FINAL REPORT
Multiculturalism
Research Synthesis
2009 - 2013

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Executive Summary

Evidence-based research and theoretical literature published or produced in relation to multiculturalism between 2009 and 2013 make the object of the present synthesis, which has been commissioned by Citizenship and Immigration Canada to inform the Multiculturalism Program. Roughly 180 works have been identified to address a broad range of issues pertaining to ethno-cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society. We took a “bottom-up” approach in classifying and organizing the materials and identified four broad themes, each with several sub-themes.

Theme 1: “Debating Multiculturalism” reflects the normative, macro-sociological and historical perspectives on multiculturalism that make the object of a significant number of analyses in the recent literature. Critics and defendants of multiculturalism elaborate on what multiculturalism in the Canadian context implies and should or should not entail.

Four sub-themes define this theme:

1.1. Critiques of multiculturalism with arguments from the “political right” thinking – that is, orthodox liberal and republican perspectives – claim, in general, that multiculturalism grants too many concessions to minorities. From this standpoint, critiques distinguish two undesired consequences of multiculturalism: cultural and religious accommodations undermine individual liberties (orthodox liberalism) and entail the emergence of cultural, religious “ghettos” resulting in fragmentation and demise of Canadian society (orthodox republican perspective). Defendants of multiculturalism bring empirical-based arguments indicating that multiculturalism policies have a positive impact upon immigrants’ basic liberal values of freedom, equality, and solidarity and do not undermine interpersonal trust.

1.2. Critiques of multiculturalism with arguments from the “political left” thinking – that is, critical race and post-colonial perspectives – claim that multicultural concessions revolve too much around cultural differences and do not pay enough attention to power relations. From this standpoint, critiques blame multiculturalism for failing to address issues of social inequality and racism. Defendants of multiculturalism reject this type of criticism on the premise that it overlooks the fact that multiculturalism emerged exactly to replace previous relations of power and developed models of democratic citizenship defined by human rights ideals.
1.3. “Interactive multiculturalism” (Hartmann and Gerteis 2005) is what many Canadian scholars define and defend as the Canadian way of dealing with diversity. It relies on the existence of strong moral bonds among individuals and groups, a cultural core and promotion of cross-cultural dialogue and exchange between ethnic and national groups as key value.

1.4. Interculturalism – Quebec’s version of federal multiculturalism – is portrayed differently from the Canadian mosaic of cultures, namely as a culture of convergence whose core is the French language and Québécois traditions enriched by the contributions from minority culture. Nevertheless, scholars claim that recent policy developments indicate that Canadian multiculturalism is moving closer to Quebec interculturalism.

Theme 2: “Social Differentiation” is concerned with diversity seen not in static terms as simple ascriptions to different social categories, but dynamically and characterized by unequal power relations which translates into social categorizations defined by unequal access to resources, opportunities, and life chances. Consequently, (un)equal opportunities and discrimination as well as civic participation and engagement are at stake in this theme. Several dimension of social differentiation have been approached to a higher extent in the recent literature and they regard ethnic and racial lines, sex/gender, religion, sexual orientation, and age.

2.1. Scholarship dealing with social differentiation along ethnic and racial lines indicates few areas of concern. At the individual level, research indicates that racism is still a persistent problem for visible minorities slowing down their social integration, conveying a sense of social exclusion even after economic integration was achieved and negatively impacting employment, health and well-being. At the group level, research points to identity challenges, namely the way multiculturalism’s funding structure shapes groups’ ethnic identity and ethno-specific organizations’ financial resources in a way that limits their possibilities to provide effective remedies to hardship and problems within their communities.

2.2. Research concerned with sex/gender-related differentiation reveals unequal opportunities for women belonging to racial and religious minorities for whom access to the labour market is the key area of concern. In terms of stigmatization, Muslim women currently appear the most vulnerable group, their situation being an indirect consequence of the government policy/discourse in a context characterized by security concerns and a direct result of their misrepresentation in the media and to public eyes.
2.3. Research into religion-related differentiation shows that Canadian Muslims are viewed as dominating the agenda of religious accommodation, that this group faces religious discrimination, and that the wider Canadian society fears that Muslims may not be integrating well enough.

2.4. Research on sexual orientation-related differentiation warns that Canada’s GLBTQ population is not a monolithic group. Discrimination, racism, and the lack of appropriate resources on behalf of the agencies serving them affect them in various ways depending on other social markers such as age, ethnicity, and race. Yet fully conclusive studies are still lacking.

2.5. Studies on racialized youth point to the interplay between various forms of racism (mostly indirect and informal) in schools and universities and young people’s sense of belonging. They also underline the role multiculturalism (as policy and discourse) plays in helping racialized youth to cope with/reframe unfavourable situations.

2.6. Research on immigrant seniors shows that maintaining ties with their ethnic community and acquiring economic integration into Canadian society play a key role in their civic participation and feelings of belonging to Canada.

Theme 3: “Multiculturalism and Public Institutions” deals with the recognition of ethnic and racial diversity and the extent to which this diversity is publicly affected by unequal opportunities and discrimination, which at their turn impact civic participation and engagement. Municipalities, educational system, language and the mainstream media receive the most attention in the academic literature.

3.1. At the municipal level, civic participation and engagement of minority groups seem to be directly related to municipalities’ role as political organizations that may frame immigrants as contributing to the local economy and encourage their participation or ignore their presence and alienating them.

3.2. Schools and universities, despite ongoing incidents of racism towards both students and teachers, are portrayed as places where interethnic relations and mutual cultural understanding can be fostered depending on the way multicultural education is framed and implemented.

3.3. Proficiency in either official language is one of the most important factors fostering access to the labour market, upward social mobility and civic integration.

3.4. Evidence-based research on media discourse warns of the risk of alienation for some cultural and religious minorities, specifically Muslims, by their under- and
misrepresentations in the mainstream media, which reflects – but also reinforces – their stigmatization and discrimination in Canadian society at large.

Theme 4: “International perspectives” is concerned with how Canadian multiculturalism compares in the international arena. It asks whether there is a “backlash” against multiculturalism in Canada, and to what extent the recent European and American trends towards immigrant assimilation in the form of “civic integration” can also be observed in the Canadian context.

4.1. The backlash against multiculturalism, which is very popular in political discourse in Europe, does not seem to have affected public support for multiculturalism in the Canadian context.

4.2. Public support for multiculturalism and identification of multiculturalism as part of the Canadian identity play the key role in encouraging both the public expression of ethnic and racial identities and redistributive policies to support the poor.

4.3. Canada – US evidence-based comparisons reveal that receptiveness to newcomers and immigration is higher in Canada and that Canadian immigrants are better integrated than their American counterparts. Also, Canada, by providing language integration courses, takes more advantage of the economic benefits provided by immigration.
# Research Synthesis

## Executive Summary

- **TABLE OF CONTENTS**: 6

## Overview

- **1. Introduction**: 10
- **2. Guiding Questions**: 11
- **3. Development of the Synthesis and Bibliography**: 12
- **4. Outcome of Literature Search**: 13
- **5. Major Themes Identified (& Cross-References to Knowledge Framework)**: 14

## Research Synthesis

### 1. Theme: Debating Multiculturalism

- **1.1 Orthodox Liberal and Republican Perspectives on Multiculturalism**: 17
  - Critique of Multiculturalism
  - In Defense of Multiculturalism
- **1.2 Critical Race and Post-colonial Perspectives on Multiculturalism**: 18
  - Critique of Multiculturalism
  - In Defense of Multiculturalism
- **1.3 Defining Interactive Multiculturalism**: 19
  - Coexistence of minority nations and immigrant groups forms pan-Canadian identity
  - New challenges for multiculturalism in the 21st century
- **1.4 Interculturalism versus Multiculturalism?**: 21
  - Not much difference between interculturalism and multiculturalism policy in practice
  - Oppositions to both interculturalism and multiculturalism
  - Multiculturalism is moving closer to interculturalism
- **1.5 Conclusion**: 22
  - What do we know?
  - What do we need to know (research gaps?)

### 2. Theme: Social Differentiation

- **2.1 Social Differentiation along Ethnic and Racial Lines**: 24
  - Identification of barriers to socio-economic integration and feelings of belonging
  - A more flexible funding scheme and greater attention to ethno-specific agencies as remedies

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**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

- Executive Summary
- Overview
- 1. Introduction
- 2. Guiding Questions
- 3. Development of the Synthesis and Bibliography
- 4. Outcome of Literature Search
- 5. Major Themes Identified (& Cross-References to Knowledge Framework)

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**References**
Impact of waning multiculturalism policy and discourse upon individual and collective ethnic identities .......................................................... 27
Racism still significantly on top of the motivations accounted for hate crimes .......................................................... 28
Racism has a negative impact on health, employment and well-being .......................................................... 28

2.2. Sex/Gender-related Differentiation .......................................................... 29
Negative impact of government policy/discourse on the stigmatization of racialized women .......................... 29
Multiculturalism discourse as a “mixed blessing” for racialized women .......................................................... 29
Increasing misrepresentation and marginalization of Muslim women .......................................................... 30
The continuity of labour market barriers for racialized women .......................................................... 30

2.3. Religion-related Differentiation .......................................................... 30
Religious accommodation (specifically Islam) as “test case” for multiculturalism ............................................. 31
Concerns over religious discrimination and a waning multicultural ethos versus fears of non-integration .......................................................... 32
Multiculturalism policy/discourse as empowerment for Canadian Muslims .......................................................... 32

2.4 Sexual Orientation .......................................................... 33
Who is Canada’s GLBTQ population and what are the challenges? .......................................................... 33
How immigration, racialization and ethnicity intersect with the “normal” challenges of LGBTQ people .......................................................... 34

2.5 Age: Youth .......................................................... 35
Identity and belonging .......................................................... 35
Trust .......................................................... 36
Hate crimes .......................................................... 36
Youth Un(der)Employment .......................................................... 37

2.6 Age: Seniors .......................................................... 38
Immigrant seniors profile .......................................................... 38
Quality of life and social participation .......................................................... 38

2.7 Conclusion .......................................................... 39
What do we know? — Equal Opportunity and Discrimination .......................................................... 40
What do we know? — Civic Participation and Engagement .......................................................... 41
What do we need to know (research gaps)? .......................................................... 43

3. Theme: Multiculturalism and Public Institutions ................................................ 45

3.1 Municipalities: Potentials, Trends, and Unequal Political Opportunities ................................................ 45
Cities as engines of national prosperity and diversity integration .......................................................... 46
“Ethnoburbs”: a new layer in the multicultural mosaic of the metropolitan areas .......................................................... 47
Political under-representation of “visible minorities” despite strong demographic presence .......................................................... 47
3.2 The Educational System: Racism and Multicultural Education ................................. 48
   Racism in schools and universities .............................................................................. 48
   Multicultural education fosters students’ critical thinking ........................................... 49
3.3 Language Skills: Equal Opportunities and Civic Participation .................................. 49
   Bilingualism and “other languages” .............................................................................. 50
   Schools as hubs of language integration ...................................................................... 50
   Language proficiency, socio-economic integration and civic participation .................. 51
3.4 Multiculturalism and the Media ................................................................................. 51
   The “thickening” of national identity and citizenship .................................................... 51
   Misrepresentations and discrimination of Canadian Muslims and Arabs ...................... 52
3.4 Conclusion .................................................................................................................. 52
   What do we know? ......................................................................................................... 52
   What do we need to know (research gaps)? ................................................................. 53
4. Theme: International Perspectives ................................................................................ 54
4.1 Is There a “Backlash” Against Multiculturalism in the Canadian Context? .............. 55
4.2 Is there a “Progressives’ Dilemma” in the Canadian Context? .................................... 56
4.3 What works in the Canadian Context (that does not work as good in the United States)? 56
4.4 Conclusion .................................................................................................................. 57
   What do we know? ......................................................................................................... 57
   What do we need to know (research gaps)? ................................................................. 58
Research Gaps ................................................................................................................... 59
Conclusion .......................................................................................................................... 61
Bibliography ....................................................................................................................... 63
Appendices .......................................................................................................................... 78
Appendix A: Significant Research In-Progress ................................................................. 79
   Other projects: ............................................................................................................... 85
Appendix B: Key Research Institutions and Researchers .................................................. 87
   Research Institutions ..................................................................................................... 87
   Research Tools and Data Indexes: .................................................................................. 92
   Research Institutions Abroad: A Selected List ............................................................ 94
   Researchers .................................................................................................................... 95
Appendix C: Annotated Bibliography
Overview

1. Introduction

In this Research Synthesis, we survey the Canadian literature on multiculturalism between 2009 and 2013. According to the Multiculturalism Act section 3. (1) (a). “multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society”. Among other things, the act “acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage” and requires the government of Canada to “promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins” (section 3. (1) (c)).

Hence, not surprisingly, in the Canadian literature on multiculturalism, research relates predominantly to this type of cultural and racial diversity – referring to members of ethnic and racialized groups and/or individuals who have come to Canada through immigration or have parents or grandparents who came to Canada by means of immigration.¹

While multiculturalism may be enshrined in law and may hence refer to policy and programming, as this is obviously the case in Canada, it is first and foremost a normative framework for society-building (called an “ideology” by its critics and an “ethos” by its defendants). Thus, it is not surprising that a large amount of sources (roughly one quarter of those identified for this literature review) dealing with “multiculturalism” between 2009 and 2013 is preoccupied with defining what multiculturalism in the Canadian context actually refers to, what it should be, and what it should not entail. We cover these debates under Theme 1.

In addition, we survey the existing evidence-based literature on ethnic and racial diversity in Canadian society. Holding the view that it is rarely ethnic diversity itself that causes problems for

¹ With the exception of normative and macro-sociological or historical perspectives on multiculturalism (covered under Theme 1 “Debating Multiculturalism”), Aboriginal issues are treated within this literature only in so far as they deal with Aboriginals as a racialized minority. Francophones are treated with respect to language issues, but rarely as a national minority. If relevant to multiculturalism, issues of Canadian bi- and multi-nationalism are covered under Theme 1. This is understandable, since both groups oppose to be treated as “ethnic groups” under the multiculturalism policy, and the policies pertaining to them have very different historical origins, are incorporated in different pieces of legislation, administered by different federal departments, enshrined in different sections of the Constitution, and legitimised with reference to different normative principles (Kymlicka 2007).
social cohesion in democratic societies, but rather its combination with social inequality\(^2\), under Theme 2 “Social Differentiation”, we cover a) research exploring how issues of equal opportunities and discrimination play out for members of ethnic and racialized groups and b) studies of these individuals’ civic participation and engagement. In addition, we give special attention to literature dealing with the intersections of ethnic and racial minority status, age, sexual orientation and religion.

Finally, we cover questions pertaining to multiculturalism in public institutions (Theme 3), as well as international perspectives on multiculturalism (Theme 4)\(^3\).

2. Guiding Questions

In the contribution agreement for the *CERIS Research Synthesis Project on Five Themes of Canadian Immigration* (2014), the questions pertaining to the *Multiculturalism Research Synthesis* point to a fairly unconventional interpretation of multiculturalism. While the two categories of questions are concerned with equal opportunity and discrimination, as well as with civic participation and engagement, of the six questions, three are specifically concerned with Canada’s GLBTQ\(^4\) population, and the other three with seniors:

1) Equal Opportunity and Discrimination
   - What do we know about the socio-economic and demographic profile of GLBTQ population segments?
   - What do we know regarding GLBTQ population segments and issues related to discrimination, equal opportunities and fair treatment?
   - How do issues related to GLBTQ population segments and ethno-cultural and racial issues intersect?

2) Civic Participation and Engagement
   - What do we know about the civic engagement and social inclusion of seniors?
   - How do seniors participate in society and politics, by immigration background, ethno-cultural and racial background, gender, geography and socio-economic status?

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\(^2\) See the introduction to Theme 2 for a more elaborate explanation.

\(^3\) This review of the secondary literature on multiculturalism does not provide an overview of the demographic and socio-economic trends of Canadian diversity, which would have meant reviewing primary sources and statistical data, which was not part of the task and seemed particularly unfeasible given the high number of secondary references identified.

\(^4\) GLBTQ refers to individuals who are “gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and/or questioning [their sexual orientation]”. 
• Do seniors feel socially isolated, do they feel they belong to their community and Canada, and how do these results vary by immigration background, ethno-cultural and racial background, gender, geography and socio-economic status?

In the *Multiculturalism Knowledge Framework 2013/14 – 2015/16* (2013), by contrast, the Civic Participation and Engagement Theme proposes a Special Focus on Youth.

What is at stake here is thus not merely multiculturalism as stipulated by the Multiculturalism Act, but the much broader issues pertaining to Canadian *diversity*, namely the insight that individuals belong to different categories, such as those related to sex, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, age, and region, and that these categories are somehow connected to unequal opportunities and discrimination. The link between diversity, social differentiation and social inequality has been convincingly explained by Juteau (2003). The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms condemns “discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability” (section 15).

While we appreciate this expanded definition of “multiculturalism”, we would like to point out that topics such as “the socio-economic and demographic profile of GLBTQ population segments” or “the civic engagement and social inclusion of seniors” are not commonly covered under the literature on multiculturalism. Rather, questions pertaining to these issues require reviews of separate and entirely different bodies of literature. The same holds true for issues pertaining to youth, specifically youth-at-risk. The broad scope of the questions pertaining to these issues forced us to make some difficult choices (and exclusions) when researching and writing this Research Synthesis.

In order to capture the aforementioned intersections between different strands of social differentiation, we combined several research strategies as explained in the section 3 “Development of the Synthesis and Bibliography”.

3. Development of the Synthesis and Bibliography

In an attempt to accommodate questions related to the intersections of different strands of social differentiation within a literature review on multiculturalism, we combined the following strategies:

First, our main focus in this document pertains to surveying the Canadian literature between 2009 and 2013 dealing with the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society as stipulated by the Multiculturalism Act. To provide a complete view of the literature and current debates, we
identified themes “bottom-up”, i.e. we identified them as we read and classified the collected literature.

Second, we have given special attention to literature dealing with the intersections of ethnic and racial minority status on the one hand and age, and sexual orientation on the other (as requested in the workplan for CERIS Research Synthesis Project on Five Themes of Canadian Immigration (2014). We have also given special attention to issues pertaining to religion (as suggested in the Multiculturalism Knowledge Framework 2013/14 – 2015/16 (2013)). Whenever possible, issues of equal opportunity and racism, as well as of civic participation and engagement have been highlighted (see particularly Theme 2).

Primary sources (such as data produced by Statistics Canada) on ethnic and racial diversity in Canada were not included in the literature review.

For a list of relevant research in progress, as well as key research institutions and researchers working on studies related to multiculturalism in Canada, see Appendices B and C.

4. Outcome of Literature Search

The literature search yielded roughly 180 references, including books, chapters in books, articles, research reports, and conference papers.\(^5\)

Theme 2: Out of these 180 references, the largest amount of works (roughly one third), speaks to the notion of social differentiation covered under Theme 2, specifically to the intersection of ethnicity, skin colour/"race" and other categories of differentiation (such as age, sexual orientation, gender, religion).

Theme 1: As mentioned above, roughly one quarter of the surveyed literature addresses macrosociological, macro-political and normative questions of multiculturalism in the Canadian context.

Theme 3: Approximately one fifth of the surveyed literature approaches the practice of multiculturalism in public institutions defined broadly as including civil society, the public sector and municipal level of governance.

\(^5\) Please note that the bibliography at the end of this document includes additional references (e.g. older references used for explanations, legal documents, etc.).
Theme 4: Less than one tenth of the references engage with international perspectives on multiculturalism and more specifically with the assessment of the Canadian situation in the context of global concerns and debates.

5. Major Themes Identified (& Cross-References to Knowledge Framework)

We divided the collected literature in four major themes and several sub-themes. Each key theme section contains a short introduction, which provides a rationale for and overview of the theme. To facilitate reading and allow for a quicker overview, different threads within each sub-theme have been given headlines as well.

Each key theme is summarized in a concluding section which contains both “things we know” as well as research gaps and “things we need to know”. In sum, for a quick access to this research synthesis, please read the introduction to each key theme, take note of the sub-headings, and find a brief conclusion at the end of each key theme.

Theme 1: Debating Multiculturalism

Among other things, this section contains a comparison of multiculturalism and interculturalism policy.

Theme 2: Social Differentiation

This section is mainly concerned with issues of equal opportunities and discrimination for members of ethnic and racial minorities.

Particular attention is given to situations where social differentiation along ethnic, racial and religious lines intersects with that of age (youth, seniors), gender, and sexual orientation (GLBTQ population).

Unequal opportunities and discrimination tend to negatively impact civic participation and engagement. Hence, these issues are also discussed here.

Theme 3: Multiculturalism and Public Institutions

The four main areas identified under this heading are: municipalities, the educational system, language (including official bilingualism), and the mainstream media. These institutions (broadly defined) should encourage civic participation and engagement. Research shows that they achieve this goal partially; it reveals areas of unequal opportunity and discrimination.
Theme 4: International Perspectives

Canadian multiculturalism is situated within and evaluated from an international perspective. Research indicates which things seem to "work" better in Canada than they do elsewhere.
Research Synthesis

1. Theme: Debating Multiculturalism

As mentioned in the Introduction, multiculturalism is first and foremost a normative framework for society-building (called an “ideology” by its critics and an “ethos” by its defendants). Thus, it is not surprising that a large part of the Canadian literature dealing with multiculturalism between 2009 and 2013 is preoccupied with defining what multiculturalism in the Canadian context actually refers to, what it should be, and what it should not entail. Another large part traces the official trajectory of multiculturalism policy over time, aiming to what extent policy outcomes meet both political and normative objectives.

This major theme can be divided into four sub-themes:

1. The contributions from multiculturalism’s critics “from the right,” namely those who argue that multiculturalism grants too many concessions to minorities (orthodox liberal and republican perspectives). We also summarize counter-arguments to this view.

2. Multiculturalism’s critics “from the left,” namely those arguing that multicultural concessions do not go far enough or even worsen the position of immigrants and ethnic minorities by failing to address issues of social inequality and racism (critical race and post-colonial perspectives). Here too, we summarize counter-arguments.

3. The third sub-theme “defining interactive multiculturalism” covers by far the largest part of the literature; the literature discussed here endorses multiculturalism and is engaged in defining Canadian multiculturalism as an integrative but not assimilative societal ethos supported by government policy.

4. A forth sub-theme might have been Canadian multiculturalism in international perspective; however, given the organization of themes in the Multiculturalism Knowledge Framework 2013/14 – 2015/16, we decided to cover this theme further below under the heading “International Perspectives”.

5. Our fourth sub-theme relates to the comparison of and relations between the policies of multiculturalism at the federal level and interculturalism in Québec. Here, scholars identify an increasing convergence.
1.1 Orthodox Liberal and Republican Perspectives on Multiculturalism

**Critique of Multiculturalism**

A number of commentators argue that Western liberal democracies such as Canada have gone “too far” in their accommodation of increasingly non-Western immigrant minorities. They argue that state-supported multiculturalism fails to encourage immigrants’ integration and adherence to liberal values. As such, it is said to entail *too many concessions*. Critiques are voiced from two separate but interrelated perspectives: orthodox liberalism and orthodox republicanism. Usually, commentators claim cultural and religious accommodations undermine individual liberties (orthodox liberalism) and that emphasis should be placed on building a strong and unified Canadian identity since the emergence of cultural, religious “ghettos” entails the fragmentation and demise of Canadian society (orthodox republican perspective).

According to Mansur (2009, 2010, 2011), multiculturalism emphasizes equality over freedom and thereby undermines individual freedom by condoning identity politics. It is thereby said to empower immigrants from non-Western societies – such as Islamists who do not have consideration for the Western values of civic culture, freedom and democracy – to “demand that their host country adapt to the cultural requirements of immigrants instead of the other way around” (2011:4).

According to Gairdner (2010) multiculturalism policy neutralizes the “deep culture” of the country. Instead of articulating and defending a culture based on elements that would bind and unify a people\(^6\), multiculturalism is said to reduce Canada’s national culture to “unchosen external” characteristics, that is ethnicity, colour, and physical features, or to less stable “external” characteristics, that is, folk culture. This situation, according to Gairdner (2010:428), subverts the ethos of the nation, and exposes Canada to Islamists “who have no such doubts about their own foundations, and who are prepared to use terrorism to replace Western culture”.

**In Defense of Multiculturalism**

The aforementioned criticism is disputed by a number of commentators: Ryan (2010), for example, has shown that multiculturalism’s critics “from the right” promote a definition of social cohesion that is based on ethnocultural homogeneity (rather than social relations) and disregard empirical evidence contradicting their claims. Kymlicka (2010d), drawing on social science data

\(^6\) Such as a common language, a common religion, common political and legal institutions.
from various recent Canadian and cross-national studies argues that there is growing evidence that multiculturalism policies have a positive impact upon immigrants’ basic liberal values of freedom, equality, and solidarity, both in Canada and internationally. This view is supported by Reitz and Banerjee (2009) whose empirical research (drawing on data taken from the Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2002) “tests” whether actual social and psychological processes of intergroup relations match the behavioural assumptions advanced by both, the proponents and opponents of multiculturalism. Finally, Lenard (2012) contends that the generation of trust between immigrants and the members of the receiving society is crucial. Emphasizing the social and political context of immigrant integration, she argues that policies such as multiculturalism are needed to generate and promote this trust.

1.2 Critical Race and Post-colonial Perspectives on Multiculturalism

Critique of Multiculturalism

A number of commentators “from the political left” criticize multiculturalism’s naïve or even Eurocentric preoccupation with culture rather than with power (Dhamoon 2009, 2010; Sefa Dei 2011). Multiculturalism as a government policy “from above” is here viewed as an ideology of “containment” which promotes the ethnicization and racialization of non-white, non-Western immigrants and Aboriginal peoples and thus reifies and essentializes – rather than changes or challenges – these groups’ subordinate place within the existing social order and the national imaginary. For example, the volume edited by Chazan et al. (2011:11) aims at illustrating the limitations and “destructiveness of multiculturalism” both as a policy and as a discourse. The authors in this volume argue that racial categories are central to social organization and must therefore be addressed by government policy. In developing their arguments, the authors relate to three critical issues which are seen as inflected by assumptions about race and systemic racism. First, the bodies, in the sense that “various bodies are read differently” (Chazan et al. 2011:10) and this significance of visibilities is central to the ways in which multiculturalism is both enacted and experienced. Second, the realities of global labour migration that reveal, in the authors’ opinion, a “differential inclusion” as a result of labour being organized and mobility restricted beyond and within national borders, depending on Canadian economic interests. Third, the land – “perceived and allocated in this still-settler state” (11) – where multiculturalism fails to respond to the injustices of Canadian colonialism vis-à-vis First Nations. Mookerjea (2011) regrets multiculturalism’s blind eye towards another wave of new racisms, such as the normalization of racial profiling, the securitization of immigration policy, and the Reasonable
Accommodation Debate in Quebec. Yet another angle to this literature is the fusion of critiques of securitization and multiculturalism. For Dhamoon (2010:273) “multiculturalism securitization” links security, liberal multiculturalism, the nation and the individual citizen in order to secure “hegemonic nation-building projects by codifying and regulating modalities and degrees of difference”.

In Defense of Multiculturalism

Rejections of post-colonial and critical race perspectives: Unfortunately, many of the approaches discussed above refer to multiculturalism as a “single, unified force” (Kymlicka 2011a:22), ignoring the fact that multiculturalism operates at different levels (e.g. as theory, law, in the media, activism). They also fail to provide us with alternatives. For commentators such as Kymlicka (2010b, 2011a, 2011c) “multiculturalism is first and foremost about developing new models of democratic citizenship, grounded in human rights ideals, to replace earlier uncivil and undemocratic relations of hierarchy and exclusion” (Kymlicka 2010b:101). In that sense, its goal is to construct new civic and political relations which overcome precisely the deeply entrenched inequalities that have persisted after the abolition of formal discrimination, and which are so strongly (and rightly) criticized by postcolonial scholars.

1.3 Defining Interactive Multiculturalism

As Wong (2008:12) has convincingly demonstrated, “it is safe to say that many Canadian sociologists [and other academics], over the past several decades, have been supportive of cultural and ethnic diversity in Canada and supportive of official multiculturalism policy, as has the general Canadian population”. These scholars are engaged in defining the Canadian way of dealing with diversity, i.e. they historicize, contextualize and define Canadian multiculturalism as a sociological fact, ideological discourse, political philosophy and public policy (Fleras 2009a; Helly 2009; Imbert 2011; Ip perciciel 2012; Murphy 2012; Dewing 2013). Many of them accept that multiculturalism will never be entirely free from power relations and inequality as cultures, values, and other markers of ethnicity do not exist independently from the collectivities that either promote or disqualify them (Winter 2011d). In this context, immigration debate in the media and within wider context plays a privileged role by providing a connection between the material world of policies and practices concerned with immigration and the abstract realm of “nationhood” and national imagination (Bauder 2011).
While assimilation (where individuals and groups become fully absorbed into the dominant cultural mold) is usually objected, few of the scholars cited here endorse fragmented pluralism where individuals are refused assimilation and could only be Canadian through membership in an ethnic group or national minority. Hence, they are engaged in defining what Hartmann and Gerteis (2005) have termed “interactive pluralism.” i.e. where individuals are encouraged (but not coerced) to assimilate into Canadian society while cross-cultural dialogue and exchange between ethnic and national groups are a defining feature and value to be cultivated (231). According to the authors, interactive pluralism relies on strong moral bonds (a cultural core), rather than merely procedural norms (which they associate with fragmented pluralism).

According to Imbert (2011:22), challenging the absolute neutrality of the state, was precisely one of the key achievements of Canadian philosophers such as Charles Taylor and Will Kymlicka. In the literature reviewed, two elements are particularly apparent:

**Coexistence of minority nations and immigrant groups forms pan-Canadian identity**

First, scholars underline the coexistence of national minorities and immigrant minorities and claim that the opposition to multiculturalism manifested by two main groups – Québécois and Aboriginals – must be part of the official story of Canadian multiculturalism (Raj 2009). In fact, Winter (2009, 2011d, 2011a) insists that it is part of multiculturalism’s success. According to this author, interactive multiculturalism is produced by and through social relations and their representations within discourse. Defined in this way, it can produce a strong and national identity which, while never static, incorporates multiple perspectives of “how to be (a good) Canadian” (Winter 2011d, 2014a).

**New challenges for multiculturalism in the 21st century**

Second, scholars notice new challenges for multiculturalism in the 21st century, such as the importance of religion in group formation and discrimination (Kymlicka 2010b, 2010a, 2011b; Leung 2011; Griffith 2013), the importance of transnational social relations (Ley 2010; Leung 2011; Loo 2011), the continuation of neoliberal multiculturalism (Robinson 2011; Kymlicka 2013), a shift in policy and discourse from liberal multiculturalism to civic republicanism (McGrane 2011; Abu-Laban 2014). They argue that while the success of multiculturalism is very much the result of the successful socio-economic integration of immigrants, multiculturalism “doesn’t just happen; it’s the outcome of a particular economic, social, political, and institutional context; of civil society as well as state intervention” (Loo 2011:61). For a discussion of religion
see sub-theme 2.3; for comments on recent policy changes to multiculturalism see sub-theme 1.4 below.

1.4 Interculturalism versus Multiculturalism?

To recall, Francophones and Aboriginal peoples, seeing themselves as separate nations rather than immigrant-type ethnic groups, reject multiculturalism policy as a political strategy aiming at the cooptation of immigrants into a white Anglophone majority. In the 1970s, there was a widespread impression among Québécois intellectuals that multiculturalism was a deliberate effort to thwart Quebec's thrust towards greater independence (Rocher 1971). Quebec subsequently developed its own policy of “interculturalism” (Labelle and Dionne 2011; Labelle and Rocher 2011). Interculturalism opposes the image of a multicultural mosaic and uses the metaphor of a tree into which various rootstocks are grafted (Mc Andrew 2009b; Winter and Simkhovych 2012). It is portrayed as a culture of convergence, composed of a solid core based on French language and Québécois traditions enriched by the contributions from minority cultures (Gagnon et al. 2010). In the literature, three different trends are noteworthy:

Not much difference between interculturalism and multiculturalism policy in practice

Scholars concur with earlier comparisons of Québécois interculturalism and federal multiculturalism in that there is not much of a difference in terms of policy and policy outcomes (Armony 2012; Brahm Levey 2012; Cuccioletta 2012; Fleras 2012; Temelini 2012).

Oppositions to both interculturalism and multiculturalism

Rather, “debates about the differences between interculturalism and multiculturalism […] are being overshadowed by currents of opinion that are converging around an opposition to the kind of accommodation for cultural reasons that both theories allow” (Weinstock 2012:13). This is particularly true for Quebec (Segura 2011; Lefebvre 2012; Leroux 2012; Weinstock 2012; Laxer, Carson and Korteweg 2013) but also for the rest of Canada (Sharma 2011; Van Praag 2012; Weinstock 2013; Abu-Laban 2014).

Multiculturalism is moving closer to interculturalism

In fact, scholars claim that “Canadian multiculturalism has slowly grown closer to Quebec interculturalism” (Bouchard 2011:463; Griffith 2013). In contrast to the traditional conception of multiculturalism, which holds that “there is no majority culture in Canada” (Bouchard 2011), “interculturalism concerns itself with the interests of the majority culture (whose desire to
perpetuate and maintain itself is [viewed as] perfectly legitimate) as much as it does with the interests of minorities and immigrants” (Bouchard 2011:438). Indeed, under the current federal government, the rights and culture of the dominant group are seen to have been strengthened (Winter 2011b, 2014b; Abu-Laban 2014).

1.5 Conclusion

What do we know?

Much of the scholarship discussed here asks:

1. How much of a “cultural core” (as opposed to merely procedural norms) is absolutely necessary to make interactive multiculturalism work?
2. When does the insistence on this national cultural core turn into the unwanted alternative between “assimilation versus exclusion” (rather than facilitate interactive multiculturalism)?

Scholars usually agree that this cultural core must not be “immutable” but dynamic or “flexible,” i.e. it must be absorptive of newcomer cultures in order to invite (rather than coerce) the integration of individuals into the mainstream culture and in order to facilitate cross-cultural dialogue between ethnic and national minorities. In other words, integration and cross-cultural dialogue remain two-way processes. An immutable, backward-oriented cultural core is viewed as hindering successful immigrant integration.

In earlier debates it was often felt that multiculturalism policy overemphasized enfranchising the differences among groups along cultural lines (Wong 2008:27), and that the federal public policy was uniquely defined by the procedural liberalism (Imbert 2011:22). By contrast, more recently commentators tend to argue that under the current policy, emphasizing the cultural core and strong moral bounds (whose necessity for the success of interactive multiculturalism remain largely undisputed) risks going too far. The anticipated consequences are not conducive to integration: they entail either coerced assimilation or stigmatization/exclusion, specifically for “visible minorities” to whom assimilation is often not available or for religious groups, for whom it may not be desirable.

What do we need to know (research gaps)?

The answer to the question “what do we want to be as a society” remains contested terrain. While the debates about multiculturalism may appear tiresome, they are necessary ingredients
of a democratic society. Future research should continue to monitor how much of a “cultural core” is necessary to make interactive multiculturalism work. It should also alert politicians and stakeholders when the insistence on this national cultural core turns into coerced assimilation or marginalisation rather than interactive multiculturalism.

2. Theme: Social Differentiation

Many people agree that individuals belong to different categories, such as those related to sex, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, age, and region, and that these categories are somehow connected to unequal opportunities and discrimination. According to Juteau (2003) and other sociologists, it is rarely the diversity of these categories itself that causes social conflicts and is an obstacle to social cohesion. To blame are rather processes of social differentiation, which lead to social inequality and marginalization of individuals and groups.

Juteau defines social differentiation as two interlocking processes: Individuals are assigned to socially constructed categories, which are usually conceived as given or “natural”. This categorization is then used to allocate them to diverse positions and circumstances characterized by unequal resources, opportunities, and life chances. In other words, they suffer unequal opportunities and discrimination, which will then also reflect upon their civic participation and engagement.

In short, social differentiation leads to social inequality, which, as mentioned above, causes social conflicts and is an obstacle to social cohesion. According to Juteau (2003) social policies must thus aim at reducing social inequalities, and not diversity. This objective is embedded in two important pieces of Canadian legislation. Referring to “the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society” (section 3.1.a), the Canadian Multiculturalism Act “promote[s] the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins” (section 3.1.c). The Charter of Rights and Freedoms extends this provision by condemning the “discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability” (section 15).

Given the emphasis on social differentiation – a process imbued with unequal access to economic, political, and cultural resources, as well as normatively ascribed social status – it should be apparent that issues of unequal opportunities and discrimination, as well as civic participation and engagement are at the core of Theme 2. This major theme can be divided into six sub-themes:
1. Social differentiation along ethnic and racial lines: research is preoccupied with identifying barriers to equal access, the financial and normative impact of government policies upon ethnic and immigrant groups and individuals, as well as with the consequences of racism (committed by the dominant group).

2. Sex/gender-related differentiation: research reveals unequal opportunities for women belonging to racial and religious minorities.

3. Religion-related discrimination specifically with respect to Islam has become a prevalent factor for social differentiation; some studies also emphasize the importance of multiculturalism discourse as an empowering tool for religious minorities.

4. Research on the intersection between a person’s minority status related to his/her ethnocultural or racial background and related to sexual orientation is scarce. Studies suggest that these are particularly vulnerable members of society; more research is necessary.

5. The literature on immigrant and ethnic minority youth is rich and evidence-based; however, more studies on socio-economic precarity of youth are necessary.

6. While scholarship is not abundant, there are a few important studies on seniors belonging to ethnocultural minorities.

7. While language and region could have been discussed in relation to social differentiation, the literature review did not warrant this kind of discussion. Rather, language and region (urban contexts) are discussed under Theme 3 “Public Institutions”.

2.1. Social Differentiation along Ethnic and Racial Lines

If we agree that individuals belong to different social categories, then we can appreciate that some of them may decide to retain and cherish this membership for strictly individual and social preferences. This is what studies about “ethnic retention” tend to capture. By contrast, the concept of social differentiation describes how the assignation of different social categories can become a trap leading to unequal opportunities, discrimination, social inequality and ultimately, low societal participation, disengagement and, in some cases, radicalization (for the theoretical interpretation why religion is particularly salient for communalization and ethnic mobilization, see Winter (2014c)).

Scholarship reviewed in this section is particularly concerned about the impact of government funding and discourses on the functioning of ethnic associations and on the positioning of ethnic
groups along a “good-bad citizen” continuum. Other emerging trends point to racism with respect to hate crimes and impacts of unequal opportunity and racism upon health.

**Identification of barriers to socio-economic integration and feelings of belonging**

Various types of exclusion still limit immigrants’ access to mainstream social programs – i.e. pensions, health care, child benefits, unemployment benefits, and social assistance – depending on the length of time spent in Canada and the legal status (Koning and Banting 2013). An analysis of the data from Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002) concerning racial minorities indicates that economic inequality is greater for visible minorities (Reitz and Banerjee 2009). Although the economic situation of visible minorities is much improved in the second generation, these individuals’ subjective awareness of discrimination is particularly high. In sum, the social integration into Canadian society for racial minorities appears to be slower and awareness of inequality and a sense of exclusion appear to be at least part of the reason for it.

Reviewing several evidence-based studies to immigrant integration in the labour market, Stasiulis (2009) identifies the following needs and barriers:

1. labour market and employment issues
2. especially gendered labour market integration
3. inadequate attention given to racism and racialized dynamics within the public service delivery
4. the problematic “stage” model of the settlement process which assumes a homogenous migrant and an evolutionary process of integration, while neglecting the increased variations of immigrants’ experiences, structural obstacles encountered, and their needs for assistance
5. the specificity of transnationalism lived by an increasing number of people and which gives a new meaning to accommodation and belonging.

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7 Policies and practices of immigrant recruitment are focused on selecting and recruiting highly educated and skilled immigrants while the labour market fail to offer stable employment for these highly sought immigrants (Stasiulis 2009).

8 While recent immigrant women are better educated with a larger share of university degrees than Canadian-born women and earlier immigrants, they have lower earnings than immigrant men and Canadian-born workers of both genders. Moreover, visible minority women are facing increased difficulties on the labour market in terms of access to higher-ranking jobs (Stasiulis 2009).
Research suggests that the precarious situation on the labour market is known to political decision makers who name the lack of jobs as the major challenge to the strategy of attracting qualified, capable migrants to the country (Salter 2011). Such a situation seems to point to one of the negative consequences brought along by institutional decentralization, that is, a certain lack of political accountability (Banting 2010a). Furthermore, these findings appear at odds with the view, sometimes suggested by federal government officials, that racial discrimination is not a significant problem in Canada (Reitz and Banerjee 2009).

**A more flexible funding scheme and greater attention to ethno-specific agencies as remedies**

Scholars agree that multiculturalism policy’s funding guidelines have an “ethnicizing” or “culturalizing” impact upon immigrant and ethnic associations (Landolt, Goldring, and Bernhard 2009; Guo and Guo 2011; Ku 2011). Studying pan-ethnic Latin American organizations in Toronto, Landolt, Goldring, and Bernhard (2009) hold that the current funding scheme – where service provision is favoured over advocacy work and other aspects of the associations’ activity – “narrows and channels the forms of acceptable diversity,” de-politicizes and decreases opportunities for polyvalent dialogues, and reduces the associations’ broader agenda and efficiency.

Ku (2011:279) explains that by “mak[ing], themselves more multicultural thus transcending ethno-specificity,” pan-ethnic organizations are based on the presumption of a common language and cultural heritage, which reduces their internal diversity regarding other meaningful aspects, such as migration histories, partisan commitments, gendered lives, class and social capital, racialized conditions. Furthermore, their specificity with respect to service-provision becomes “articulated only in terms of culture as opposed to difference on the basis of race, gender or class” (Ku 2011:274). This imposes discursive constraints to the ability of ethnic activists to name and challenge inequalities. Studying ethnic organizations in Edmonton and Calgary, Guo and Guo (2011) arrive at the same conclusions. Underlining the importance of treating the ethno-specific organizations as an integral part of Canadian society and the need for equitable redistribution of resources voices a critique similar to that of the Canadian Ethnocultural Council in the 1990s (Kordan 1997).

Criticism is not restricted to the federal funding scheme. Provincial governments are increasingly taking a more prominent role in managing immigrant integration. Resorting to a neoliberal funding and management scheme, which favours large service-based agencies who, in turn, subcontract services to smaller community agencies, these smaller ethno-specific
agencies are said to face constraints which limit their capacity to address the “real” community needs (Stasiulis 2009; Yan, Chau, and Sangha 2010). Stasiulis (2009) argues that ethno-specific agencies, although holding relevant “ethnic capital” (language, cultural familiarity) to better serve ethnic communities, are now limited in their responses to the community needs by the contract requirement and regulatory provisions regarding the services being funded. For instance, some prevalent forms of distress (e.g. domestic abuse) or emergent issues (e.g. HIV/AIDS) are not remedied, as they are not stipulated in the contract through which they receive funding.

In sum, scholarship suggests that the building of collective social capital at community level represents a key means for social integration. Scholars suggest a more flexible funding scheme and a greater attention to the input of ethno-specific agencies to remedy the situation (Yan, Chau, and Sangha 2010; Hyman, Meinhard, and Shields 2011).

Impact of waning multiculturalism policy and discourse upon individual and collective ethnic identities

Another set of scholars reveals a strong impact upon individual and collective expressions of ethnic identities not only by Canadian “traditional” multiculturalism policy and discourse, but also by its recent transformations and diminishment. George (2011), for example, indicates how Tamil Canadian narratives of identity and belonging as well as the group’s everyday activities are shaped by the new national security discourses which normatively position immigrant and ethnic groups as being “ideal,” “deviant” or “marginal”. Multiculturalism policy, policies relating to multiculturalism in different government domains (immigration, foreign policy, and social services), as well as media discourses (partly influenced by policy discourses) shape the way members of ethnic groups, the group itself and its association define themselves in order to occupy a legitimate position within the Canadian space. In this context, Canadian multiculturalism proved to be a “mixed blessing” for some groups, such as the Yiddish, whom it has initially helped maintain a strong ethno-cultural identity, but then also led to this identity’s diffusiveness and rather symbolic usage once it became an integral part of Canadian culture (Margolis 2011).

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9 For an analysis how multiculturalism discourse has changed in the early 2000s, see Winter (2011b, 2014b).
Racism still significantly on top of the motivations accounted for hate crimes

Recent data provided by Statistics Canada on police-reported hate crime (2011) show that race or ethnicity are still on top of the motivations, accounting for more than half of the hate crimes. Also, similar to the data from previous years, Blacks are the most frequently targeted population. Regarding the perpetrators, a survey of hate crimes within Canadian campuses conducted by Perry (2011) revealed that in cases where they could be identified they were thought to be predominantly Euro-Canadian (i.e., White) males. Moreover, analysing police activity, Perry (2010) argues that initiatives to enhance the policing of hate crime in Canada have been wanting. This is specifically troublesome, since police activity and inactivity can serve to marginalize communities of colour: “visible minorities and other marginalized communities are frequently reminded by bearers of state power that they do not warrant the same recognition or protections as their white counterparts” (138). See also sub-theme 2.5 on youth.

Racism has a negative impact on health, employment and well-being

Research indicates that immigrants with a racialized background face increased levels of poverty, underemployment and over-representation in unstable, unsafe and low-wage jobs (Nestel 2012). An analysis of 2006 Census data shows that although racialized Canadians have slightly higher levels of labour market participation, they continue to experience higher levels of unemployment and earn less income than non-racialized Canadians (Block and Galabuzi 2011; also, United Way Toronto and McMaster University 2013; Law Commission of Ontario 2012). There is evidence that employers discriminate by name (Oreopoulos 2009) and that racialized Canadians face structural barriers to getting good, stable employment (systemic discrimination, non-recognition of credentials, limited professional network) (Hyman, Meinhard, and Shields 2011; Access Alliance 2013).

A recent report issued by Toronto Public Health (2013) contends that racism is one of the key social determinants of health alongside socio-economic status, health care and health behaviours. The results of the study demonstrate that “racialized group members have poorer outcomes than members of non-racialized groups on a number of the pathways known to contribute to racialized health disparities” (4). Bias, discrimination, and stereotyping in health-care delivery are indicated to play a part in unequal health outcomes as well as unequal access to medical screening, lack of adequate resources such as translation services, and the physiological impact of a racist environment (Nestel 2012). Nevertheless, the investigation of racialization should consider not only the relation with health outcomes, but include other
aspects of life, such as poverty, social exclusion. Moreover, poverty and racism affecting families with a racialized background also directly impacts children’s academic performance, health and well-being (Hernandez-Ramdwar 2009).

2.2. Sex/Gender-related Differentiation

Women belonging to ethnocultural and racialized minorities are often found at the intersection of competing demands coming from their roles as women within a male-dominated “mainstream” society and from being members of minority group fighting for equality. The literature reviewed under this sub-theme deals with the intersection between religion, race and gender equality, having as main focus the situation women belonging to racialized and/or religious minorities (for religion-related differentiation, see also sub-theme 2.3). Four trends stand out:

**Negative impact of government policy/discourse on the stigmatization of racialized women**

A number of studies reveal that government policy and government discourse have unintended consequences by contributing to the stigmatization of women belonging to racialized and religious minorities. For example, Chapra and Chatterjee (2009) observe this phenomenon in Toronto. They argue that the policy of multiculturalism promotes a rigid understanding of “culture”. Hence, racialized women then see themselves unduly cast as submissive in their daily life at school, at work, in public institutions and by the mass media. Studying Muslim women in Vancouver, Kraft (2009) argues that government officials’ statements and Islamophobic policy measures negatively affect these women’s self-perceptions and their ability to feel belonging to Canada. Similarly, De Finney (2010) contends that state discourses of Aboriginality, immigration, multiculturalism and Canadianness shape the experiences of racialized girls (studied in Victoria, BC) and are to blame for these girls’ social exclusion and reduced possibilities for multicultural engagement and solidarity.

**Multiculturalism discourse as a “mixed blessing” for racialized women**

The aforementioned findings are nuanced by studies revealing that multiculturalism policy and discourse can also serve as empowerment for women belonging to racialized and religious minorities. Studying Pakistani women in Toronto, Ameeriar (2012) argues that multicultural politics can either include or exclude. For example, “the smell of South Asia” can be framed as a marker of inclusion – i.e. celebrating diversity through festivals – but also as a marker of exclusion – i.e. in the context of labour market where it is necessary to have a “mainstream smell” in order to find work. Comparing “Sharia debates” (i.e. debates on faith based tribunals
for domestic litigations) in Canada and Australia, Ghobadzadeh (2010) argues that Canadian multiculturalism policy allows women to take a stand in the political arena and enhances their political representation.

**Increasing misrepresentation and marginalization of Muslim women**

Several studies reveal the increasing misrepresentation and marginalization of Muslim women in several aspects of Canadian social and public life. Examining policy discourses at the federal and provincial (Quebec) level, Ramachandran (2009) concludes: “while the Canadian nation wants to liberate Muslim women from what they conceive of as the coerced practice of veiling by their ‘barbaric’ culture, Canadian and Quebecois society are levelling a similar control over Muslim women through their dictates to unveil” (33). According to the author, the measures taken to “liberate girls and women” by banning the wearing of hijab are based upon cultural racism. Bilge (2010b) comes to a very similar conclusion. Lefebvre and Beaman (2012) point to a rather simplistic understanding of minority women’s relationship with religion in the submissions to the Bouchard-Taylor Commission. Haque (2010) shows that domestic violence against minority women tends to be represented by the mainstream media as a problem of “community culture”. Seemingly achieved gender equality, by contrast becomes staged as the trophy of Western civilization (Bilge 2010b). This representation misses significant aspects such as poverty, racism and criminalization that create systemic exclusion and generate violence (Bilge 2010a; Haque 2010).

**The continuity of labour market barriers for racialized women**

Racialized women still face labour market barriers. For example, based on interviews with 30 women (aged between 25 and 54 years), Access Alliance (2014) shows three kinds of intersecting barriers and discrimination: gender, race and migration (immigration/newcomer status). Job-skills mismatches and precarious employment have negative effects on family relations and on women’s health. They are caused not only by economic and work-related factors but also by social barriers, such as social isolation, lack of affordable childcare, heavy household work, and limited social mobility.

**2.3. Religion-related Differentiation**

Starting in the late 1990s, religion has become a central aspect of the public debate on multiculturalism. Religion has become the basis for making claims of recognition (alongside ethnicity and race); it has also become the source of unequal opportunities and discrimination.
(For the intersections between religion- and sex/gender related issues, see also subtheme 2.2.)
In the literature, three trends are salient:

**Religious accommodation (specifically Islam) as “test case” for multiculturalism**

In 2004, Liddle argued that “Islam killed multiculturalism” in the British context. In 2005, Kymlicka concedes that “it seems true that public support for multiculturalism has declined as Muslims have come to be seen as the main proponents or beneficiaries of the policy” (10). Indeed, although many of the claims for religious accommodation in the 2007-2008 Québec “Reasonable Accommodation Debate” were initiated by Orthodox Jews, the main target in public discourse and the media were Muslims (Potvin 2008; 2010; Antonius 2013). Thus, Joppke (2013), with reference to speeches given by federal government officials, is able to claim “the European Islam debate has fully arrived in Canada, testing the limits of its fabled multiculturalism” (8).

Three elements are noteworthy in the literature:

1. Presumed gender equality as a boundary marker between a so-called progressive West and allegedly “barbaric” foreign cultures and religions (Ramachandran 2009; Bilge 2010b; Haque 2010; Helly 2012; Lefebvre and Beaman 2012).
2. Concerns about social cohesion and immigrants’ (predominantly Muslims’) adherence to basic liberal democratic values (Kymlicka 2012). Mc Andrew (2011) and Milot (2011), for example, discuss the challenges of reciprocal religious accommodation in the context of schools. The lack of agreement regarding the role of religious diversity within the schools norms and practices is central. As Milot (2011) argues that deliberations over the accommodation of students’ religious identities (e.g. dress code requirements, demands of exemption from different pedagogical activities) are rather guided by the principles of secularism and gender equality instead of a more consideration for the school’s mission.
3. National security concerns and fears about terrorism, including radicalized youth and “homegrown” terrorism (Gairdner 2010; Bramadat and Dawson 2014). Here, Winter (2014c) provides a theoretical explanation of why religion – more than race, ethnicity, or language – is an important factor for community formation and political mobilization.

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Concerns over religious discrimination and a waning multicultural ethos versus fears of non-integration

Several studies examine concerns over discrimination and racism expressed by Arab and Muslim associations in Quebec (Antonius, Labelle, and Rocher 2013) and in the rest of Canada (Reitz et al. 2009; Abu-Laban 2013a; Hennebry and Momani 2013). Representatives of these associations express concerns that security issues (rightly or wrongly) associated with Muslims dominate the political and public agenda at the expense of multiculturalism. For them, Canada’s security policy amounts to racial profiling. Helly (2012) identifies the following stereotypes in the media and in public debates: the so-called negative treatment of women in “Islam” and the assumed lack of state authority over religion in Muslim societies. Based on racism, Canadian Muslims and Arabs also experience new obstacles to economic integration and condemn government inactivity in this respect (Helly 2011).

These studies are partially confirmed by a survey on Canadian Muslims conducted by the Environics Research Group in 2006–2007 (Adams 2009). It shows that Canadian Muslims have much in common with other immigrant groups in Canada in terms of aspirations, optimism and feelings of both Canadian and minority-group pride. Nevertheless, the perceptions of Canadian Muslims and the perceptions of the Canadian public at large diverge considerably regarding Canadian Muslims’ willingness to integrate into Canadian society: Muslims were relatively confident that their coreligionists wished to participate in Canadian life – and saw no benefit in a ban on headscarves, for example. By contrast, Canadians at large, particularly Quebecers, were less certain about Muslims’ underlying willingness to integrate and placed great emphasis on symbolic adaptations, such as the abandonment of religious clothing.

Multiculturalism policy/discourse as empowerment for Canadian Muslims

There are a few studies that nuance and partially contradict the aforementioned trends (Ghobadzadeh 2010; Nagra and Peng 2013). Nagra and Peng (2013), for example, confront the “failure of multiculturalism” thesis (voiced predominantly in the context of Europe) and multiculturalism’s alleged inability to foster social cohesion. Based on fifty interviews with young Canadian Muslims, the authors claim that being Canadian and Muslim is not mutually exclusive for these individuals: many maintain a dual Canadian and Muslim identity and use the ethos of

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11 The survey consisted in telephone interviews with 500 Canadian Muslim and 2,000 members of the general public.
multiculturalism to fend off discrimination. At the same time, however, they resist the pressure of assimilation by holding on to their Muslim identity.

2.4 Sexual Orientation

The literature on Canada’s GLBTQ population remains underdeveloped. Although some survey data exist, none was found on the ethnocultural background of GLBTQ people. Qualitative studies reveal some of the struggles linked to social differentiation based on GLBTQ status and ethnic/racial minority status: discrimination, racism, and the lack of appropriate resources on behalf of the agencies serving them.

Who is Canada’s GLBTQ population and what are the challenges?

LGBTQ people cross all socio-economic, ethno-racial, age, gender, (dis)ability, religious, geographical location, educational, and relationship status lines (Mulé et al. 2009). However, they are a mostly “invisible minority” – that is, “unmarked” in terms of visible signifiers – and this “invisible” status may explain why “sexual minorities are frequently left out of programs and legislation designed to address the challenges faced by other minority groups at risk of exclusion” (Ogilvie and Eggleton 2013:110).

Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS), which is the first Statistics Canada survey to include a question on sexual orientation, indicates that 1.1% of Canadians aged 18 to 59 consider themselves to be homosexual, and 0.9% of Canadians of the same age group consider themselves to be bisexual (2010). Also, the latest Census (2011) counted 64,575 same-sex couple families, up 42.4% from 2006. Citing previous studies, a report of the Standing Senate Committee (2013) underlines the risk of economic deprivation of gay and lesbian adults and poorer life conditions for youth identifying with a sexual minority (the risk of homelessness and street involvement). The report also states that being gay, lesbian or bisexual significantly increases the odds of being victimized. A worrisome situation is also among GLBTQ youth. The First National Climate Survey on Homophobia in Canadian Schools (2009) surveyed over 3,500 youth and found that 75% of these youth reported hearing homophobic comments on a daily basis in schools, and that six out of 10 GLBTQ students reported being verbally harassed about their sexual orientation.

Mulé et al. (2009) indicate, based on various sources, that there are patterns of health and illness specific to GLBTQ people that are independent or may be a result of the marginalization and discrimination experienced, and which require more inclusive public health goals and policy.
How immigration, racialization and ethnicity intersect with the “normal” challenges of LGBTQ people

Winter and Schmitt (2009) argue that even in Canada multicultural rights are often pitched against the rights of GLBTQ people (as well as the rights of women). The examples discussed include the case of Alvaro Antonio Orzoco, a young gay man from Nicaragua seeking asylum in Canada, and the case of Marc Hall, a student of an Ontario Catholic High School who was banned from going to the school prom with his boyfriend. The researchers argue that homophobia and transphobia are challenging issues, and that neither Canadian mainstream society and its institutions nor the Canadian state are neutral and egalitarian with respect to sexuality and gender.

An important dimension, yet insufficiently treated, is the intersection of sexual orientation with immigration, ethnicity/race as the latter dimensions complicate the “story” of GLBTQ individuals. Research indicates that an effective comprehension of the situation and issues concerning GLBTQ population needs to go beyond a monolithic approach of this population and pay attention to the multitude of contradictions and tensions characterizing their lives defined, among others, by socio-economic status, ethnic identification, and context of migration (Chbat 2011, Roy 2013).

An empirical qualitative research carried out by Giwa and Greensmith (2012) within the (predominantly White) GLBTQ community of Toronto revealed some interesting insights. For instance, although GLBTQ community’s image appears progressive – mostly due to the collective struggle for equal rights – the systemic, everyday racism occurs in these spaces. The general tendency of GLBTQ community leaders and members to group all issues and concerns under the banner of “sameness” leads to the homogenization of GLBTQ community. The discourses promote the interests of White members (and individuals whose skin colour and physiognomy permit them to pass as White) while the material and symbolic experiences of oppression of GLBTQ people of colour are excluded.

Based on the interviews with thirty gay men in Montreal, Roy (2013) argues that understanding discrimination simply as a result of “homophobia within cultural communities” is reductionist and hinders a more nuanced story: LGBTQ immigrants do not seem to look for a certain kind of “integration” in a particular “community,” but rather aim to build a network of acquaintances based on common interests that go beyond ethnicity; that is why, the ethnic interactions post-migration of gay men are less characterized by a uniform homophobic exclusion from the
“cultural community” whereas within the spaces of gay socialization the expected liberation is contradicted by a reality of racialization.

Investigating the service needs of LGBT youth in Toronto\textsuperscript{12}, Travers \textit{et al.} (2010) uncover the complexity of the needs that service providing agencies have to deal with now as compared to ten years ago. If these agencies were initially established to deal with “coming-out” and self-acceptance issues, they are now finding themselves dealing with needs related to “settlement,” homophobic attitudes and intersecting identities and for which they need appropriate training and resources.

\textbf{2.5 Age: Youth}

Overall, the literature on youth is evidence-based and investigates the intersections of age and racial/ethnic belonging and discrimination. Four main areas of scholarship can be identified. (For a discussion of language in schools, see sub-theme 2.7; for a discussion of racialization and multicultural education in the educational system, see sub-theme 3.3.)

\textit{Identity and belonging}

Most of the studies focusing on youth explore the issues of identity and belonging of the 1.5 and second generation as a result of their lived experience in a multicultural context. Research on these youth is usually qualitative; it includes: Chinese-Canadian in Alberta, Canadian-born Chinese from Toronto and Vancouver, Canadian Muslims from Greater Toronto Area and London, Lebanese-Origin youth in Halifax, Somali Canadians in Toronto, and Caribbean students (Hernandez-Ramdwar 2009; Cui 2011; Tastsoglou and Petrinioti 2011; Berns-McGrow 2013; Bullock and Nesbitt-Larking 2013; Kobayashi and Preston 2013). All these studies point to a similar conclusion, namely that, in case of youth, “ethnic identity/Canadian identity is not a zero sum game, but the two co-exist and collaborate, inform and shape each other” (Tastsoglou and Petrinioti 2011:193). However, each study reveals different insights:

- The identity and sense of belonging of Canadian-born Chinese youth is defined by “a set of paradoxes of between-ness”, such as not being Chinese enough for new immigrants and not Canadian enough for the mainstream and a sense of conflict between the

\textsuperscript{12} The research consisted in focus groups with 80 service providers from 55 agencies in the Greater Toronto Area serving the needs of LGBT youth.
traditional expectations of their parents and their desire to be recognized within the Canadian mainstream is felt (Kobayashi and Preston 2013).

- Chinese-Canadian youth confront contemporary forms of racism that are more implicit and invisible and reflected in teasing, negative comments and media discourse and which directly affect their self-perception in relation to the dominant White group and their sense of belonging to Canada (Cui 2011).

- Muslim youth, by contrast, are said to have an overriding sense that they and their faith are misunderstood by the wider Canadian society, yet they have been able to transcend the negative public discourse about Muslims and some experiences of racism and manifest commitment to Canada and political engagement (Bullock and Nesbitt-Larking 2013). Similarly, in case of young Somali Canadians, despite experiences of racism and stereotyping, most of them self-identify as Canadian and want to be part of the country. At the same time and not in contradiction, they strongly feel Muslim and Somali (Berns-McGrown 2013).

**Trust**

The research of Stolle and Harell (2013) who shows – based on the Canadian General Social Survey (2003) – that younger Canadians with racial and ethnic diversity in their social networks manifest higher level of generalized trust, thus pointing to the fact that younger generation believes more in the value of diversity as compared to their older counterparts. This appears to trigger another important conclusion, namely that “youth socialization experiences with rising diversity and the normalization of diversity in a multicultural environment contribute to beneficial [instead of detrimental how the critics of multiculturalism have been claimed] effects of diverse social networks” (42).

**Hate crimes**

Perry (2011) tackles the issue of hate crimes among Canadian students by conducting the first Canadian survey of hate crime motivated by race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, and

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13 Hate crime “involves acts of violence and intimidation, usually directed toward already stigmatized and marginalized groups. As such, it is a mechanism of power, intended to reaffirm the precarious hierarchies that characterize a given social order. It attempts to recreate simultaneously the threatened (real or imagined) hegemony of the perpetrator’s group and the “appropriate” subordinate identity of the victim’s group” (Perry 2001:10 cited in Perry 2011:324).
disability on Canadian college and university campuses, including over 800 respondents. The findings show that over 40% of the interviewed students indicated some form of victimization, from verbal assaults (12.5%) to being exposed to offensive online images (9.3%), having objects thrown at them (8.6%), being spat upon (8.5%), and being pushed, shoved (8.4%).

When investigating the primary factor motivating the offender(s) to commit the last incidents, sex (typically female) and ethnicity/national origin were accounted for over half of all victimization (26.7%, respectively 27.5%); political orientation (on a continuum from liberal to conservative) was only in third place with 12.5% accounted victimizations. In terms of prevalence rates of hate crimes – that is, lifetime rates of victimization, rates across all respondents range from a low of 3.4% (forced sexual relations) to a high of 38.4% (verbal assault), also including threats of physical violence (22.8%), and being pushed or shoved (26.3%). Where perpetrators could be identified (in approximately 60% of the cases), they were thought to be predominantly Euro-Canadian (i.e., White) males; and particular vulnerable groups—Aboriginal people, Afro-Caribbeans, Muslims, and (especially bisexual) Jews—were over-represented as reported victims. These findings suggest that particular cultural groups are indeed subject to disproportionate rates of victimization on campus. Moreover, these findings are even more significant if we think of the key role played by the campus environment in fostering a positive multicultural learning experience or conversely, producing tension and polarization.

**Youth Un(der)Employment**

Employment appears as another area of vulnerability for youth and an issue of concern for policymakers as recent data indicate that global recession of 2008-09 continues to affect youth’s socio-economic situation (Foster 2012; Geobey 2013). The unemployment rate for Canadians aged 15–24 has grown — from 12.9% in 2001 to 14.1% in 2011 (OECD data cited in Foster 2012). Ontario appears to stand out as an outlier facing unemployment levels for youth that are twice as high as the overall provincial unemployment level (Geobey 2013). Underemployment – that is, jobs that are low-wage, non-unionized, and temporary and/or part-time, which rarely offer additional benefits – continues to be a troubling issue for youth in Canada, youth being significantly more precariously employed than adults (Foster 2012; Geobey 2013).

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14 The random sample survey was conducted in March 2007 on two southeastern Ontario campuses, one college and one university; a total of 807 students were surveyed, 334 from the college and 463 from the university.
2.6 Age: Seniors

Research on ethnic minority seniors is still scarce. Two main trends were apparent: some research reveals seniors’ demographic and socio-economic profile, other studies focus on health issues. One qualitative study on German immigrants in Ottawa exemplifies the difficulties of aging among the members of one of the best integrated (and highly “invisible”) ethnic groups in Canada. This suggests that seniors belonging to less integrated or racialized groups face even more challenges to equally participate in Canadian society.

Immigrant seniors profile

Ng et al. (2012) provide comprehensive information (based on the 2006 Canadian Census) regarding the profile of immigrant seniors in Canada and their health situation and life satisfaction in comparison to Canadian-born counterparts. Briefly, in terms of demographic and socio-economic characteristics, almost 75% of immigrant seniors arrived in Canada before 1976; almost half of the recent immigrants came from South Asia; Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver are the main places of settlement; slightly more than 50% of the seniors who arrived recently did not have knowledge of either of the official languages, yet they were also more likely to have post-secondary education than Canadian-born seniors. Regarding seniors’ health situation, information is more recent being extracted from Statistics Canada’s 2008-2009 Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS) – Healthy Aging. In short, the analysis shows that immigrant seniors report poorer health status than non-immigrant seniors, despite having better health behaviors, fewer chronic conditions, and more functional impairments; they also reported having less of a sense of community belonging and less satisfaction with their lives (Ng et al. 2012:71).

Quality of life and social participation

The qualitative study conducted by Da and Garcia (2010) concerning socio-cultural adaptation and quality of life among older Chinese immigrants in London, Ontario offers insights into the concrete reality of this group. For instance, contrary to their initial expectations of an old age happy life doing what they want, immigration to Canada confronted them with the necessity to provide child care assistance and do household work, instead of receiving care themselves. Economic dependence is the biggest challenge they face, even though they provide unpaid childcare services and household work. Such a situation attracts a loss of autonomy of the older immigrants and the experience of a decline in their power and social status in the family.
(exclusion of their voices in family decision-making) (12). On the other hand, participation in religious services and attending English classes fulfill the needs of socialization, social support and (inter-)cultural communication.

Another study conducted by Ng and Northcott (2010) investigates the life experiences of seniors in Edmonton, Alberta by surveying 161 immigrants aged 60 years or older and born in South Asia. Among others, relevant in the context of the guiding questions for the present literature review, are the findings regarding seniors’ participation in the Canadian mainstream society which appears very important for the population studied in some respects (feeling welcome to Canada, knowing English, having Canadian citizenship, being financially secure) and less important regarding some other aspects of Canadian life (being a member of a political party or having Canadian-born friends).

Studying one of the most integrated immigrant groups in Canada, Patzelt (2013) found that seniors of German origin living in Ottawa (many of them Canadian citizen) feel a strong sense of belonging to Canada as well as to their ethnic community: Canada has become their new homeland and the place where they feel at home, while German traditions, culture and language are very important component of their lives. Patzelt’s study finds that the deterioration of immigrant senior’s English vocabulary as a result of dementia can cause intense social isolation, as it makes communication with their environment difficult, if not impossible, while, at the same time, the second generation increasingly uses English or French as main languages, and members of the original first generation cohort are dying.

2.7 Conclusion

The literature discussed in this section indicates that even under the conditions of Canadian multiculturalism (as a societal ethos and policy), social differentiation along ethnic/racial lines, as well as that related to religion, gender and sexual orientation is still creating important hardship in individuals’ lives. This is even more the case when different forms of social differentiation intersect (e.g. GLBTQ status and ethnic/racial minority status). Social differentiation translates into discrimination on the labour market, creates precarious life conditions, and causes poor health. At emotional level, stigmatization based on social differentiation affects individuals’ self-esteem, undermines their sense of belonging to Canada, and reduces their civic participation and engagement.
What do we know? ---- Equal Opportunity and Discrimination

Racism appears as the most salient issue causing unequal opportunity and discrimination. Race is by far the most commonly cited reason for experiencing discrimination among visible minorities and Blacks mention it the most (Reitz and Banerjee 2009). The labour market, where important institutional and structural barriers are still found to exist, is the key area of concern. Research indicates that immigrants with a racialized background face increased levels of poverty, underemployment and over-representation in unstable, precarious and low-wage jobs. For instance, based on 2006 Census data, significant rates of unemployment have been found in case of those who identify as Arab and West Asian and those who identify as Black and poverty rates are increased among Arabs and West Asians, Koreans and Blacks (Block and Galabuzi 2011).

Women, especially those belonging to racial and religious minorities, seem to struggle the most in terms of accessing labour market ending in long periods of unemployment and precarious employment pathways (Block and Galabuzi 2011; Access Alliance 2014). The key structural barriers at play are: non-recognition of foreign credentials (and the requirement to demonstrate “Canadian experience”); insufficient language skills; lack of information about available services; limited professional network. For women in particular, there are additional social factors that prevent them from a steady search for a good job such as: household responsibilities, the lack of affordable childcare and social isolation (Access Alliance 2014).

Members of racialized (and, most recently, religious) communities are also subject to stigmatization. Currently, Canada’s Muslim minority appear to be at a higher risk as they are directly impacted by the global and national concerns with security and terrorism. Research locates the risks for stigmatization in government policy and discourse, media representations, as well as public perceptions and attitudes (Antoniou 2013; Antonius, Labelle and Rocher 2013). While Muslim women wearing a veil are to a greater extent affected by negative media depictions and public perceptions (Chapra and Chatterjee 2009; Kraft 2009), Muslim men suffer from suspicions of being violent perpetrators.

Still in an incipient phase, research on LGBTQ people does not yet provide a clear answer to the issues of discrimination and equal opportunity. It shows, however, that LGBTQ people are not a monolithic group. The intersection of LGBTQ status and racialization seems particularly detrimental (Giwa and Greensmith 2012; Roy 2013).
Racial discrimination and stereotypes, especially in schools and universities, represent a key challenge for youth who show higher rates of perceptions of discrimination than their parents (earlier immigrants). Blacks, South Asians and Chinese youth are the top three groups reporting experiences of discrimination (Reitz and Banerjee 2009). Research on Chinese youth provides insights on various forms of implicit and invisible racism these youth confront daily (Cui 2011; Kobayashi and Preston 2013). Research on hate crime indicates that when age intersects with non-dominant ethnicity/race, sex/gender, religion or sexual orientation the odds of being victimized increase significantly. Women, Aboriginal people, Muslims, Jews (especially bisexual) appear the most vulnerable groups (Perry 2011).

Research on immigrant seniors indicates several aspects that may interfere with seniors’ (un)equal opportunity and risk of discrimination: almost half of the recent seniors immigrants came from South Asia, slightly more than half of the recent seniors did not have knowledge of the official languages, immigrant seniors report poorer health status and lower sense of community belonging (Ng and Northcott 2010; Ng et al. 2012). Yet no direct correlations have been shown in this respect. Nevertheless, a research on older Chinese immigrants indicates that their life satisfaction is affected by the fact that they need to provide childcare assistance for their grandchildren, do household work and are economically dependent on their children (Da and Garcia 2010).

*What do we know? ---- Civic Participation and Engagement*

Civic participation and engagement rarely appear to be overtly analysed in recent literature. These aspects can be rather inferred analysing the findings of studies that speak to issues of identity, belonging, life satisfaction and socio-economic integration.

The literature addressing the civic participation and engagement of ethnic groups and their members focused on ethno-specific organizations. Research shows that these organizations’ civic participation and engagement are limited by financial constraints. Funding constraints – and in particular tight funding rules! – affect these organizations’ ability to address some of the community issues which may be prevalent, but are not included in the service activities for which they obtain funding (Landolt, Goldring, and Bernhard 2009; Stasiulis 2009; Yan, Chau, and Sangha 2010; Guo and Guo 2011; Ku 2011). Therefore, although such agencies have the necessary “cultural capital” to understand the problems, they are unable to deliver important services and unable to fulfil their roles as advocacy groups.
Not all activities that are covered under the term “civic participation” are triggered by positive experiences. In case of immigrant women with racialized background, difficulties faced on the labour market with long periods of unemployment or precariousness provide them with no other option than to get extensively involved in the voluntary sector to acquire “Canadian [work] experience” and networking possibilities (Access Alliance 2014).

Regarding second-generation immigrant youth, civic participation and engagement appear strongly correlated with the visible minority status. Racial discrimination on behalf of the mainstream society and stereotypes towards ethnic minorities have a negative impact on ethnic minority youth’s commitment to Canadian society as they affect youth’s self-perception and sense of belonging. For instance, although born on Canadian soil, youth with racial background (especially Chinese, Blacks, Muslims) feel that they are not (and may feel that they will never be) fully accepted as Canadians (Reitz and Banerjee 2009; Cui 2011; Bullock and Nesbitt-Larking 2013). In terms of youth’s engagement with ethnic community, this appears to decrease with age when parents no longer have a say in this respect (Kobayashi and Preston 2013).

Youth participation on the labour market is also an area of concern: significant levels of unemployment and precarious employment are pinpointed as negatively affecting youth and their engagement in Canadian society, regardless of their ethnic background (Foster 2012; Geobey 2013). Yet the literature reviewed here does not provide insights into the array of factors contributing to such situations and its potential remedies.15

In relation to religion, research on young Muslims found that a strong religious (Muslim) identity does not preclude them from feeling Canadian as well. Neither does it prevent them from engagement in both their respective religious community and the wider Canadian society. Research suggests that many young Muslims want to integrate and actively participate in Canadian society, yet such willingness is negatively affected if they feel their efforts are stymied, ignored or unappreciated (Adams 2009; Nagra and Peng 2013).

Research on seniors’ civic engagement and participation is not yet conclusive. The identified literature for this synthesis, suggests that, as long as seniors are in good health, they participate actively in their own community as well as in Canadian society (Ng and Northcott 2010). Economic integration represents the main indicator based on which seniors define their life

15 Consulting a different body of literature e.g. on youth and youth employment may be insightful here. Unfortunately, the parameters for this research synthesis would not allow such an additional research task.
satisfaction and sense of belonging to Canada. However, health issues of an increasingly aging population are apparent and will discriminately affect individuals who were not born in Canada. Dementia, for example, may more strongly affect people who speak English or French only as a second language and who have less family support in Canada (Patzelt 2013).

What do we need to know (research gaps)?

The literature addressing the issues of social differentiation and the challenges faced by people who find themselves in a minority position identifies the following vulnerable categories: women and youth whose identities are racialized, Muslims, LGBTQ people and immigrant seniors.

Members of racialized minorities, including Muslims:

- Racialized women are indicated to face structural and social barriers on the labour market. Among the surveyed literature, most studies have been conducted in big urban centres, especially in Toronto. More systematic research is needed to allow the voices of these women to be heard, and this not only in Canada’s largest metropolis, but also in different local contexts across Canada.
- Furthermore, more cross-provincial city comparisons would be desirable to better understand the (increasingly important) impact of provincial policies upon racialized groups’ socio-economic integration.

Youth

- Studies on ethno-religious identity among youth indicate that they hold on to their religious identity, although apparently not in contradiction with their Canadian identity. Not much appears to be known on how this dynamic actually affects youth’s practices of civic and political participation.
- Moreover, research indicates that youth with ethno-racial background often manifest a contested and contradictory sense of belonging. This calls for a deeper understanding of youth’s patterns of civic participation and engagement in relation to their ethno-cultural, racial and religious background.
- Finally, what role do social media play in how youth participate in their ethno-religious community and the broader community?
- Hate-motivated violence among youth emerges as an issue in the literature, but this topic is still understudied in Canada.
GLBTQ population

- The literature concerned with GLBTQ people is an emergent phase. While there are some important insights into the micro-reality of this category of population, more systematic and extensive studies are needed to provide information about the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of this population, as well as the concrete issues they are confronted with in terms of discrimination, equal opportunity, and fair treatment in various domains of social life.
- More research on LGBTQ people of colour and how they confront and cope with racism within and outside the LGBTQ community appears to be critical.

Seniors

- Although scholars started to research the situation of seniors who migrated to Canada in the first generation, there is a need for more detailed information regarding their civic engagement, social inclusion and feelings of belonging. Needed are community case studies, as well as case studies in comparative perspective.
- Research should not only take into consideration seniors’ ethnocultural background but also their social class, and language issues since dementia may have devastating effects for English and French second language speakers.

Religion, interfaith issues

- There seems to be very little research on how various ethno-cultural and religious groups perceive and interact with each other. Since more members of minority groups are moving into the mainstream, how does this affect inter-group relations in terms of racism, and interfaith relations?
- From the literature surveyed here, it seems apparent that a key role in promoting an interfaith dialogue is held by ethno-cultural (faith-based) non-governmental organizations that may be sensitive to such issues at the community level. Currently however, these associations appear to feel constrained by the strict regulations in terms of funding their activities, therefore even if they see the need for an interfaith dialogue, they might not have the necessary resources to pursue such a challenge. Hence, future research on intercultural/interfaith perspectives may start with interviewing ethno-cultural and religious organizations as key observers of religious issues at the community level.
3. Theme: Multiculturalism and Public Institutions

The Multiculturalism Act declares it to be the policy of the Government of Canada to ensure that Canadians of all origins have an equal opportunity to obtain employment and advancement in all Canadian federal institutions. The discussion in this section defines institutions in a broad sense, including not only federal institutions, but also public institutions in general including civil society, the private sector, as well as municipalities. The educational system (provincial jurisdiction) and the mainstream media receive the most attention in the academic literature. Health care, to our surprise, is not very prevalent in the literature we reviewed. It is, however, an area requiring attention as health disparities are not only caused by economic or educational differences but they are also directly related to poor communication, misdiagnosis, and inadequate or inappropriate treatment as a consequence of inability to recognize cultural difference in the delivery of clinical services (Kirmayer 2011). Four trends are apparent:

1. The rising importance of the ways ethnic and racial diversity plays out/is accommodated in by municipalities.
2. Multicultural education is an important medium to alleviate intergroup conflict and foster intercultural understanding.
3. While official bilingualism (as any official language policy) can have stratifying consequences, good language skills in either official language facilitate socio-economic integration and civic participation.
4. The mainstream media plays an important role in the representation of the socio-economic and political trends to the public eyes. Scholars are concerned about flawed media representations of various minority groups and their risk of stigmatization.

3.1 Municipalities: Potentials, Trends, and Unequal Political Opportunities

Being for a long time a federal government affair, immigrant admission, settlement, integration were in recent decades impacted by decentralization. Provincial governments play now the major part in the process of admitting and integrating immigrants and a new urban agenda reaffirms the role of cities in the construction of Canada’s future, yet without including them in the policy making concerning immigration. A particular model of multi-level governance thus resulted, with a set of intergovernmental relations characterized by asymmetry (Banting 2010a).
Municipalities appear currently in a paradoxical situation: major metropolitan areas (Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Ottawa, Calgary) are the home of the majority of immigrants\textsuperscript{16} and the place where “multiculturalism is experienced” (Good 2009:5), yet municipal authorities are formally limited in terms of political or financial authority concerning the services related to immigrant integration (Banting 2010a). Municipalities are discussed mostly with reference to integration and settlement of newcomers (hence a different body of literature that has been reviewed by our colleagues Shields and Türegün). Here, we merely summarize few trends that emerged from the literature on multiculturalism.

\textit{Cities as engines of national prosperity and diversity integration}

Examining approaches to immigration and diversity in Toronto, Vancouver and their key suburban municipalities\textsuperscript{17}, Good (2009) argues that “local choices, policies and politics matter” (194). She identifies two factors to explain municipal responsiveness to immigration and ethno-cultural minorities:

1. The local ethno-racial configuration and the distribution of resources among ethnic groups in the municipality and (which can be a powerful ethnic group or a wide diversity of newcomers).

2. Local political leadership and the way of framing immigration at local political level, within the business community and in media (for instance, whether immigration is seen as important for the local economic well-being).

Allahwala (2011) confirms that strategic public-social-private partnerships between the provincial government, business, and community-based actors in response to pressing issues can transform cities in “competitive engines” of the Canadian national economy. In Toronto, the strategy to enhance city-region’s economic competitiveness consists in a “market-based and meritocratic” approach to recognizing immigrant skills and promoting ethno-cultural diversity in reaction to issues of un(der)employment of skilled immigrants.

These findings are further echoed and expanded upon by other studies and reflections (e.g. Broadbent 2009; Andrew \textit{et al.} 2012) which indicate that acknowledging at local level the changing ethno-cultural diversity and its needs is a first step in an effective response to

\textsuperscript{16} The Canadian Census (2006) shows that approximately 85 per cent of all new immigrants to Canada settle in the country’s five primary metropolitan city-regions.

\textsuperscript{17} Markham, Mississauga, and Brampton for Toronto and Richmond, Surrey, and Coquitlam for Vancouver
immigrant integration and accommodation. Moreover, the analyses indicate that the big metropolitan areas (Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver) need more power and financial authority to better meet the needs of their large and diverse population (e.g. areas of jurisdiction that are currently provincial such as health, education, public safety and environment).

In smaller cities, municipal competitiveness appears mainly linked to their capacity to retain an increasing number of international students. Here, too, the close collaboration between different actors, namely the province, the municipality, local associations and employers, plays a key role (Wade and Belkhodja 2013)

“Ethnoburbs”: a new layer in the multicultural mosaic of the metropolitan areas

Rapidly increasing diversity in metropolitan areas raised also concerns regarding the patterns of ethnic settlement, the potential formation of minority enclaves and the risk of segregation. Advancing the concept of “ethnoburbs” –ethnic suburbs –, Wang and Zhong (2013) revealed – based on the investigation of two dominant ethnic groups the Chinese and South Asians – that in the metropolitan area of Toronto such zones of ethnic concentrations do exist, especially at the neighbourhood level and a wide array of ethnic organizations is part of those geographical entities. In these areas strong solidarities are shown and people of visible minorities are more actively involved in the mainstream politics. Hiebert’s (2009) analysis on data from Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver confirms the findings and adds that such enclaves do not seem to pose a threat of “ghettoization” as they are rather characterized by ethno-cultural diversity and the population’s educational level and the affordability to purchase a house are not significantly different from those in other neighborhoods.

Political under-representation of “visible minorities” despite strong demographic presence

Surveys carried out in Ontario and Greater Toronto Area show a consistent pattern of visible minority under-representation at the level of local government, even where minorities now constitute a majority of the population (Siemiatycki 2011b; Smith and Walks 2013). In fact, Siemiatycki (2011a) suggests that there is a “multi-layered under-representation of visible minorities” in the political process, i.e. visible minorities are under-represented as political candidates and elected officials at all three levels of government relative to their share of the population. In the case of Greater Toronto Area (GTA), the ratio is 40% demographic representation of visible minorities versus 11% elected officials at all levels of government. In this context, municipalities hold the woeful position with only 7% of all 253 municipal council
members in the GTA are visible minorities (Siemiatycki 2011a:i). Lack of financial resources and name recognition among voters, as well as the fact that whites are significantly more likely to benefit from incumbency are among the barriers indicated by visible minority candidates for municipal office (Smith and Walks 2013). However, Bevelander and Pendakur’s (2009) state that it is not the fact of being a minority group member that impacts voting or non-voting, but rather people’s sense of belonging at local (neighbourhood) level. If the lack of political representation plays a part in visible minorities’ sense of exclusion at local level, then serious concerns may arise.

3.2 The Educational System: Racism and Multicultural Education

Canadian classrooms are deemed “microcosms of Canadian society” (Naseem 2011:12). With respect to ethnic and racial diversity in the educational system, the literature review yielded two diverging but related trends: unequal opportunities for and racism against members of “visible minorities” on the one hand, and the importance of multicultural education on the other.

Racism in schools and universities

Recent literature indicates that racism is still an issue in universities. Using personal narratives, Henry and Tator (2009) expose the institutional\(^{18}\) and systemic\(^{19}\) racism operating in the form of “invisibility, marginalization, and oppression” (26). Faculty members experience racialization in the form of underrepresentation of non-Whites among the faculty members; discriminatory tenure, and promotion processes (e.g. in case of Aboriginal teachers, women); ineffective antiracist policies and mechanisms for diversifying faculty. Similarly, St. Denis (2011) condemns the reluctance and resistance faced by Aboriginal teachers in their attempt to introduce Aboriginal content and perspectives into public schools.

At school level, the results of a 5-year (2002–2007) pan-Canadian study revealed a limited comprehension of diversity and its management on behalf of Canadian teachers and principals

\(^{18}\) “Institutional racism is manifested in the policies, practices, and procedures of various institutions that may, directly or indirectly, consciously or unwittingly, promote, sustain, or entrench differential advantage or privilege for people of certain races” (Henry and Tator 2009:29). An example are discriminatory hiring decisions.

\(^{19}\) “Systemic racism, although similar to institutional racism, refers more broadly to the laws, rules, and norms woven into the social system that result in an unequal distribution of economic, political, and social resources and rewards among various racial groups. It is the denial of access, participation, and equity to racial minorities for services such as education, employment, and housing” (Henry and Tator 2009:30).
reduced to “colour blindness” and the celebration of difference as the means to ensure students’ integration at school (Gérin-Lajoie 2012). The lack of clarity of official discourse in terms of how to achieve the inclusion of all students may be a valid explanation for teacher’s limited understanding of diversity and it may also points to a form of “democratic racism” that encourages assimilation to the majority (Gérin-Lajoie 2012; Guppy and Lyon 2012).

**Multicultural education fosters students’ critical thinking**

Schooling process is important field for constructing multiculturalism as it influences individuals’ perceptions of own "ethnic” identities, while simultaneously affecting how they think of other ethnicities. Several authors emphasize the need to make multicultural education more focused on helping students think critically and become more aware of the politics of difference (McAndrew 2009a; Arshad-Ayaz 2011; Galczynski, Tsagkaraki, and Ghosh 2011; Naseem 2011). A narrow focus on culture as categorizing principle fails to create equality or a better understanding of difference and diversity. It is thus suggested a shift from the current focus on cultural diversity celebration to framing multicultural education as an empowering tool for students in making them aware that they have the power to correct unjust practices (Rao 2009; Arshad-Ayaz 2011; Gérin-Lajoie 2011).

**3.3 Language Skills: Equal Opportunities and Civic Participation**

The scarcity of research on language as a factor for social differentiation suggests that language is no longer a cause for cultural discrimination; however, official bilingualism and the dominance of English and French remain an important Canadian institution, schools are identified as hubs of linguistic integration, and language remains an essential factor for employment and socio-economic integration, as well as for civic integration. In the literature reviewed, three trends are apparent:

- historical and theoretical approaches to bilingualism and other heritage languages criticize the predominance of English and French;
- empirical research points to an increasing overcoming of language as a marker for exclusion through the blurring of linguistic and ethnic boundaries in schools (i.e. specifically with respect to youth)
- language proficiency in official languages has been identified as impacting socio-economic integration and civic participation.
Haque (2012) studies the submissions, briefs and reports recorded by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the 1960s. Her analysis reveals how ethnic groups came to be labelled “cultural groups,” thus differentiated by heritage, language and culture, but their cultural perpetuation was not deemed as dependant on their language preservation, which was thus pushed in the private sphere being denied the institutional support. Haque concludes that language and culture have been hierarchized and became socially acceptable means for discrimination. According to her, “the membership in the Canadian nation is achieved through designation into one of four groups: English, French, Aboriginal, and ‘multicultural’” (2012:18).

Ricento (2013) concurs and argues that despite the official multiculturalism, the privileging of English and French in terms of support at the federal level has maintained “a hierarchy that diminishes Canada’s claim to being a ‘mosaic’ of languages and cultures, as if all parts of that mosaic have equal space, equal voice and equal rights” (475). The author would like to see a changing attitude about the role and status of “other” languages and cultures at a broader, national level in order to keep up with the changing demographic reality.

**Schools as hubs of langue integration**

Haque’s (2012) rather pessimistic conclusions seem to be contradicted by the empirical research20 of Basu (2011) with regard to the patterns of linguistic policy in Toronto’s elementary schools in a neoliberal multicultural context. He found that some schools serve as hubs of language integration21, offering three or more languages as a result of the local initiatives and negotiations coming on behalf of the community, school, settlement workers, and board administrators. The author indicates how the claim and affirmation of language rights within the linguistic terrain of Toronto “have redefined power relations in locally contingent ways” and how the new conceptualization of integration through linguistic diversity recognizes “equality in citizenship practices” (1328).

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20 The empirical investigation regarded various ministry and school board policy documents, the mapping of school data, and conversations with school-board language officers.

21 Of the 576 public elementary schools in the City of Toronto, 404 (70%) are administered by the Toronto District School Board, and 172 (30%) fall under the Toronto Catholic District School Board. By 2005, nearly 40% were offering 57 different heritage and international language classes to their students. The more mixed heterogeneous model is offered in 17.3% of TDSB schools (compared to only 4.65% of the TCDSB schools). However, TCDSB offers one to two heritage and international language programs in 40% of their schools (compared to 21% of schools in the TDSB) (Basu 2011).
Dubé, Fauchon, and Lentz (2009) study the bilingual identity of “French-speakers in minority situation”. According to the authors, for the preservation of French language, francophone communities outside of Quebec need to foster individuals’ transcultural experiences, i.e. “crossing of languages, cultures, experiences, memories and so on” (27). Schools are said to play the key role in the achievement of such a goal.

**Language proficiency, socio-economic integration and civic participation**

Language proficiency continues to be part of the immigrant experience in the early 21st century. Language training in Canada’s charter language(s) is not only a key component of the policy concerning immigrants but an adequate level of knowledge of English or French is also required for the acquisition of citizenship.

The proficiency in English/French significantly influences immigrants’ integration and performance on the labour market, as well as on their civic participation. In an analysis, based on data from the 2001 Canadian Census, Boyd and Cao (2009) contend that differential earnings relative to levels of language proficiency are evident and inequalities in language skills are linked to inequalities in immigrant earnings regardless of the job’s level of payment.

An analysis of the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey shows that levels of proficiency in Canada’s official languages are also correlated with civic participation, indicating that immigrants with low levels of official language skills have the lowest percentages of all groups belonging to sports clubs or teams and participating in service clubs, service agencies or charitable organizations (Boyd 2009).

3.4 Multiculturalism and the Media

The Canadian Broadcasting Act (1991) requires that media organizations reflect the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canada. Nevertheless, much of the Canadian scholarship on media/minority relations comes to fairly pessimistic conclusions. Two trends are apparent in the recent scholarship on the Canadian mainstream media.

**The “thickening” of national identity and citizenship**

Scholars observe the emergence of what has been called the “thickening” of citizenship in the European context (Etzioni 2007), i.e. more republican (Winter 2011b) and more conservative (Winter and Sauvageau 2012) notion of national identity which shifts away from emphasizing the multicultural character of Canada. Examining the perception of the new citizenship study
guide, for example, researchers found that both the French- and the English-speaking media converged on government policy and discourse about the need for the reinforcement of Canadian values and the protection of citizenship (Winter and Sauvageau 2012).

Misrepresentations and discrimination of Canadian Muslims and Arabs

Scholarship indicates that the mainstream “media gaze” significantly impacts (un)equal opportunity and discrimination of minority populations (Fleras 2011). In recent literature, scholars express an increased concern with media portrayals of security and terrorism. Bauder’s analysis (2011) exploring the interacting and sometime interchangeable notions of terrorism, crime and migration in the media, identifies danger as “a structural element of the immigration debate” (97). The securitization of immigration and citizenship is said to accentuate such a tendency. It leads to a biased media representation where some minority groups are portrayed as being more threatening than others. Researchers warn of increased scepticism or even xenophobia towards Canadian Muslims and Arabs (Steuter and Wills 2009; Hennebry and Momani 2013; Kowalski 2013), who are being framed as a threat to the core values and livelihood of Canadian citizens (e.g. Giasson, Brin, and Sauvageau 2010; Antonius 2013; Kowalski 2013). Such media portrayals of immigrants and refugees promote the dehumanization of these groups (Esses, Medianu, and Lawson 2013) and are even seen to convey a form of “neo-racism” which condemns the flagrant forms of racism and define minorities not as “biologically inferior” but as “culturally different (inassimilable)” (Potvin 2012).

Pottie-Sherman and Wilkes (2013) explain that representations of immigration and national identity are dialectically related, in the sense that “representations of ‘Other’ have no meaning without some definition of nation and who belongs within it” (2). Antonius (2013) underlines the misunderstanding of Muslims and Arab culture and religion, the ignorance of major facts of their history, and the misrepresentation of some crucial aspects of their political struggles.

3.4 Conclusion

What do we know?

The literature discussed here relates to the recognition of ethnic and racial diversity and to the possibility to express this diversity publicly in public institutions without facing unequal opportunities and discrimination. The Canadian institutions (broadly defined) that receive most attention in the academic literature are municipalities (as political organizations, geographical spaces, and hubs of diversity management), the educational system, language (including official
bilingualism), and the mainstream media. In all four cases, the literature points to significant potential for civic integration and engagement of ethnic and racial minorities but also to persistent discrimination:

Municipalities can be engines for national prosperity and diversity integration; ethnic neighborhoods and suburbs are rarely monocultural and should not be confused with “ghettos” (known for limiting life chances and social mobility). However, despite a strong demographical presence, members of “visible minorities” are still under-represented politically, and are often excluded from the political governance of municipalities.

While racism in schools and the under-representation of “visible minorities” among faculty in higher education seem to be ongoing issues, the educational system itself is portrayed as a relatively successful “hub” for fostering interethnic relations, multicultural learning and linguistic integration.

Very few academic studies point to language skills and accents as markers for social differentiation at a normative level (i.e. making some mistakes in English/French or speaking with an accent does not generally translate into social stratification). However, basic language skills remain one of the most important factors for accessing employment, for upward social mobility, and for civic integration. No or insufficient language proficiency prevent individuals from receiving important information (news, employment-related), and from interacting with their wider social environment. Hence, missing language proficiencies prevent equal opportunities and civic participation.

The mainstream media can play an important role in creating conditions for the positive connotation of interethnic diversity; they can educate their public about Canadians of other cultural backgrounds and religions. While there is some indication that Canadian mainstream media organizations have made progress in this respect, scholarship still finds evidence for under- and misrepresentations of cultural and religious minorities, specifically Muslims.

**What do we need to know (research gaps)?**

Since municipalities are only a marginal theme discussed here, we do not feel that it is adequate to point out research gaps. Please consult the synthesis on settlement and integration produced by our colleagues.
Education is a provincial jurisdiction; our preliminary research results should be complemented by systematic provincial studies of interethnic relations in schools and universities. For the 1.5 and second generation of immigrants, the educational system plays an enormous role for the creation of equal opportunity and for encouraging and enabling civic participation and engagement.

Since language skills are crucial for both socio-economic and civic integration and participation, providing language classes in either or both official languages to immigrants is paramount. Research is necessary to reveal to what extent this service should continue to be made available also new Canadian citizens.

The mainstream media are a crucial but also highly complex institution: to what extent do the media accomplish their role as providers of civic literacy and critical reflection of government policy? What would it take to further open the mainstream media to ethnic and religious minority perspectives? Do the media “create” stereotypes of particular groups (e.g. Muslims) because bad news “sell”? Or are they “merely” reproducers of mainstream public opinions?

4. Theme: International Perspectives

In Europe, multiculturalism has recently been blamed for societal problems related to immigrants, especially those coming from the Muslim world: segregation and social isolation, poor economic integration and increased dependence on welfare, practices that contradict basic liberal values of freedom and equality (especially regarding girls and women), as well as political radicalism (Banting and Kymlicka 2010, 2012).

The underlying argument is that ethnic diversity when politically encouraged cannot be compatible with social solidarity and national unity. This has been called the “progressive’s dilemma” (i.e. a trade-off between diversity and solidarity/welfare). While we can clearly note a “retreat from” multiculturalism at the discursive level – specifically the discourse of political leaders – there is much academic dispute on whether there is indeed a “backlash against” multiculturalism at the policy and programming level.

This being said, at least officially, the new policy direction in Europe fosters the “civic integration” of immigrants. This trend, while claiming not to enforce assimilation, is most comfortable with ethnic identities if expressed in the private sphere and gives priority to the public expression of a unified national identity.
Research reviewed under this theme, asks how Canada compares in the international arena and to what extent the trends that have become characteristic for Europe and the United States can also be observed in the Canadian context.

4.1 Is There a “Backlash” Against Multiculturalism in the Canadian Context?

Research aims to assess whether the rise of civic integration policies and measures in Europe means a real retreat from the multiculturalism policy (Banting and Kymlicka 2012; Kymlicka 2012; Reidel 2012). In this respect an analysis of the “Multiculturalism Policy Index” reveals that the turn to civic integration in Europe is often being layered on top of existing multicultural programs, leading to a combined approach to diversity (Banting and Kymlicka 2012). Reidel (2012) concurs with this view. This author identifies – through a comparison between models of governance in Canada and the Netherlands – the existence of two competing approaches: the social cohesion approach that emerges from the national level governance and the intercultural approach through which city governments and non-state actors reinterpret the multicultural approach holding on the respect for human rights and the conformity to a set of common values and customs.

The reasons for this development are numerous. In Canada, the historically established “national” groups and ethnic minorities emerging through immigration are logically, discursively and politically interdependent and consequently affect the public framing of multicultural immigrant integration (Winter 2010, 2011c; Lenard 2012). It is the “rooted commitment” to multiculturalism – namely, its status as an immigration society and the fact that multiculturalism equals Canadian nation-building – that makes the difference between multiculturalism’s success in Canada and its so-called “failure” elsewhere (Fleras 2009b; Rodríguez-García 2010).

There is strong evidence that Europe’s problems are not Canada’s problems: public attitudes show support for immigration levels; immigrants’ economic integration, although slower in the last two decades in case of more recent immigrants, still presents consistent positive results, especially in case of the second-generation immigrants (Banting and Kymlicka 2010, 2012; Kymlicka 2010c, 2012); ethnic identity and attachments, which significantly exist in Canada, are

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22 The Multiculturalism Policy Index is designed to monitor the evolution of multiculturalism policies across 21 Western democracies and to provide this information in a standardized format that enables comparative research and contributes to the understanding of state–minority relations. It is based on a range of public policies that are seen, by both critics and defenders, as emblematic of multiculturalist turn (Banting and Kymlicka 2012).
shown to facilitate, rather than hinder, integration and attachment to Canada (Reitz, Phan, and Banerjee 2009). Moreover, research indicates that multiculturalism works for integration both at individual level – as a base for mutual identification for both native-born citizens and immigrants – and at institutional level through promoting inclusiveness and equitability (Banting and Kymlicka 2010; Kymlicka 2012).

4.2 Is there a “Progressives’ Dilemma” in the Canadian Context?

In the international arena, debates emerged also in relation to the capability of the multicultural polity to sustain a welfare policy, that is, to ensure the redistribution of resources in order to guarantee the social protection to people in need (Banting 2010b; Banting, Soroka, and Koning 2013). Research has shown that Canada has a distinctive story from its European and American counterparts. If interpersonal trust appears lower in ethnically diverse neighborhoods, in Canada, it does not appear to erode support for social redistribution because critical for social solidarity is institutional trust, not interpersonal trust (Banting, Soroka, and Koning 2013). Public mainstream view on key areas – e.g. support for the existing level of immigration, perceived impact of immigrants on the economy and their potential dependency on welfare and interpersonal trust – come to similar conclusions, namely that in Canada, ethnic diversity does not appear to significantly erode social solidarity or constrain the viability of the welfare state (Kymlicka 2009; Banting 2010b; Banting, Soroka, and Koning 2013). Indeed, Abu-Laban (2013b) concludes that in Canada population diversity, support for welfare state, and multiculturalism have been closely intertwined. Thus, a multicultural national identity, rather than having undermined social citizenship, has helped to preserve social solidarity. However, public attitudes are mostly the consequence of Canadian model of incorporation and its specific policies of immigration, integration and universal social programs, which worked against the progressive’s dilemma. Current changes in these areas and their impact need to be closely monitored, especially since immigrants recently started to be more dependent on social assistance and since the process of immigrant selection currently undergoes decentralization (Banting 2010b).

4.3 What works in the Canadian Context (that does not work as good in the United States)?

Research indicates that Canadians are more receptive than Americans to maintaining the current level of immigration and see newcomers as less threatening to economic and cultural values (Citrin, Johnston, and Wright 2012). Canadian immigrants appear “substantially more
‘integrated’ than their American counterparts, exhibiting higher levels of both social and political trust” (88), thus providing evidence that policies of cultural recognition do not erode national attachment or political engagement (Kesler and Bloemraad 2010; Wright and Bloemraad 2012).

Comparing Canada and the US, Reitz (2013) argues that it is the popular version of multiculturalism and not the multiculturalism policy per se that explains the strong support for immigration and, implicitly for state policies concerning immigration and integration. However, some nuances need to be added: Canadians’ support for multiculturalism does not mean that they do not want immigrants to become part of the mainstream society; on the contrary! Thus, multiculturalism in Canada is primarily a strategy to encourage the incorporation of immigrants. Also, support for immigration and multiculturalism does not mean that racism is absent in Canada; data clearly indicates this. However, multiculturalism as a policy and societal ethos encourages a more open or tolerant view on immigrant integration (Reitz 2011).

Finally, immigrant-sourced diversity has been also indicated as having a positive (and statistically significant) impact on per capita Gross State Product in the US and per capita Gross Provincial Product in Canada; yet the beneficial effects of diversity decline in the presence of linguistic isolation (Ratna, Grafton, and MacDonald 2012). In this context multiculturalism has an advantage (over the US’ cultural pluralism) as it encourages intergroup communication and social inclusion and thus offers higher chances to overcome linguistic and cultural barriers.

4.4 Conclusion

What do we know?

International comparisons underline the particularity of the Canadian context. In Canada, there is no evidence of a retreat from multiculturalism, at least not in public opinion or with respect to policy and programming “in practice”. At the level of policy and political discourse, scholars are less optimist (see sub-theme 1.3). In Canada, there is also no evidence of a “progressive’s dilemma” (i.e. a trade-off between diversity and solidarity/welfare). On the contrary, multiculturalism as a societal ethos – more strongly than the actual policy/law – encourages both the public expression of ethnic and racial identities and redistributive policies to support the poor. This being said, scholarship underlines the need for continued political efforts to support the multicultural ethos, to fight persistent individual and systemic racism committed by the dominant group towards minority group members, and to eliminate barriers to the socio-economic integration of newcomers and racialized Canadians.
What do we need to know (research gaps)?

The need for international comparisons remains as they help Canadian researchers and stakeholders to identify Canada’s strengths and weaknesses in building an ethnically and racially pluralist society that fosters intergroup relations, civic participation and, eliminates the conditions for racism and social inequality based on differentiation along ethnic and racial lines.
Research Gaps

From the literature surveyed here it seems obvious that there is a lack of research on immigrant seniors (ethnoculturally specific health issues, social security issues, feelings of belonging, integration into ethnoculturally specific networks and civic participation in the wider Canadian society.

Similarly, research on sexual orientation and ethnic, racial or religious minority status is extremely meagre. A number of small-scale case studies suggest (rather than prove) that individuals holding both a racial or ethnic minority status and being of a non-dominant sexual orientation are particularly vulnerable for experiencing discrimination and unequal opportunities. More research is necessary to confirm these tendencies and to point out potential remedies.

While there is a fair amount of research on immigrant and/or racialized youth and feelings of belonging, it seems to us that research falls short of linking these findings with actual patterns of civic participation among youth and the rapid rise of youth in precarious employment. Is there an increase in intergenerational social inequality and does this disproportionally affect young people holding an ethnic, racial or religious minority status?

Admittedly, these research questions and gaps should first be addressed by conducting systematic literature reviews on seniors, GLBTQ people, and youth in general terms (i.e. without a focus on intersections with an ethnic and racial minority status). Given the focus on multiculturalism in this Research Synthesis, these tasks could not be fully and systematically addressed here.

For this literature review on multiculturalism, we were surprised to find fairly little research on the 1.5 and second generation of immigrant youth in urban Canada, i.e. where the bulk of immigrants to Canada settle and where their children grow up. Cities are not only engines for generating national prosperity, they are also hubs for interethnic, interfaith and inter-racial relations. The educational system – schools, colleges and universities – seem to be particularly apt to shape Canada’s next “multicultural” generation. (How) Is this taking place? What role do neighbourhoods and settlement patters play in this respect? What about shared hobbies and sports?

Scholarship insists that language skills in English or French are crucial for socio-economic integration and civic participation. It seems to us that more needs to be known about the
potential groups at risk: do missing language skills run predominantly along sex/gender, age or ethnocultural group lines? What roles does an individual’s immigration status (skilled worker, family unification, accepted refugee) play? What impacts do parents’ missing language skills have for the educational success of their children?

What is the interplay between racialization and (Muslim) religion? How do those two minority statuses intersect? Is there a “racialization of Islam” and what can be done to avoid the stigmatization and marginalization of observant Muslims in Canadian society? Related to this, how do Canada’s foreign policy, some counter-terrorism policies and discourses translate into public opinions about Muslims? What are the differences in this respect between Muslims in Quebec and those living in the rest of Canada?

Finally, research should continue to inquire how much of a “cultural core” is necessary to allow interactive multiculturalism to work, and when does the insistence on immigrants “civic integration” involve coerced assimilation.

Some research answering some of these questions is currently under way (see the section “Relevant Research in Progress” further above). However, since scholars agree that Canadian multiculturalism faces new challenges in the 21st century (see Theme 1, point 1.3 above), more research along the lines described above seems crucial to allow policy and programming to address these challenges adequately.
Conclusion

In this Research Synthesis, we surveyed the Canadian literature on multiculturalism between 2009 and 2013. Our primary objective was to review this literature and to identify the most important themes and topics related to racial and ethnic diversity as stipulated in the Multiculturalism Act. Our secondary objective was to expand the Act’s definition of multiculturalism and to include literature on other forms of social differentiation that may lead to discrimination, unequal possibilities and, related to this, hinder an individual’s full participation in Canadian society. Other than ethnic and racial minority status, these forms of social differentiation may be linked to sex/gender, sexual orientation, age, faith and religious belief, etc.

The literature review yielded roughly 180 references and four dominant themes.

Covered under “Theme 1: Debating Multiculturalism”, roughly one quarter of the surveyed literature deals with normative, macro-sociological and historical perspectives on multiculturalism. Critics and defendants of multiculturalism elaborate on what multiculturalism in Canadian context implies and should or should not entail. The diversity of views notwithstanding, it seems fair to say that scholars agree that Canada’s cultural core must not be “immutable” but dynamic or “flexible”; i.e. it must be absorptive of newcomer cultures in order to invite (rather than coerce) the integration of individuals into the mainstream culture and in order to facilitate cross-cultural dialogue between ethnic and national minorities.

Out of collected 180 references, the largest amount of works (roughly one third), speaks to the notion of social differentiation covered under Theme 2. This literature is concerned with diversity defined not in static terms as simple ascription of social categories, but characterized by unequal power relations, which translate into social categorizations defined by unequal access to resources, opportunities, and life chances. While the intersections of ethnicity, skin colour/“race” and other categories of differentiation (such as age, sexual orientation, gender, religion) are highlighted in the literature, the intersections between socio-economic inequality/ethnic identity formation of racialized youth, ethnic, racial and religious minority status/non-dominant sexual orientation, and health and participation issues of members of immigrant minority groups coming of age.

We have classified approximately one fifth of the surveyed literature under “Theme 3: Multiculturalism and Public Institutions”. The latter are defined broadly, and, for our purposes
here, include municipalities, the educational system, language (including official bilingualism), and the mainstream media. Although scholarship points to persistent discrimination and unequal opportunities in the educational system and the governance of municipalities, these organizations are also praised for fostering intercultural exchange and understanding. Language remains one of the most important factors for socio-economic integration and civic participation. The mainstream media’s capability and willingness to adequately reflect Canadian diversity is still considered as unsatisfying.

From an international perspective, Canadian multiculturalism is both a trendsetter and an outlier. Less than one tenth of the references collected engage with international perspectives on multiculturalism and more specifically with the assessment of the Canadian situation in the context of global concerns and debates. Overall, there is reason for optimism. Scholars defend the viability of the Canadian approach to immigration, ethnic diversity and multiculturalism as a society ethos, policy and national identity. There is evidence that Canada avoids many of the difficulties experienced in Europe and the United States.
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Appendices
Appendix A: Significant Research In-Progress

Religious Diversity and Its Limits: Moving Beyond Tolerance and Accommodation
(Project Director: Lori G. Beaman, University of Ottawa, ibeaman@uOttawa.ca)

The aim of this project is to address the following question: What are the contours of religious diversity in Canada and how can we best respond to the opportunities and challenges presented by religious diversity in ways that promote a just and peaceful society? Specifically, the proposed project investigates the following questions: 1. How are religious identities socially constructed? 2. How is religious expression defined and delimited in law and public policy? 3. How and why do gender and sexuality act as flashpoints in debates on religious freedom? 4. What are alternative strategies for managing religious diversity?

The project’s main contribution will be to identify in detail the contours of religious diversity in Canada and the potential benefits of approaches to diversity that promote substantive or deep equality and move beyond tolerance and accommodation. A comparative research will place Canada in the context of other western democracies and, over the course of the project, will identify global patterns in responses to religious diversity. The research will provide new data and theoretical articulations concerning religious diversity. This research program aims to present diversity not primarily as a problem but as a resource and to propose strategies for equality that will advance knowledge and enhance public policy decision-making.

Funder: SSHRC, Standard Research Grant, 2010-2017, $2.5 million.

For more information: http://religionanddiversity.ca/en/

The Role of Churches in Immigrant Settlement and Integration (Team Leader: Rich Janzen, Research Director at the Centre for Community Based Research, Kitchener, rich@communitybasedresearch.ca)

The purpose of this project is to develop a national research partnership that would better equip church groups across Canada to help immigrants and refugees settle and integrate into Canadian society. The project has an interdenominational focus, with founding partners representing leading academics in the field of religion and diversity, denominational leaders who regularly engage with cultural diversity, and some of Canada’s largest interdenominational networks.

During the first year, a national study will explore various programs church groups operate in support of immigrants. Different partners will lead research activities in five communities across Canada (Vancouver, Toronto, Montréal, Halifax, and Moncton). The second year will see partners working on a series of activities designed to connect partners to each other and to research findings.

A unique feature of this research program is its adoption of a “community based” or “participatory action” approach.


For more information: http://www.communitybasedresearch.ca/Page/View/PDG.
Interfaith And Belonging: A Civic Education And Engagement Initiative (Project Manager: Suren Nathan, Project Lead: Ayman Yassini, Canadian Race Relations Foundations, snathan@crrf-fcrr.ca, ayassini@crrf-fcrr.ca)

The project is national in scope and works with all ethnocultural and faith-based communities to develop and deliver adequate tools and resources to promote interfaith dialogue, a shared commitment to human rights and democratic institutions, and greater civic participation. The project seeks to actively engage youth as important builders of Canada. During the first year, a Strategy Planning Paper has been developed containing the necessary background information; as well as consultations with field experts and community leaders to identify the issues, challenges and opportunities confronting interfaith and ethnocultural communities in their quest for cooperation and the strengthening of Canadian identity and citizenship. The objective was to build a stronger nation-wide interfaith and ethnocultural network, an interfaith leaders circle known as the "Leadership Circle". The Leadership Circle is a multi-faith, national network, of leaders representing diverse religious and ethnocultural communities, grassroots and youth organizations. It provides a forum for exchanging ideas and best practices in community initiatives which reflect and respond to local needs. In addition to its consultative role, the Leadership Circle will develop and implement local and regional community-based initiatives. Particular attention will be paid to programs that encourage youth to get involved in Canada's nation- and bridge-building processes.

The second year is being devoted to the development of tools and resources to advance Canadian values, identity, citizenship and civic education.

In the third year the tools and resources created to advance the goals and objectives of the project will be disseminated and made available to beneficiary groups. Public service announcements (PSAs) will be created to advance the message of diversity, inclusion and harmonious relations. The PSAs will be aired on mainstream and ethnic media networks.


For more information: http://www.ib-ia.ca/

The Black Experience in the Greater Toronto Area (Project Director: Marva Wisdom, marva@marvawisdom.com)

The Environics Institute, in partnership with Ryerson's Diversity Institute, the United Way Toronto, the Atkinson Charitable Foundation, and the YMCA of Greater Toronto aim to undertake a ground-breaking research study focusing on the Black community in the GTA. The purpose of this study is to conduct seminal research to better understand the lived experiences of individuals within this community, and the factors leading to their success and challenges. The results are intended to provide valuable insight and direction in identifying policies and other initiatives that will contribute to the health and vibrancy of the Black community, and by doing so, the health and vibrancy of the entire GTA community and beyond.

Project results are expected to provide a focal point for the Black community to better harness its assets and expand its successes broadly throughout the entire community. It
will help the community build on strategies to move forward, and it will also help the broader community (e.g., community leaders, decision-makers, public) understand and appreciate the vibrancy of the Black community within their vicinity.

The project includes three phases:

• Phase 1: Community engagement: to proactively engage the Black community to ensure the research focuses on issues of greatest relevance, and contributes to capacity building. This phase has been completed and final report is now available for download here.
• Phase 2: Research design and execution to conduct an in-depth survey with a representative sample of individuals within the GTA Black community; and
• Phase 3: Post-study dissemination and public engagement: to broadly publicize the research findings and actively engage policy-makers and the Black community around implications and next steps.

For more information: http://www.environicsinstitute.org/institute-projects/current-projects/black-experience-greater-toronto

2014 Survey of Muslims in Canada (Keith Neuman, Executive Director, Environics Institute, keith.neuman@environics.ca)

In 2006, The Environics Institute conducted the first-ever national survey of Muslims in Canada, focusing on the experience of Muslims in this country and drawing comparisons with similar research conducted in 13 other countries by the U.S.-based Pew Research Center. This research presented a revealing picture of a Muslim community that does in fact strive to be part of broader Canadian society and very happy to be in this country, while at the same time concerned about discrimination and limited economic opportunities. This study received broad public exposure through the CBC and helped to create a more positive and accurate narrative about the Muslim community and what it shares with other Canadians.

2014 Survey of Muslims. Fast-forward seven years, how are Muslims in Canada faring today? The angst of 9/11 has faded but public concerns about the cultural integration of immigrants are growing. The respected Pew Research Center recently updated its own research with Muslim populations in the US and elsewhere, and there is a need to do the same in Canada. The Environics Institute, in partnership with the Tessellate Institute, the Olive Tree Foundation and the Inspirit Foundation, is planning a second national survey of Muslims in 2014 to update the original research and identify both important trends and emerging issues. Issues to be addressed may include:

 o Experience of being Muslim in Canada
 o Concern about the future of Muslims in Canada
 o Self-identification within the Muslim community
 o Desire for accommodation of religious and cultural practices
 o The role and rights of women in ethnic communities
 o Islamic identity and extremism among Muslims
 o Integration of Muslims into Canadian society and the economy
 o Canadian foreign policy (in the Middle East and elsewhere)
 o Views on who speaks for Muslims in Canada

As in 2006, this research will consist of an in-depth telephone survey with a nationally representative sample of 500 to 1,000 self-identified Muslims, stratified across regions and urban centres across the country (additional oversamples of specific subgroups
could be added as funding permits). The survey is scheduled to be conducted in Spring 2014, with the final report to be available in early Fall 2014.


**DiversityLeads (PI: Wendy Cukier, Ryerson University, wcukier@ryerson.ca)**

Effective management of diversity is critical to organizational performance and Canada’s competitiveness. Currently, there is a great deal of work on this taking place in organizations across sectors, in government, in community organizations, and in academia but much of it is fragmented. There are distinct challenges facing immigrants, visible minorities, persons with disabilities, and other disadvantaged groups but efforts focused on promoting inclusion of these groups have tended to evolve separately. However, the evidence is clear that there are common issues as well as intersections which have been neglected. The specific issue of diversity in leadership has received less attention in spite of its broad-reaching implications; not only is the participation of under-represented groups in leadership critical but the representation of diverse leaders is critically important for shaping the aspirations and achievements of young people. DiversityLeads addresses the challenge of leveraging diverse leadership for social and economic development in Canada.

*Funder: SSHRC, Community-University Research Alliances (CURA), 2011-2016, $1,000,000.*

For more information: [http://www.ryerson.ca/diversity/leads/index.html](http://www.ryerson.ca/diversity/leads/index.html).

**Identifying the Policy and Practice Implications of Community-Based Research: Completing the Research Cycle for the Toronto Immigrant Employment Data Initiative (TIEDI) (PI: Philip Kelly, York University, pfkelly@yorku.ca)**

This project connects policymakers and practitioners in the field of immigrant employment and settlement with research conducted through the Toronto Immigrant Employment Data (TIEDI) project. It completes the research and dissemination cycle initiated by TIEDI and ensures that the full implications of the TIEDI research are addressed at the policy and practice levels. The project identifies major policy questions that follow from TIEDI reports, develops policy recommendations, and disseminates the recommendations through targeted consultations with policymakers and service providers, as well as more widely through an interactive website and other media. The project also conducts outreach events in other urban centres across Canada in order to disseminate this model of community-driven and policy-oriented data mobilization.

*Funder: SSHRC, Public Outreach Grant, 2011-2012, $120,000.*

For more information: [http://www.yorku.ca/tiedi/](http://www.yorku.ca/tiedi/).

**Immigrant Integration and Inclusion: Investigating the Canadian Partnership Model from a Complex-System Perspective (PI: Agnes Meinhard, Ryerson University, meinhard@ryerson.ca)**
The integration of newcomers to Canada and the creation of an inclusive Canadian society is a complex undertaking that involves many players working together in various formal or informal partnership arrangements. At the most informal level, family and friends play an important role in helping newcomers acclimatize; more formally, governments at all levels design and fund various programs to help immigrants embark on their new lives. Governments are also instrumental in formulating policies and programs to break down barriers and create a welcoming and inclusive society. Public, private, and non-governmental organizations then implement these programs. The purpose of this research is to use a complex system lens to examine how the elements of the integration partnership model work together to serve both the new immigrant and Canadian society as a whole. Understanding the interactions involved in these complex relationships paves the way to improving the overall effectiveness of immigrant integration and inclusion. The project is divided into six major components. The project is now complete and a book manuscript is now in preparation.

_Funder:_ SSHRC, Metropolis Major Research Initiative, 2010-2012. $125,000.

**Inequality, Diversity, and Change: Trends, Processes, Consequences, and Policy Options for Canada’s Large Metropolitan Areas (Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership)**

(PI: J. David Hulchanski, University of Toronto, david.hulchanski@utoronto.ca)

Mounting evidence of increasing income and wealth inequalities in Western nations points to the emergence of new and intense socio-economic, ethno-cultural, and spatial divisions in many cities. There is a need for appropriate policy responses to prevent or alleviate inequities, reduce concentrated poverty, and reverse trends that affect the liveability of large urban areas. Jurisdictions in Canada and elsewhere have implemented policies to respond to these divisions. Identifying and evaluating the effectiveness of such policies with its community partners is a key objective of this research project.

The Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership focuses on urban inequality and socio-spatial (i.e., neighbourhood) polarization in six Canadian metropolitan areas: Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto (including Hamilton and Oshawa), Montréal, and Halifax. With its partners, the project will explore: 1) trends in urban and neighbourhood change since 1971; 2) processes responsible for these changes; 3) the consequences of change that lead to inequality and polarization; and 4) policy and program options that address inequality and thereby improve human well-being and urban environments.


_For more information:_ [http://neighbourhoodchange.ca/](http://neighbourhoodchange.ca/).

**Migrant Women and Social Service Providers Responding to Changes in Immigration Policy**

(PI: Rupaleem Bhuyan, University of Toronto, r.bhuyan@utoronto.ca)

Also known as the Migrant Mothers Project, this research uses participatory action research methods, interviews, community consultations, and policy analysis to understand how immigration policies are impacting immigrant rights and the capacity of social and health service providers to work with people who have precarious migratory status. In Phase I (2010-2012), in-depth interviews with 25 Spanish-speaking women
from Latin America were conducted and a 12-week peer-led solidarity group was organized. Phase II (2013) involved seven community forums in different regions of Ontario and across Canada. In Phase III (2014), knowledge dissemination activities will be emphasized via digital stories, a policy report, and a national symposium.

_Funder:_ SSHRC, Standard Research Grant and “Knowledge Mobilization” Grant; CERIS, Research Award; University of Toronto, Connaught New Researcher Award, 2010-2014.


**Second Generation Success and Marginalization: The Impacts of Race, Gender and Place on Employment and Social Mobility (PI: Valerie Preston, York University, vpreston@yorku.ca)**

The labour market experiences of the second generation are highly segmented. While some enjoy remarkable economic success, others are experiencing serious economic difficulties - high unemployment, low wages, and frequent underemployment. The work lives of the second generation vary across metropolitan areas and within them. Employment challenges are compounded for some of the second generation by discrimination in hiring, earnings, and retention related to their status as racialized minorities and by gender segmentation that concentrates many women in under-valued feminized occupations. This research compares the labour market experiences of second generation adults from three racial minorities and from European backgrounds. Specifically, it examines how the job searches of the second generation differ among ethno-racial groups and what are the impacts of discrimination and gender roles on the job searches of each group; the role of different types of social capital in each group’s search for employment; and how places significant in everyday life, such as where one lives and where one goes to school, influence the social capital available to each ethno-racial group of the second generation. The research uses information from two General Social Surveys (Cycles 17 and 20) to compare the social contacts used to find jobs by racialized and white second generation adults in Canada’s largest urban areas. The second phase utilizes a questionnaire survey of a random sample of second generation young adults in Toronto from five ethno-racial groups: Chinese, South Asian, Black, Northern and Western European and Southern Europeans to ascertain the relative importance of neighbourhood social contacts, and their utility for finding suitable jobs. In the third phase, focus groups will investigate the diverse ways that place shapes the second generation’s labour market experiences.

_Funder:_ SSHRC, Insight Grant, 2012-2016.

**Worked to Death: Gendered-Racialized Dimensions of Economic Security for Later Life Canadians (PI: Nancy Mandell, York University, mandell@yorku.ca)**

This project explores how the economic security of older Canadians (at least 55 years of age) varies among ethno-cultural groups and between men and women who are immigrants and Canadian-born. Using information from the 2006 Census, 13 focus groups, and 31 in-depth interviews, the project analyzed experiences and understandings of economic security in later life in the areas of family and housing arrangements, care work, work histories, government support, and income security.

Toronto Social Capital Project. A Toronto’s Vital Signs Initiative (Environics Institute for Survey Research and Toronto Community Foundation; Keith Neuman, Executive Director, Environics Institute, keith.neuman@environics.ca)

The Toronto Social Capital Project is a major new research initiative to map the level of social trust and community engagement among residents, and provide a foundation for strengthening the social capital of the city. Toronto Social Capital Project tackles the following questions: To what extent do Torontonians feel connected to, and actively engage with, their neighbors and community organizations? How well do they trust their neighbors? These questions matter because social trust and engagement are critical to a good quality of life, a healthy population, safe streets, and economic prosperity. Based on the principle of "you can only manage what you measure", this project will provide the public, private, not-for-profit, and philanthropic sectors with the empirical basis for data-driven policies, programs initiatives, and investments that will sustain and strengthen the community’s social capital, social cohesion and subjective well-being, and the benefits that flow from them.

The Toronto Social Capital Project is a collaborative initiative led by the Environics Institute for Survey Research and the Toronto Community Foundation. The project will kick off with an initial scoping phase early in 2014, leading to launch of the research later that year. The project will be inviting other leading organizations in all sectors to participate as lead partners, collaborating partners, media partners, and project sponsors.


Other projects:

- Geographies of Migrant Politics, Identity, and Belonging (PI: Jennifer Hyndman, York University, jhyndman@yorku.ca), Funding: SSHRC Standard Research Grant (2011)

- The dynamics of social exclusion and inclusion for immigrants and racialized groups in Canada (PI: Luann Good Gingrich, York University, uanngg@yorku.ca), Funding: SSHRC – Immigration and the Metropolis Program

- Theorizing "Choice" and Voluntary Social Exclusion: A Study of Transnational Livelihoods and Women from Mexico (PI: Luann Good Gingrich, York University, uanngg@yorku.ca), Funder: SSHRC - Standard Research Grant

- The Role of Religiously Affiliated Settlement Agencies (RASA) in British Columbia: Past, Present, and Future (PI: Paul Bramadat, Centre for Studies in Religion and
Society, University of Victoria, [bramadat@uvic.ca](mailto:bramadat@uvic.ca). *Funder:* Metropolis British Columbia (2011-2012)

- The project explores the contributions of RASA to Canadian society. Among other questions, the project aims to address: how much labor do such groups perform for the state? how might these functions be influenced by (secularizing) changes both within settlement agencies and federal and provincial governments? This BC-based pilot project will serve as the basis for a much larger national and international comparative project which draws other locales as well as the recipients of RASA services into the analysis.

**Religion, Radicalization and Securitization (PI: Paul Bramadat, Centre for Studies in Religion and Society, University of Victoria, [bramadat@uvic.ca](mailto:bramadat@uvic.ca)). Funder: Public Safety Canada and Defence Research and Development Canada**

- The project addresses the relationship between the forces of radicalization (within particular minority religious groups in Canada) and securitization (by the state and society).

**Statistics Canada** is currently conducting the **Annual Component of the Canadian Community Health Survey on Everyday Discrimination** which is expected to provide updated information concerning the LGBTQ population.

- The government-funded “**Kanishka project**” – concerned with better understanding what terrorism means in the Canadian context today – includes several projects that may be of interest for the multiculturalism area:
  - **Collective Efficacy and Cultural Capital:** Building and Fostering Resilience in Different Ethnic Communities (PIs: Sara Thompson, Ryerson University, skthompson@ryerson.ca; Sandra Bucerius, University of Alberta, bucerius@ualberta.ca)
  - **Strengthening Canada’s interfaith organizations and networks to foster resilience, public safety and counter-terrorism** (PI: Scott Daniel Dunbar, [Scott.Dunbar@monash.edu](mailto:Scott.Dunbar@monash.edu))
  - **The Somali Experience in Alberta** (PIs: Sandra Bucerius, University of Alberta, bucerius@ualberta.ca; Sara Thompson, Ryerson University, skthompson@ryerson.ca)
  - **The Impact of Narratives of Conflict, Security and Co-Existence on Muslim Communities in Canada** (PI: Anila Asghar, McGill University, anila.asghar@mcgill.ca)
Appendix B: Key Research Institutions and Researchers

Research Institutions

Access Alliance
A Toronto-based centre for community-based research concerned with addressing social determinants of health that affect newcomer and racialized groups. The research strives to be a leader in innovating and promoting community-based participatory research (CBPR) dedicated to empowering newcomers and racialized communities to be active partners in research and to become agents of change for promoting health equity.

Examples of Recent Publications
Alliance, Access. "Where are the Good Jobs?: Ten stories of working rough, living poor" (2013)
Alliance, Access. "Like Wonder Women, Goddesses, and Robots: how immigrant women are impacted by and respond to precarious employment" (2014)

Contact
340 College St. West, Suite 500 Toronto, ON M5T 3A9; Phone: 416-324-8677; Fax: 416-324-9074; Email: research@accessalliance.ca.

Association for Canadian Studies (ACS)
Based in Montreal, the Association for Canadian Studies (ACS) (www.acs-aec.ca) is an organization that initiates and supports activities in the areas of research, teaching, communications, and the training of students in the field of Canadian Studies, especially in interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary perspectives. The ACS also strives to raise public awareness of Canadian issues, and provides the Canadian Studies community, principally within Canada, with a wide range of activities and programs. The ACS is committed to raising public awareness of significant research and public policy issues, and to providing opportunities for advancing debate and action through collaborative activities and publications.

Canadian Institute for Identities and Migration (CIIM) – an initiative of the Association for Canadian Studies – is an independent, non-partisan, non-profit think tank dedicated to the study of population movement and evolving identities in Canada and abroad. In support of its mandate the CIIM will produce and disseminate original research and generate relevant conferences and publications. The CIIM is the convenor of the National Metropolis Conference and the annual forum of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association.

Examples of Recent Publications
Canadian Diversity/ Diversité Canadienne, “Multiculturalism, Interculturalism And Cross Cultural Understanding: Communities And Stakeholders” (Spring 2012)
The Centre d’études ethniques des universités montréalaises (CEETUM) is an inter-university and multidisciplinary research centre that brings together researchers from seven university institutions, specializing in the study of ethnic relations in Quebec and Canada as well as elsewhere in the world through participation in international projects and networks. This group includes Université de Montréal, which manages the Centre, Université du Québec à Montréal, Université de Sherbrooke and Institut national de la recherche scientifique. The theoretical perspective defining CEETUM’s research program addresses the persistence of ethnicity under its different markers as a factor contributing to inequalities or as a launching point for important debates on the recommended citizenship models. CEETUM serves a dual purpose: the reconciliation of research and society and the internationalization of research.

Examples of Recent Publications

Sirma Bilge. 2010. "... alors que nous, Québécois, nos femmes sont égales à nous et nous les aimons ainsi": la patrouille des frontières au nom de l'égalité de genre dans une “nation” en quête de souveraineté, Sociologie et Sociétés 42(1):197-226.

Contact
Marie Mc Andrew, Executive
Centre d’études ethniques, 3744, rue Jean-Brillant, Bureau 550, Montréal (Québec), H3T 1P1; Phone: 514 343-7244; Email: marie.mcandrew@umontreal.ca; Website: http://www.ceetum.umontreal.ca/en/home/.

Centre for Interdisciplinary Research on Citizenship and Minorities (CIRCEM)
The Centre for Interdisciplinary Research on Citizenship and Minorities (CIRCEM) is a research centre based at the University of Ottawa’s Faculty of Social Sciences. It was created in the year 2000 to promote and develop research and education projects related to citizenship and minority groups. CIRCEM also serves as a gathering point for researchers interested in and concerned by pluralism and public life. The Centre has three major research fields: citizenship, pluralism and politics; law and justice;
francophonie and minorities. With an interdisciplinary approach that stems as much from reflections in political philosophy as from those in the social sciences per se, the Centre takes a special interest in the challenges of citizenship and the minority factor within Canadian society, and in the comparative study of pluralism in contemporary societies.

Examples of Recent Publications

Contact
Martin Meunier, Director
Centre for Interdisciplinary Research on Citizenship and Minorities, Faculty of Social Sciences, 120 University, Social Sciences Building, Room 5001, Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 6N5; Phone: 613-562-5800 (2429); Email: mmeunier@uOttawa.ca.

Centre for Voluntary Sector Studies (CVSS)
Established in 1995, the CVSS a multidisciplinary team of researchers, educators, and practitioners dedicated to gaining and promoting a better understanding of Canadian civil society. Its research and education focus on non-profit organizations: their contribution to society; their governance and structure; their human and social capital, including managing staff and volunteers; their financial management, including fundraising and commercial ventures; and their relationship with government and the business sector, including community service programs and corporate social responsibility.

Examples of Recent Publications

Contact
Agnes Meinhard, Director
TRS 3-066, Ryerson University, 350 Victoria Street, Toronto, ON M5B 2K3; Phone: 416-979-5000, ext. 6739; Fax: 416-979-5124; Email: meinhard@ryerson.ca; Website: http://www.ryerson.ca/cvss/.

Centre Urbanisation Culture Société
With locations in downtown Montreal and Quebec City, the centre stands out for its fundamental and applied research and for allowing all students to be part of a research team so they can play an active role in finding solutions to the problems facing society. The training offered at the centre enables students to study phenomena in society using social statistics and qualitative analysis. The centre is a vital hub for a plethora of groups and networks that its researchers have developed with colleagues from other institutions and a variety of backgrounds, both in Canada and abroad, particularly in developing countries.

89
CERIS – Bridging migration research, policy, and practice

CERIS (Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement) was established as one of the Metropolis centres of excellence in 1996. Since its beginning, the centre has been a partnership of Toronto’s three universities (Ryerson University, University of Toronto, and York University) and three major community organizations (Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants, Social Planning Toronto, and United Way Toronto), with representation from the federal, provincial, and municipal levels of government. With a renewed emphasis on bridging migration research, policy, and practice in the post-Metropolis era, CERIS serves as a knowledge exchange hub and network for Ontario’s researchers, policymakers, and practitioners dealing with immigration and settlement issues. It also remains engaged in collaborative research that has relevance to the lives of immigrants, refugees, and other migrant groups. The CERIS website houses an extensive body of research in the forms of Working Papers, Policy Matters, Research Summaries, and a Virtual Library.

Examples of Recent Publications

Contact
Adnan Türegün, Director
Room 801, Kaneff Tower, York University, 4700 Keele Street, Toronto, ON M3J 1P3; Phone: 416-736-5223; Fax: 416-736-5688; Email: turegun@yorku.ca; Website: http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/

Environics Research Group

Environics is a public opinion and market research institute that offers a full range of quantitative and qualitative research services, as well as a unique social values methodology and unrivaled advanced analytics capabilities.

Examples of Recent Publications
Institute for Research on Public Policy (IRPP)

Founded in 1972, the IRPP is an independent, national, bilingual, and non-profit organization. It seeks to improve public policy in Canada by generating research, providing insight, and sparking debate on current and emerging policy issues facing Canadians and their governments. Its independence is assured by an endowment fund, to which federal and provincial governments and the private sector contributed in the early 1970s.

Examples of Recent Publications

Rima Berns-McGown, “"I Am Canadian": Challenging Stereotypes about Young Somali Canadians,” IRPP Study No. 38 (January 2013)

Reitz, Jeffery G., “Pro-immigration Canada: Social and Economic Roots of Popular Views”, IRPP Study No. 20 (October 2011)

Ryerson Centre for Immigration and Settlement (RCIS)

The RCIS aims to be a leader in the transdisciplinary exploration of international migration, integration, and diaspora and refugee studies. In addition to supporting research in these areas, the centre’s mission includes mentoring students and consolidating Ryerson’s reputation as the pre-eminent site of knowledge development and exchange with governments, community organizations, and other academics. The overall goal of the RCIS is to advance policy-related research and scholarship in the areas of immigration and settlement studies, both nationally and internationally.

Examples of Recent Publications


Harald Bauder, Immigration Dialectic: Imagining Community, Economy, and Nation. Toronto: University of Toronto Press (2011)
Wellesley Institute

The Wellesley Institute is a Toronto-based non-profit and non-partisan research and policy institute. It focuses on developing research, policy and community mobilization to advance population health.

Examples of Recent Publications
Sheryl Nestel, “Colour Coded Health Care: The Impact of Race and Racism on Canadians’ Health” Literature review (January 2012)

Contact
Kwame McKenzie, Chief Executive Officer
300-10 Alcorn Avenue, Toronto, ON M4V 3B1; Phone: 416-972-1010, ext. 224; Email: kwame@wellesleyinstitute.com; Website: http://www.wellesleyinstitute.com/.

Western Centre for Research on Migration and Ethnic Relations

Interdisciplinary research conducted by members of the Western Centre for Research on Migration and Ethnic Relations informs public policy and practice that facilitate the well-being of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Canada and internationally. The Centre provides training opportunities for students beyond the borders of their own discipline and internationally, and connects academic researchers with policymakers and community stakeholders.

Examples of Recent Publications

Contact
Victoria M. Esses, Director
Social Science Centre, Western University, London, ON N6A 5C2; Phone: 519-661-2111, ext. 84650; Fax: 519-661-3961; Email: vesses@uwo.ca; Website: http://www.ssc.uwo.ca/MER/MERcentre/.

Research Tools and Data Indexes:

The Multiculturalism Policy Index (http://www.queensu.ca/mcp/index.html)
The Multiculturalism Policy Index is a scholarly research project that monitors the evolution of multiculturalism policies in 21 Western democracies. The project is designed to provide information about multiculturalism policies in a standardized format that aids comparative research and contributes to the understanding of state-minority relations. The project provides an index at three points in time - 1980, 2000, 2010 – and for three types of minorities: one index relating to immigrant groups, one relating to historic national minorities, and one relating to indigenous peoples.

Examples of Recent Publications

Contact
Keith Banting, Primary Investigator
School of Policy Studies, Rm. 425, 138 Union Street, Robert Sutherland Hall, Queen’s University, Kingston, ON, K7L 3N6; Tel.: 613.533.3094; Fax: 613.533.2135; Email: keith.banting@queensu.ca.
Will Kymlicka, Primary Investigator
Department of Philosophy, Rm. 313, 49 Bader Lane, Watson Hall, Queen’s University, Kingston, ON K7L 3N6; Tel.: 613.533.2182; Email: kymlicka@queensu.ca.

Canadian Opinion Research Archive at Queen’s University (CORA)

The Canadian Opinion Research Archive at Queen’s University makes available commercial and independent surveys to the academic, research and journalistic communities. Founded in 1992, CORA contains hundreds of surveys including thousands of discrete items collected by major commercial Canadian firms dating back to the 1970s. CORA is continually adding new surveys and is always soliciting new data from commercial research firms, independent think tanks, research institutes, NGOs, and academic researchers. This website also includes readily accessible results from these surveys, tracking Canadian opinion over time on frequently asked survey questions, as well as tabular results from recent Canadian surveys, and more general information on polling.

Examples of Recent Publications

Contact
Scott Matthews, Director
Canadian Opinion Research Archive, School of Policy Studies, Queen’s University, Kingston, Ontario K7L 3N6; Email: cora@queensu.ca; Website: http://www.queensu.ca/cora/index.html.
Research Institutions Abroad: A Selected List

Center for Comparative Immigration Studies at the University of California, San Diego [United States]

Center for Immigration Studies [United States]

Center for Migration Studies [United States]

Centre for Migration Policy Research, Swansea University [United Kingdom]

European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations [Netherlands]

Institute for the Study of Labor [Germany]

Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS) [Osnabrück, Germany]

International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion in Europe [Netherlands]

Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) [Brussels, Belgium]

Migration Policy Institute [United States]

Migrations et Société [France]

NORFACE Research Program on Migration [United Kingdom]

Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration [Germany]

SFB 882 – From Heterogeneities to Inequalities [Bielefeld University, Germany]

Sussex Centre for Migration Research [United Kingdom]
Researchers

Yasmeen Abu-Laban (Department of Political Science, University of Alberta, yasmeen@ualberta.ca): Comparative politics, nationalism, ethnic politics and racialization, gender politics and globalization, public policy (including immigration, multiculturalism, employment equity, social policy, and border and security policies).

Caroline Andrew (Centre on Governance, University of Ottawa, candrew@uottawa.ca): City and immigrant integration, voluntary sector, and settlement.

Rachad Antonius (Département de sociologie, Faculté des sciences humaines, Université du Québec à Montréal, antonius.rachad@uqam.ca): Immigration, intégration et racism; communautés arabes au Québec; Islam.

Keith Banting (School of Policy Studies, Queen’s University, keith.banting@queensu.ca): Immigration, inequality, multiculturalism, and social integration.

Harald Bauder (Department of Geography, Ryerson University, hbauder@ryerson.ca): Political economy of immigration and settlement, labour market experiences of immigrants, and immigration discourses in Canada and Germany.

Chedly Belkhodja (School of Community and Public Affairs, Concordia University, Chedly.Belkhodja@concordia.ca): Immigration policies and mobility of migrants in the case of less common destinations; and the processes of integration and inclusion.

Judith Bernhard (School of Early Childhood Studies, Ryerson University, bernhard@ryerson.ca): Method of ethnographic study with immigrant communities, schooling for disadvantaged groups, refugee health and welfare, and intersection of race, class, and gender in experiences of minorities.

Sirma Bilge (Département de sociologie, Université de Montréal, sirma.bilge@umontreal.ca): Sociology of ethnicity, nationalism and racism, gender and sexualities, postcolonial theory and cultural studies.

Antoine Bilodeau (Department of Political Science, Concordia University, antoine.bilodeau@concordia.ca): Political integration of immigrants in Canada and other Western democracies, and role of pre-migration experiences such as those with political repression, poverty, and gender inequality on immigrants’ political adaptation.

Irene Bloemraad (Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, bloemr@berkeley.edu): Immigrants incorporation into political bodies and the consequences of their presence on politics and understandings of membership, United States and Canada.

Monica Boyd (Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, monica.boyd@utoronto.ca): Ethnic and immigrant stratification, gender and labour market inequalities.

Paul Bramadat (Centre for Studies in Religion and Society, University of Victoria, csrs@uvic.ca): Diversity, religion, and immigrant integration.

Katherine Bullock (Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, University of Toronto at Mississauga, katherine.bullock@utoronto.ca): Muslims in Canada, their history, contemporary lived experiences, political and civic engagement, debates on the veil, and media representations of Islam and Muslims.
Rita Kaur Dhamoon (Department of Political Science, University of Victoria, dhamoonr@uvic.ca): Identity/difference politics and power, including multicultural policies and theories, culture, nation-building, gender politics and feminism, intersectionality, critical race, post-colonial and anti-colonial politics.

Victoria M. Esses (Department of Psychology, University of Western Ontario, vesses@uwo.ca): Factors influencing the settlement and integration of immigrants in Canada; role of economic and cultural threat and competition in determining attitudes toward immigrants and immigration; dehumanization of refugees and immigrants; and causes and consequences of immigrant unemployment and underemployment in the Canadian labour market.

Augie Fleras (Sociology and Legal Studies, University of Waterloo, fleras@uwaterloo.ca): Race and ethnic relations, multiculturalism, indigenous peoples' politics, mass media communication, theorizing social problems.

Kristin Good (Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University, kristin.good@dal.ca): City politics and governance, ethnic relations, immigration policy, Canada's model of ethnocultural and linguistic pluralism.

Shibao Guo (Faculty of Education, University of Calgary, guos@ucalgary.ca): Citizenship and immigration, Chinese immigrants in Canada, ethnic relations, social justice and equity in education, multicultural and anti-racist education.

Eve Haque (Department of Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics and the Department of Equity Studies at York University, ehaque@yorku.ca): Language policy and planning; language and the formation of social and national identities; ethnolinguistic nationalism; language rights.

Denise Helly (Centre Urbanisation Culture Société, Institut national de la recherche scientifique, denise.helly@ucs.inrs.ca): Multiculturalism, citizenship, Quebec's policy towards cultural minorities, and Muslims in Canada.

Jenna Hennebry (Department of Communication Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University, jhennebry@wlu.ca): Comparative international research on mobility and migration governance with an emphasis on foreign worker programs.

Dan Hiebert (Department of Geography, University of British Columbia, daniel.hiebert@ubc.ca): Immigrant integration into the labour and housing markets of Canadian cities, and sociocultural changes that accompany immigration, especially, increasing superdiversity of Canadian society.

Ilene Hyman (Dalla Lana School of Public Health, University of Toronto, i.hyman@utoronto.ca): Social determinants of health, health equity, and immigrant integration and inclusion.

Carl James (York Centre for Education and Community, York University, cjames@edu.yorku.ca): Immigrant youth and integration of Caribbean newcomers in Canada.

Jack Jedewab (Association of Canadian Studies, jack.jedwab@acs-aec.ca): Integration, ethnicity, and multiculturalism.

Audrey Kobayashi (Department of Geography, Queens University, kobayasi@queensu.ca): Research interests revolve around the question of how process of human differentiation - race, class, gender, ability, national identity - emerge in a range of landscapes that
include homes, streets and workplaces an imply a strong emphasis on public policy, legal and legislative frameworks, and cultural systems and practices.

**Will Kymlicka** (Department of Philosophy, Queen’s University, kymlicka@queensu.ca): Multiculturalism, welfare state, and social integration.

**Jane Ku** (Department of Sociology, Anthropology & Criminology, University of Windsor, janeku@uwindsor.ca): Immigrant women’s activism and immigrant settlement.

**Micheline Labelle** (Département de sociologie, Université du Québec à Montréal, titulaire de la Chaire de recherche en immigration, ethnicité et citoyenneté et de l’Observatoire international sur le racisme et les discriminations, UQAM; labelle.m@uqam.ca): Immigration, diversity, citizenship; analysis of the policies of immigration and management of diversity; interculturalisme and multiculturalism; racism and discrimination.

**Solange Lefebvre** (Faculté de théologie et de sciences des religions, Université de Montréal, solange.lefebvre@umontreal.ca): religion, culture et society; religion in the public sphere, religion and politics.

**Patti Tamara Lenard** (Graduate School of Public and International Affair, University of Ottawa, plenard@uottawa.ca): Nationalism, multiculturalism, and trust; global justice, solidarity and migration.

**David Ley** (Department of Geography, University of British Columbia, dley@geog.ubc.ca): Socio-economic polarization and inequality in Canadian cities, gentrification in comparative context, and international migration of elites.

**Marie McAndrew** (Département d’administration et fondements de l’éducation, Université de Montréal, marie.mcandrew@umontreal.ca): Education of minorities and intercultural education.

**Agnes Meinhard** (Ted Rogers School of Management, Ryerson University, meinhard@ryerson.ca): Formation, growth, and demise of voluntary organizations; strategic responses of voluntary organizations to changing policy in the Canadian context; comparative studies of voluntary sector partnerships; volunteer behaviour and development; and leadership and organizational change.

**Micheline Milot** (Département de sociologie, l’Université du Québec à Montréal, milot.micheline@uqam.ca): Religious pluralism in multicultural societies, secular policies and the relationship between the State and religions.

**Ravi Pendakur** (Graduate School of International and Public Affairs, University of Ottawa, pendakur@uOttawa.ca): Ethnicity, immigration, and labour markets; racial labour market discrimination; and empirical analysis.

**Barbara Perry** (Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, University of Ontario Institute of Technology, barbara.perry@uoit.ca): Hate crimes; difference, identity and justice; immigration and citizenship; anti-Muslim violence, hate crime against LGBTQ communities, the community impacts of hate crime.

**Maryse Potvin** (Département d’éducation et formation spécialisée, Université du Québec à Montréal, potvin.maryse@uqam.ca): Intereethnic relations and reciprocal representations approached from a variety of angles including: critical analysis of popular and media discourse; identity, racism, discrimination and systemic inequality; social experiences of
youth of immigrant origin; educational trajectories and inclusive, intercultural and antiracist education.

Valerie Preston: (Department of Geography, York University, vpreston@yorku.ca): Immigration, gender, and immigrant economic integration; immigration and Canadian cities; and transnationalism and citizenship.

Jeffery Reitz (Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, jeffrey.reitz@utoronto.ca): Social, economic, and political experiences of immigrant and ethnic populations; and experience of Muslim immigration in France, Quebec, and Canada.

Myer Siemiatycki (Department of Politics and Public Administration, Ryerson University, msiemiatycki@politics.ryerson.ca): Canadian politics, immigration policy, labour policy, municipal politics, and voting behaviour among ethnic groups.

John Shields (Department of Politics and Public Administration, Ryerson University, jshields@politics.ryerson.ca): Alternative service delivery and partnerships between governments and the third sector, public administration reform, labour market restructuring with a focus on contingent work and immigrant populations, knowledge transfer in support of public policy and advocacy, and comparative examination of settlement services.

Daiva Stasiulis (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University, daiva_stasiulis@carleton.ca): Global migration, transnationalism and diaspora studies; citizenship studies and multiple citizenship; intersectionality and social inequality; critical race studies; multiculturalism.

Evangelia Tastsoglou (Department of Sociology and Criminology, Saint Mary’s University, evie.tastsoglou@smu.ca): Gender and immigration; and economic integration of immigrant women.

Elke Winter (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Ottawa, elke.winter@uottawa.ca): Migration, ethnicity, multiculturalism, national identity, and citizenship.
Appendix C: Annotated Bibliography


- This paper examines Canada’s post-World War Two evolution to illustrate how population diversity, support for the welfare state, and multiculturalism have been closely intertwined. It is argued that the Canadian case draws attention to three features that are of larger theoretical significance. First, the evidence shows that, for minorities, the quest for recognition is often fused with redistribution and that claims are not only group specific but also may reflect solidarity with others. Second, the Canadian case demonstrates that claims-making has also been shaped by the welfare state and understandings of citizenship and national identity. Finally, the Canadian case also suggests the value of re-framing recognition, solidarity and redistribution not as static end points, but rather as processes involving ongoing struggles in which the state is implicated.


- This report contains ten case stories of immigrant families from racialized background who are struggling to find good jobs in Canada. The key findings of the study point to the fact that racialized immigrant families face deep structural barriers to getting good, stable employment (systemic discrimination, non-recognition of credentials, limited/insular professional network, limited economic capital, immigration related barriers). Current employment and settlement services are largely ineffective because these services focus on modifying individual behaviors of immigrant workers rather than on overcoming structural barriers. Marginalized immigrants with low education and limited English language fluency tend to be ‘fast tracked’ into precarious manual labour jobs, with little opportunities to improve their career path. Conditions of precarious employment (irregular hours, low and irregular pay, juggling multiple jobs etc.) lead to more precarious employment.


- In 2010, Access Alliance conducted a qualitative study aimed at exploring the experiences and voices of immigrant women facing labor market barriers. The authors found out that immigrant women workers who cannot find stable employment in their field are being pushed into long-term pathways of highly gendered, low-paying, and precarious types of jobs. Along with economic and work related barriers, social barriers (such as social isolation, lack of affordable childcare, heavy household work, limited social mobility) also play a key role in preventing immigrant women achieve employment security. Migration process and Canadian immigration policies are highly gendered in ways that can disadvantage immigrant women from early on in terms of labor market
participation and socio-economic wellbeing. Many immigrant working women do extensive volunteer work and informal income generating work in response to employment precarity (including lengthy periods of unemployment between job) and as active labor market and social contribution strategy. Precarious employment conditions result in heavily gendered social burden on immigrant women in ways that worsen their post-migration household gender relations and social status.


- This article examines in Canadian context the widespread fear that ethnic diversity is eroding support for the welfare state. In-depth analysis of public attitudes finds remarkably little tension between ethnic diversity and public support for social programs in Canada. At first glance, then, the country seems to demonstrate the political viability of a multicultural welfare state. But this pattern reflects distinctive features of the institutional context within which public attitudes evolve. The Canadian policy regime has forestalled tension between diversity and redistribution by diverting adjustment pressures from the welfare state, absorbing some of them in other parts of the policy regime, and nurturing a more inclusive form of identity. These institutional buffers are thinning, however, potentially increasing the danger of greater tension between diversity and redistribution in the years to come.


- In much of the Western world, and particularly in Europe, there is a widespread perception of a wholesale ‘retreat’ from multiculturalism and a strong emphasis on civic integration. This assumption that new civic integration policies displace older multiculturalism policies has not properly been tested. The article presents an index of the strength of multicultural policies for European countries and several traditional countries of immigration at three points in time (1980, 2000 and 2010). The results paint a different picture of contemporary experience in Europe, namely that the turn to civic integration is often being layered on top of existing multicultural programmes, leading to a blended approach to diversity. The article also reflects on the compatibility of multiculturalism policies and civic integration, arguing that more liberal forms of civic integration can be combined with multiculturalism but that more illiberal or coercive forms are incompatible with a multicultural approach.


- This chapter asks whether ethnic diversity weakens public support for redistribution (social programs that redistribute resources) in Canada. It finds that, unlike in many other countries, in Canada ethnic diversity in general does not seem to significantly
erode social solidarity. However, this general conclusion is subject to an important qualification, namely, the dramatic difference in public attitudes towards immigrants and Aboriginal peoples. People who believe that immigrants rely heavily on welfare are less likely to support social assistance as such, but they are more likely to support redistribution and the welfare state generally. In effect, a sense that immigrants are in growing economic trouble tends to nudge Canadians towards, not away from, supporting redistribution. The same is not true for Aboriginal peoples. Here authors find toxic effects found in other countries: people who believe that Aboriginal peoples are heavily dependent on welfare tend to reduce their support not only for social assistance but also for a redistributive state as a whole, a corrosive impact with important regional dimensions.


- While media and the government often focus on the supposed “radicalization” of Muslim youth in Canada, this research explores the more complicated and nuanced political identities among 20 young Canadian Muslims. Using semi-structured in-depth interviews with these youth in the Greater Toronto Area and in London, Ontario, the authors explore their concepts of political participation; conceptions of the self as a political actor; formal, informal, and civic political involvement; and the relationship between their religious and Canadian identities. While the interviewees noted the impact of negative public discourse about Muslims and some experiences of racism, the research results revealed an overwhelming commitment to Canada and political engagement among Muslim youth, evidenced most fully by a high level of civic engagement.


- In this empirical paper, the authors present the results of a cross country Canada – US study concerned with the relationship of national identifications and preferences about immigration, which currently is a subject of controversy. In comparisons based on the 2003 International Social Survey Program’s “National Identity Module,” Canadians seem more divided than Americans over their nationality and generally less chauvinist. Canadians are more receptive to maintaining the current level of immigration and see newcomers as less threatening to economic and cultural values. The relationship between identification with the country and support for immigration and multiculturalism diverges sharply between the countries: where in Canada the relationship is positive, in the US it is negative.

The paper analyzes the reflections on the social location of several racialized women and their sense of belonging in the Canadian multicultural context (Toronto). It provides insight into how their lives have been shaped by the experience of migration and racialization.


The article provides and analyses empirical data on the lived experiences of Chinese-Canadian youth in Alberta from the perspective of two debates: multiculturalism as a politics of recognition and multiculturalism as a cohesive force. The paper highlights two key findings. First, the racism youth experienced at school and the racist discourse against Chinese-Canadian students found in Canadian media indicate that Chinese Canadians as racialized and ethnic minorities have not been recognized and treated as equal partners in social interactions with the White dominant group. Second, multiculturalism within a bilingual framework is more an assimilating force than a divisive one. Given the separation of language rights and cultural rights as well as the strong linguistic and cultural assimilation forces in major Canadian institutions, it is less likely for Chinese-Canadian youth to maintain their ethnic language and culture. Finally, the main factor that affects their sense of belonging to Canada is the racism in Canadian society rather than the symbolic recognition of diversity that multiculturalism encourages.


Drawing from the data gathered from interviews with 24 family-sponsored older immigrants from China, currently living in London, Ontario, this paper reports on their settlement experience focusing on reasons for immigration, living arrangements, intergenerational relationships, support networks and self-perceived life satisfaction. Findings highlight the care-giving role of these older immigrants in assisting their children in settlement, as well as a decline in power and status in the family, due primarily to socio-economic dependency resulting from immigration.


The article discusses the impact of media portrayals of immigrants and refugees as "enemies at the gate" who are attempting to invade Western nations. The authors examine the effects of common media portrayals of immigrants and refugees and provide evidence that such depictions promote the dehumanization of immigrants and refugees. Through depictions that suggest that immigrants spread infectious diseases, that refugee claimants are often bogus, and that terrorists may gain entry to western nations disguised as refugees these portrayals create uncertainty that leads to dehumanization. The authors also discuss the implications of their findings for
establishing government policies and practices that counteract the effects observed.


- This article explores Tamil diasporic engagement in Toronto, at the turn of the Sri Lankan struggle in 2009, to foreground the contested and transnational character of Canadian multiculturalism. It sketches the way multiculturalism informed Tamil-Canadian identity-making amongst young and older Tamil-Canadians prior to these events. The article also argues that security discourses dramatically prefigured the terms of engagement for Tamil-Canadians during the final months of the civil war in Sri Lanka.


- Examining the case of Toronto and Vancouver and their key suburban municipalities (Markham, Mississauga, and Brampton for Toronto and Richmond, Surrey, and Coquitlam for Vancouver) in the context of a changing ethno-cultural composition of their population, Good’s study analyzes the achievements of municipalities in close cooperation with the provincial government as well as non-governmental societal organizations and businesses in terms of immigrant integration. Assessing the level of municipal responsiveness in the respect of immigrant integration, Good categorizes the municipalities under study into three groups: "responsive" (Toronto and Vancouver), "somewhat responsive" (Markham, Richmond, Surrey and Coquitlam) and "unresponsive" (Mississauga and Brampton). The author indicates two categories of factors as directly related to municipal responsiveness to immigrants and ethnocultural minorities: local ethno-racial configuration and the distribution of resources within municipality and among ethnic groups and the local authorities and their response to local demographic realities. Contending that “local choices, policies and politics matter”, Good’s work provide interesting insights on what may underpin immigrant integration: for instance, multilayered networks of government officials, business and community leaders have come together in Toronto and Vancouver supporting a diversity and pro-immigration agenda. At the opposite end, a dominant mayor (Mississauga) or a divided, fragmented community (Brampton) prevents the emergence of a significant civic coalition committed to multiculturalism and immigrant integration.


- The article examines the role of Chinese ethnic organizations in responding to changing community needs in Edmonton and Calgary, offering an investigation of the founding and historical development of the two ethnic Chinese organizations revealing a series of complexities and paradoxes of ethno-specific organizations. The study results suggest that ethno-specific organizations can be an effective alternative in providing accessible
and equitable social services for immigrants because they are more closely connected with and responsive to ethnic community needs.


- The author provides an in-depth exploration of Canada’s trajectory of multiculturalism and bilingualism. Her premise is that language is the site of boundary marking in Canadian society. She undertakes a through archival analysis of the documents pertaining to B and B commission with the purpose to reveal the basic conflicts associated with the emergence of multiculturalism in a bilingual framework: language gradually came to be regarded as a fundamental cultural element for the founding races, while private and peripheral for other ethnic groups. Haque argues that the contradictory approaches to languages and multiculturalism led to a hierarchicalisation of languages which was achieved in part through the work of the Commission. She critically discusses the authority of such commissions by calling into question their independent status and expertise, indicating that commissions are extensions of the state because the objective of their public outreach is to persuade the citizens of state-driven agendas. In the particular case of her analysis, the B and B Commission served to persuade the Canadian public that a crisis between its founding nations was threatening the country. Consequently, explains the author, this act of persuasion required, on the one hand, the legitimisation of the status of the founding nations and, on the other, the delegitimisation of an equivalent status for other groups.


- Policy-makers in Canada, as in other Western countries, must respond to new dilemmas over how to accommodate new religious minorities and oppose deeply rooted attitudes about religion’s influence on civil society on the whole. Islam in particular is more than often perceived as a very serious source of conflict by ultra-secularists, feminist organizations and xenophobic segments of public opinions. In this paper, the author describes the main postulates of these three groups’ negative views of Muslims in Canada: i.e. the belief in the forward socio-economic and political progress of Western societies and in the backwardness of Muslim cultures and societies; a narrow, ethnocentric definition of gender roles; the opposition to any political influence by faith-based organizations and a fundamentalist view of the separation between State and Church. These ideological foundations help to understand the negative discourses on ‘Islam’ in Canada, notably in Quebec, where cultural nationalism, ultra-laicism, and defiance of judicial power are strong.

A collection of 10 papers examines state policies and societal discourses that have targeted Arab immigrant groups for discriminatory treatment. In editors’ and authors’ opinion, racialized immigration and security policies have turned Arab-Canadians into "targeted transnationals" in the context of the so-called "global war on terror." Specific topics include the racialization of Arabs in Canada's immigration and citizenship policies, media representations of Arabs and Muslims as a political process, "Orientalizing" and "Othering" in the government and corporate media discourses about the Toronto 18 (who were accused of plotting attacks for al-Qaeda in 2006), contesting Arab and Muslim representations in private television and radio in Canada, and the marginalization of the Canadian Arab Federation by the Canadian Government.


This paper discusses the role multiculturalism policy plays in creating a more inclusionary society in the twenty-first century in Canada. The authors outlined some of the ways in which multicultural policy needs to move forward in two critical areas: the elimination of racism and the building of collective social capital. In the former area, multiculturalism policy needs to move beyond its federal jurisdiction and support programs from other levels of government as well private initiatives, not only in combating racism, but in creating an inclusive society. With respect to social capital, multiculturalism policy needs to recognize the importance of both bridging and bonding organizations and support them in sustainable ways.


Immigrants from Hong Kong are one of the largest recent cohorts of newcomers in Canada. In the context of this paper, the authors examine the processes through which the children of Hong Kong immigrants construct a sense of belonging in Canada. The analysis revealed a sense of belonging that contains a set of paradoxes, of between-ness, that they negotiate through a sense of place-ness: place as the homes in which they belong but also as a set of shifting public and private contexts in which they express their identities and relationships in variable ways.


The article analyzes the establishment and institutionalization of settlement services as a result of community based ethnic activists working with changing multicultural circumstances and state policies that regulate immigrants. Consequently, immigrants are able to obtain resources from the state but must work within ethnocized politics. Also, service provision is emphasized over advocacy work in the activity of these establishments. Consequently, cultural sensitivity and ethno-specificity are important.
modes of dealing with racial difference in the language of service delivery to ‘visible minority’ immigrants.


- The chapter explores the emerging debate on the impact of ethno-cultural diversity on the welfare state. Many commentators today worry that the trends toward increasing ethnic diversity, identity politics, and multiculturalism policies are eroding the collective imaginary of the nation, undermining the national identities and solidarities that have historically sustained the welfare state. The author thus discusses two hypothesis emerging from these worries. First, heterogeneity/redistribution trade-off implies that the very presence of sizeable ethnic/racial diversity erodes the welfare state, regardless of what sorts of policies governments adopt to manage the diversity. Second, recognition/redistribution trade-off, implies that the typical way in which Western governments today manage diversity — namely, by attempting to accommodate it through multiculturalism policies, rather than ignoring or suppressing it — worsens the problem. The evidence summarized to answer these debates suggested that a variety of relationships between ethnic heterogeneity, multiculturalism, and the welfare state are possible, and under some circumstances — that is, particular context and policy choices — strong forms of minority rights can be combined with strong redistributive commitments.


- In this paper the author discusses the evolution of multiculturalism and its success in English Canada, identifying three stages, each with its own normative logic and with its own target audience, yet they built upon each other in a constructive and mutually reinforcing way. First-wave multiculturalism was inspired by national unity concerns and civil rights liberalism, and it pursued these goals through a logic of ethnicity: its aim was to provide recognition and legitimacy to ethnic groups, defined by country of origin. Very soon thereafter the core constituency for multiculturalism dramatically changed to focus on non-European ethnic groups — now called “visible minorities”; yet maintaining its original focus on legitimizing and acknowledging ethnicity as a component of Canadian identity. More recently, Canada started to witness the emergence of religion as a basis for multicultural claims, alongside earlier claims based on ethnicity and race.


- This paper challenges four myths about the failure of multiculturalism. First, it disputes the caricature of multiculturalism as the uncritical celebration of diversity at the expense of addressing grave societal problems like unemployment and social isolation. Instead it offers an account of multiculturalism as the pursuit of new relations of democratic
citizenship, inspired and constrained by human rights ideals. Second, it disputes the idea that multiculturalism has been in wholesale retreat, and offers instead evidence that multiculturalism policies (MCPs) have persisted, and have even grown stronger, over the past ten years. Third, it disputes the idea that multiculturalism has failed, and offers instead evidence that MCPs have had positive effects. Fourth, this paper disputes the idea that the spread of civic integration policies has displaced multiculturalism or rendered it obsolete. The paper offers instead evidence that MCPs are fully consistent with certain forms of civic integration policies, and that indeed the combination of multiculturalism with an “enabling” form of civic integration is both normatively desirable and empirically effective in at least some cases.


- The era of neoliberalism is often defined as a set of changes in economic policy and in economic relationships, many of which created new challenges and insecurities for individuals. But it also reshaped the structure of social relationships, including relationships in the family, workplace, neighborhood, and civil society. This chapter explores these themes through the lens of ethnic relations. More exactly, ethnic identities are part of the field of social relations that neoliberal projects encountered, setting the stage for potential conflict. Against the critique seeing neoliberalism as a hegemonic force that resulted in “social destructuration” of ethnic groups, the author argues that neoliberal multiculturalism is possible because ethnicity is a source of social capital – that is, any social or cultural feature that supports effective community development. Finally, his analysis suggests that multiculturalism is most effective when it attends both to people’s citizenship status and to their market status.


- The paper examines the politics of Latin American immigrant incorporation in Canada with a focus on the relationship between community organizing, settlement and social needs and services, and the ethnic politics of Canadian multiculturalism. The analysis focuses on organizational patterns and addresses questions about the kinds of organizations Latin Americans have developed over time, particularly the form and agendas of settlement-oriented organizations, the extent to which their agendas respond to longstanding and diverse ways of doing politics, the tensions that emerge between internal priorities and negotiations versus external opportunities and constraints, and the ability of different kinds of organizations to incorporate shifting/emerging priorities.

In this article, the author argues that to declare multiculturalism dead is premature. Instead, she argues that whether policies designated ‘multicultural’ produce integration or segregation is in large part determined by the context in which they are implemented; in some cases, integration is proceeding smoothly while in others recent discourse concerning ‘integration’ of migrants bears an uncomfortable resemblance to historically discredited calls for ‘assimilation’. Finally, the author argues that to the extent (and this extent is limited) that Muslim minorities are failing to integrate, the failure is caused by host country actions that signal their hostility towards Muslim migrants.


In this paper, the author re-examines the value of multiculturalism and develops an argument that it is a key policy not only for nation-building, but also for ensuring a more inclusive, equal and democratic society for Canadian citizens. The author introduces first the historical development of multiculturalism, emphasizing its evolving meaning. Then, he places the evaluation of multiculturalism in the context of the changes brought along by the twenty-first century at national and international level. Consequently, the paper explores in what directions multiculturalism should be developed along with other Canadian values such as equality and democracy.


In this paper, authors use young Canadian Muslims’ lived experience of multiculturalism to reflect on the claims that multiculturalism has created segregated communities, encouraged terrorism, and failed to foster shared national identities in western nations have gained popularity. Contrary to popular rhetoric, the interviews of 50 young Muslim adults show that many maintain a dual Canadian-Muslim identity by utilizing the ideology of multiculturalism, even though they are increasingly stigmatized for their religion.


This chapter contains the results of a study conducted in Edmonton, Alberta on 161 immigrants aged 60 years old or older, born in South Asia, and a permanent resident or citizen of Canada. Various areas pertaining to human needs have been investigated: the basic needs such as physical shelter and safety (e.g. housing, neighbourhood safety), financial security, and mobility (i.e. transportation); needs related to belonging and esteem and translated in social relationships (e.g. living arrangements, family relations, inter-generational relationships, social contacts with friends and community and loneliness); and finally needs related self-actualization and self-transcendence that refer to identity (ethnic/ cultural and Canadian identity, cultural customs and practices),
religion, meaning and values of life, and life satisfaction. The results, have shown that, overall, the South Asian immigrant seniors in this study were satisfied with many aspects of their life in Canada: housing and neighbourhood; living arrangements, contact with and emotional support from their families and friends, and social contact through community, cultural and religious organizations.


- The report examines selected demographic as well as socioeconomic aspects of the immigrant seniors' population by period of immigration compared to the Canadian-born population in Canada, using the 2006 Canadian Census. Three Working Papers included in this set and contain research based knowledge about how immigrant seniors are aging compared to the Canadian-born population in Canada could better inform policy decisions and the design and implementation of programs. The first paper contains a demographic profile of immigrant seniors Canada. The second paper is based on a review of published research studies focusing on the health and well-being of the culturally diverse senior population and sheds light on the differences in health status between the Canadian-born and the immigrant seniors, as well as the community and individual level determinants that influence their health. Finally, the third paper examines the health of older immigrants, as compared to older non-immigrant using Statistics Canada’s 2008-2009 Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS) – Healthy Aging.


- This is a first Canadian survey of hate crime motivated by race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, and disability on Canadian college and university campuses. The data resulted from a random sample survey of the incidents and prevalence of hate crime on two Canadian campuses: one a college and another a university. The study was conducted in March of 2007 and included a total of 807 students. The author argues that hate crime plays an important role in challenging the increasing presence and visibility of women, the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender communities, and visible minorities on Canadian campuses.


- The author argues that the focus of the multicultural education programs within the educational system should go beyond teaching English or French as a Second Language or simply celebrate the festivals and showcasing the cultures of different ethnic groups, but must prepare the child to actually tackle the problems arising out of the conflicting situations of cultures of home and the educational institution.

- This empirical paper investigates the economic impacts of social diversity and the consequent barriers of communication in Canada and the United States. The empirical results show that social diversity increases per capita gross domestic product at the state and province level, but the positive economic pay-off from diversity diminishes as the level of fluency in official language declines. The findings provide an important economic rationale for overcoming linguistic divisions and "inclusive" multiculturalism.


- The author examines the impact of multiculturalism in Canada from the perspective of two distinct aspects: (1) multicultural policies and their impact on the successful integration of minorities in society, and (2) popular multiculturalism as a feature of national identity, and the broader impact on the politics of immigration in Canada. Key empirical issues posed by each aspect are identified and assessed and the author contends that (1) the impacts of distinctively "multicultural" policies appear to be very small and (2) popular support for "multiculturalism" as a feature of Canadian national identity is strong, and appears to serve as a key political resource underpinning immigration policy as a national development tool. It represents 'political capital' allowing policy makers a considerable degree of freedom in developing and adapting immigration and settlement policies. The author presents evidence that indicate that the implications depend in part on the meaning of multiculturalism for the average Canadian. Implications of Canadian multiculturalism experience for future policy in Canada and in other immigration countries are examined in light of these conclusions.


- This chapter examines the extent to which, if at all, inequalities experienced by visible minorities translate into reduced attachments to Canada, or slower social integration into Canadian society. Inequalities which persist over time raise a further concern that the unity of the society itself may ultimately be affected. Like the underlying inequalities themselves, lack of social unity may be an important challenge to multi-cultural society’s ideal that diversity can foster unity. The analysis undertaken by authors using data from Ethnic Diveristy Survey (2002) assessed the significance of such a challenge. The authors found that inequality has a significant impact on the social integration of minorities in Canada and indicate four main conclusions. First, the rapidly growing visible minority populations in Canada experience greater inequality than do traditional European-origin immigrant groups, and although the economic situation of visible
minorities is much improved by the second generation, their subjective awareness of discrimination is not reduced – but in fact is intensified. Second, the social integration into Canadian society for racial minorities appears to be slower than for immigrants of European origins; the indicators of integration are generally relatively less positive for the second generation than for immigrants. Third, awareness of inequality and a sense of exclusion appear to be at least part of the reason for the slower integration of racial minorities. And fourth, the findings apply to nearly all racial minorities, and variations among these groups based on ethnic or religious distinctions are relatively small. The data do however point toward one group – blacks – as experiencing the greatest difficulties with both experiences of inequality – objectively and subjectively – and slower social integration.


- In this paper, the author undertakes a complex analysis to substantiate the claim that today, no less than was true 40 years ago, linguistic dualism (English – French), functioning as the bedrock of Canadian language policy, continues to inform and influence public attitudes about the role and place of ‘other’ languages and cultures in Canadian society, which in turn has an impact on public policy, including educational policy, especially at the federal level. The author suggest that the continued dominance of English and French as the ‘founding races’ of Canada not only tends to marginalize the status of ‘other’ groups and their languages within Canada, but it also presents an image of Canada, to itself and the world, that does not reflect the changing demographics and linguistic complexity of the country.


- Using data from the Canadian General Social Survey (2003), the authors aim to test the claim that racial and ethnic diversity have overwhelmingly negative effects on social capital, particularly generalized trust. The results show that despite a negative relationship among adults, younger Canadians with racial and ethnic diversity in their social networks show higher levels of generalized trust. The results seem to confirm that youth socialization experiences with rising diversity and the normalization of diversity in a multicultural environment contribute to beneficial (instead of detrimental) effects of diverse social networks.


- This paper focuses on the process of identity negotiation and formation in case of group of Canadian-born youths of Lebanese descent in Halifax by analyzing their lived experience of multiculturalism. Through sixteen qualitative, in-depth interviews, the
authors collect and analyze data about the definition of identities, their meanings to participants, and the ways in which such identities were formed through lived experiences in families, schools, community and employment. The alienation and “otherness” felt up to high school completion is gradually replaced by a hybrid ethno-cultural identity including attributes from local mainstream and parental cultures.


- Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) youth living in large urban, multicultural cities have a complex range of service needs. As part of the Toronto Teen Survey, focus groups were conducted with 80 service providers from 55 agencies in the Greater Toronto Area to elicit their input concerning the changing service needs of LGBT youth, their increasing complexity as a client group, and obstacles to working effectively with them. Issues that arose in the focus groups included addressing the needs of LGBT youth across a large city that includes suburban areas, the need to address the specific service needs of transgender youth, and the intersection of racial and ethno-cultural diversity with sexual orientation. Service provider recommendations focused on the need for improved education and training and policy change at the agency level.


- This paper theorizes the multiculturalization of national identity. Concentrating on the Canadian case, the author examines newspaper discourses from the Globe and Mail and the Toronto Star during the 1990’s. The analysis reveals that both Canada/USA comparisons and English Canada/Quebec comparisons play crucial roles for the construction of multicultural Canadian identity. The results from the empirical analysis are then used to nuance existing theories of multicultural nationalism.


- In this chapter, the author analyzes the case of Canada, the Netherlands and Germany from the perspective of nation states response to immigration and ethnic diversity. By insisting that there is a relationship between different types of diversity – “homegrown” and “imported” through immigration, - the chapter adds an important dimension to the way nation-state reactions to ethnic diversity are framed. The author examines the (de)legitimization of multiculturalism in the three countries indicating that different types of diversity, their representations and accommodations, do not exist separately from each other but in a strong logical, discursive, and political interdependence that may be defined with the term “elective affinity.”

- The book presents a dynamic new model for underpinning pluralism based on a triangular relationship between three groups – the national majority, historically recognized minorities, and diverse immigrant bodies. The author illustrates how compromise between unequal groups takes on meaning through confrontation with real or imagined outsiders. The book sheds new light on the resilience of Canadian multiculturalism in the late 1990s, when multicultural policies in other countries had already come under heavy attack. Findings of an analysis of English-language newspapers discourses and a sociological framework are employed to connect discourses of pan-Canadian multicultural identity to representations of Quebec nationalism, immigrant groups, First Nations, and the United States. The book provides a general framework for national identity and pluralist group formations in diverse societies.


- The authors analyse various cases in which multicultural rights are pitted against the rights of women as well as GLBTQ (i.e. Ontario’s faith-based arbitration, examples of debates on sexuality and group rights in immigration and education). They challenge the assumption that: equality with respect to gender, sex, and diverse forms of sexuality is already a well-established fact in Canadian society, concluding that (full) gender and sexual equality are far from being realized. Moreover, homophobia and transphobia are still very relevant influences for students and teachers.


- In this paper, the authors argue that the ideas of multiculturalism and interculturalism are not mutually exclusive. Rather, their difference and sometimes adversity must be situated within the context of two competing nation-building projects – a context in which Québécois interculturalism reveals traces of Canadian multiculturalism and multicultural Canada promotes intercultural dialogue without writing the latter on its forehead.


- In this article, the authors provide a novel empirical assessment of the multiculturalism – civic engagement debate from the immigrant perspective. The key question of the research is how multicultural and citizenship policies influence immigrants' socio-political
engagement with their adoptive nation in three spheres: social inclusion, political inclusion, and political engagement. Using a variety of cross-national and single-country surveys, the authors show that multiculturalism in no case hinders engagement with society and government, and in many cases seems to foster it. Thus, the data indicate that the claim that multiculturalism undermines immigrants’ socio-political integration appears largely without foundation.


- This paper reports the findings of an exploratory study that examined how multiculturalism policies are actualized at the grassroots level through community organizations. Based on key informant interviews and focus groups of government staff responsible for the delivery of multiculturalism at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels, as well as discussions with service users and service providers of multiculturalism, the study indicate that, first, there is a difference in the understanding of the meaning of the policies among these research participants. Second, there has been a subtle shift of governmental interpretation of multiculturalism policies to an antiracist perspective. Third, although both federal and provincial governments have positioned community organizations as key partners in actualizing multiculturalism policies at the grassroots level, their relationship has been strained, i.e., in order to attain their goals for multiculturalism, community organizations have had to adapt to changing rules and to learn how to manoeuvre through the funding process. Some policy implications are suggested at the end of the paper.