

What Role do Ethnic Enclaves Play in Municipal Agenda Setting: An Exploratory
Case Study Analysis of Indo-Canadian and Indigenous Communities in
Abbotsford, BC, and Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

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By

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Abstract

The pluralistic or competitive nature of policy problem definition in Canada involves the power to frame the problem and gain the attention of the public, resulting in setting government's agenda. The collective action problem takes on an alternate meaning when looking through the lens of a Canadian multicultural policy. This thesis identifies where an ethnic enclave's interests are highlighted at the municipal level. Using communication infrastructure theory as a guide, the conceptual framework elements examine the determinants that constrain municipal agenda setting, the necessary conditions that facilitate it, and the community structures of policy networks that shape municipal agendas.

I collected data by interviewing community participants in two Canadian cities, Saskatoon Saskatchewan, and Abbotsford British Columbia. Analysis in the interview process went through two levels of coding using NVIVO. The results show that agenda setting occurs both through formal and informal channels that revolve around prior relationships. This thesis primarily addresses issues of interest to public policy analysts and those in bureaucracy charged with developing services and programs at the municipal level.

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Table of contents

Permission to use	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
Tables and Figures	vii
Maps	vii
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background.....	1
Abbotsford.....	2
Saskatoon.....	3
1.2 Purpose	6
1.3 Conceptual/theoretical framework.....	7
1.4 Research Problem Statement	8
1.5 Research Questions and Research Design	9
1.6 Significance of the Study	10
1.7 Limitations and Delimitations.....	10
1.8 Definitions.....	11
1.9 Assumptions.....	12
1.10 Outline of thesis.....	12
CHAPTER 2 CONNECTING CONCEPTS	13
2.0 Necessary Conditions for Policy Networks.....	13
2.0.1 Socio-spatiality.....	13
2.0.2 Communication.....	14
2.0.3 Inclusion as a Process of Policy Networks.....	16
2.0.4 Summary of Necessary Conditions	17

Chapter 2 continued

2.1 Social Determinants of Policy Networks.....	17
2.1.1 Ethnic enclaves.....	17
2.1.2. Geo-Ethnic and Mainstream Media.....	19
2.1.3 Framing.....	21
2.1.4 Summary of Determinants of Policy Networks.....	22
2.2 Collective Action.....	23
2.2.1 Policy networks.....	24
2.2.2 Interests.....	25
2.2.3 Representation.....	26
2.3 Shaping Municipal Agenda.....	28
2.3.1 Mechanisms of Municipal Representation.....	28
2.3.2 Policy Process and Subsystems of Problem Definition.....	29
2.4 Social Constructionist approach the Problem Definition.....	31
2.5 Bridging Determinants of and Necessary Conditions for Policy Networks.....	34
CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY.....	35
3.1 Nature of the Study.....	35
3.2 Delimiting Municipal Agenda Setting.....	37
3.3 Target population and Participant Selection.....	38
3.4 Data collection.....	39
3.5 Procedures and Methods for Data Collection.....	40
Saskatoon.....	40
Abbotsford.....	41
3.6 Methods and Procedures Raw Data analysis.....	42
3.7 Researchers Background.....	45

CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS	47
4.1 Presentation of Findings.....	47
4.1.1 What positions within the municipal policy systems can ethnic enclaves highlight their interest?.....	47
4.1.2 Does framing of ethnic enclaves’ influence cooperation to join policy networks?.....	51
4.1.3 Do ethnic enclaves reduce or enhance the effectiveness of collective action which is vital to policy networks?.....	53
4.2 What does Confidence and Comfort have to do with it?.....	56
4.3 Discussion.....	57
Chapter 5 APPLICATION, IMPLICATION AND CONCLUSION	61
5.1 Applications.....	61
5.2 Problem Definitions.....	62
5.3 Implications.....	64
5.4 Conclusion and Future Research Possibilities	65
Bibliography	67
Appendices	
Appendix A: Population Breakdown Townline Abbotsford British Columbia.....	76
Appendix B: Historical Context of Indigenous and Punjab.....	77
Appendix C:Population Breakdown Ward 2 Saskatoon.....	78
Appendix D: Project Summary.....	79
Appendix E: Interview questions.....	80

TABLES

Table 1.1 Abbotsford Townline neighborhood profile.....	3
Table 1.2 Saskatoon Ward 2 neighborhood profile	4
Table 1.3 Truth value, consistency, and applicability.....	9
Table 2.1 Subjective and objective approaches.....	27
Table 3.1 Truth value, consistency, and applicability.....	36
Table 3.2 Key works and attributes of agenda setting.....	38
Table 3.3 Sample Organizations participants.....	39
Table 3.4 -11 Coding process.....	43 - 45
Table 4.1 Measuring Confidence Saskatoon.....	56
Table 4.2 Measuring Confidence Abbotsford.....	57

FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Conceptual Framework Pathways to municipal agenda setting	8
Figure 2.1 Venn diagram community structure of policy networks.....	29

MAPS

Map 1.1 Abbotsford Neighborhood Boundaries.....	3
Map 1.2 Saskatoon Neighborhood Boundaries.....	5

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“By stressing diversity but not the elements that bind us – we further diminish our already weak and weakening commonalities. We face the danger of coming apart at the seams”.

Amitai Etzioni complete citation

1.1 Background

The focus for multicultural policy in Canada was to deal with “a pressing domestic issue: Quebec” (Gregg, *Multiculturalism: A twentieth-century dream becomes a twenty-first-century conundrum* 2006) resulting in Canada officially becoming bicultural and bilingual. The federal multicultural policy of the 1970’s focused on ethnicity and celebrating differences. On the continuum of the multicultural policy, society building was the objective in the 1990s. Currently, the focus is on inclusion (Policy Horizons Canada 2009). However, each attempt to redesign the multicultural policy has left in its wake a core problem, how to overcome the residual social consequences of its predecessor and, more specifically, the implications on community structures of policy networks.

The Policy Research Initiative (PRI) involved roundtable discussions across Canada, finding that, in practice, a pan-Canadian approach to multiculturalism has lingering issues, such as employment and income mobility (Sykes & Kunz, pg. 8, 2007). Researchers such as Garcea et.al have focused on the reality that, rather than uniting Canada, the multicultural policy has fragmented its citizens along the lines of religious beliefs and visible identity markers. These “fragmentary effects of multiculturalism have been persistent and pervasive for more than forty years, since the issue of multiculturalism was broached . . .” (Garcea, Kivova, & Wong., pg. 6 2008). Not only did the policy create division by preserving distinct cultures it “[endorsed] the development and maintenance of ethnic enclaves” (Varady, p. 3, 2005 ; Mettler & Soss, p. 62, 2004) and, further, “exempting the dominant society from any responsibility toward the immigrant problem” (as quoted by Espiritu 2010, 661). Looking at multiculturalism through the lens of community structure of policy networks, the collective action problem takes on an alternate goal¹ of overcoming fragmentary effects to solve a defined social condition. McMahon argues “the principle problem of multiculturalism . . . is to draw false boundaries around categories of citizens” (2012, 4).

It is not surprising that Canada has experienced an increase in ethnic enclaves given the rise in the number of immigrants and Indigenous people settling in urban centers. The number of ethnic enclaves, defined by Statistics Canada as “a defined census tract with at least 30% of the population from a single visible minority group” (Hou & Picot abstract, 2003), jumped from six in 1981 to 260 in 2012 (Hopper 2012). In view of that, this is an important subject for two reasons. One,

¹ For classic models see Oliver, Pamela E. "Formal Models of Collective Action." *Annual Review of Sociology* 19 (1993): 271-300. <http://www.jstor.org.cyber.usask.ca/stable/2083389>.

immigration to Canada and movement within it are increasing and, two, the list of cities that dominate the literature, namely Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal (King, 2009; Walks, 2014) must be expanded to include smaller cities that are currently experiencing the challenges of diversity in general and, more specifically, the challenges of moving from diversity to inclusion, in keeping step with the goal of the Canadian multicultural policy. Moreover, public institutions like governments and not-for-profit organizations have concentrated on diversity to ensure that their work and policies are representative of the people that they serve. The ethnic enclaves I have chosen are the Indigenous community in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan and South Asian/Punjab people in Abbotsford British Columbia. In this case study approach, units under analysis are the Aboriginal population residing in Ward 2 in Saskatoon's west side and the Indo-Canadian residents living in the neighborhoods of East and West Townline in the suburbs of Abbotsford British Columbia. Interview subjects hold positions within civic government, advisory groups and not-for-profit organizations that have a social focus.

In smaller municipalities, government is less partisan and, by nature, less ideological that focuses more on collective and individual needs, thus [in theory] exemplifying the principles of a representative democracy (Tindal et. al. 2013, 366). In addition, city councilors in municipalities typically have closer relationships with constituents than do provincial and federal elected officials. This would lead to the conclusion that representation of voice and interests at the municipal level are not an issue. On Saskatoon City Council, however, ethnic electoral representation did not keep pace with an increase in ethnic diversity. This stands in contrast to Abbotsford, British Columbia, (hereafter known as Abbotsford) where ethnic diversity is evident, two on city council are perceived to be from the Punjabi community.

ABBOTSFORD

According to an important study, "Immigration reduces people's ability to actively maintain . . . ties" (Buchignani, Indra, & Srivastiva 1985, 6). First generation cultural traditions were such that the woman was to look after the parents, storytelling was a way to pass on collective knowledge (Ibid. 31), after marriage sons along with their wives lived with his parents, and kinship was important. The second generation relied less on oral transmission as historical accounts and were more educated and interested in education (Nayar 2004, 34). By the third-generation, women were becoming westernized, were not staying with parents until marriage, and sons were not living with his parents after marriage. Seniors were living with less familial care; alcohol became an issue and self-focus versus the traditional collective orientation changed the fabric of the community (Ibid. 40). The pull away from cultural tradition is the result of integration and creates a liminal space.

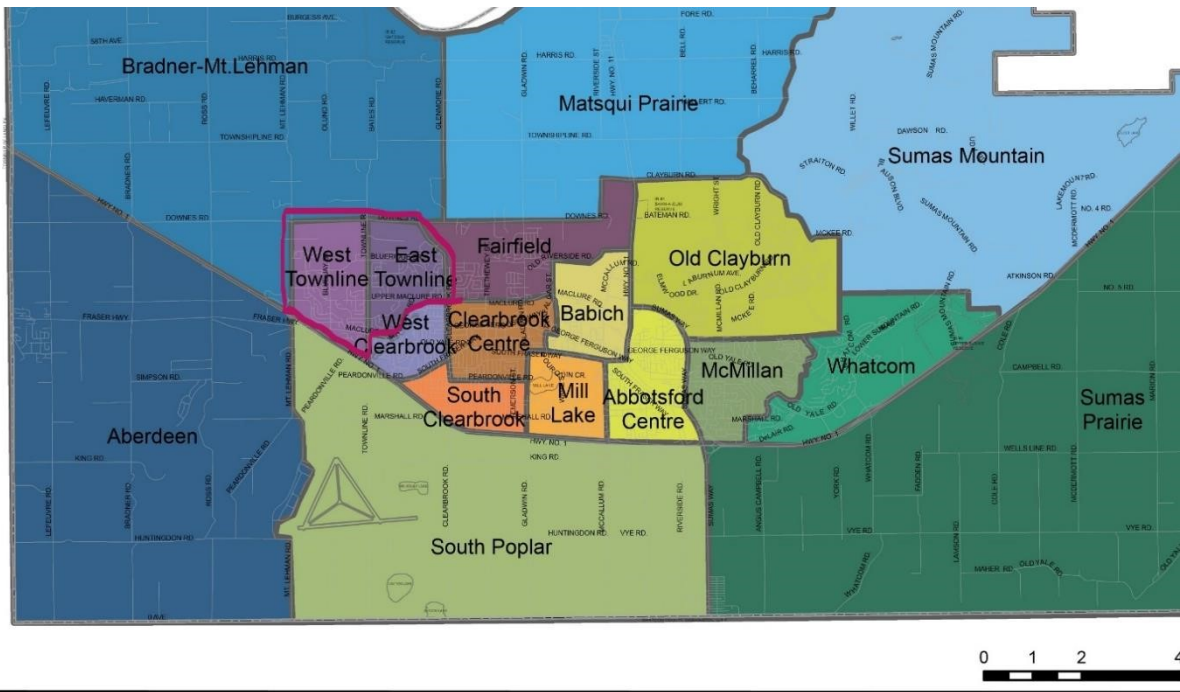
Providing context (Table 1), Abbotsford population of 138,000 in 2014 was 22.7% of South Asian ethnicity and makeup the largest visible minority group). The neighborhoods of East and West Townline are home to 89.5% and 91.5% respectively occupied by those from South Asia (see Appendix 1 and 2).

Table 1.1 Abbotsford Townline Neighbourhood Profile

Neighborhood (Abbotsford)	Median Income/person	Median Income/Household	Average cost of housing \$	Median age years	% Pop'n of South Asian in	Speaking Punjab % in
East Townline	\$23,179	\$74,270	\$518,761	33.6	67.6	64.9
West Townline	\$26,428	\$79,235	\$465,140	32.7	84.1	64.5

www.abbotsford.ca/community/neighbourhoods.htm

Map 1.1 Abbotsford Neighbourhood Boundaries (Red outlines boundary of Townline Neighborhood)



City of Abbotsford
Community Boundaries

<https://www.abbotsford.ca/Assets/2014+Abbotsford/Planning+and+Development/Planning/Statistics/Community+Boundaries+Map.pdf>

The map above shows that the enclaves are situated in the suburbs of Abbotsford (the Indigenous enclave in Saskatoon which is inner-city (see map 2); there are similarities in median income but the value of property in Abbotsford is double that of Saskatoon. At the time of this research, there were 2 members that were perceived as representing South Asian/Punjab interests.

SASKATOON

Visible minorities accounted for 28,645 (NHS Profile 2011), or 21.82% of the population of Saskatoon CMA. At the time of the 2011 NHS Profile, the population of Saskatoon was 230,850.

Of that number, 22,360 people were of North American Aboriginal descent (according to civic officials, the current percentage is closer to 14%, reflecting the rapid growth of the city as a whole). Ward 2 is made up of seven neighbourhoods listed below in table 2 (for a breakdown of population by Indigenous groups and non-Indigenous groups see Appendix 3). The historical relationship between Indigenous People and Canada is complex and there is not adequate space here to pay respects to it (see appendix 2 for a brief account).

In Canada, migration from reserve/rural to urban centers in early 1950’s saw a mere 6.7% of Indigenous population living in towns and cities; in 2001, that rose to 49% (Newhouse & Peters 2003, 5). Urban organizations have emerged as a bridge between reserve and urban for First Nation communities, including the Saskatoon Tribal Council, Meadow Lake Tribal Council, English River, Muskeg Lake Cree First Nation, and Federation of Sovereign Indian Nations, to name a few. In Saskatoon, from 2001 to 2006, the Indigenous population increased by 6% to 21,535 (Urban Aboriginal Peoples Survey 2010, pg. 24). Statistics Canada 2016 in Saskatoon recorded 27,310 as having Aboriginal identity of which 14,430 were First Nation (North American) and 12,255 were Metis. The increase is not a result of migration only; high Indigenous birth rates are also a factor.

The top three reasons for moving to urban centers are jobs, family, and education. Nationally, the top answer for Indigenous choice of neighborhood was affordable housing. The national Urban Aboriginal Peoples Survey (UAPS) stated that first and second generation urban Aboriginal residents still have a strong sense of identity and connection to their homeland (2010, 20). Knowledge of family tree from family – grandparents, parents, siblings – is important to self-identity, tradition, and confidence. However, 73% of Aboriginal People living in Saskatoon do not know about their family tree (p. 48).

Metis People emerged when First Nation women married French or English fur traders who depended upon the women for contacts and survival (http://digital.scaa.sk.ca/ourlegacy/exhibit_metisculture). Currently in Saskatchewan the Central Urban Metis Federation (CUMFI) and Metis Nation of Saskatchewan represent Metis interests. CUMFI does not differentiate between First Nation and Metis in delivering services and programming; this can also be said for the White Buffalo Youth Lodge, an agency of the Saskatoon Tribal Council.

Table 1.2 Saskatoon Ward 2 Neighborhood Profile

Neighborhood (Saskatoon Ward 2) *	Median Income/ person (2015) *	Median Income/ Household (2014) ****	Median cost of housing \$ (2015) *	Median age Provincial F.N./Metis (2011) **	% Pop’n F.N./Metis (2011) *** in	% Cree. Speaking * App. (2011)
Caswell hill	\$33,180	\$86,000	251,012	20/31	14.3/7.95	1.40
Holiday Park	\$29,640	\$42,250	237,672	“	15.4/11.0	2.02

King George	\$30,510	\$41,515	218,550	“	9.5/13.6	1.80
Meadow Green	\$27,430	\$51,904	245,640	“	7.1/7.6	0
Pleasant Hill	\$20,960	\$25,041	188,673	“	31.6/9.0	5.4
Riversdale	\$20,230	\$38,230	214,566	“	37.6/5.8	8.1
Westmount	\$31,180	\$48,588	234,256	“	15.9/6.0	2.0

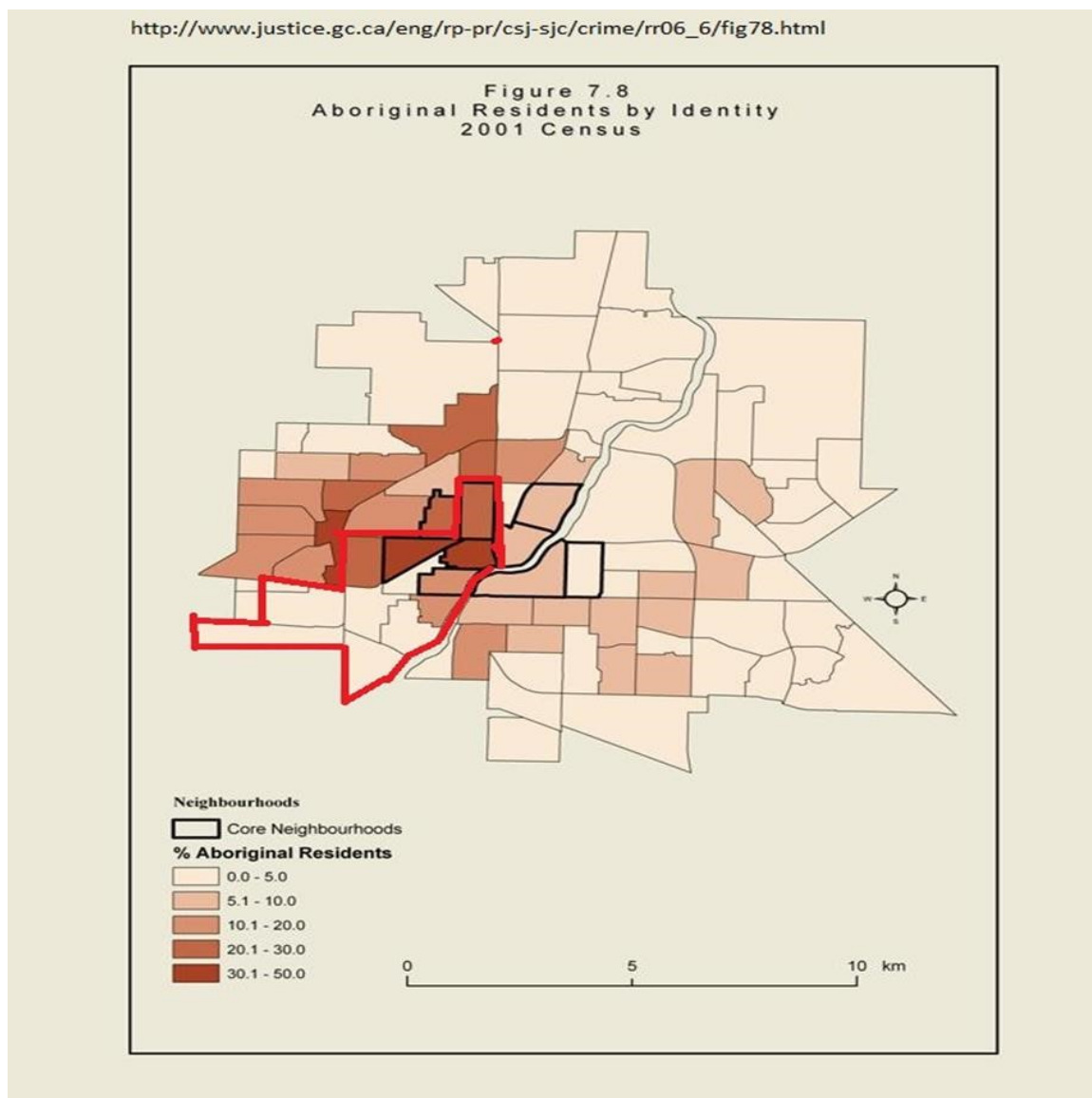
*City of Saskatoon Neighborhood Profiles (2015).

**<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-011-x/99-011-x2011001-eng.cfm#a6>

<http://www.communityview.ca/Catalogue/CensusVariable/Data/1>. (2011) *

City of Saskatoon Neighborhood Profiles (2014)

Map 1.2 Saskatoon Neighbourhood Boundaries (Red outline is Ward 2 Saskatoon Municipal Boundary)



The statistics support the claim that there is a social-economic divide in Saskatoon. Most Aboriginal People living in Saskatoon live in Ward 2 (http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/csjsjc/crime/rr06_6/p7.html.) Saskatoon City council is homogenous, dominated by Caucasian members. There is Aboriginal Department within the bureaucracy that represents Indigenous community members. Organizations such as White Buffalo Youth Lodge, in partnership with the City of Saskatoon, and STC Health care deliver programs and services to the Indigenous community in Ward 2. Central Urban Métis Federation Incorporated (CUMFI) community provides programming and services to Metis and First Nation Peoples living within Saskatoon and their funding comes from several outside sources. Other organizations in Ward 2 that deliver services and programs are Saskatoon Food Bank, Core Neighborhood Youth Coop, Quint Development and CHEP.

The historical relationship in Canada between Indigenous and non-Indigenous People is steeped in “killing the Indian in the child”² approaches to solving the Indian problem” leaving a legacy of colonization that still seriously affects Indigenous people and communities.

The point of including socio-demographic statistics is to increase familiarity with the communities involved and reduce abstract knowledge. Fundamentally, what policy questions can be gleaned from these statistics? Where are their interests being highlighted? How can policy network analysis contribute to the understanding of barriers to organize collective action and what are the implications?

1.2 Purpose

By focusing on smaller CMA communities, Abbotsford British Columbia and Saskatoon Saskatchewan, this research fills a gap in the literature that uses Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal as the primary units of analysis. Wilks and Wright argue that networks shape, and are shaped by, relationships and degrees of connection (1987). Critical inquiry theory focuses on identifying those who have the power to influence government and public concerns, which is a key factor in agenda setting. Similarly, Jennings³ (2011, 2) looks at who is at the decision-making table but also who is missing. He draws on Schattschneider’s argument that “understanding mechanisms of representation requires us to understand the obstacles to change: the exclusion of certain groups from office or from the decision-making process”, (as quoted in Jennings) indicates where the power to define alternatives through agenda setting reside. The interpretivist approach asserts that, “world views, principled beliefs and causal ideas” effect policy making and sees change as two-sided, what facilitates or constrains change (Estes and Edmonds 1981, 79). In view of that, the purpose of this exploratory case study is to understand what role ethnic enclaves play in municipal agenda setting and to identify where in the machinery of municipal government can ethnic enclaves highlight their interests.

² Killing the indian in the child http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/the_residential_school_system/.

³Jennings<https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756223/obo9780199756223-0032.xml>.

1.3 Conceptual/theoretical frameworks

The existing literature on agenda setting explains the process of policy development and why some issues make it to the agenda setting stage and others fail. Anthony Downs (2001) takes a stage heuristic ecological approach as to why issues rise and fall. McCombs (2004) incorporates attributes and salience in his agenda setting model by identifying other agendas and public agendas as bookends on a continuum with media as the intervening variable (99). Whereas Kingdon (2003) claims that “public acquiescence is an important factor in the criteria for survival of ideas” (131), it is also important for moving a condition to a problem so that that public believes something should be done (198). Soroka contributes a Canadian perspective and builds a triangular model as a two-way process between media and public, and media and the policy agenda but a one-way track between public and policy agenda and intervening variable are real world factors (2002, 11). But at its core, agenda setting is about “communication and the audience” (89) primarily through media which then informs public opinion on what the most important problem is.

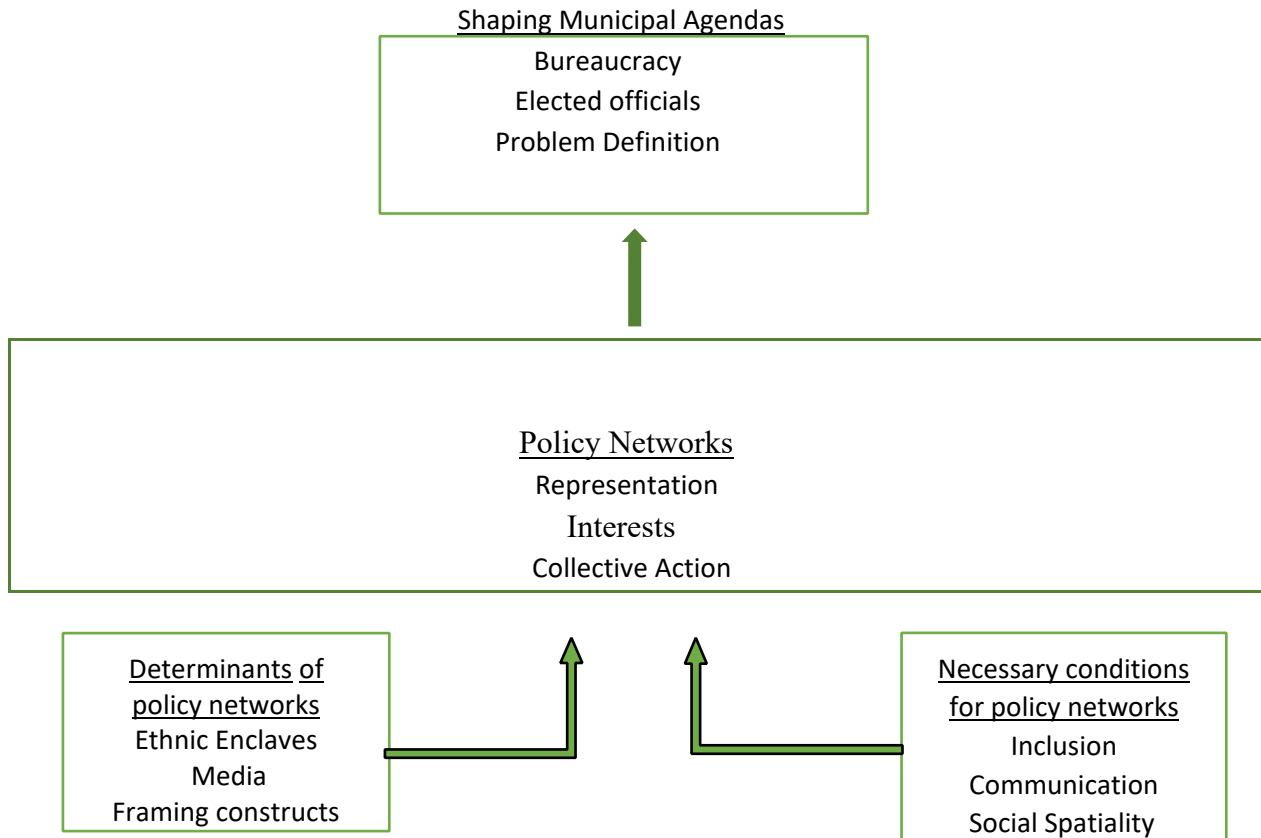
Bardach writes that defining the problem is the initial step and asks what private troubles warrant definition as public problems (2012, pg. 2). Transferring knowledge that comprises the reality of an abstract social condition to the public outside of the enclave is important to understand because the “character and shape of the problem will deeply affect the nature of the response” which takes place in the public and political arenas (Pal 2006, 97). “Other variables that shape public policy . . . such as the factors that influence the perceptions of problems and solutions should be considered (Compton 2009, 17). How the members of ethnic enclaves are portrayed can influence the public perception and image about a problem especially if the problem is abstract. No direct impact (Yagade & Dozier 1990, 3) and public acquiescence is diminished.

How an issue is framed, then, is important (Inwood 2012, 223). If the media does tell people how to think about a problem and influences decisions to join policy networks, coupled with the boundaries along social economic status (SES) and ethnic lines. Wilks and Wright (1987) say it is important to describe the connections taking place. In a global setting, the level of abstraction is easier to understand. At the meso level, where people live in geographical proximity to each other, abstraction of conditions should not be a factor, but it does exist. To better understand this phenomenon, this thesis focuses on the relationship between municipal agenda setting, and community structures of policy networks, such as not-for-profit organizations, to convert social conditions into public problems.

This involves operationalizing a model of the Polis, where “groups and organizations are building blocks of social action” and information” is interpretive at the community level” (Stone 1997, 32). Therefore, NPO’s not only drive municipal policy to shape public and political agendas, they also act as information transmitters, or story tellers. They are key units of analysis in this current research. Because this research enters into relatively new waters, the conceptual framework was developed with the following elements: 1) the determinants that constrain change, 2) and necessary conditions that facilitates it, in the process of 3) forming community structures of policy networks

that shape municipal agendas. Guiding the focus of this research, Stone (1997) argues “change occurs through interaction. . . to shape alliances” (32) in what I identify a liminal space. In view of that, the following conceptual diagram illustrates the elements:

Figure 1.1 Conceptual Framework Pathways to Municipal Agenda Setting



1.4 Research Problem Statement

The pluralistic or competitive nature of policy problem definition in Canada is a matter of having power to frame the problem and gain the attention of the public, resulting in setting government’s agenda. Corporate policies that Saskatoon municipal government designed around its diverse population support multiethnic representation in the bureaucracy. Yet policies of inclusion and diversity have not altered the homogeneity of city council and, in turn, the policy decision making positions do not reflect the mosaic composition of Saskatoon. Tolley’s claim, that municipal government is closest to the people,³ highlights the policy importance of the interests of ethnic enclaves.

³ Municipal government <https://thenewspirit.ca/2018/09/11/does-anyone-even-care-about-municipal-politics/>.

It is therefore important to examine the community structures of local policy networks that highlight the interests of ethnic enclaves. This research highlights the role of inclusion, diversity as key elements in setting the social paradigm and institutional mandates.

1.5 Research Questions and Research Design

The following research questions guide this research:

1. Where in the municipal policy systems can ethnic enclaves highlight ethnic enclaves’ interests?
2. Does the media framing of the ethnic enclaves’ effect cooperation within policy networks?
3. Do ethnic enclaves shape the effectiveness of collective action which is vital to policy networks?

Using communication infrastructure approach, Weaver, Zhu and Willnat (1992) conclude that public perception depends upon the presence or absence of personal experience which contributes to social perceptions fed by mass media (866). The authors suggest future research focusing on the ecology where “. . . interpersonal communication in agenda setting” is likely to occur (867). This research extends from there in an exploratory case study manner between the Aboriginal population residing in Ward 2, located in Saskatoon, and a community with a large Punjabi population living in Abbotsford British Columbia in the areas of East and West Townline. In Saskatoon, I met with Indigenous community leaders, community organizations and civic officials to assess the level and function of collective action among organizations. I repeated this process in Abbotsford, where I met with community leaders and civic officials.

The units of analysis are at the micro level, a social constructionist approach to data collection and constructionist grounded theory approach (CGT) was required to analyze the data and assumes that there are multiple ways to understand reality and the interviewer and interviewee work together to shape it. Knowledge emerges by interacting with our surroundings of the “physical and with other people” (Blaike 2007, 22). Constructionism has two offshoots. Constructivism is individual activity and social constructionism, which I use, relating to “collective generation and transmission of meaning” . . . and the interviewer and participant work together to “construct reality” (22). Posing challenges related to validity, reliability and generalizability, of research because in social constructionism “Reality is constructed and there are no “one truth” (24). Lincoln and Guba (1985) provide alternate measures – truth value, consistency, and applicability (294300). Discussed further in the methodology chapter.

Table 1.3 truth value, consistency, and applicability

Truth Value	Consistency	Applicability
Researcher has represented multiple realities (296).	Creating an audit trail for data, analysis, and reflexive notes (299)	Are the findings of this study applicable to other studies (298)?

I also relied on the snowball method to conduct open-ended interview questions which were designed prior to the interviews but were at times put aside to allow for more organic dialogue between the participant and myself. Following CGT data analysis method, the data generated from the interviews went through two iterations of coding using the software NVIVO. Categories were developed from codes by asking ‘what is this expression an example of’ using the conceptual framework as a guide.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The intention of this study is to shed light on the knowledge around agenda setting at the municipal level. The level of analysis is important in understanding how policy networks are understood. Some authors use macro level systems of policy networks such as national and international bodies of policy and rulemaking (Kenis 1991; Atkinson & Coleman 1992; Marsh & Smith 2000). Others use the national and provincial/state (Howlett 2002; Good 2005; Kingdon 2003; Fourot 2015). Local level analysis is often absent from the policy network literature. “Local culture, organizational settings and institutional structures . . . shape the ways individual understand and represent local realities.” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2008, 380). By focusing on not-for-profit organizations and how they interface with each other and municipal government, this research highlights the complexities and nuances of municipal agenda intersect with ethnic enclaves. This paper is to identify where ethnic enclave’s interests are highlighted at the municipal level by challenging the top-down approaches to public policy development, specifically the process of problem definition.

1.7 Limitations and Delimitations

A defining characteristic of a case study are bounded systems achieved by limitations and delimiting the study (Merriam 1998, 26). A limitation of this proposed research is space, historical accounts of each group and comparing current Indigenous and East Indian population in each of the two locations would require space which in a master’s thesis does not allow. Other limitations are the sample size, as this research concentrates on enclaves within smaller communities, and the design of this research compromises credibility and results cannot be generalized. In Saskatoon, because I am involving Aboriginal people, community engagement is a more involved process and requires relationship building and will need more time to complete data collection therefore, I have chosen to interview those within organizations that represent interests of Aboriginal residents. Likewise, in Abbotsford I connected with organizations that represent interests of South Asian/Punjabi residents in east and west Townline areas.

Much like complexities of Indigenous identity in the urban setting, not all urban residents are Cree, this pan-identity applies to South Asian population in Abbotsford. The origin of South Asian are India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka (Buchignani, Indra and Srivastiva 1985, 1) in the sense they come from different states in India such as Punjab. Included in identity of place there is also various spiritual practices such as sweet lodge in Indigenous community and the significance, or lack thereof, of turbans in South Asian communities for example Muslim communities. Because this is a thesis for a master level degree, interviews with and differentiating between and among

ethnic subgroups was not practical. Hence forth any reference to South Asian is interchangeable with Punjab/Indo-Canadian similar, Indigenous is in reference to those of Inuit, First Nation and Metis heritage.

This is an exploratory case study model and gauges the willingness of the public to cooperate in collective action within the purview of policy networks to create change. These types of case studies are used to “develop conceptual categories” (Merriam 1998, 39). The limitations of this study involved purposeful sampling, which by nature eliminates others from the interview process. I implemented a snowball method to create a chain of connections to understand policy networks and how they function. I do have a priori knowledge from experiences and previous research that influenced how I looked at and coded the data.

Because of the ethical requirements I did not talk to individuals. Rather I spoke to representatives of organizations within Saskatoon and Abbotsford that represent issues and interests of the members that live within the enclave. I did not conduct content analysis on media content but relied on previous studies. I did not go into a lengthy discussion regarding electronic communication versus face to face because this study’s focus is more on local dialogue between groups that share a larger physical space and from the interviews conducting face-to-face interaction is prominent.

1.8 Definitions

Agenda setting – the process by which problems come to the attention of government (Howlett and Ramesh 2003, 13).

Collective action – Simply put is a group coalescing around a problem or issue that, in this research, prompts decision makers to act.

Communication - Is more than just a one way sharing of information. Here it reflects storytelling which requires a speaker and a listener and allows for engagement between peoples.

Community structure of policy networks – Borrowing from Marsh and Smith, Policy networks are shaped by organizations that influence “attitudes and behavior” and “play a part in agenda setting” (2000).

Cost/benefit paradigm –Is a process of decision making to be part of collective action in pressuring governments to do something about a social condition.

Ethnic enclaves - Here I use Loury et. al. (2005,12) where a single ethnic or racial group lives and one of the features of an enclave is collective action.

Framing – Media and public policy creates images about a problem and who is experiencing it.

Inclusion - Inclusion is more about valuing the differences between ethnicities and the desire to see the values as equal and is interested to making connections across issues.

Liminality - A transitional space real or imagined in the process of integration or formation of identity.

Media – Influences how people think about a problem rather than what to think about.

Problem definition – Is the first step in a process for policy designing and underpins the efficacy and efficiency of policy outcomes.

Representation - In this discussion means “is a process by which interests are defined” . . . and “who speaks for them” (Stone 1997, 215).

Shaping municipal agenda – moves a condition to a problem so that government will act.

Social Spatiality - Is a physical space that supports intercultural dialogue and in turn facilitates collective action and trust.

1.9 Assumptions

Iron triangles exist at the municipal level, making interests of ethnic enclaves on the periphery of defining the problem, constructing a problem, and identifying unintended consequences. How members of ethnic enclaves are portrayed in the media prevent willingness of others to join policy networks and in turn have less effect on collective action. Representation influences the level of agenda setting, moving a private trouble to one of public concern. The absence of interaction diminishes getting the problem right and will not solve the social conditions and the problem remains. Spatiality is the medium where communication occurs and facilitates trust, which in turn is dependent upon communication infrastructure.

1.10 Outline of thesis

This thesis is organized in the following manner. Chapter 2 reviews what the literature says about pathways to municipal agenda setting, Connecting Concepts. It begins with necessary conditions for policy networks – socio-spatiality, communication, and inclusion. This is followed by the determinants of policy networks – ethnic enclaves, media and framing. I then turn to a discussion on characteristics of policy networks, namely collective action, interests, and representation and conclude with shaping municipal agendas. Chapter 3 focuses on the methodology involved in collecting and analyzing data. Chapter 4 presents findings and discussion. Chapter 5 offers applications, implications, a conclusion and makes suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: CONNECTING CONCEPTS

This chapter reviews the literature relevant to the conceptual framework as outlined in chapter 1. It begins by examining concepts as socio-spatiality, communication, and inclusion which are identified as necessary conditions for policy networks. It then considers social determinants of policy networks such as ethnic enclaves, media and framing and how they intersect with necessary conditions. This is followed by a brief look at policy networks, namely representation, interests, and collective action across identity boundaries where social conditions become abstract. This chapter ends with the dimensions that shape municipal agendas: systems and subsystems of problem definition.

2.0 Necessary Conditions for Policy Networks

To narrow down the focus of this study, networks are limited to collective action formed by nonprofit organizations who communicate their objectives to the public and government to take action. How policy networks influence decisions made in the political arena depends on the level of government in which they operate. At the federal and provincial level, lobby groups serve three purposes: to transform a condition into a problem that government needs to do something about, to influence the policy decisions that is made at the decision making table, and to gain public support in order to pressure government to act in the group's favor. But at a municipal level, policy networks reflecting specific interests are the result of community stakeholders coalescing to address social conditions. It is the information sharing by "organizations, associations, and movements. . . that anchor communication structures" and influences decision making (Flynn 2004, 441 see also Lewis⁴) in addition to how programs and services are delivered.

2.0.1 Socio-spatiality

The parameters of socio-spatiality shifted dramatically over time, from boundaries of space as fixed rather than fluid in 1980's, followed by the understanding of space as political jurisdictions, to an inter-relational notion of national, state, and inter-urban in the 1990's (Jessop, Brenner and Jones 2008). Sociologists Jessop and Brenner, along with Jones from the Institute of Geography and Earth Sciences, argued that socio-spatiality has been one-dimensional and thereby missing key components of social action (2008, 390). They constructed a matrix for the four dimensions of socio-spatiality (392): territory or boundaries, place, scale, and networks. The authors identify interconnection/interdependence as a principle of the intersection between socio-spatiality and

⁴ Paul Lewis (2002). "Agency, Structure and Causality in political Science: A comment on Sibeon". *Politics* 22(1), 1723.

networks (393), but they caution researchers not to focus on a single place and time but rather consider the historical relationships across geographies.

Building off Jessop et al. and coming from an urban planning background, Blakely and Snyder (1997, 33) took a shared approach to Jessop et. al. four dimensions of socio-spatiality. The focus of Blakely and Snyder's research, gated communities, was not so much about the practice of gating and policy consequences such as privatizing public services but instead, questioned whether gating reflected community and American citizenship (3). Retaining the label and the meaning of territory arising from Jessop et. al., they replaced the concept of networks with the public realm (common ground for interaction). Place and scale are substituted with support structures (mutual aid and association) and a new element of shared values that define identity. They stated that "Civic space is about more than a political or jurisdictional construct. It is a manifestation of society, culture, and the shared polity" (1). The authors concluded that the practice of gating is "intentionally economic but class and race are closely correlated . . ." (153).

The consequence of gating and isolation is not only occurring in United States; it is also a Canadian practice. Social segregation based on a socio-economic status operates in tension with the multicultural policy goal of inclusion. Canadian environmental researcher Pitter (2016) discussed the Greater Toronto Area of Peel and the function of hyper-diversity. By that she means diversity of population in socio-economic, social, and ethnic terms (8). She argues that the focus on diversity has missed what is happening, namely economic inequality (6). The author views public spaces as "safe," with the purpose of fostering "a sense of mutual respect and collective belonging are psychologically crucial because they connect people" (85). These authors collectively interpret space as a place to connect people and social networks and confirms the concept of socio-spatiality as a key determinant of networks. But it is not enough for space to be open; there must also be recognition of communication that facilitates social action, a speaker and a listener, and how inclusive the public space is that supports communicative action (Kim and Kim, 2008).

Of significant matter to necessary conditions is liminality, that for the purpose of this research paper, is the space that straddles two worlds being the ethnic enclave and westernized societies.

"They [the people that reside there] are neither in one thing [world] nor the other". (Beech 2011, 286) Within this space is where inclusion occurs, Ermine (2007) calls this an "ethical space" (193) and is a "theatre for cross-cultural conversation" (202). Yet, what emerged from the interviews is this space is where identity and a sense of belonging are in flux. The consequences play out in shaping municipal policy development discussed in chapter 5.

2.0.2 Communication

With the help of Habermas's communicative action, Kim and Kim (2008) focus their analysis of deliberative democracy on informal structures of social action and argue that "everyday political

talk as communicative action” contributes to formal deliberation within political arenas (53). In addition, communicative action is conceptualized as “two subjects capable of speech and action who establish interpersonal relations” (55). To them, “Democracy is about understanding one’s own and other interests,” which has influence on public opinion (65). They defined space as a public sphere where “citizens engage in dialogic deliberations on public issues to . . . achieve mutual understanding” (53). When considering the divisiveness of ethnic enclaves and the benchmarks of belonging, identity, and values, they consider the role of communication between citizens as taking place to support mutual understanding and influencing public opinion. They suggest future research should “explore the conditions that would encourage people to talk.” (66). This has been taken up by Wilken et. al.

At the neighborhood level (meso), Wilken et al. (2007) focus their research on communication infrastructure theory (CIT). They identified media and community organizations as two primary agents of storytelling networks which Stone argues “provide explanations of how the world works” (1997, 137). Although their emphasis was on media, they too extend Habermas communicative action to the context of it which takes place in the community landscape. Using telephone surveys to gauge feelings toward their community in Los Angeles, they concluded that geo-ethnic media (media targeted towards an ethnic group), mainstream television, and interpersonal channels are the best way for organizations to communicate with targeted groups (8). Yet, as will be discussed further, mainstream television is part of the problem and interpersonal channels do not always cross-cultural boundaries. Further to that, geo-ethnic media does not attract those who do not belong because readers avoid what contradicts their beliefs.

Elinor Ostrom examined the interplay of structure and communication by examining collective action. Her paper was heavily influenced by game theory, such as prisoners’ dilemma and Nash equilibrium (Ostrom 2010, 155), that argue communication will make no difference in “social dilemmas” (158). In theory, this may hold true. But in practice, as the author states, “there is extant research that finds “a strong positive effect that communication has on outcomes” (ibid). Much like Kenis (1991), Ostrom links structure to cooperation in solving social dilemmas. Her conclusion, and of importance to this thesis, is that trust, reputation and, reciprocity affect levels of cooperation and joint benefits (164; Schlager 1995, 250) which is achieved in face to face settings that is an important factor to “gain a sense of solidarity” or cooperation (158). Ostrom’s suggestion for future research is focused on a “well defined but narrow chain of relationships” in order to have a “strong causal relationship” (164). If inclusion is not a part of the cooperation, or recognizing Pitter’s hyper-diversity, how does Ostrom’s trust, reputation and reciprocity take hold in terms of collective action to pressure government to do something about a specific social condition.

2.0.3 Inclusion as a Process of Policy Networks.

It is essential to identify a community tone for inclusion. UNESCO's Social and Human Sciences good practices defines inclusion as a right to political participation and representation⁵, the City of Saskatoon use words such as equity, fair and engaged in the Diversity and Inclusion annual report as listed in Appendices 1.⁶ There are similar concepts in Abbotsford's definition of diversity as part of their Diversity and Inclusion strategy⁸. But inclusion in Canada's multiculturalism requires shifting the frame from diversity and a "we/they" dichotomy to one of inclusion by reducing barriers to interaction and engagement.

In their critique of Canada's multicultural policy, Hyman et. al. (2011) recognize inclusion as imperative to an "inclusive citizenship" (2). Their argument relies on principals of social capital. Frideres (2006) understand integration as a two-way interaction between informal and formal networks that function as Putnam's (2000) bridging and bonding in terms of social and community networks (17). Hyman et. al. emphasizes the role that community organizations and municipal governments play in supporting Canada's multicultural policies by stating that "social policies and programs do foster and encourage common spaces (20). That maybe the case but there is no evidence just by providing space that inclusion occurs. Schneider and Ingram (1993), who will be examined more in-depth in the discussion of policy networks, do not necessarily agree. They argue policies that target populations label them and create a negative identity and further influences the decision to cooperate in collective action, as the literature shows (Stone 1997). Further to that the feeling of belonging is also a factor as one participant in *Home in the City Urban Aboriginal Housing and Living Conditions* stated "As a white female . . . I often find most things are heavily weighted towards Aboriginal . . . I feel excluded and often even unaccepted" (2013,131).

The *Journal of Planning Education and Research* defines inclusion as a process for connecting people across issues and over time. The operationalization of inclusion contains features of engaging multiple ways of knowing, coproducing the process and content of decision making, and sustaining temporal openness (Quick and Feldman 2011, 282). These authors focus on processes of civic engagement to determine which is more effective: inclusion or participation in public decision making. They found that the process of inclusion "produced more satisfaction and approval. . . (Ibid.,). Which makes sense because participation in public decision making is a consultation one-time basis where they "miss the power of the process" (284). Inclusion is more

⁵ Social and Human Sciences good practices <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-humansciences/themes/urban-development/migrants-inclusion-in-cities/good-practices/political-inclusion/>.

⁶ Diversity and Inclusion report 2017

https://www.saskatoon.ca/sites/default/files/documents/diversity_and_inclusion_annual_report_2017.pdf.⁸

Diversity and Inclusion Strategy September 2011 <https://abbotsford.civicweb.net/document/24652>.

concerned with making connections and building communities (283), as explained by communication infrastructure theory (CIT). Putting it more plainly, the process of connecting people is of more importance than the instruments of engagement and goes beyond “a voice at the table” (Walker, Moore and Linklater 2011, 163).

2.0.4 Summary of Necessary Conditions

Flynn argues, socio-spatiality is created “by and for communication” but that space alone does not guarantee communicative action (2004, 441). Jessop et. al. and Blakely and Snyder perceive socio-spatiality as networks which are not one-dimensional but that, at the meso level, connect people via community infrastructure across space and time. Kenis (1991) states that sociospatiality is a pre-condition for policy networks “mutual meeting ground . . . and cooperation” (324). This discussion supports the theory that socio-spatiality, communication, and inclusion are necessary conditions for policy networks. Collective action points to the importance of coalescing around solving a problem, which is achieved by information sharing and forming networks. Identified by Ostrom, trust, reciprocity and reputation support cooperation which are achieved through face to face encounters and community structures that connect people. When the necessary conditions are in place, cooperation occurs. However, social determinants shape, trust, reciprocity, reputation and the public’s willingness to become involved. The next section will show that necessary conditions are influenced by such social determinants identified as ethnic enclaves, media, and decision making.

2.1 Determinants of Policy Networks

The boundaries, either real or imagined, around ethnic enclaves are delicate. They prescribe who belongs and who does not. The advantage of exclusion is about less acculturation. Indeed, “exposure to members of one’s own ethnic group at the neighborhood level plays a strong role in the transmission of ethnic capital (Cutler, Glaeser and Vigdor 2005, 215). Boundaries also constrain communication infrastructure and policy networking. The disadvantage is that, as Blakely and Snyder (1997) discuss, “There is increasing evidence that the spatial isolation of minorities in itself reduces opportunities for these already most-invulnerable groups. (153). Regardless of the affects, ethnic enclaves are important to identity and trust. However, the problems are exacerbated “if segregation coincides with structural factors such as low income, underemployment and poor housing” (Hyman, Meinhard and Shields 2011, 16). This is the case in Saskatoon ward 2.

2.1.1 Ethnic enclaves

Qadeer and Kumar (2006) focused their research on Toronto CMA and use measurements of social cohesion and economic opportunities to coincide with their definition of an enclave as a “culturally and economically distinct area” (2). They claim that the choice of a group to live somewhere is not

defined by their ethnicity; rather it is access to services, affordable housing (10) and spiritual beliefs. I do not think that services and ethnicity can be separated as a cause and effect they are inextricably linked. At the end, the authors recognize that there is “some degree of clustering for social support and introductions”. (12). The authors overlay poverty onto enclaves by using geographic information system (GIS). While they agree that poverty does reside in enclaves, it is a relatively small cluster. Most enclaves in Toronto CMA are suburban and have high rates of home ownership much like Abbotsford. Their argument is that the “Isolation Index is not a true measure of segregation” and further argue that “schools’ mass media and newspapers provide channels for people to share common values and national sentiments” (16). In a negative sense, this is true. As discussed later, mainstream newspapers and television media have often depicted immigrants and refugees in ways similar to terrorist activities, which feed into common and negative images. Without the communication infrastructure that underpins dialogue, the negative pictures that are presented about immigrants and Indigenous peoples persist and, as a result, willingness to participate in collective action is diminished.

The community structures of policy networks, such as voluntary associations, not for profits and social movements like the Indigenous-led Idle no More, provides public spaces for those interactions to occur. This facilitates cooperation and knowledge that can contradict the messages sent out by mass media. Pitter argues conversations are needed that move the notion that diversity “resolves issues or concludes difficult discussions” to one of hyper-diversity that describes the social realities of urban regions” (2016, 8). She makes the claim that “diversity is our strength in an attempt to smooth over ragged edges we struggle to understand” (2016, 12). The edges she is referring to are fluid and “associated with social interactions” (Thwaites, Mathers and Simkins 2013, 83) maybe this is the ethical space Ermine means. One just has to look at the neighbourhood profiles of Saskatoon and Abbotsford to know that these invisible edges outline pockets of people organized by socio-economic and demographic status. This was confirmed during an informal conversation with an interview participant in Abbotsford and validates what Zucchi years earlier also observed in the same location, the development of pockets of people between the east/White European side, and the west/South Asian side (2007, 19).

As symbolic the boundaries of social interaction and socio-spatiality are, the edges must be respected, along with the decision-making of members. Decisions appear to be made by the group that upholds cultural beliefs rather than the group that seeks to cross them. This is the reality of ethnic boundaries. And while exclusionary practices of ethnic enclaves keep social networks intact (Hyman, Meinhard and Shields 2011), when they are viewed through a community structure of policy network lens, there are issues of representation in terms of public acquiescence and municipal agenda setting. If an issue is not witnessed firsthand, people rely on the media for images or perceptions of the problem: “The decisions we make are conditioned by the information we possess, and the media are the principle source.” (Nancoo and Nancoo 1997, 30). It is not enough that communication infrastructure exists. There must also exist an interest to participate. As

Ethnic enclaves transfer cultural norms and values by communicating through networks built on face to face interactions, shared spaces and printed media understood as storytelling. These build trust and cooperation and combat negative stereotypes (Lindgren 2011, 114). In addition, a sense of belonging and identity are key attributes of ethnic enclaves, serving as a channel for community networks and the maintenance of culture (Walks & Bourne 2006; Cutler, Glaeser & Vigdor 2005; Mason 2000) recognized as attributes of social capitals bonding. If identity is the benchmark for acceptance, does this confirm that an ethnic enclave effect collective action?

Mainstream Media

Shaw et. al. suggests that media focus on Indigenous and immigration issues is detriment to social cohesion, arguing that “exposure to media directed toward segmented audiences exacerbates social cleavages” (1999, 21). The messages the audience receives from media and public policy can shape public opinion (Mettler and Soss 58). Historically, although less so now, mainstream media have portrayed Indigenous people as deviants (Raudsepp 1997, 187; Proulx 2012, 151). This has two implications: it deepens the community’s negative self-image and it is that same message that informs people outside of Indigenous communities who have no first-hand experience or messages to contradict the mass media.

Hester and Gibson (2007) apply micro/macro levels to the media by comparing local and national issues in North Carolina. The specific issue was same sex marriage. In 2004, the United States was considering lifting the ban on same sex marriage (302). This was both a political and social issue. The authors looked at the level of personal experience with same sex marriage and the need to orient oneself to the issue using news media. Their hypothesis was that, if the issue is local (experienced), then the need for orientation will be small. Personal experience provides first-hand knowledge. The opposite is true. If personal experience is non-existent (national), then the need for orientation will be greater and the media would have a greater influence (304). They conclude that the response to an issue is dependent on the issue and further studies should be done at the local level. Their study is important for two reasons. Firstly, the authors acknowledge the importance of issue-specific effects of media agenda setting. Secondly, they highlight the need to look at the orientation or characteristics of the audience in order to understand the influence of media.

McCombs calls this the psychology of agenda-setting effects and raises two elements of orientation: relevance, and uncertainty (2005, 547). Relevance is the importance of the issue/problem; uncertainty is the degree of familiarity with it. McCombs claim is that if there is a high relevance and uncertainty, then the need for orientation will be high because it is an important issue. People would not have first-hand experience. If, for example, the relevance of inclusion is high and uncertainty is low, the need orientation will be low because people have first-hand experience of the issue/problem. Conversely, low relevance and uncertainty then leads to a lower need for orientation (ibid) because the issue at hand is not important. In turn, the need for media

as a source of information is low. In the arena of politics, storytelling by the media, specifically print and television, hold a significant power to set both public and political agendas. As recent research shows, the media also tell people how to think about something through a process referred to as framing (Tolley 2016; Lawlor 2015; McCombs 2004; Bandura 2001).

Tewksbury & Scheufele (2007) provide a historical account of framing as part of the political communication arena. Beginning in the 1920's, research concluded that "media effects . . . depended on the networks and would either result in reinforcing attitudes or changing them" (10). In the 1970's, studies blamed political ideology for "shaping perspectives of reality" (ibid.). Researchers took this idea and, in the 1980'-1990's, argued that the degree of attitudinal change depended on "characteristics of the audience" (11). They focus on three models: agenda setting, which will be discussed later in this chapter, priming, which is used as an evaluative tool to be used by voters during elections, and framing, how the media characterizes an issue and influences the choice of political actors during elections (ibid). I would add to that voters. The authors recognize that framing operates differently in macro and micro levels. In the former, it applies to how the media presents information to the audience. In the latter, it is about how the audience uses that information to form images (12). Nancoo and Nancoo (1997) argued decades ago, "Through the eyes of the media, Aboriginals and visible minorities are often regarded as a social problem" (50).

2.1.3 Framing

If the public have little familiarity with the social condition, then the media has greater influence on the image. McCombs states "the media construct and present to the public a pseudo environment that significantly shapes how the public views the world" (2004, 23; Soroka 2002, 21). In view of relevance and uncertainty, the media represent both Indigenous peoples and immigrants in a negative light. If there are no other means of orientation or the desire seek out alternatives, then the members of the public have an ill-conceived image of the ethnic group.

The media select the issues and events to which the reader's attention will be drawn. They choose the voices that will be heard and frame stories in ways that will resonate with the public. (Tolley 2016, 164). In Down's earlier work (1957), he writes that "a rational man always takes the one which yields him the highest utility . . . as a measure of benefits to decide what course of action" (36). Stone (1997) reflects the idea that "[a person] takes action if benefits outweigh the costs" (235). When there is not direct knowledge of the costs and or benefits "media play key roles as connectors, as shapers, and as reflectors of the world around us, "messages communicated by the media . . . can impact overall attitudes which [has] a bearing on behavior" (Kosho 2016, 86; Bandura 2009). If boundaries that identify ethnic enclaves do not restrict entry of others into an ethnic group, the media reduces the willingness of others to seek out networks that cross lines of identity.

Bandura illustrates how frames influence perception of reality: “Psychosocial conceptions of social reality are influenced by what they see, hear and read without direct experiential correctives” (2009, 271). The argument continues: “Heavy exposure to this symbolic world may eventually make the televised images appear to be the authentic state of human affairs and shapes their beliefs” (281) and in turn undermine public support for an immigration/refugee policy. This also can be applied to Indigenous policies where first-hand experience is absent thereby increasing the efficacy of the symbolic world, the images are the reality. “Print media . . . shape conceptions of social reality” and fosters collective illusions (282).

In television, framing does not only mean how the characteristics are portrayed but also “The pattern of news coverage” (McCombs 2005, 548). Case in point, anecdotally, the six o’clock news, would occasionally provide highlights of ISIS or ISIL terrorist organizations, followed directly by stories of refugees entering Canada. Viewers’ knowledge and perception of reality from both television news and paper made connections between the two, as the story coming out of Mankota Saskatchewan as reported on 980 CJME radio suggests.⁹

Peters et. al. (2013) argues that [representation] is not only about equity but also about “gaining societal support of policies” (8). The importance of this cannot be overstated as the success of the problem being on the agenda is dependent upon Kingdon’s “public acquiescence,” among other factors. In view of this, the practice of policy and media framing Indigenous and Punjab-speaking People in a negative light alongside the perceived exclusionary boundaries of identity makes communicating for the purpose of acquiescence difficult. Fourot (2015) argues that the role is partly the responsibility of municipal bureaucracy (422). He concludes by calling into question the capacity for public policies to influence societal behavior (429). Depending on the instrument, like an extra tax on cigarettes, legislating change in attitude and behavior via policy is not likely to have a deep societal effect.

2.1.4 Summary of Determinants of Policy Networks

Qadeer and Kumar (2006) suggest that there is an intersection of professional and social networks and that enclaves are not a barrier to social cohesion (16). Although, borrowing from social capital, social cohesion occurs at two levels: a bonding level within a group and bridging between two groups. Perhaps the cohesion is the bonding. Pitter refers to the lack of bridging between groups. The reality is that mainstream media and newspapers are not conduits for social cohesion and do not build bridges to support trust and social justice. However, geo-ethnic newspapers do fulfill a bonding cohesive role as will be discussed in the following section.

The interpretation of space by Thwaites et. al. (2013) emphasizes the importance of space to policy networks, “space shapes social activity which then shapes space (75)”. Bringing the determinants

⁹ CJME 980 <https://www.cjme.com/2016/09/25/house-in-mankota-sask-vandalized-with-racial-slurs/>.

of collective action together with necessary conditions socio-spatiality facilitates communication and fosters inclusion trust and shared interests. Yet the mere presence of them does not guarantee cooperation. It also depends on how the problem is defined.

Once social identity has been made salient, collective behavior is limited to the in-group, “accounting for the homogeneity of behavior of crowds” (Kelly & Breinlinger, 36 1996). The perceived exclusionary practice of enclaves, together with the media, influence the decision-making process to participate in collective action across cultural groups, creating networks which are a precondition for trust and social justice (McMahon 2012, 118). Although race is a social construct, ethnicity and race are interchangeable. Given that “labels are often the first way in which the public is acquainted with a policy issue,” (Pal 2006, 115), it is no surprise that there is a lack of shared interest and an increase in mistrust. This is different than the absence of trust. A widespread sense of trust comes from shared experience with other members of the community, which encourages people to participate in collective efforts such as those provided by voluntary associations (Stone 1997, 220).

2.2 Collective Action

The Tamarack Institute identifies five conditions for collective action to occur.¹⁰ The first one is having a common agenda (3) which seems to be where previous attempts (presented in discussion) at collective action have failed. The social psychology of collective action (Kelly & Breinlinger 1996, 30) suggests that there are three motives for participating in action:

- goal (participation is necessary for the success of action and will lead to achievement of the objective),
- social (suspected reaction of significant others), and
- reward /motives (personal cost and benefit of collective action such as money and time).

Of particular interest is the last bullet point because if as Stone (1997) argues “people ration their energy by paying attention to things they care about most” (217) and interests are those that “satisfy individual and private wants” (218). Concluding that personal costs and benefits are integral to building what Tamarack claims is the first condition, a common agenda. Again, using Idle No More as a prime example: They framed C-45 as one that matters to everyone, a common agenda, meaning the extra benefit from taking action is greater than the cost. But how does this function across boundaries of identity where relevance is diminished because of deviant label.

Kelly and Breinlinger (1996) adopt the concept of identity and networks and apply it to feminist issues by using a socio-psychological approach to collective action. The authors identify collective

¹⁰ Tamarack Institute

<https://www.collectiveimpactforum.org/sites/default/files/Collective%20Impact%203.0.pdf>.

action as protesting which by some is considered deviant behavior, as identified by Schneider & Ingram (1993). But the groups involved in collective action realize that there are disparities of equity between groups (39). Individuals who realize this as a social disadvantage, “will be more likely to get involved in collective action” (41) except when the realized costs outweigh the abstract benefits. Still, Stone calls this mobilization (1992, 217).

Similar to Tamaracks common agenda, Schlager operationalizes collective action by stating it “agrees upon a definition of the problem and the content and structure of policies to address the problem (1995, 262). Although Stone’s statement “shared meanings motivate people to action and meld individuals striving into collective action” (11), Sharp insists that it is more than a motivation problem, she thinks it is a free rider problem (2012, 68), and that it is the responsibility of government. In addition, as Schneider and Ingram point out, it is the responsibility of government to show that a policy favoring minority interests is in the public’s interest to support (1993, 336) which governments at all levels fail to do. Alongside Downs (1957), who believes the lobbyists must convince government that the interests and policy that is being supported is also in the best interest of the public (148). Whichever way collective action is viewed, public acquiescence is a requirement. As Pal (2006) states “Networks are about relationships . . . and how the interests of society are organized” (243).

2.2.1 Policy networks

The models depicting policy networks and communities are linear and placed on a continuum without regard for “how relationships are formed” (Deleon and Varda 2009, 65). Howlett (2002) focuses on change and membership within subsystems networks and develops two measures – degree of symmetry and insulation of network – to predict the kind of policy change whether it is instrument components or policy types (251). He uses case studies of four Canadian cities to test this model using secondary data. The general purpose to see if changes in membership or policy changes matter the most. He concluded that there was a relationship between the insulation and symmetry of networks and the degree of policy change. Emphasizing the importance of communication infrastructure, “discourse and network analysis provide the glue linking actors, ideas and interests together” (259). The critical question here is the degree to which ethnic enclaves enhance or constrain membership identity and at the same time, policy engagement or put differently, do ethnic enclaves enhance the effectiveness of collective action specifically through policy networks?

Ennis and West (2013) case study from Australia use social network analysis to explore community development. The aim of their project was to “increase supportive social networks between people of different cultures . . . to create a sense of community” (42). They draw from existing research that focuses on volunteer-based community network in Australia and define a network as social ties between people, groups, and organizations. By measuring pre- and post-network project, they

assessed changes in the networks. At the micro level, they were more interested in individuals and used the snowball interview method to gather information about their communication networks. The authors concluded that, although there was a bridging tie between cultures, it is a “fragile link” (50).

Scholz et. al. (2008) asked the big question “Do networks solve collective action problems?” (393). To answer their questions, they used network analysis that “provide self-organizing” to solve collective actions problems (ibid.). The authors gathered information by observation, followed by interviews and surveys in a quasi-longitudinal study, 1999 and 2001 (398). Admittedly the data collection is problematic in that they focused on the individuals rather than networks themselves. But they found that “well-connected policy actors play central roles in policy networks. . .” (404) which are more suited to collaborative problems in fragmented networks. It is the network that mobilizes the public to become involved in collective action (Simmons 2010, 203). Deleon and Varda (2009) argue that regardless of differences, “network ties will form” (67). I do not agree with conclusion because it is across the landscape of culture that differences are most recognized and what we base our belonging on. Recalling that in this thesis the collective action problem focuses on the overcoming fragmentary effects of multicultural policy, the question is how to mitigate the cultural/ethnic differences in membership in order to connect policy actors across identity boundaries.

Pal’s discussion of policy communities and networks introduce the origins of network analysis (2006, 243) where he states that the discussion on networks in the post war era was that “If people shared interests, they would likely form groups . . . and if issues arose that affected those interests in a policy sense, then the groups would politicize and lobby government.”(ibid) A social psychology perspective lends support to this conclusion: “Individuals who identify strongly with a group will be more likely to get involved in collective action” (Kelly & Breinlinger 1996, 41). The meaning of the interests ranges from Sabatier & Jenkins Smith, who discard interests entirely preferring belief systems because it is an “inclusive and more verifiable” term (1993, 28), to interests as a type of idea which is “socially constructed based on the individual or group’s interpretation of their situation” (Campbell 2004, 91). Here interests are taken as being socially constructed.

2.2.2 Interests

Lukes (2005) operationalizes relevance as those that are subjective and objective interests. The former resembles self-determination -- “interests are defined by what is important to me” -- and the latter as those interests that “what counts as benefit or harm are not decided by my preference or judgement” (80). Where Lukes is an ego-centric perspective on interests, Stone takes an altruistic approach. Subjective interests are those that the effects are direct and therefore the individual will pay attention. Objective interests the effects are abstract and, although they

themselves are not affected, they know there are some people that are, and the individual will identify an interest (1997, 211). Both approaches are relevant to this research.

As previously shown, media can frame a problem to draw in those that do not live with the consequences which increases relevance to the public. Stone's version of uncertainty is a determining factor in collective action and media: 'If I do not have firsthand experience or knowledge of the effects of the problem, I am less inclined to act than if the effects are personal.' In terms of ethnic enclaves, subjective interests are hard to understand for a person living outside an enclave. As Stone argues, "Someone has to articulate what the [group] interests are in short to represent them" which "is a process by which interests are defined" . . . and "who speaks for them" (Stone 1992, pg. 215). Another explanation maybe the real problem is being missed, as Kingdon states, "problem recognition is critical to agenda setting" and underpins the "effect of outcomes significantly." (198). Or to use Schneider and Ingram (1993) idea of constructing attitudes.

Groups that seek to influence public policy can be divided into issues and interests, but here they are not mutually exclusive. While an organization can address food security, another organization can address this issue by focusing on how it impacts a specific group. It can also mean that an issue is specific to one group more than others. Along a similar line of thought, a study organized by Canadian Study of Parliament Group (1989, 2) to discuss interest groups and Parliament, produced two orientations of interest groups, one is themed and the other is segmented.

Examples of theme-focused organizations in Saskatoon are CHEP and Saskatoon Food Bank. They both address the issues of food security which is a policy stream. Policy communities are formed among the segmented organizations as they share commons interests and identity. In this group are Central Urban Metis Federation Inc. (CUMFI), White Buffalo Youth Lodge (WBYL), and Saskatoon Tribal Council (STC). Dependent upon the issue, organizations at times work together to solve a problem and other times have a life of their own. However, there are organizations that do not fit neatly into a category, such as Abbotsford Community Services (ACS), where there are programs and services tailored for a segmented population within a single issue or more broadly. In that instance, departments are organized and the programs and services within the organization are tailored toward a specific group. An example would be a segmented unit nested in a themed organization, such as the youth department, which has a specific program for South Asian youth, and the South Asian Community Resource Office (SACRO), which focuses on diverting youth from entering gangs and partners with Abbotsford Police Department, John Howard Society and Abbotsford School District¹¹.

2.2.3 Representation

¹¹ Abbotsford community services <https://www.abbotsfordcommunityservices.com/programs/youth/south-asiancommunity-resource-office>.

The bottom up community organization approach to representation understands substantive as themed or issue focused and descriptive as segmented interests. The complexities of this approach make it harder to recognize representation as it may not be visible. Organizations that represent interests of ethnic enclaves for segmented population are recognizable because of visible markers (Walks 2014). Organizations that represent interests formed around themed issues are less recognizable as users are multiethnic. A top-down version of representation centers on elected officials who represent the interests of constituents in the riding and act accordingly (Pitkin 1967: Stone 1997; Weale 2007).

A bottom up approach to representation, regardless of whether the positions are elected or not, is citizen centered, emphasizing community organizations. Within each of the approaches are two dimensions of representation: substantive and descriptive. The former is someone who represents group interests and seeks to advance a specific policy whereas the latter involves a situation where the person speaking for them is like them (Buhlmann et.al. 2010, 566). The top down elected model assumes that descriptive representation necessarily means that those interests are at the forefront and will be reflected in policy decisions. I am not convinced this is the case and looking to the interviews in this research to confirm or deny the claim.

A word is required about representation as it relates to urban Indigenous People. In most cities, urban Aboriginal People do not have formal Indigenous political representation and they are reluctant to participate in non-Indigenous organizations (Peters 2012, 18). Those organizations do not mirror Indigenous values and belief systems. Although Indigenous organizations such as Saskatoon Tribal Council (STC) concentrate on segmented population, it does not mean that there is political representation at the decision-making table in municipal government (18). STC is mandated to represent people from specific First Nation reserves (<https://www.sktc.sk.ca/memberships/>) . Policy co-production is a normative principle as urban Aboriginal policymaking goes beyond “voices at the table.” It is more inclusive and goes to where “state and non-state actors work together from problem or issue identification . . . and beyond” (163).

Table 2.1 Subjective and objective approaches

	SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
DEFINITION OF INTEREST (LUKES)	SELF-DETERMINED	OTHER-DETERMINED
EFFECTS OF THE PROBLEM (STONE)	CONCRETE	ABSTRACT
NOT FOR PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS TYPOLOGY	SEGMENTED	THEMED
REPRESENTATION OF INTERESTS	DESCRIPTIVE	SUBSTANTIVE

2.3 Shaping Municipal Agenda's

Referring to the conceptual framework, representation by bureaucracy and elected officials, and problem definition are key components in municipal agenda setting. The discussion begins with mechanisms of municipal representation and moves to policy process and subsystems of problem definition.

2.3.1 Mechanisms of Municipal Representation

Karen Bird (2005) surveyed three gateway cities – Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver – and found that, proportionally, minority representation on city council is very low (450). She compares this to federal politics and found that there is a higher rate of the representation of visible minorities as Members of Parliament. When comparing Chinese and South Asians, two of the largest immigrant groups in Canada, South Asians were elected at a higher rate (454). She does not go as far as to say that visible representation guarantees policies that are “more sensitive to minority interests” (425). But the absence of representation decreases the legitimacy of the government and the feeling of fairness and equality (Tindal et.al. 2013, 371). In terms of representation of Indigenous interests in Saskatoon, this could be the case which could explain the low voter turnout in Ward 2 specifically and, generally, in other communities.

The representative bureaucracy principle suggests that the bureaucratic machine reflect the people in which they serve and will “lead to a more responsive public policy” (Kennedy 2014, 396; Peters et. al. 2013, 3) and assumes that “public servants are not neutral” (Kernaghan 1978, 509). Mosher (1968) and others agree (Birkland 2001; Bradbury and Kellough 2011). From their research, it is reasonable to conclude that, because municipal government is closer to the people, there should be a higher rate of representation and therefore policies are responsive (Kernaghan 1978; Liu et. al. 2010, 79) yet it is unclear if this is happening. To confirm or deny with certainty is outside the scope of this paper. However, Fourot (2015) claims that organizations and representation “shape municipal policies” (423) which aligns with this research. To summarize, the following Venn diagram provides a visual of key actors in community structure of policy network actors.

Figure 2.1 Venn diagram community structure of policy networks



2.3.2 Policy Process and Subsystems of Problem Definition

The process described, by Bardach as an “eightfold path,” suggests that the problem is the initial step and asks the question, identifying what private troubles warrant definition as public problems (Bardach 2012, 2.). Bardach cautions policy developers and analysts to guard against defining the solution as the problem, such as not enough foster homes, and making assumptions about what the problem is. As an example, ‘not enough foster homes’ assumes that this is problem ergo the solution is to create more foster home.’ Shifting the focus from creating more foster homes to discovering how best to prevent child apprehensions in the first place changes the policy paradigm and solution.

Reality, as defined by Bardach (2009), is the setting in which policy analysis takes place, time is of the essence and does not afford the ability of “reading documents, hunting in libraries, pouring over studies and statistics and interviewing people.” (10). This is a top-down, positivist approach to problem definition that reduces the “public” in public policy to quantitative measures much like the Canadian Government Policy Cycle three-step method that suggests a review of statistics, scientific research, party/policy, or election platforms that call for the policy (MacOdrum Library). Time sensitivity and a positivist measure of knowledge and reality within public policy arenas removes the life-world experiences that are key to understanding barriers, values, and beliefs. The practice of identifying experts’ mutes those with lived experiences and constrains feedback loops. It also diminishes the chance of getting the problem right (Estes and Edmonds 1981, 81).

Subsystems of Problem Definition

Public problems affect the greater number of people and are then deemed to be the most important problem (MIP) facing society, which is a “measure of public agenda” (Soroka 2002, 6). How a condition attains MIP status is largely a result of issue salience and framing, which transfer knowledge and reality (to the public) of an issue and where the responsibility of a solution lay which also influences relevance and orientation. As Kendall et. al. state, “Framing analysis is used to determine how people assign meaning to activities and processes in social movements,” (2007, 647). Tolley (2016) concentrates on African American population, noting an “Over reporting on crimes committed by minority suspects has contributed to a connection between visible minorities and crime . . . the undeserving black poor has led citizens to see poverty and associated policy responses as an African American problem” (41). In view of this, it is not surprising that the social construction of Indigenous and Indo-Canadian People occurs in a similar way. Nancoo & Nancoo (1997, 50) and Lawlor & Tolley (2017) are of the same opinion. As previously stated, the media tells individuals how to think about a problem; they also influence what organizations the individual decides to volunteer with.

An attentive public bridge the subjective and objective stances of representation. The outside initiative model is a bottom-up approach that is among those discussed by Cobbs et. al. (1976) It is used to describe the process of how an issue comes to be placed on the political agenda (127). Contrasting to Kingdon’s view of the public as a single entity, the expansion of the issue from one agenda to the other depends upon the interests of the attentive and the general public, two separate publics. The general public is “the last group to become involved “and “once the issue reaches the public agenda it has a good chance that it will move to the political agenda. (ibid.). How can the public become involved before this point?

Agenda melding can shed some light as it “explains why some individuals are more interested in certain issues (and agendas) than others through a perceived combination of relevance and uncertainty.” (Weaver et. al. 2004, 274). The authors introduce three theories: Cognitive dissonance, which states that people pay attention only to information that supports their beliefs and mores and that avoids information that challenges them. Sense of belonging in that people join groups that match their own interests; and lastly spiral of silence argues people will keep their opinions to themselves if they do not align with the (Shaw et. al. 1999, 5). As discussed this motivates or demotivates people for participating in collective action as Kelly and Breinlinger (1996) suggest.

Downs (2001) provides an alternative to agenda melding as an explanation of why interests wane. He stipulates that there are three conditions that an issue must meet before it cycles through. First the majority do not have first-hand experience. Secondly, the “social arrangements provide benefits to a majority,” who also had a hand in creating the problem. Last is that the problem has disappeared from the public purview, either because the public’s attention is diverted, or the

problem does not relate to them (42). Down's five stages of an issue attention cycle begins with the pre-problem stage similar to Cobb's (1976) outside initiative phase in that both begin with the social condition that the general public does not understand or value (2001, 39). The second of five stages are the point of departure, Downs's focusing event or "alarmed discovery" (ibid.) draws attention to the condition, followed by the third stage, which is the realization of the costs of the solution. The fourth stage is the decline of public interest. The treatment of American Indigenous People by the United States government drew little attention from the public (Cobbs Ross and Ross 1976, 130). This aligns with what has occurred on this side of the 49th parallel. In this field, they argue that the general public's interest is "short lived" and that "effective and sustained involvement is relatively rare" (1976, 129). Finally, there is the post-problem, although the level of public concern is elevated before the beginning of the cycle but that is dependent upon the size of the population experiencing the social problem (41). Idle No More (INM) is a good illustration of Down's theory.

Despite media framing the movement in a different light, INM achieved, if only briefly, what Cobb's et. al (1976). argued was absent in United States case: producing public attention on issue affecting the Indigenous community. A grassroots organization, INM harnessed and mobilized power within the Indigenous community and, in doing so, facilitated communication between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. INM also oriented the public to the reality of the problem. The coming together of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants at rallies and round dances through movement communicated common interests and incited joint action between groups who were frequently on opposite sides of an issue. INM challenged the way the nature of knowledge and reality of the problem interacted, not only in Saskatoon but within the boundaries of Canada and beyond. They were the agents for change – and succeeded in moving a social condition to a public concern - that side-stepped government all together. They led and mobilized the public on Indigenous terms by telling their story without compromising values. INM framed the issue in such a way that they made it clear that Bill C-45 would have adverse effects for all. This follows the Social Construction (SC) approach and makes the argument that problems considered for government action are "constructed in the realm of public and private ideas" (Howlett et. al 2009, 96).

2.4 Social Constructionist Approaches to Problem Definition

The social constructionist (SC) approach to research asks about the actors involved in this process, the nature of their interactions, and the role that culture plays in this process?" (Lowney 2008, 332). Lowney recognizes that content, along with how the message transmitted and received, can play both a positive and a negative role in shaping how the public understands social conditions.

Schneider and Ingram (1993) argue that "social constructions influence" agendas, tools and choices of policy, which in turns sends messages about who is deserving and . . . what kinds of attitudes are appropriate" (334). The authors build a model consisting of a binary classification of power --

weak or strong -- and construction of attitudes --negatively or positively (336) -- and demonstrates how each group reaps the benefits or shoulders the burdens (337). Of interest are two categories. First, are the dependents, consisting of mothers, children and disabled. Secondly are deviants, such as gangs, drug addicts and criminals. The public held that dependents are the responsibility of the private sector to help whereas the situation that deviants find themselves in is their own fault and their own problem to fix (341). Recalling that mainstream media often portray Indigenous People and Punjabi population as engaging in deviant behavior and that social constructions are created by history, politics, media and literature (335), it is reasonable to conclude that a SC approach is fitting for this analysis.

Claimsmakers such as policy entrepreneurs and lobbyists have “contributed to the understanding of the social construction of social problems” (Estes and Edmonds 1981, 79). The social problem definition is an interactive interpretive process in five stages. The initial stage in the social problem process is to persuade the public by providing the reality of the problem in such a way that convinces the public to be concerned by using “images” and “words” (Lowney 2008, 333). Equally as important is the primary claimsmakers’ needs to offer a solution that the public could support. Yet there is the issue of how to disseminate the claims which is resolved by engaging with the media, but there are also times when the media seek out the claimsmakers (334). This brings about the third stage: how the public perceives the messages and their reaction. This is dependent on attitudes of audience and the manner in which the media frame the message. The fourth step is where policy makers take over. At this point, the primary claims makers lose control over content and context and over the images and words that are conveyed to the public about the social condition, as shown in INM. The fifth and final stage is the implementation of policy (336).

Communication Infrastructure Theory (CIT) asks questions SC is interested in. This theory captures different ways of knowing across groups with an emphasis on the composition and exercise of communication networks.¹² CIT brings the connectedness of the storytellers to fore at the meso-level and approaches problem definition from a bottom up view, incorporating a horizontal design to the realities of ethnic enclaves. CIT, which is primarily concerned with the patterns and direction of communication, is a good fit for data collection methods that explore community structure of policy network approach.

¹² McQuails Mass Communication theory pg. 18.

- Who is connected to whom in a given network and for what purpose?
- What is the pattern and direction of flow?
- How does communication take place (channels, languages, codes)?
- What types of content are observed?
- What are the outcomes of communication, intended or unintended?

A comparative case study, which influenced this research design, was conducted by Liu et. al. (2010) in United States involved Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, examined local agenda setting by interviewing local policy stakeholders focusing on high level decision makers in organizations that “influence” environmental policy. Using NVivo techniques, a key finding from the interviews they conducted was that “coalition and consensus building” had a greater impact on local agenda setting, which is unlike the situation in national politics (82). Further, they urge exploring “how is consensus typically obtained and how are coalitions built at the local level” (85). The participants of this research can shed some light on that.

Canadian research in social network analysis and community developments (Heit 2012) used eight face to face interviews following e-questionnaires followed by group discussions with interview respondents. The interviews were semi-structured and took a “conversational” tone (14) with not-for-profit and governments agencies in an effort to map social capital, which the authors use synonymous with networks. They set out five recommendations. First among them was “Provide a common space (public good) to community members and organizations serving the community.” (38). An example of scholarly research located in Saskatoon comes from Fawcett et. al. (2015) that examined ways of incorporating “Indigenous communities in high-level planning process” within civic government. (158). The criteria for identifying interview participants was that they

were involved with the previous planning processes. The purposeful methodology resulting in interviews with representatives of Indigenous organizations and civic government. The authors concluded that there is a disconnect between “municipal and Indigenous participants” (158) and that “City hall lacks legitimacy among the Indigenous population” (171). as this thesis has previously argued.

Ball-Rokeach, Kim and Matei (2001) look at communication infrastructure that facilitates storytelling at the neighborhood level, involving residents, community organizations and local media. These researchers use quantitative methods to analyze data collected by telephone surveys and focus groups from various residential areas in efforts to answer the research question “are there sufficient differences in these respects between new and old immigrants to warrant two separate models of belonging” (405). They recognize that time spent in the host country changes perceptions and needs that in this research is identified as liminal space.

2.5 Bridging Determinants of and Necessary Conditions for Policy Networks

Facilitating pathways to municipal agenda setting stresses that trust, communication and space are key ingredients for collective action and the framing of issues of importance to ethnic enclaves. Conversely, framing social conditions in a negative light influence's public participation and willingness to volunteer or to be actively present in collective action. This diminishes the effect of public acquiescence important to policy networks that influence agenda setting and problem definition. I have argued that the foundation of social constructionism, along with communication infrastructure theory, is built on dialogue and socio-spatiality which can mitigate the consequences of divisive Canadian multiculturalism policies. The literature review has shown that bridging the cultural landscape within and between ethnic enclaves is integral to combatting issue inattention thereby increasing the efficacy of ethnic enclaves to gaining public acquiescence and setting the agenda

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this case study is to understand what role ethnic enclaves play in municipal agenda setting and to identify where in the machinery of municipal government can ethnic enclaves highlight their interests. The literature review emphasized how processes and subsystems contribute to community structures, such as policy networks, in efforts to define problems, the initial step in the policy cycle. In this chapter the focus is on methods used for data collection and analysis to address the research questions. To reacquaint the reader, the problem statement, research problem and sub-questions from the introduction chapter are repeated. A brief discussion follows that delimits municipal agenda setting in order to identify key words and attributes. Next, the methods and procedures used during the collection of data are explained and includes the process taken for coding of the main concepts. There is a separate section dedicated to procedures used for data analysis, aligning with constructivist grounded theory approach (CGT) and including a reflexivity exercise disclosing the researcher's beliefs, biases, values and background.

3.1 Nature of the Study

Whereas a quantitative method is understood as causal -- the observed change in Y is caused by a change in X, -- qualitative methods look at the process (Maxwell 2005, 23). This research is qualitative as it examined the process of the role that ethnic enclaves play in municipal agenda setting. The case study goes further in that the design is to "gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning" (Merriam 1998, 19). In light of that, posing the following research questions, the aim of this research is to understand the lived experiences by organizations that represent members of ethnic enclaves by exploring the process and actors involved in community structures of policy networks.

1. Where within the municipal policy systems can ethnic enclaves highlight their interests?
2. How does the framing of ethnic enclaves' influence cooperation with others through joint policy networks?

Spatiality and dialogue are mechanisms to change public opinion or gain public acquiescence leading to the third question. In this context,

3. Do ethnic enclaves reduce or enhance the effectiveness of collective action, specifically through policy networks?

Social constructionism believes that reality is socially constructed; knowledge is gained and shared by interviews with participants using open ended questions thereby increasing credibility. The same inductive approach heavily influenced the design of this research because, as Merriam noted, “understanding emerges from an insider perspective, research is inductive, and it occurs in natural settings. . .” (quoted in Jones, Torres and Arminio 2014, 70). Within a social constructionist study, “ways of knowing occurs during socially negotiated processes that are historically and culturally relevant. and lead to social action” (Koro-Ljungberg 2008, 430). This current research design follows those elements as underlined because they align with the philosophy of how this researcher views community structures of policy networks.

Addressing validity and reliability common to quantitative studies, Lincoln and Guba (1985) provide alternate measures – truth value, consistency and applicability (294-300), as clarified in the table below.

Table 3.1: Truth Value, Consistency, and Applicability

Truth Value	Consistency	Applicability
Researcher has represented multiple realities (296).	Creating an audit trail for data, analysis, and reflexive notes (299)	Are the findings of this study applicable to other studies (298)

The method and methodology used here are not new to the field of public policy research and municipal agenda setting. Liu et. al. (2010) interviewed organizations to ask about local agenda setting in eastern United States by using the snowball method and open-ended questions. Using NVIVO to analyze the data they concluded that there were four processes at play at the local level one of which was consensus building and collaboration which I have already stated in this research. The authors suggest future research on how consensus and coalitions are typically built and the local level. Others that have followed similar research are DeLeon & Varda (2009) who use social network analysis on discovering patters of interaction (116). Schneider and Sidney (2009) is a normative and empirical analysis of important elements of policy design paying particular attention to social constructions whereas Scholz et. al. (2008) turn to random sampling and network analysis in their mixed method research in the exploring the role of informal relationships and networks. Each suggest that future research into processes and networks are needed this research has taken this up.

As a researcher I have had opportunities to interview participants from northern and remote communities in Saskatchewan as part of the research team for Building Northern Capacity Through

Entrepreneurship a research project out of Edwards School of Business¹³ and other projects that commissioned social science research laboratory at the Political Studies Department at the University of Saskatchewan. Because of those experiences, I have learned the skills necessary to ask questions without leading for answers while still gaining knowledge relevant to the topic. To increase trustworthiness, I was reflective following interviews with participants. Triangulation is conducted by comparing what the literature says, what the data emerged from the interviews and my observations.

Face to face interviews conducted at each of the two locations captured meaning and subjective knowledge, ways the insider views reality, satisfies the truth value together with a reflexive approach during the research process, recognizing bias in construction of knowledge, addresses truth value. A descriptive step by step process during data collection and data analysis as shown in tables 8 - 11 addresses the matter of consistency. Applicability has some concerns. Applying the findings of this research to municipal agenda setting in other municipalities within and beyond the boundaries of Canada contradicts the philosophy of multiple perspectives of realities and knowledge: What the perspectives are in Abbotsford and Saskatoon do necessarily mirror those of other urban centers. The construction of reality and knowledge is influenced by necessary conditions and determinants as outlined in the conceptual framework of this research.

3.2 Delimiting Municipal Agenda Setting

This research looked to key analysts of political/policy science (John W. Kingdon 2011; Anthony Downs 2001; Stuart Neil Soroka 2002; Maxwell McComb 2005) to identify key words associated with agenda setting resulting in public opinion, political actors and media. The next step was to operationalize the terms within the context of this research. Following that, it was necessary to discover what literature exists to help us understand how ethnic enclaves operate. Liu et. al. (2010) conducted a pilot study focused on local policy making in United States by interviewing local policy stakeholders. Eighty-two participants out of one hundred mentioned that consensus and coalition building were important political factors at the local level (83). In addition, “interest groups outside of government” and “government” were the top two groups participants mentioned as important to the local policy process (78). Narrowing it down further, Loury et. al (2005) state that “community based civic and religious organizations” (146) that benefit newcomers also serve as a bridging mechanism between ethnic enclaves and societal perceptions.

A communication infrastructure (CI) approach understands the role of the media as influencing collective action. CI emphasizes the outcomes of communication and who is connected to the network conditioned by place and space. In other words, the conditions of space and place build

¹³ Building Northern Capacity through entrepreneurship <https://edwards.usask.ca/news/2018/building-northerncapacity-through-aboriginal-entrepreneurship.aspx>.

“collaboration and transformative change” . . . “important to participatory decision making” (Wallace 2013, 186) that aligns with results from Liu et al. study.

Extending from the aforementioned articles, the addition of ethnic enclaves and C.I. are including and the attributes of the key words which are operationalized to embody the essence of this research shown in the table below.

Table 3.2 Key Words and Attributes of Agenda Setting

KEY WORDS	ATTRIBUTES
Public opinion	Policy networks, collective action and communication.
Political Actors	Advisory groups, iron triangle, and problem definition.
Media	Social construction, issue salience and public acquiescence.
Ethnic Enclaves	Interests, representation, and networks.
C.I.	Communication, connection, and spatiality.

3.3 Target population and Participant Selection

Identifying the target population and participant selection was a two-step process. The first step involved locating the ethnic enclaves. Key conditions were that the ethnic enclave have a large presence in the community, be a visibly distinct group and have been negatively represented in the mass media. Abbotsford British Columbia (B.C.), a community with a large Punjabi population was suggested as one example. Making contact with Dr. Satwinder Bains at the University of the Fraser Valley made it clear that a visit to Abbotsford would be necessary. In the initial face to face fact-finding conversations with city officials and Dr. Bains, confirmed two target communities: Indigenous population residing in Ward 2, Saskatoon and the Punjabi population in Abbotsford B.C. living in the areas of East and West Townline.

The second step involved locating participants in each location. Keeping in mind this research was for a master’s degree, the number of interviews necessary was relatively small. Sampling was purposeful and at times relied on the snowball method, which was applied more to Abbotsford. The main criteria for selecting participants in each location was that they be representatives of a not-for-profit organization that:

- represented interests of ethnic enclaves in programing and services and/or,
- physically located within geographic area of ethnic enclaves.
- hold positions of executive director/Chief or director of operations within the organization.

Using these criteria, the list of appropriate participants in Ward 2 in Saskatoon included 22 individuals; for Abbotsford, sixteen possible participants were identified. In terms of participation selection within civic government at the time of interviews the focus was on individuals who held official positions within local government, including councilors, or department heads. At the conclusion of data collecting I gathered interviews from eight participants in Abbotsford and ten in Saskatoon. Recall that themed are organizations that concentrate on a specific problem such as food security whereas segmented refers to an organization whose client base comes from a specific group such as Indigenous or Punjab people (See pg. 27 of this research).

Table 3.3 Breakdown of Participants by the Numbers:

Location	Municipal Government	Themed	Segmented	Total
Saskatoon	1	5	4	10
Abbotsford	2	2	4	8

3.4 DATA COLLECTION

To collect the information needed to answer the research questions required two methodologies. Interviews were conducted to capture perceptions of policy streams, communities and municipal government within agenda setting paradigm. Secondly, previous studies aligning with the focus of this research were identified and reviewed. The data needed to address the first research question was gained through interviews; the second question required accessing previous research, combined with the interviews. The third question required the assessment of individual perceptions of ethnicity; research on addressing bonding and bridging across ethnic enclaves and, to a lesser extent, insight obtained from interviews.

In accordance with grounded theory approach (Hussein et. al. 2014, 10), the method best suited to obtain insider perceptions and understanding of community structures of policy networks involved open ended questions conducted primarily face to face interviews or by telephone. The interview questions (appendix 6), designed prior to the interviews, were at times put aside to allow for more organic discussions with the participants, treating the researcher and participant as “active knowers” (Koro-Ljungberg 2008, 431). Questions asked to participants in each of the cities were specific to their relationship with members of the ethnic enclaves as it was imperative that interviews mirror diverse populations and their histories. The focus, however, was similar: the relationship between Indigenous People and the local political systems and the relationship between the Punjabi community and local government.

Timing for the interviews ranged from thirty-five minutes to one hour and twenty minutes and took place in participants’ respective offices, at a mutually agreed upon location, or by phone. This wide range of time reflects the fact that executive directors wear many hats and have many obligations.

If the participant confirmed that time was limited, I focused the questions on selected topics as outlined in appendix 6.

3.5 Procedures and Methods for Data Collection

Overview of Ethics

I did not interview individual members of the Indigenous and South Asian/Punjab communities however, I was requesting interviews with members from those communities who are executive directors of segmented community organizations such as CUMFI, Saskatoon Tribal Council and White Buffalo Youth Lodge in Saskatoon and Patrika Newspaper and Abbotsford Community Services in Abbotsford. I applied for ethics approval (see Appendix 7 for certificate). In both communities I was instructed to contact leaders within each community to receive permission to interview but this created a challenge as no community leader was identified in Abbotsford. I discussed this with Dr Bains, and she did not know of any one person who has legitimate authority to grant permission. I reached out to the ethics board at the University of the Fraser Valley and after some explanation of my research they did not see any issue to coming to Abbotsford and interview willing participants as long as it was only within organizational capacity. An expanded account of ethics fulfillment in Saskatoon is described in the next section.

Saskatoon

Following the receipt of ethics approval from the University of Saskatchewan, Indigenous community leaders were contacted. I met the Chief of Saskatoon Tribal Council Tribal Chief, Felix Thomas, to whom I presented tobacco. The intent to introduce myself, discuss the research rationale, and to receive permission to conduct research within Indigenous not-for-profit organizations and request an interview time with the Chief. He agreed to my request.

Ultimately, the interview was not able to take place with Past Tribal Chief Thomas as an election was held and a new Tribal Chief was elected, Tribal Chief Mark Arcand. Once again, I present tobacco and explained the research with newly the elected Chief. My request for permission to interview himself and the executive director at White Buffalo Youth Lodge was granted. A visit to Shirley Isbister President of Central Urban Metis Federation Inc. (CUMFI) followed to discuss research and to request her participation in an interview. Upon conclusion of the conversations, a research agreement was signed with each organization.

Challenges of access and consent played a larger role in Saskatoon rather than Abbotsford. As previously stated, the Saskatoon Tribal Council had gone through an election and a new Chief was elected. This led to re-engaging face to face communication with Chief Arcand as I had done so with past Tribal Chief Thomas which extended interview time frame by six months. In addition, I had to seek permission to interview the executive director of White Buffalo Youth Lodge delaying interview by three months.

Appointments were made for a face to face dialogue with community organizations located within Ward 2, including CHEP Good Food Inc.; Saskatoon Food Bank; Core Neighborhood Youth Coop (CNYC); White Buffalo Youth Lodge; and Quint Development. I introduced myself, explained the objectives of this study, and discussed how to ensure that this research aligns with the values of their organization and ways in which this research could benefit them. At each visit, I left an information package with a research outline and a letter of intent, samples of each are in the appendices, committing to call back to confirm their participation. Saskatoon City Councilor Lorje for Ward 2 at that time did not grant permission as requested, however. Following the municipal election, the newly elected Councilor for Ward 2, Hilary Gough, granted permission for an interview following the presentation of a research package.

Abbotsford

Prior to defending the proposal for this research, it was suggested to contact Dr. Satwinder Bains, the executive director of the Indo-Canadian Research Centre at the University of the Fraser Valley (ICRC) in Abbotsford British Columbia, as a resource to determine whether the Punjab community would be a good target population for this exploratory case study research. At the conclusion of that conversation, I did additional research in publications and the city's website, resulting in the decision to plan a research trip to Abbotsford. I reached out to individuals on my list of potential interviewees, relying on the City of Abbotsford website for email addresses. I attached a summary of the research proposal (appendix 5).

I travelled to Abbotsford in March of 2016 to meet with community leaders and civic officials. I met with Dr. Satwinder Bains at Indo-Canadian Research Centre (ICRC) and with Abbotsford city representatives in bureaucratic and elected positions to understand the electoral system and cultural environment. Dr. Bains recommended purchasing reading material to familiarize myself with the history of Punjab people and the current situation in Abbotsford. Once ethics was approved and using the snowball method, I contacted potential participating organizations to determine who best to talk to. I introduced myself, sending along a brief description to the purpose of my phone call. At the conclusion of each conversation, the same information package was offered to them as was offered participants in Saskatoon. In the weeks to follow I contacted them again to invite them to participate and to set up a date for an in-person interview on my return visit to Abbotsford.

I visited Abbotsford in July of 2017 for one week and interviewed five participants and prearranged phone interviews to be done at a later date with others who were willing to participate. Community organizations willing to participate in Abbotsford led to three interviews with individuals working in the Abbotsford Community Services (ACS), the Executive Director and two department leaders that specifically address Immigration and Punjab community in Abbotsford. In addition, a member of the Patrika News Paper, a department head at Mennonite

Central Committee, Dr. Satwinder Bains at the UFV (ICRC), a city Councilor, and the office manager in charge with community development at Abbotsford City hall Sue Federspiel agreed to be interviewed.

3.6 Methods and Procedures Raw Data analysis.

Social constructionist research is an extension of grounded theory that focuses on constructs, framing, and, most importantly, relationships. In view of this, Charmaz (2008) constructivist grounded theory (CGT) was used as a guide for data analysis. CGT makes assumptions such as there are multiple ways to understand reality and the interviewer and interviewee work together to shape knowledge. This closely aligns with the ontological and epistemological values of the researcher.

A major goal of traditional grounded theory is to enter into research with few preconceptions which brought two challenges: conducting a preliminary literature review and understanding my personal bias. Undertaking the literature review was accomplished in phases. Initially it was to connect macro-level theories of social constructs, policy networks with research on ethnic enclaves. The later stage occurred following data collection and analysis and that focused on categories that emerged out the interviews. The next challenge lay with coding the data from interviews, it is necessary to recognize the researcher's bias stemming from lived experiences. Continually being reflexive and memo writing are safeguards against bias and influence.

Data Analysis

There are three approaches to coding in grounded theory approach (Santos et. al. 2018, 4). First, the methodology for data analysis within grounded theory consists of tier coding of in-depth interviews with participants: substantive (open and selective) and theoretical coding. Secondly, under the Strauss perspective, there are three coding steps, open coding, the initial stage, is for the purpose of letting the properties of potential categories emerge followed by axial coding for the categories themselves followed by the final coding stage is selective coding, which is an affirmation of categories. The third approach is Charmaz constructivist grounded theory (CGT) approach to coding which is a two-step process, initial (words that reflect action) and focused coding thereby giving meaning to experiences and interactions (Ibid. 6). In this research I followed CGT approach to data analysis. Initial coding was performed word by word, line by line, or incident by incident . . . to reveal categories . . . (Ibid). The second stage is focused coding that allows for "concepts to emerge" (Ibid) and identify central categories.

I transcribed all interviews, a process which enabled interaction with the data. Coding was conducting within the paradigm of this research: "socially negotiated processes that are historically and culturally relevant and lead to social action" (Koro-Ljungberg 2008, 430). The exercise of

asking the question, – what is this expression an example of – enabled me to check my bias during the process of coding data from interviews.

Using NVIVO, coding the interviews line by line, forty-three nodes emerged in Abbotsford and forty-one nodes in Saskatoon. Re-reading the transcripts to gather the context and asking the fundamental question, ‘What is this expression an example of?’ revealed the categories. I then wrote them on small squares of paper and, upon completing each location and laying the paper out, grouped them into categories. At the final stage, those categories were understood as outcomes of the codes; those related to the conceptual framework resulted in the identification of themes. Examples of the process are outlined in tables 3.8 through 3.11. The process enabled triangulation of themes and categories whereas the literature covered in Chapter 2 strengthened triangulation.

Table 3.4 Coding Process

Quote	Code	category	Researcher Interpretation
“Community partnerships are integral to service delivery as well as communication and development of policies and community if I need something changed, I can’t do it by myself.”	Collective action	Problem solving	Agenda Setting
“. . . you have to have public support, or the government has no incentive to make that change.”	Public acquiescence	Influence	
“It’s lobbying government, trying to make change . . . meeting the right people getting people to say how can we move forward . . .”	Advocacy	Collective Action	

Table 3.5 Coding Process

Quote	Code	category	Researcher Interpretation
“you very much align and collaborate with other organizations to ensure that there is a critical mass of people that are all saying the same thing.”	Closed Like-minded Group thinking	polarization	Networks
“a social condition that maybe as a group of people have that condition get together like autism . . .”	Special interest coalescing	advocacy	

“if there is an opportunity or if there is something that we want to advocate for, if we see a need to do this or that we would contact like-minded people with vested interest”	Segmented communication	Collective action	
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Table 3.6 Coding Process Continued

Quote	Code	Category	Researcher Interpretation
“Those face to face interactions change people . . . like the twinning project. . . just creating that one to one interaction”	Liminality Face to face	Spatiality	Facilitates Municipal Agenda Setting
“Being able to tell your story through art and culture is a great way to breakdown those barriers”	Storytelling Sharing spaces	Inclusion	
“I think anybody and everybody you can learn from other communities”.	Ways of knowing	Dialogue	
“Commonalities so I think it makes us realize that we are more alike than we are different”.	Storytelling Liminality	Inclusion	
“I think communication is so important if you're going to be doing work just keeping people informed about and keeping them at the table engaged throughout the process soon as that stops the potential for things to just to go sideways.”	Voice Engagement Sharing spaces process	Inclusion Representation	

Table 3.7 Coding Process Continued

Quote	Code	Category	Research Interpretation
“I wouldn’t say it is the same stereotypical images that media was presenting many years ago. . . the language has changed . . . but you can tell by the name”	identity media images	Social construct	
“Media is the worst even when they are trying to put a positive twist on things . . . they can screw it up, but we’re so programmed to what we hear and see.”	Pictures in our head	Social construct	

“So, it [gangs] is kind of sad that it gets branded through ethnic lens, it is really a disservice to a large segment of our population.” “Media has a lot to do with social constructs.”	Influences identity	Attitude	Constraints Municipal Agenda Setting
“It’s the protectorate idea. . . protect the inside whole. . . is the most important part. It is what keeps the onion from falling apart. Everybody wants to keep the inner core sacred.”	Tight knit	Closed	
“There is a lot of us and them. Abbotsford is socially divided. Mennonites on one side, Europeans here and then Punjabi moved in and they are all there.”	Pockets of people	Ethnic enclaves	
“I think there are certain barriers to cross cultural communication living in those areas. But it also comes down to comfort at the end.	Networks based on identity. Liminality	Ethnic Enclaves	

The coding of the research data identified six primary categories:

- Space to interact [liminality]
- Influence [agenda setting]
- Prior relationships [public and government]
- Authentic and legitimate voice [agenda setting]
- Trust
- Public acquiescence to pressure government

All of these elements hinge on space for communication systems and processes which, in turn, affects the operation of policy networks.

3.7 Researcher’s Background.

The interest on this research topic began with the observation that there are pockets of people living in Saskatoon neighborhoods. The boundaries are not a physical barrier rather they are bounded along the lines of socio-economic and demographic identifiers. There is a propensity for groups to isolate themselves into neighbourhood nodes which is a designation for a neighbourhood in the new City of Saskatoon’s The Official Community Plan Bylaw, 2020.¹⁴ This could result in

¹⁴ City of Saskatoon Official Community Plan
<https://www.saskatoon.ca/sites/default/files/documents/cityclerk/bylaws/9700.pdf>.

increased indifference towards the other. Anecdotally, from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups, some non-Indigenous people do not care enough to become involved in collective action because the problem involves a small group of people who historically have been marginalized.

This researcher's fundamental view is that exploring public policy is incomplete without social inquiry that allows multiple realities to be understood. This parallels Blaikie's (2007) approach who points to the ontological stance of the idealist perspective in social inquiry that "regards construction of reality as. . . different ways. . . of making sense of the external world" (17) and the epistemological approach of social constructionism which view "social reality as a structure of ideas" (23) generated by human activity and where ". . . different cultures and communities. . . have different constructions of social reality" (23). Hence the exploratory case study research design involving two different ethnicities in addition to differentiating between segmented and themed organizations.

How I talked about each group was and still is important. As shown in the literature review, Indigenous people historically and currently are portrayed as criminals, gang members and drunk. It is similar with members of the Punjabi community where the images of wife beaters and gang members appear often in the media. My goal was not to minimize the importance of addressing an ethnic component to gang life. Rather, it was to make the reader aware that there are more dimensions to these groups that enhance well-being of communities.

An assumption of mine was that "an iron triangle" exists. An iron triangle is a closed network consisting of those in positions of authority, bureaucracy, and interest groups whose primary focus is policy development and agenda setting or lobbying. In this context it would consist of NPO's, bureaucracy and politicians within the municipal government in a closed network that is a barrier to others entering the discussion of policy development. My first thought was that the assumption was an error. I have concluded that, although the model of an iron triangle exists, the players have changed. Previously a top down iron triangle consisted of interest groups, bureaucracy, and advisory committees¹⁵. However, the research of Conner and Jordan (2010) provide a bottom-up view of these powerful triangular groups. In their research on American public policy, they reimagined the iron triangle with characteristics of advocacy, attitudes, and polarization (pg. 4). Their analysis emphasizes polarization on issues resulting from images and attitudes that are "embedded and resistant to change." (10).

¹⁵ Iron Triangles

https://airacademy.asd20.org/Teachers/Kenneth_Meisinger/SiteAssets/Pages/default/Iron%20Triangles%20and%20Bureaucracies.pdf.

CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

Chapter 4 presents the findings and interpretation of the interviews in this case study which sought to answer three significant questions about the role of ethnic enclaves play in municipal agenda setting. Two major findings emerged from interviews. One, confidence in relationship to themselves and the capacity for members of the enclaves to use their voices,. The second finding was trust in the system and the people they meet outside of their cultural network. This chapter is presented in the following manner. The discussion and presentation of interviews is separated by community to allow an exploration of the two different settings and is on a question by question approach, each ending with cross case observations.

4.1 Presentation of Findings

4.1.1: What positions within the municipal policy systems emphasize ethnic enclaves' interests?

ABBOTSFORD

Abbotsford has devoted considerable attention to supporting the political interests of the Indo-Canadian community. According to Sue Federspiel, a community developer for the City of Abbotsford, consideration of policy in the community starts with the administration:

Senior management team meetings [are held] where things are brought forward to the director which would go to the senior management team which would be brought towards council. They have “community of whole” meetings which aren’t where they finalize decisions, but they are able to, as a council team, discuss potential policy changes before it comes to the public.

Municipal committees make specific recommendations. In addition to that, the city works closely with local organizations: “We work quite collaboratively with Abbotsford Community Services [ACS] and social service organizations in Abbotsford”. Federspiel believes that “decision making is coming from a place of our whole community.”

Outside of municipal government, organizations such as Abbotsford Community Development Council (ACDC), which was organically organized by Non-Profit Organizations play important roles. The community had previous collaboration experience through Abbotsford Social Development Advisory Committee of Council (ASKACO), disbanded because of reduced funding. As one ACS official noted, “We have a director of city planning as one of the seats on it . . . and has an impact in terms of the decisions what happens at city hall”. (Participant 170801_002) This suggests that representation does have impact on policy decisions at the municipal level. But it is not clear if this applies to descriptive representation.

Dr. Satwinder Bains of the University of the Fraser Valley did not confirm if the committees were connected to the decision-making process. As she noted, “I don’t know if direct engagement pieces are there in terms of committees . . . but it [connection] is happening. The city council and mayor are very engaged with the community outside [of city hall]”. But later in the same interview, Dr. Bains was asked about who defines political problems: I am not sure who they are.” This quote signifies a difference between engagement and connection. The former is inside city hall the latter is outside of it.

Speaking specifically, in terms of the matter of local gangs, a significant problem in Abbotsford: Dr. Bains did not think the gang issue was well defined:

The ones who really need it aren’t the ones you are actually talking to . . . they are the most difficult to read, they aren’t talking to you. So, you are defining based on a totally different set of values and probably have no idea what the real truth is. They have some idea but not the truer truth.”

This sentiment is echoed in an interview in Saskatoon when talking with Saskatoon Poverty Reduction Partnership.

Other interviewees pointed to key political leaders. Participant suggested “[Councilor] Ross Siemens is a connector of people and a bridge builder” [170801_002]. Other individuals emphasized the role of politicians: “But I definitely feel that because of Councilor Moe and Kelly certain issues are able to get to the other councilors [so] that they understand what the problem might be” [170710_004]. Similarly, Councilor Siemens stated about an important local Sikh politician, “She is viewed and in certain segments as a non-traditional Sikh woman and then there are people from the rest of the community that say we will vote for Kelly because of ethnic representation.” This indicates to me that at times, westernized ways are in conflict with traditional values that play a role in representation of interests particularly in gender roles. What this means for descriptive representation is that even though she maybe one of them in terms of ethnicity her values are not.

SASKATOON

In Saskatoon Councilor Hillary Gough indicated that “dedicated advocacy groups . . . and individual constituents” join and “start to put together a cohesive question and request . . . with their city councilor. The organizations can identify stakeholders in a certain policy area.” But she acknowledges that “a challenge exists in reaching beyond [organizations] . . . and [it is hard] to communicate with populations that face barriers and invite them to effectively participate.”

Saskatoon Poverty Reduction Partnership (SPRP) Colleen Christopherson-Cote reiterated this sentiment, making it clear that it was difficult to keep issues on the political agenda: “it is hard and quite often voices fall off the side and can’t pull them back in, you can’t make people participate”.

A representative of the Saskatoon Foodbank sees their capacity to advocate is better situated “alongside administration . . . making requests” rather than “. . . answer back to requests,” which is a role of advisory groups play. Advisory groups are not the most effective places to influence decisions. She stated that at the city “Council level . . . it is that decision making on our policies”. Another participant responded that being on a formal advisory group within the city was an advantage but that access to staff and timeliness were significant issues. The community groups were, however, represented on the city’s sub-committees [170731_002]

A participant (170818_001) from the Saskatoon Food Bank intimated that direct dialogue with the Mayor is the norm: “It is not unusual to contact the mayor directly.” Shirley Isbister from Central Urban Metis Federation Incorporated reiterated the importance of by face to face interaction in the discussion “. . . or if I see [Saskatoon Mayor] Charlie [Clark], I just ask him” [referring to the mayor] which is unique to municipal agenda setting. This statement also supports the notion that municipal governments are closer to the people as shown in the literature review (Kernaghan 1978; Liu et. al. 2010, 79).

Another interview described the steps taken to engage with city hall: “The process begins with communication with [a] city councilor who then directs people to the appropriate stream”. In turn, the person/organization would speak in front of a standing committee. Then, if appropriate, the idea would move to an advisory committee who then could make a submission back to the standing policy committee, which is made up of city councilors. [170818_001]

Until the municipal election held in 2016 Saskatoon presented a more siloed approach to minorities in terms of relationship with City Council as one observer stated, effective relationships did not happen at the Council level but “with administration who have always been super supportive and navigated the entire piece. Now both parts of civic government are talking the same language. This is similar to Kingdon’s three streams which argues that the convergence of political, policy and problems streams creates a window of policy opportunity.¹⁶

A participant from the Saskatoon Foodbank offered a similar thought. The new administration identified several Council priority areas: Councilor Gough emphasized the areas of poverty, housing, gangs and drugs and general community safety. Councilor Gough made a good point that, depending on the issue or interest, action it may not require a policy change. Instead, a program or service could address the concerns.

¹⁶ Policy opportunity <https://www.policynl.ca/policydevelopment/pages/policymodels.html>.

For example, WBYL (White Buffalo Youth Lodge)

City supplies leisure cards so we get like 15 plus 3 staff Leisure cards so we can access the other centers which is really important to Engage our children in different areas of the city because Maybe they move from the core neighborhood right that way they're familiar they feel comfortable going so we do provide Community outings it is huge just because we don't want them to come solely so comfortable that they won't go anywhere else but White Buffalo [an Indigenous youth center in the core neighbourhood in Saskatoon} right now.

I posed the question about where the interests of CUMFI are highlighted at city hall to Shirley Isbister, President of CUMFI:

I think in the Aboriginal area for sure that is Gilles Dorval. [Aboriginal Relations Director at the City of Saskatoon at the time] In council chambers I mean that's where we go to have decisions made but definitely, I think more so throughout City Hall in all different departments because of the Aboriginal Unit. Exchanging information with City Hall, yes, we do that mostly through Gilles Dorval's unit and through the reconciliation committee that we have here.

Representation consists of listening and understanding by consultation and needs assessment. This approach captures the essence of "nothing about us, without us." Saskatoon leaders emphasize the importance of talking to people with lived experiences, which is similar to the situation in Abbotsford. In Saskatoon, representation for Indigenous interests are not grounded at the municipal government decision-making table. Indigenous interests are highlighted within the walls of city hall and outside, for example through CUMFI and White Buffalo Youth Lodge.

Cross-case Observations:

A participant from Quint Development reported that the organization was started in response to municipal policies. At one time, it played an advisory role to the city; residents saw the development of Quint as a voice for the community. It is evident that advisory roles have changed from being a voice of the community to responding to requests from the community. Dr. Bains touched on representation or the perceived level of representation by the two Councilors, Challah and Moe (the latter did not get re-elected in 2018). But she emphasized that representation in a policy outcome still requires proof. Yet, the perception of political effectiveness gives the ability for citizens to see themselves as having power within the system. In such circumstances, the literature suggests, citizens will participate at a higher degree. In Abbotsford because they are a member at large voting rates are per polling station. Within the Townline neighbourhoods there were two polling stations where incumbent Chahal in the 2018 election was re-elected as Councilor out of eighteen candidates city wide. Eugene Reimer Middle School had 1,916 votes cast Kelly

took 970 almost half. The second location Harry Sayers Elementary School out 1,927 votes she took 1, 047 over half.¹⁷ These two locations situated in East and West Townline are where she captured the highest percentage of support which tells me that descriptive representation matters.

In terms of organization to organization relationships, the Saskatoon Poverty Reduction Partnership (SPRP), headed by Saskatoon Health Region is the principle convener, as identified by numerous respondents. The Saskatoon Tribal Council (STC) is the oversight body responsible for the White Buffalo Youth Lodge (WBYL). This makes any dependence on City hall for decision-making limited as the City manages the building and provides some funding for programs delivered. Within Abbotsford, the ACDC group is a key convener. The difference is that SPRP is providing leadership as far as bringing the groups together on poverty reduction, a specific issue. ACDC functions as a ‘wraparound service’ and supports participating members with their individual mandates.

4.1.2: Does the framing of the ethnic enclaves’ shape cooperation within policy networks?

The manner in which the needs and concerns of the ethnic minority are brought forward for discussion and policy debates affects the inclusion of enclaves in municipal affairs. In the complex world of contemporary politics, it is increasingly difficult to frame issues of specific concern to ethnic minorities.

ABBOTSFORD

Dr. Satwinder Bains, Director of South Asian Studies Institute at the University of the Fraser Valley responded when asked about what influences how the ‘other’ sees Punjabi community?

Of course, we have one newspaper, but we have lots of other social media. An Indo-Canadian man beats his wife, ‘man beats his wife’ it shouldn’t be his wife anyway. It should be partner or whatever, that language has changed. They don’t do as much anymore they just say a name, but you can tell by the name. I don’t believe our local newspaper is very inclusive. It is a very white paper; it represents a white community.

One participant thought that networks help with crossing barriers but do not resolve the issues They make it possible to “know how the other [groups] work and that newspaper can start the conversation but that there needs to be something coming after that because sometimes the community does not take the next step.” [170710_004]. What might be the level of comfort for the community to take the next step especially if identity is a strong factor in inclusion.

¹⁷ Election results 2018 <https://abbotsford.civicweb.net/document/54925>.

When asked about social constraints that affect perspectives on this community, one observer said that “a lot of people . . . just because if you paint it with skin color and not understand intricacies of the cultural identity it can really divide a community and bring about misunderstanding.” [17919_002]. Social constructs also come from unsuspecting places. In Saskatoon, Colleen Christopherson-Cote said that at the time she moved here (4 years previously), a realtor encouraged her to avoid the Westside, where there are large Indigenous populations, because she could afford to live on the east side.

Because community is a very large idea, participants were asked to define community. Dr. Bains used the metaphor “onion” and “values,” with the outer core protecting the inner core. Other participants identified community by referring to group commonality: sharing an interest; meeting together; being able to connect and interacting with people. It provides a sense of belonging and support but its ease of entry is based on ‘I am like them’. Five of the respondents talked about collective action involving other NPO’s and religious institutions, one response was at the individual level and the other focused on relationships between the organization and the stakeholders. Abbotsford Community Services, federal agencies and ACDC, a group of self-organized NPO’s, were most often mentioned as conveners.

SASKATOON

Colleen Christopherson-Cote was asked if it was necessary to have programs and services designed for specific audiences. She indicated that it was, because of the difficulties some people perceived in travelling within the community:

I think people generally feel like the core is filled with potential dangers in and around interactions with Indigenous People. That is rooted in the historical nature of colonization with this community and the expectation and assumption made in and around people who are vulnerable and who are culturally oppressed.

One participant [170801_001], when asked about moving a social condition to a problem that gets government attention, stated that it “depends on the issue” and that “becomes a question of ethics and morals and how aligned the general public is”. In other words, public acquiescence. The sentiment is aligned with what the literature says about subjective and objective interest (Lukes 1988; Stone 1992).

To better understand the processes of cooperation, I asked about collective action and how that this occurs, leaving the unit of analysis, individual or other NPOS’s out of the question. Out of the ten responses, four mentioned collective action as a two-way process involving individual and organizational communication; the remaining six talked about collective action at the

organizational level only. The Saskatoon Health Region and SPRP were the conveners most often mentioned. Shirley Isbister defined her role in collective action as a lobbying for reconciliation by “building relationships” and pointed to that fact that it is already occurring: “that's where Reconciliation committees its collective actions make huge changes.”

Cross-case Observations:

I wanted to know if social constructs exist, what they are and where they come from. Secondly, I wanted to know if they influenced decision to cooperate in policy networks. While the interviews affirm that they do exist and gave knowledge of what they were and where they originated, I cannot determine if, in fact, social constructs influence cooperation. I look to Kelly and Breinlinger (1996), who argue that identity plays a strong role in shaping collective action. There is indication that framing ethnic enclaves can influence cooperation or shape the decision to join policy networks because social constructs create a fear of the other and “fear paralyzes people from moving forward,” as Dr. Bains stated. She suggested that willingness to participate is based on identity: If we do not see ourselves and our values in a community, we do not see our shared interests and will not meet together. Public acquiescence not only matters in putting pressure on government. It is also a factor in deciding whether to join a community of policy networks.

Hyman et. al (2011) concluded that “Local governments influence social capital indirectly through policies and programs aimed at social inclusion e.g., transportation and recreational services. Whether intentionally or not, social policies and programs do foster and encourage common spaces.” This research does not support their claims. A participant from WBYL regarding recreational activities stated, “There's a lot of ownership that takes place which I think is really huge because you don't get that going to your typical Lakewood Civic facility to go play basketball you don't get that pride”.

4.1.3: Do ethnic enclaves reduce or enhance the effectiveness of collective action which is vital to policy networks?

Ethnic minorities gather together for social comfort, security, and political purposes. While ethnic enclaves have proliferated, and while ethnic groups have become influential in federal and provincial elections, it is not as clear that they have influenced the operation of municipal affairs. At one level, it seems obvious that well-mobilized local populations can influence municipal governments and politics. At the same time, it is not clear how policy networks operate at the municipal level and whether or not ethnic enclaves improve the effectiveness of local systems.

ABBOTSFORD

One participant [170706] provided a good description of why enclaves develop and evolve:

How these pockets form, someone is living there, and they say come it is a good area. So, you will see people living in one area so that becomes one pocket. Because they can support each other because people work in farms and they don't drive, some of them don't drive and some of them do.

I attended a welcoming put on by Abbotsford Community Services for newcomers to Abbotsford. I asked a participant if this was a steppingstone for people already living there to get connected to the people just arriving. The respondent thought it is just one step, but some people are working and cannot make it. So, the event is not a good one for that specific purpose, but it did create a physical space for other newcomers to meet each other and gain information regarding support services.

Dr. Bains distinguished between formal "interface dialogue," where it is organized and informal, but doubted whether the later occurred because there is not a physical space for that would facilitate such meetings. She also mentioned an underground grapevine. Another participant [170706] described how that network can work in an inclusive way: one friend is going and then they talk to somebody who is going the collective thing is making a difference."

Another interviewee [170710_004] stated, "it's just they are not coming out of their shell and not taking part in the community events . . . it may be a language issue. The comfort is being in their area where the grocery is, their friends are and the temples." This is where bonding shapes and is shaped by shared identity.

On one hand, when discussing the greater community perception of the Punjab community, a participant [17076] stated "They [the public] always think they are always together they just want to be together. There are people who still say that they are a close-knit community."

Sue Federspiel, asked if she thought Punjab community was a closed network, said

"I might have said that yes a while back. But now that I am more engaged in a number of groups working there, I think they are really trying not to be. Maybe we are more open. It seems there are people in the community that want to bridge and break any of that. It seems to be that there are bridgers there. And we just all had to find each other."

This is an example of willingness to participate in engagement and supports DeLeon and Varda (2009) who claim that network ties will form regardless of differences Perhaps it is not only up to newcomers to be responsible for integration; rather, it is a two-way exercise. Asking participants about what they thought about inclusion, it means making room for everyone, but it is also designed for all to be involved as it creates a strong sense of belonging. Inclusion is critical not only in terms

of multiculturalism but also in creating bridges between neighborhoods and community structures of policy networks. Or as Kim and Kim refer to this as a public sphere.

SASKATOON

Saskatoon participants were asked about their perception of community and the elements that contribute to the development of community relationships. According to Shirley Isbister community is a geographical space:

“Community as a whole to me I see it differently it's like Saskatoon is actually a community I look at it that way from a large perspective. This community is the core area [an] inner-city whatever people call that and it's a community within itself. And it's a community that leadership is trying to bring out into mainstream so that it's not just known as the inner city or the core area. But this area. . . I don't know if we want to get out of it because it's a comfort level here. . . “

Reconciliation Saskatoon that meets at CUMFI once a month and collectively works towards reconciliation. Its members consist of 98 member organizations and is an initiative coming out of the Office of the Treaty Commission.¹⁸ Emphasizing the work that Reconciliation Saskatoon is doing, Shirley stated that:

Racism is still alive and well in Saskatoon. I mean you have refugees and newcomers coming with a pre-perception of what Indigenous people are. We need to change that, many people, non-Indigenous people, Indigenous people, and people from other cultures you know are working towards change.

When I asked her how those perceptions are ingrained into society, she pointed out that “You see people you know homeless people on the streets, and it validates what people think of [Indigenous groups] as people.”

Councilor Gough identified informal and formal spaces that facilitate collaboration.

I think the informal spaces are probably exist but less visible. Some communities I see using social media to connect, there is a supper active Facebook page. It is a good place to get a pulse on the community. I don't know if it is very representative of the community, but I see a diversity of interaction. People meeting their neighbors on Facebook and it often results in offline interactions. There are some informal community connections that create that gathering but also happen when folks walk by. A lot of informal spaces are indoors or not seen so I don't know.

¹⁸ Office of the Treaty Commission http://www.otc.ca/pages/reconciliation_saskatoon.

During the interview Collen Christopher-Cote responded to a question regarding targeted universality, ‘Do you think that resonates with municipal government in terms of services and programs? Her comment speaks to perceptions regarding the core area of Ward 2:

I think to some extent, there is a ton of systemic and overt racism in this community. I think people generally feel like the core is filled with potential dangers in and around interactions with Indigenous People. That is rooted in the historical nature off colonization with this community and the expectations and assumptions made in and around people who are vulnerable and who are culturally oppressed.

Asking about inclusion, words that came up included “first voice inclusion,” “reflects the community we serve,” and “begins with awareness and understanding.” A desire for effective representation was the prevailing sentiment. In terms of Canada’s multicultural policy. Gregg Allan (2006) takes a deficit approach to inclusion by stating the absence of it “perpetuates cultural division” (11). This means that if inclusion is not present, cross-cultural dialogue and bridging will be diminished.

Additional Observations:

Meshing ideas coming from interviews in both locations identified an important relationship: Confidence increases Trust, which affects strength of voice and, in turn, increases the influence of policy decision-making. It is unclear if social constructs influence comfort levels. In the Saskatoon media, Ward 2 is portrayed as being unsafe, shaping the willingness of individuals and groups to participate in community structure of policy networks.

4.2 What does Confidence and Comfort have to do with it?

What surprised me the most was that comfort and confidence is important inclusion. It also is factor into trust and influencing policy decisions, but it is not clear that this will transfer to cross cultural interaction designed to underpin public acquiescence. Performing a rudimentary word search in Word, five of the organizations that were interviewed used the word confidence or comfort/able. One used the word confidence, but as the table shows many used the word “comfort” in various contexts.

Table 4.1 Measuring Confidence in Saskatoon

Organization	Frequency	Context
CNYC	1x	To share opinion to become more involved
Food Bank	2x’s	Inclusion around the table and design of program
WBYL	10x’s	Inclusion in programming and going outside of enclave

SPRP	3x's	People Accessing services and white privilege (un)
CUMFI	3x's	Working with city hall and level of staying in enclave
STC	5x's	Accessing services non-judgmental, not being afraid and identity

Conducting the same exercise for comfort and confidence with Abbotsford showed three of the organizations used the comfort and/or confidence in much the same context:

4.2 Measuring Confidence in Abbotsford:

Organization	Frequency	Context
Dr. Bains (confidence)	3x's	Confidence building to interact, to venture out of enclave
ACS (comfort)	1x	Inclusion taking buses to navigate outside of enclave
170710_004 (comfort)	5x's	Enclave, networks, coming out of their shell, zone

This is important to recognize as comfort and confidence matter when interacting with policy decisions makers to inform policy and programs especially with youth and members of ethnic enclaves. This would also lend to increased trust and cooperation. Generalizing this idea across populations cannot be claimed but for these specific participants it is clearly a factor. Yet confidence and comfort were not mentioned in the literature as a characteristic of inclusion, representation, agenda setting nor ethnic enclaves. This would be an emerging theory.

4.3 Discussion

Similar to provincial and federal levels of government mechanisms of media, policy networks and bureaucracy play a role in agenda setting however, the uniqueness of municipal agenda setting is that first contact made by organizations is with the city councilor, mayor or department head who then directs inquires and problems to the appropriate department. Also, relationships are formed on a continuum from casual to formal situations, for example Shirley from CUMFI refers to the mayor as Charlie.

Results show that elected officials and administration are effective in highlighting ethnic enclaves' interests, particularly in the bureaucracy, as in the case of Gilles Dorval in Saskatoon and elected officials in Abbotsford. This supports in part what the literature shows (Kernaghan 1978; Liu et. al. 2010, 79). Public servants are not neutral, but it is not clear whether it leads to a more responsive public policy. But policy is not the only measure in municipal agenda setting as Councilor Gough stated, programs and services are also included.

My findings demonstrate that the civic machine of each city runs similarly, even though Saskatoon is a ward system and Abbotsford operates by a member- at-large system. In the literature organizations are key factors in supporting the interests of enclaves and administration is left out. The data shows that interests are highlighted both at the levels of the administration and elected officials, depending on whether the action required, or a policy or a program/service. Caution must be taken though because highlighting interests does not mean that a service, program or policy will achieve the desired outcome or reflect values and beliefs.

In this example the students at the particular school in Saskatoon were being publicly singled as needing lunches. By doing this the recipients were embarrassed and likely bullied and did not go to pick up their lunch. A good method is performing a social audit – going to the users to gain insight into how the program is having an impact, negative or positive may have revealed the unintended consequence. Even though the program was a good one the design and implementation itself was flawed. The social audit has four key principles of transparency, participation, representative participation, and accountability which has benefits to grading the efficacy of policy and program¹⁹.

Another example, and referring to an event in Abbotsford, Sue Federspiel provided an example of cross-cultural interaction and the need for space to accommodate it:

‘Turban eh’ is an event held on Canada Day. They had all these different beautiful colors of turbans and people would come and learn about the turban and the significance of them in the Sikh society. And they would learn about it. Get a turban tied on and wear it and they could even keep it. We saw all the people who were not Sikh walking around with turbans on and it was just a really positive thing for both them.

On the face of it this comment has no significant relationship with problem definition but reading the next comment from Dr. Bains also referred to this event:

At first, I thought, I was like okay. The second thought was this is so wrong. The third thought was this is terribly wrong. The turbans are a sacred piece of clothing. No way do I know that the white person who comes and gets a turbine will take it home and treat it with respect that it deserves. They could throw it in with the laundry or throw it in with the underwear.

Two very different accounts of the same events. The city administration saw numbers and interaction within a social space, but Dr. Bains viewed the outcome based on values and beliefs.

¹⁹ Social audits http://www.civicus.org/images/PGX_H_Social%20Audits.pdf.

An example of this is the *Final Report to Bridges and Foundations Core Neighbourhood Development Council (CNDC)* (2003)²⁰ was a collaboration of groups representing Ward 2 neighbourhoods and was generated by Quint development (2) and included the organizations that participated in this research. Unfortunately, CUMFI and Saskatoon Tribal Council pulled out that led to the demise of the council. At that time there was no “recognized mechanism for dialogue where . . . organizations can learn from each other” (8). Of the challenges discussed “culture” came into question and the “culture of CNDC is to community residents and/or Aboriginal groups” (9). Coincidentally, this report was authored by Charlie Clark, the current Mayor of Saskatoon. When looking at values and beliefs, it is important to representation and collective action as argued by Estes and Edmonds (1981) and Sabatier and Jenkins (1993).

It can be argued that the media does paint pictures which influence what the public is interested in doing something about, suggesting that social constructs, especially those that are shaped by media and history, influence the willingness to participate in community structures of policy networks. Shaw et.al. (1999) supports this relationship in that negative framing builds constructs with guides our behavior as Flynn (2004) agrees. Indications are that social constructs designed by media and historical perceptions matter in developing a willingness to participate in policy networks. Comfort, trust and identity are important, whether it is to members of a Punjab speaking group, representatives of the host community, or Indigenous People in urban centers. The literature does not support this. However, I fully agree that identity and trust matter to collective action and community structures of policy networks. It appears that comfort and confidence level also have implications on interaction and crossing group boundaries within the liminal space.

The emerging theoretical ideas.

1. Relationships between government/bureaucracy and community structures of policy networks are developed separate and distinct from policy/agenda setting. This is not revealed in the literature covered in the research although there is acknowledgement that these relationships exist.
2. Municipal agenda setting goes beyond traditional practice of voting. It also involved community organizations that represent interests whether it is segmented or themed.
3. It is not the end goal of organizations to be part of advisory group because it constrains their ability to influence those that make the decision.
4. When government calls for consultation and or engagement the lack of interest in participating may be due to lack of confidence in the participants themselves or the system.

²⁰ CNDC <http://docplayer.net/133849133-Final-report-to-bridges-and-foundations-core-neighbourhooddevelopment-council-october-24-2003.html>.

5. Beliefs matter to identity, belonging, building common agendas and collective action.
6. Realtors may be influencing housing purchases in the city by steering potential homeowners away from neighbourhoods like Ward 2 as the interview revealed.

As conveners of community engagement, municipal bureaucrats and elected officials have a responsibility to engage the community in meaningful dialogue before the problem and policy agenda is defined. I concur but it should take it another step to include community organizations that not only are themed but segmented as well. This is very important if the tools that are used to deliver the service or program is aligned with values and interests of the group facing the social condition. This requires ongoing communication noting that C.I. T (Communication Infrastructure theory) recognizes that who is connected and what the outcomes of communication are just as important as what is being communicated. In terms of this research, the process leading up to developing policies and programs is as important to of success of them as the instrument of policy implementation itself is.

CHAPTER 5 APPLICATIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Applications

Answering the research questions showed that interests are highlighted in different places within and outside of government. But the pathways to municipal agenda setting are not clear. Wanting to address this, I looked for key indicators such as ‘because’, ‘leads to’ or looking for connecting ideas (for example “X is a means of affecting Y”) (Ryan and Bernard 2003, 92) as these informal and more nebulous elements are clear crucial in the development of policy networks and municipal agenda setting.

A representative from Quint Development Saskatoon argued that:

the stronger we can have communities and the more engaged they are, I think organizations like city council and government we will get better policy because it'll be better informed by the people that they're trying to serve.” It is all positively related as he went on to show relationship “. . . the more organized a community is they have the more voice they'll be listened to and their concerns will be reflected, and the more policies will meet their needs.

Conversely,

The more marginalized and more isolated we are then I don't know lots of times policy services the needs of the privilege because it's their voice that are being heard and they're the ones that have power and so we how do we empower the disempowered so that writing the policy is serving everybody's needs.

A former executive director of CNYC said this about the voice of youth: “ensuring that they have a strength of voice so is making sure that they have that [depends on] training in order to make sure that they have the confidence to share their real opinion so the more involved.”

In terms of relationships between organizations and government, “we have those personal ties and personal relationships, but it's not tied to policy this is just how it exists right now, so we have a really good opportunity to develop those relationships for policy to be able to go on further down”.

Sue Federspiel from Abbotsford City Hall said:

Safety and trust, it is not just a thing. It is about education newcomers about how things work. It is about . . . building up trust as a community because they actually come from a background where it is very common, they have been traumatized where most of the immigrants come from the Punjab area where most of them are

Sikh. They have been traumatized from police and authority in their history. So how do you build that back.

The implications for community structure of policy networks is that relationships are absolutely key in developing ties and relationships as supported in the literature in particular trust as Punjab and Indigenous come from a history of mistrust of authority and trauma.

5.2 Problem Definition

As an example, and referring to an event in Abbotsford, Sue Federspiel provided an example of cross-cultural interaction and the need for space to accommodate it:

‘Turban eh’ is an event held on Canada Day. They had all these different beautiful colors of turbans and people would come and learn about the turban and the significance of them in the Sikh society. And they would learn about it. Get a turban tied on and wear it and they could even keep it. We saw all the people who were not Sikh walking around with turbans on and it was just a really positive thing for both them.

On the face of it this comment has no significant relationship with problem definition but reading the next comment from Dr. Bains also referred to this event:

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These are two opposing views of the same event, one from an insider perspective and the other one coming from a city administrator’s point of view. Neither one is incorrect. But which perspective will the organizers take will influence the program/event? The point is the organizing body would do well to talk with both to understand the success or failure of the program.

Something similar occurred in Saskatoon in 2017 during a Folkfest event where different cultures showcase their cultural food and dance at pavilions set up around the city. The ill-considered choice by the Ukrainian pavilion coordinators to incorporate an Indigenous dance into the Canadian Kaleidoscope performance resulted in misrepresentation of Indigenous dance and a call to “open communication with people of the community.”²¹

²¹ Canadian Kaleidoscope <https://thestarphoenix.com/news/local-news/woman-in-saskatoon-calls-ukrainiangroups-dance-routine-featuring-powwow-moves-headaddresses-offensive>.

Liminality occurs at the “exterior of socio-spatiality” where identity is invisible or obscured (Fourny 2013, 273). Although I am not sure that it takes place at the exterior nevertheless in this current research, both locations, Saskatoon and Abbotsford displayed the signs of being of this stage of transition. Shirley Isbister from CUMFI she illustrated this:

they tend to forget the Metis people because I think First Nations people tend to think maybe that we have that non-Indigenous blood in us and non-indigenous people think oh yeah they've got that First Nations blood, we've always been caught in the middle and we are definitely the Forgotten people and to this day still we struggle with that.

Shirley’s statement captures the essence of liminality and of being caught between how First Nations and the westernized world think of Metis People.

In Abbotsford, Dr. Bains refers to this transition as “osmosis” in terms of first- and second-generation Indo-Canadians:

There is a huge generational divide, there is a huge cross-cultural divide, there is a huge country divide, there is a huge, like the divide is so huge you can’t bridge it. So, the kids need western councilors. The elders have no idea what these western councilors do because they believe that the western councilors will fill their heads with ideas. And then it will break up the onion, the middle core.

Sue Federspiel talks about liminality in terms of integration,

Where we struggle if you think about young people coming from a background family the first-generation immigrants, they might speak mainly Punjabi at home, have the culture that they brought with them from India. And then young people come here, and they learn English and Punjabi it is almost like they are caught between two worlds.

The consequences of liminality are

kids falling through the cracks sometimes those transitions between elementary to middle or middle to high school if a lot of them are not doing well in school they might be vulnerable in different ways. They are not feeling successful, just like Caucasian kids if they are not in school, they can be more vulnerable to regional gangs and drug activity.

Yet some aspects of the westernized world have been just as closed as Dr. Bains highlighted,

the westernized ways have to adjust itself to include an eastern philosophy. The west has kept itself fairly isolated, the western ideal and ideas have stayed very western. Why has the west not allowed permeation from eastern ideas into it? Because of today's globalization and our interaction is greater. Why is that? Why are we stuck on western ideas as being the only solution and the way we look at the world? There is a great opportunity for these two to come together.

Both communities are experiencing gang and drug activity but clearly adopting the same solutions would not have the same results:

when you see a young person not from broken homes, doesn't have mental health issues doesn't have the tick off marks of people who get involved [in gangs] but who seems to have parents in the house, wealth not huge amounts but well off. You start questioning what is going on. It is affecting the youth who are caught between both worlds, Punjabi and westernized. It is a new problem, we have only old solutions, we don't have new solutions.

5.3 Implications

Municipal Government:

- Implication #1 -- Engagement must begin prior to problem identification or developing solutions. Pre-policy development and working on designs with the community, rather than for the community, is much preferred as it facilitates trust. Reflecting on the situation in Abbotsford addressing that gang situation and using western ways versus ways that are identified by the Punjab community. Rather than consulting or informing, collaborating with the community would also incorporate the values inherent to them. It would also go along way in nurturing confidence and comfortability

Not-for-profit Organizations:

- Implication #2 -- Recognizing that polarization on issues exist provides an alternate way to gain public acquiescence. If the public has concerns about a specific program resulting in push back, it is best to address the public dissonance by constructive dialogue and education rather than aggressive activity or debate. Although the incidence at Mankota Saskatchewan was not part of the interview process it is an example of how neglecting to address issues can result in community breakdown. Check in with members of the community to ensure that they see their values in the organization.

Both government and not-for-profits

- Implication #3 -- Evaluations of a program or service exercise should not be done simply on the basis of the number of users and the type of service accessed. Instead, the program or service should also be evaluated according to its net impact, with a focus on how to improve any offerings. School lunch program in Saskatoon is a prime example of using numbers to measure success versus what impact the program is having. On the surface the program was a success, but further investigation would reveal that there was something else going on.
- Implication #4 -- Recognize that multiculturalism builds diversity but that interculturalism facilitates inclusion. Therefore, shift the emphasis to bridging pockets of otherness, rather than encouraging separateness when planning infrastructure and programs. This supports dialogue between groups to create understanding, reduce fear and increase the level of trust and reciprocity. As an example, Idle no more a wonderful example of Ermines ethical space of engagement or liminal space. The coordinators of Idle No More created a liminal space where people could unite and come together to address an issue. In other words, public acquiescence with achieved.

5.4 Conclusion and Future Research Possibilities

This thesis has expanded the knowledge of policy networks by focusing on community structures and by highlighting the role that ethnic enclaves' play in municipal agenda setting. I have identified that administration and elected officials work alongside community organizations in highlighting ethnic enclaves' interests, with strong connections between elected officials, administrators, community organizations and formal and informal representatives of ethnic minority in segmented organizations. Integral to the development of policy and programs is forming relationships and understanding interests where trust and confidence and comfort can be formed. This may require a look back at what the relationship was between the enclave and organization or government systems. This will support civic engagement and consultation process in designing programs and services that are the primary tools used to address these interests. This is a unique and vital aspect of municipal governance.

Abbotsford and Saskatoon share characteristics such as a large and potentially influential ethnic minority network, sharply negative images of these minorities in the majority population, strong associational networks within the ethnic communities, and political and bureaucratic advocates for ethnic interests. Yet significant challenges remain, particularly in terms of self-determination important to Indigenous communities in municipalities. Important to future research is how this would function in an urban setting. For both communities and indeed communities beyond the scope of this research is addressing the pressing social, economic, and cultural issues of ethnic minorities within the context of a vibrant and strong community. As an interviewer stated the realtor steered her away from purchasing a house in Ward 2

Ethnic enclaves are community structures with prominent and potential roles in policy networks. I have confirmed that social constructs matter, and media has played a large role in the maintenance of them. To say with certainty that social constructs support or hinder collective action in communities requires further research through the lens of semantics and data gathering methodologies such as focus groups and face to face interviews with those outside of ethnic enclaves. Yet, there is evidence that constructs do influence collective action because we become involved with issues that are important it is very subjective.

Although this research concludes that policy decision making is community-focused, who defines the problem and lays out the solutions remains unanswered. Future research is needed by tracking the process from identifying a social condition to defining the problem through to the policy agenda/decision table in order to answer questions about whether ethnic representation on council or in the administration improves agenda setting capacity and program outcomes. It is not clear as yet if ethnic enclaves support or hinder collective action. The results from this preliminary investigation indicates that the phenomena are present, largely and unfortunately because of fear of the “other.” Fulsome dialogue and collective action appear to be generally absent in both Saskatoon and Abbotsford. To say this with certainty requires more research.

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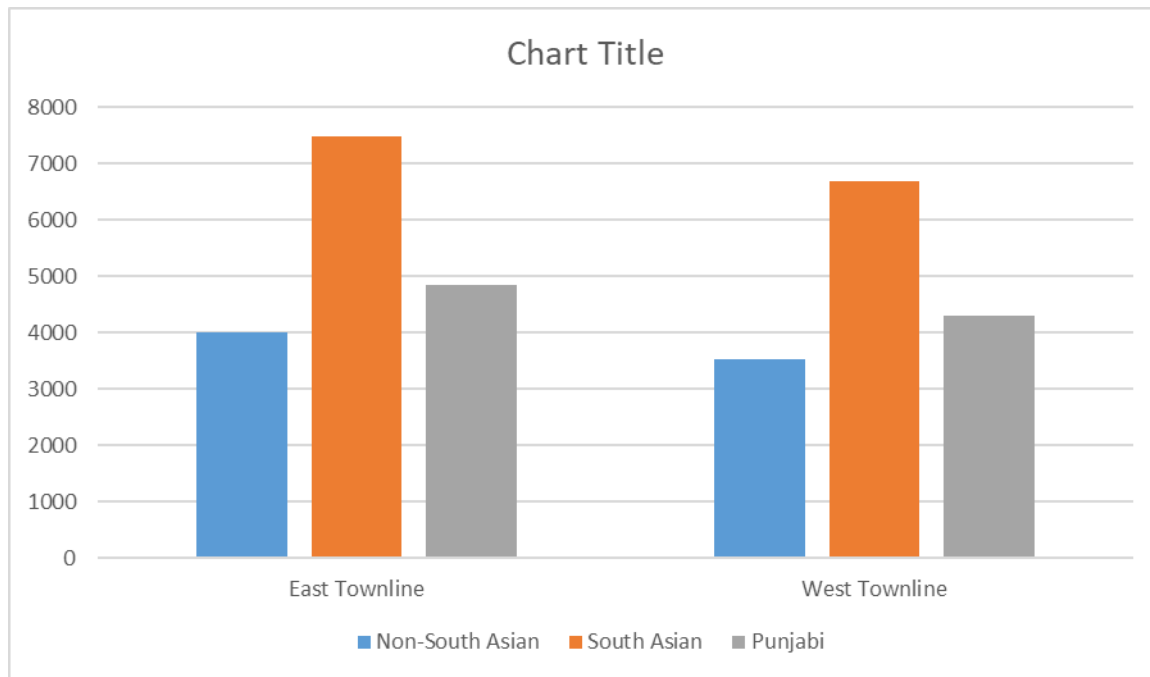
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Appendix A: Population Breakdown Townline Areas in Abbotsford British Columbia



Appendix B: Historical Context of Indigenous and Punjab

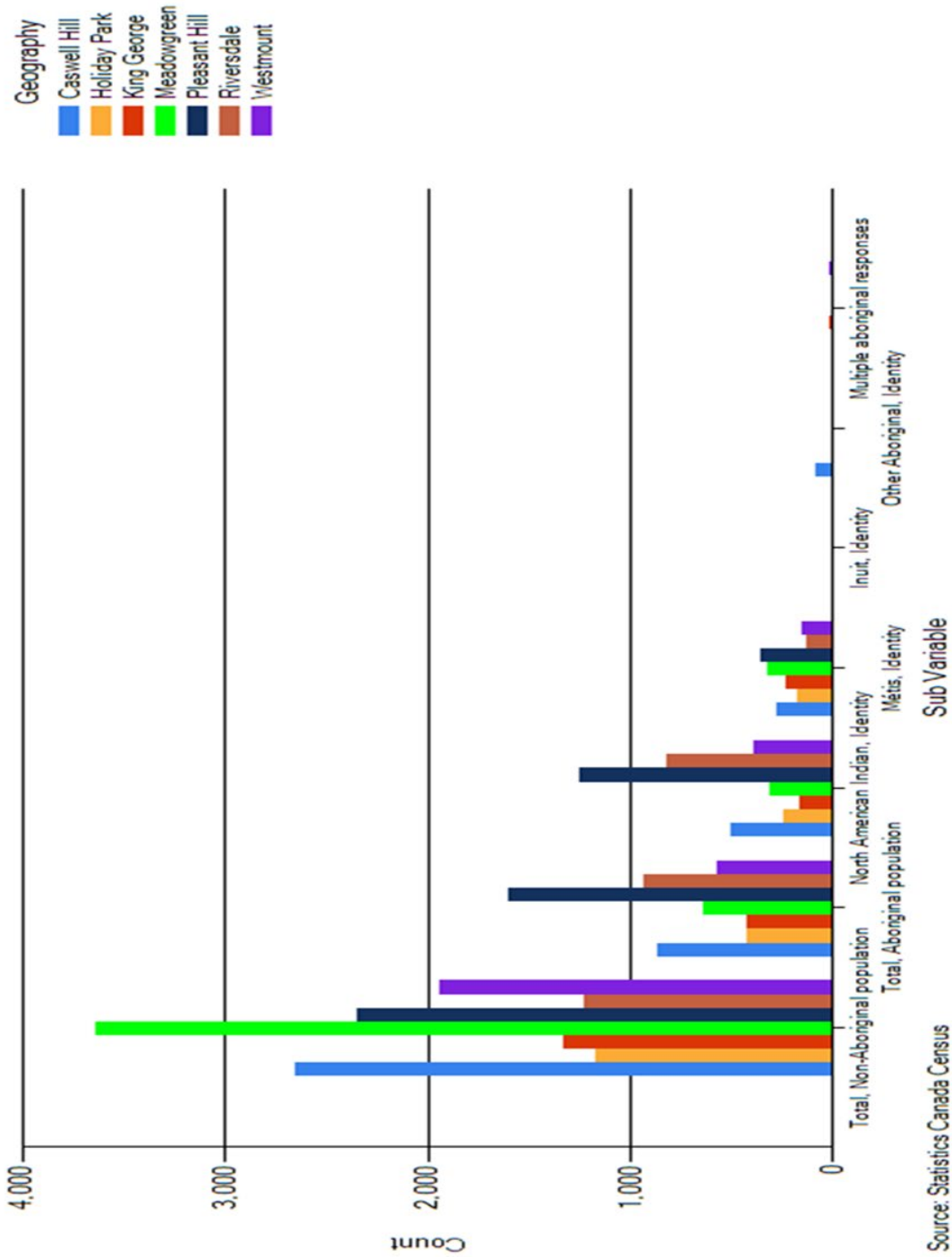
PUNJAB HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH CANADA

The history of the Punjab area in East India prior to immigration to Canada and during the early years plays an integral part in understanding the waves of immigration, however because of the focus of this research I chose to concentrate on the point of arrival in Vancouver www.southasiancanadianheritage.ca. Data shows that South Asian immigration to Canada began in 1904 and by 1905 because of the head tax on people coming from China, increased immigration from India (Buchignani, Indra, & Srivastiva p.5, 1985). By 1908 the community was experiencing media stereotyping and were socio-economically classified as blue-collar workers (Ibid., 12) Most were male with a farming background and looking for employment which they found in railway construction, canning, lumber camps and farming, and as the community became homogenous temples became central to community life (Nayar 2004,16). But as studies have shown, authentic culture shifts towards a hybrid of home and host countries occur from first to second generation. For a more complete account of the Punjab history please visit www.southasianscanadianheritage.ca.

INDIGENOUS HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH CANADA

There are in total four numbered treaties in Saskatchewan, years are bracketed, #10 (1906), #8 (1899), #4 (1874), and #6 which was signed in 1876 and is where Saskatoon is now located see (http://www.otc.ca/pages/treaty_timeline.html). Metis People emerged following European settlers where First Nation women were marrying French or English fur traders who depended upon the women for contacts and survival (see http://digital.scaa.sk.ca/ourlegacy/exhibit_metisculture). Historically languages used by Metis were Cree, French, English and Ojibway see http://www.mmf.mb.ca/michif_language.php. With the resurgence of cultural language Michif is most widely spoken by Metis. Currently in Saskatchewan the Central Urban Metis Federation (CUMFI) and Metis Nation of Saskatchewan represent Metis interests however CUMFI does not differentiate between First Nation and Metis in delivering services and programming this can also be said for the White Buffalo Youth Lodge an agency of Saskatoon Tribal Council.

Appendix C: Population Breakdown Ward 2 Saskatoon



<http://www.communityview.ca/Catalogue/CensusVariable/Chart/1?presentationType=7>.

Appendix D: Project summary.

ETHNIC ENCLAVES:

It is not surprising that Canada has experienced an increase in ethnic enclaves with a dramatic rise in immigration and the migration of Indigenous Peoples to urban centers. The number of ethnic enclaves defined by Statistics Canada as defined census tract with at least 30% of the population from a single visible minority group jumped from six in 1981 to 260 in 2012. In the NHS 2011 Profile, the population of Saskatoon was 230,850. Of that number 22,360 people were of North American Aboriginal descent; visible minorities accounted for 28,025 or 21.82% of the population. Ethnic representation, although of obvious importance to municipal problem definition and policy development, Saskatoon City Council has not kept pace with the increase in the diverse population. Recognizing these types of ethnically and class-tinted nuances are crucial to the study of policy agenda setting at the municipal level and the social fabric of society.

RESEARCH PROJECT OVERVIEW:

My research questions are: Does the perception of how people perceive cultural groups determine collective action between themselves and members of ethnic communities? What positions within the municipal policy systems can ethnic enclaves highlight ethnic representation? Do ethnic enclaves reduce or enhance the effectiveness of collaboration which is vital to policy networks?

This project relies on community-based participation method to assess the level of representation at the municipal agenda-setting stage of public policy development. This is a comparative study between East and West Towline in Abbotsford B.C. and Ward 2 in Saskatoon SK.

I look to the communities to define what ‘diversity’ and ‘representation’ means and if collective action is important to the community. If so what is the process to achieve it and what barriers exist. On the other side of the collective action equation, the host community, I argue that the media influences how the larger community understands an issue by taking a cost/benefit approach, the cost of a solution to an issue versus the cost of doing nothing.

The purpose of this study is two-fold: To increase representation and inclusion at the policy decision making table and to better understand communication between groups and the structure that facilitates pathways to municipal agenda-setting.

Appendix E: Interview questions

How long have you been with _____ organization?

How did the organization get started?

How are policies, services and programs designed?

Where does your funding come from?

What is the relationship between your organization and different levels of government?

How do you communicate with the municipal government?

How do you define community?

How would you define diversity, inclusion, and representation?

How do you move a social condition to a problem that the public and government need to do something about?

Is the _____ community a closed network?

Does collective action matter?

Are there questions I should have asked?

Data collected from this research involved human participants from two locations Abbotsford British Columbia and Saskatoon Saskatchewan. The names of some participants have been used with their permission and other upon their request have been intentionally omitted and replaced with numbers.