't know about these things. I only know about them because of my position here…. But I think we need to spread ourselves out a little bit more. I don't know the answer to that because you can't force people to come.... The only thing I could say is that if everybody who is involved is given 6 pamphlets to drop around in their neighbourhood, that might be another way (Richard, interview, July 25, 2018).

Despite the perception that pro-immigration campaigns and events often fail to

draw the attention of established Londoners and immigrants themselves, LMLIP's "All

Are Welcome Here" campaign with its lawn signs was pointed out as a useful tool with

the potential to contribute to a sense of feeling welcomed by the wider London

community. However, the process of obtaining the lawn signs was considered as overly

difficult for those who are not members of LMLIP's network:

> Well, the sign means a lot. I can tell you there is a day that I was really feeling a level of distress, and I went for a walk with my kids and seeing a sign like that actually really does make you feel welcome when you know that your neighbours feel that way. I think the issue with the signs is it's really hard to get them. I mean I was interested in one, it was all this whole process. I mean if there is a way for people to just go online and put their name in and be contacted by someone or someone drove by and stick it on their lawn, I think you'd see a lot more uptake. I know a lot of people one of them who struggled to figure out exactly what bureaucracy they had to get through to get one. So I think that kind of gesture is important. You know of course people are conscious about it, but it's different than a political campaign where you wearing your politics on your sleeve. This is about the sort of universal values of what makes us a community (Tariq, interview, August 14, 2018).

5.5   Moving Forward

5.5.1   Advice for Fellow Immigrants

As discussed in this thesis, immigrants themselves carry the responsibility for

their integration into mainstream society. Demonstrating initiative, gaining knowledge

about London's political landscape, and proactively searching for opportunities to grow

in this new environment were identified as key factors in the journey towards successful

integration into London's economic and socio-cultural fabric. Special emphasis was

given to the importance of connections while staying true to one's authentic self:

> I always, always tell my mentees try to be connected, try to not just stay in your community. Try to go out, because your community, yes, they are very supportive. But you need to go find the connections outside. Just having fun in Spanish or in Arabic or Hindi [is not enough]. So I always tell them what is the best way to get connections is through volunteer jobs or attending events. That's the best way. The other is, be yourself, be authentic and keep going. And the other thing that my boss always tells me is [to] get out of your comfort zone, because

your comfort zone is really nice…You're going to stay speaking in your language, watching the Colombian series. And during the week, you're staying with your Colombian people…, you need to be connected. You need to know about what is happening with the mayor. Who is going to be the next candidate? That's what I told my friends, because they always talk about Colombia and the politicians in Colombia and the corruption. Okay. You are now living here, so focus on who is going to be the best option as a candidate, who is going to be the next councilor…. Do you know your councilor? Try to be connected and try to switch…, you are now in London. So find the way to be in the community. Even volunteering, attending events. Know when your people attend Canadian Church. When we came, we used to go to Latino Church. And then after one year I said okay, I told my husband, 'if we continue coming here singing in Spanish, having fun... we are not going to grow. We need to get out of our comfort zone'…. There are still awkward moments, but you need to go through those awkward moments to grow. So that's my advice to the mentees, try to switch. You are not there anymore, you're here. And try to show your best, because you as an immigrant are always the focus point because you are different (Gabriela, interview, July 23, 2018).

5.5.2   What Immigrants Want Londoners to Know

Given the microaggressions that are directed at religious and visible minority immigrants, several of my research participants pointed out that stereotypes and bias still prove to be barriers that impede progress in terms of mutual understanding and the acceptance of immigrants as equals. This ties in with the previously mentioned conviction that knowledge is indeed power and can serve both the immigrant population and the wider community:

Sometimes I've found different kinds of people, people who are really interested in the cultural background because of your appearance. Because of my black hair, because I am different. They are asking, 'so where are you from'? I'm from Colombia, but you can find some of them which make jokes, bad jokes 'Oh, so you are Pablo Escobar? Oh cocaine….'" And I always reply 'Yeah, there were really, really bad years for Colombia. But it was many years ago, 30 years ago. Colombia is not just cocaine. Colombia is coffee, Colombia is flowers, Colombia means beautiful places to go and nice people. We are not cocaine and Pablo Escobar'. You know I'm Latina. I am proud and I'm going to be always very proud to say that I'm Latina…. You need to go out and travel around the world. Maybe [those] people who told you 'Oh Escobar', they are ignorant because they don't know enough of the things that were going on in South America. Sometimes people think that South America is a jungle and you came from the jungle like a

monkey. 'Oh, do you have TV, did you have toilet paper over there…?'. And that is because of your accent they think you are ignorant…. So you have to be strong here, very strong, because people who always have been in Canada…, they don't know other countries. I don't know, maybe [there is] a lack of preparation in high school. They only think about geography for North America, but for us, we need to know the whole world, so we know where every country is…. There are so many countries down in South America, Central America. So try to find a map (Gabriela, interview, July 23, 2018).

In addition, immigrants who belong to faith groups that do not align with the

predominantly white Anglo-Saxon Protestant population, felt the need to assure

Londoners that they did not come to Canada with a hidden agenda. This was especially

relevant for Muslims, as they often are the targeted due to the association with Islamic

terrorist groups and religious fervour:

[My colleague] and I belong to two different religions. We never ever talk about [religion], we respect each other for who we are. I'm not going to impose my religion on you, you are not going to impose your religion on me. Nobody imposes anybody's religion on anybody's. So think about it, think big! We did not come here to impose [our] religion on you. That's the idea (Fatima, interview, June 18, 2018).

That the integration of immigrants should ideally be a two-way street that

involves efforts made by the receiving community and newcomers alike was certainly

understood by all the individuals with whom I was able to engage. In particular, the fact

that newcomers and second generation immigrants actively contribute to the socio-

economic welfare of Canada and therefore should rightfully be considered an asset rather

than a burden to society, emerged as a topic that should be brought to the attention of the

wider community:

I believe, as we say, that integration is a double way. What we are doing here, we help our (ethnocultural) community to integrate into the community at large. But I still believe there still is a lot to be done for the community at large [in order] to see those who are coming not as a source of problem here. Because if you convince the community at large that Canada needs these people, Canada needs the youth, there are the future of this country, they will be an asset in the future,

especially those who come, like in my situation, as highly skilled immigrants. I consider that I gave Canada four brilliant children, one dentist, two engineers and another one who is in health science and is training to be also working in the medical field. So I sometimes don't like to see how the general [population] might consider any newcomer as a source of problem, as a burden on the economy. So, know your neighbour, know this person, know what they might be bringing. They are not competing with you. Some are saying, 'We don't need these people. They are taking our jobs'. But if you are bringing multiple skills and you are adding to what you have here, I don't think anyone is thinking this. We are completing each other... I say to myself and even to my children, 'We are taking benefit from being here, and also, we are adding to them'. Actually, I believe that many of the immigrants who come bring something with them and they enrich the environment (Nour, interview, September 12, 2018).

Several of my interviewees identified "fear of the unknown", as an underlying problem that affects the relationship between established Londoners and immigrants. As one newcomer pointed out, worries about maintaining their cultural identity are justified concerns for the receiving community, yet are equally valid for those with different cultural background trying to establish themselves in their new environment:

You are coming from a completely different culture, and for them to believe that this might be gradually changing the landscape and the culture of the country, there might be justifiable fear and anxiety from having this. But I believe also [there should be] a mutual understanding that those who are coming also have the same feelings about not being able to maintain their values, and they are also accepting other cultures that maybe they are not used to. So having this mutual acceptance for each other and that we are living by each other and we are not getting into each other's lives and trying to change any of those…, because you know even in many countries you find people coming from different cultures. And as long as no one is stepping on each other or criticizing or demonizing... it only leads to understanding, respect and acceptance that we are different (Nour, interview, September 12, 2018).

In order to achieve mutual understanding, respect and acceptance, neighbourhood events that serve as "ice-breakers" and lessen the mutual fear of the "other" were suggested as a first step in engaging community members from diverse backgrounds. This aligns again with the theme of "knowledge is power" as getting to know one's neighbour and the specific stories that characterize each individual would not only

ameliorate the feeling of isolation and discomfort that people experience as a result of

their upbringing in sometimes vastly different environments, but could also help dispel

the preconceived stereotypes about newcomers and their alleged reasons for immigrating

to Canada:

> I would maybe suggest, or I would like to see, a sort of conversation circle. So I would like to have a kind of open discussion happening, and different neighbourhoods where you bring people from different cultures. I don't know anything about my neighbours, they don't know anything about me. And just to make things clear, just to give them a better image about how those people look like. Even for me to know good stuff about my neighbours, because as I said it's like a double way. I feel like I would be pointed at by my surroundings, I would not feel comfortable even approaching anyone or talking to them. So we need some sort of icebreaking initiative and it helps having the communication going back and forth between different cultures and just not targeting one culture and tell them you should integrate. I can't integrate with someone who is not willing to integrate with me. So I believe that's what we need to do more. To go to the community at large and tell them what you might need to know about all those people who are [different], including refugees, because not all the refugees are coming with problems also. So highlighting positive aspects out about things. I wish to see at the end, feel like we are all human beings. For anyone to leave his country, definitely there was an important reason to get someone to move away from where he was born, where his family is. And definitely there is a story behind each person, regardless of what benefits, and the peace and all the rights that every person actually enjoys and has in Canada. But still there is something that is inside that no one knows maybe except the person himself, that he will still keep in his heart, mind and soul. And definitely it's not about living in paradise. You can still feel like you want to go back home regardless of what is going on, and there is still something that you keep inside that is attaching you with your [home country]. If everyone knows that this person definitely would love to be to feel welcomed…, even just a smile would make a lot [of difference]. [But] sometimes just thinking that oh, this is racist, and explain, maybe interpreting every action and attribute it to racism also is not true. Sometimes talking about racism makes us get stuck and believe that everything that will happen to us is only because of it, it stops us from trying to improve ourselves (Nour, interview, September 12, 2018).

Despite the city's diversity agenda and the various attempts to make London a

welcoming community, immigrants are not oblivious to the challenges that City Hall,

immigrant-serving organizations, and the community at large still need to overcome

before they can say that their presence and contributions are truly valued. Regardless of negative experiences, newcomers and those who have already established themselves in the community, demonstrate a healthy amount of resilience and found their own individual ways to integrate themselves into London's fabric, even if it is in the form of advocating for fellow immigrants and the importance of embracing diversity in a multicultural society. However, one comment should be especially noted, as it directly relates to the notion that integration should be a "two-way street". As long as immigrants, in particular visible and religious minorities, do not feel that society (local, provincial, or federal) wants to integrate them, they remain hesitant about the degree of their own commitment to integrating themselves into their local communities. This is why it is so important to provide opportunities for the receiving society and immigrants to get to know one another, so first-hand knowledge can guide interactions rather than preconceived notions of what the "other" might be like.

Conclusions:

Anthropology's emphasis on the everyday practices and lives of people makes it possible to explore the complex realities that inform the ways immigrants position themselves, or are situated by others, within the social fabric of life in London, Ontario. Motivated by their own immigrant experience, institutional actors find themselves caught between their own good intentions that include a commitment to diversity, inclusion, and equity and a governmental logic that demands rigid adherence to bureaucratic measures and accountability towards funding institutions. Consequently, the institutional processes connected to the demands of an audit society actively shape their lived experience and force them to navigate their positionality as one defined by various responsibilities – to the institutions they serve and the limits within they have to operate, as well as their own embodied knowledge of living in and negotiating a world in which multiculturalism and diversity are hailed as already achieved objectives rather than works in progress.

It should be acknowledged that the overhaul of federal and provincial immigration policies has allowed immigrants to be admitted to Canada who were previously considered undesirable. This has created opportunity for immigrants from a variety of diverse backgrounds to find meaningful engagement in work and community life within Canada. As it became clear that the country's aging population and low birth rate poses a risk for labour force and economic growth, a new emphasis on immigration emerged, most recently expressed in the government's promotion of the project "Immigration Matters". The objective of Immigration Matters is to encourage conversations to highlight the economic, social, and cultural benefits of immigration in

local communities across Canada (Government of Canada, 2019c), a mandate similar to that of LMLIP's "I Am London" campaign.

As austerity measures and neoliberal policies put the pressure on the non-profit sector and immigrants themselves to achieve meaningful inclusion, an analysis of "the work of governing" sheds light not only on how this form of collaboration is achieved, but also on the fact that staff and volunteer positions within the settlement and related nonprofit sector are largely filled by members of the (female) immigrant population. As much as this can be considered to contribute to a more community-driven grass roots approach to diversity and inclusion, it should not be ignored that these sectors still inhabit a marginal space within Canadian public policy. Limited resources and competition for short-term funding put the individuals (whether immigrants or Canadian-born) charged with the task of organizing and delivering services into a precarious situation, as accountability to funders may contradict responsibilities towards immigrant clientele, while at the same time their own livelihood depends on satisfying bureaucratic requirements critical to their continued employment. The same logic applies to the institutions in general as limited and short-term funding may force them to prioritize the interest of funders (such as IRCC) over communities served, while the importance of remaining in touch with the actual needs of newcomers becomes a struggle. This is especially relevant in regard to non-profit organizations that need to balance the interests of multiple stakeholders, that is, funders, clientele, board members, staff and volunteers, while at the same time keeping in good standing with the wider community in which they are embedded. It is therefore useful to question who benefits most from this heightened emphasis on audits, as the direction of accountability certainly points towards funding

agencies who, through their authority over the dispersal of vital pecuniary resources, can influence who and what kind of projects are supported.

Even though London actively pursues a 'diversity agenda', there seems to exist a disconnect between the creation of official diversity policies and their actual implementation on the local level. As several of my informants related to me, immigrants, particular those identified as visible and/or religious minorities, feel that the commitment to pro-immigrant and diversity-friendly policies, attitudes, and behaviours is still more of a concession to political correctness or grounded in economic rationality rather than a deeply held conviction. This could explain why, as an example, the City responded to the council's mandate of creating the position of the Diversity and Inclusion specialist, yet neglected to equip it with the authority necessary to enforce meaningful change. Without the power that a manager could exert, the position can only fulfil an advisory role, thus effectively limiting its potential.

Immigrants are very much aware of the ambivalence that informs Londoners' attitude toward them. As a consequence, some feel discouraged or at least uncertain about their own commitment to integrating into a society that appears to remain hesitant about embracing persons of different ethnic and religious background. Still, there prevails the cautiously optimistic attitude that efforts made by London's immigrant-serving organizations to highlight the various ways in which immigrants contribute to Canada's social and economic success will be fruitful in the long run.

To conclude, I would like to comment once more on the City's Diversity and Inclusion Strategy (CDIS), which is currently being prepared for implementation. My own involvement in this endeavor seems to confirm my earlier observations regarding

London's diversity agenda, the work of governing, and the engagement of those who advocate on behalf of marginalized communities. As much as the strategy does reflect a collective approach to building an inclusive city, it relies especially on the willingness of marginalized groups and individual citizens to shoulder the responsibility of ensuring that appropriate measures are being taken to meet this goal. The work involved is done largely by volunteers and requires a great amount of time, effort and commitment, not only in terms of the actual labour involved, but also in regard to transportation and attendance at working groups, meetings, and other activities. The effort involved places a tremendous amount of pressure on these individuals to "perform" and successfully meet the goals of the strategy, lest they be held accountable for its failure. This is very much reminiscent of my previous observation that the work of integration is often done by immigrants themselves, as well as a select group of organizations and dedicated community members. What my thesis research revealed is that those who are most affected by inequality must take on the bulk of the work to combat it.

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Appendix A: List of Quoted Research Participants (Ch.4/5)

Name/Pseudonym	Country of Origin	Visible or Religious Minority	Years Living in Canada	Immigration Category	Gender
Andrea	Colombia	Yes	7	Refugee	Female
Fatima	Yemen	Yes	22	Economic Immigrant	Female
Gabriela	Colombia	Yes	9	Refugee	Female
Hassan	Yemen	Yes	18	Refugee	Male
Leila	Pakistan	Yes	7	Economic Immigrant	Female
Mahila	Sri Lanka	Yes	33	Privately Sponsored/Spouse	Female
Nour	Egypt	Yes	8	Economic Immigrant	Female
Paula	India	Yes	7	Economic Immigrant	Female
Richard	Belize	Yes	More than 35 years	Economic Immigrant	Male
Tariq	Parents from Pakistan	Yes	Second generation Canadian	N/A	Male
Vijay	India	Yes	Since infancy	N/A	Male

Appendix B: Ethics Approval

Western
Research

Date: 16 May 2018

To: Dr. Kim Clark

Project ID: 111588

Study Title: Leadership and Integration of Newcomers in London, Ontario

Application Type: NMREB Initial Application

Review Type: Full Board

Meeting Date / Full Board Reporting Date: 06/Apr/2018

Date Approval Issued: 16/May/2018

REB Approval Expiry Date: 16/May/2019

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Dear Dr. Kim Clark

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the WREM application form for the above mentioned study, as of the date noted above. NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the expiry date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

This research study is to be conducted by the investigator noted above. All other required institutional approvals must also be obtained prior to the conduct of the study.

Documents Approved:

Document Name	Document Type	Document Date	Document Version
111588_General Areas for Observation_20 March 2018	Participant Observation Guide	20/Mar/2018	
111588_General Topics for Focus Groups_Institutional Actors_20 March 2018	Focus Group(s) Guide	20/Mar/2018	
111588_General Topics for Focus Groups_Newcomers_20 March 2018	Focus Group(s) Guide	20/Mar/2018	
111588_General Topics for Interviews_Institutional Actors_20 March 2018	Interview Guide	20/Mar/2018	
111588_General Topics for Interviews_Newcomers_20 March 2018	Interview Guide	20/Mar/2018	
111588_Letter of Information and Consent_2 May 2018	Written Consent/Assent	02/May/2018	
111588_Recruitment Poster_20 March 2018	Oral Script	20/Mar/2018	2
111588_Recruitment Poster_20 March 2018	Recruitment Materials	20/Mar/2018	

No deviations from, or changes to the protocol should be initiated without prior written approval from the NMREB, except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazard(s) to study participants or when the change(s) involves only administrative or logistical aspects of the trial.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB. The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Kelly Patterson, Research Ethics Officer on behalf of Dr. Randal Graham, NMREB Chair

Note: This correspondence includes an electronic signature (validation and approval via an online system that is compliant with all regulations).

Appendix C: Curriculum Vitae

Name:	Jutta Zeller-Beier
Post-secondary Education and Degrees:	Western University London, Ontario, Canada 2005-2017 B.A. The University of Western Ontario London, Ontario, Canada 2017-2020 M.A.
Honours and Awards:	Province of Ontario Graduate Scholarship 2018-2019 Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Canadian Graduate Scholarship – Masters 2017-2018
Related Work Experience	Teaching Assistant The University of Western Ontario 2017-2019